

EXPLORING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN INTERNATIONAL NEWS  
AND FOREIGN POLICY:  
HOW THE NEW YORK TIMES, THE XINHUA NEWS AGENCY AND ITAR-TASS  
DIFFERED IN THEIR COVERAGE ON THE UKRAINE CRISIS?

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Dr. Beverly Horvit, Project Supervisor

ABSTRACT

Throughout the research component of my master's professional project, I sought to effectively capture the relationship between international news coverage and foreign policies of a country through studying the sourcing patterns and valence of news coverage of *The New York Times*, Xinhua News Agency and ITAR-TASS on the Ukraine crisis. Each paragraph of the three news organizations' news coverage was coded by both the source it cited and its tone toward Russia's intervention in the crisis. The stories were randomly selected from the LexisNexis database and the time period of news coverage was limited to February 2014 to December 2014.

Results showed strong clear differences in sourcing patterns and tone of coverage of The New York Times, Xinhua and ITAR-TASS' news stories on the Ukraine crisis. The impact of sources on the tone of coverage of the three media, however, was not proved significant. The tone of coverage of the three media also coincided with the foreign policies of three countries. Through my research, I hope to demonstrate the difference in the way media of different countries portrayed the same international event, and that difference could be tied back to the foreign policies of those countries. Since my research compares news coverage of media with different backgrounds, it has the potential to be incorporated into the current field of international journalism.

## Chapter One: Introduction

To be a journalist was actually not one of my childhood dreams. For a seven- or eight-year-old kid, “journalist” was once a strange concept that could not be as easily comprehended as “teacher,” “manager,” or “actress.” Who are journalists? What do they do? What is journalism indeed? Why do we need journalism anyhow? Those might not be the questions that popped into my mind when I first encountered the concept of journalism, but they surely were the questions I tried to answer three years ago when I made the decision to come to the U.S. to study journalism as a master’s student.

When I was in college, I was so deeply touched by several great writers when I read their masterpieces, including Herodotus’s *Historia*, Thucydides’s *The History of the Peloponnesian War* and Niccolò Machiavelli’s *Florentine Histories*. The way those great historians and writers recorded everything that happened in history was so artful, and full of wit and humor. They were not simply recording the facts like a librarian archives files and books. No, what they did was much more than that – they were telling stories of people, good stories, and important ones.

So when I was considering my future career three years ago, I was looking for a job that could give me the opportunity to also tell good stories and important ones. Then, there came the notion of doing journalism. I read about many journalists and how they devoted their lives to writing great stories about people, about the government policies that affect people and about both the good and evil in people. I was touched, and I wanted to become one of them. So I decided to go to the U.S. to study journalism in the first journalism school around the world.

When studying at the Missouri School of Journalism for the past two years, I gained abundant practical experience at several school-based media outlets, including the *Missourian*, *Missouri Business Alert*, KBIA-Radio and KOMU-TV. Those hands-on experiences not only prepared me with a deeper understanding of journalism, especially its principles such as objectivity and accuracy, but also enriched my portfolio and helped me get a summer internship from the International Women's Media Foundation.

The internship at the IWMF was filled with daily practice of new media skills, including digital production, multimedia reporting and web design. Those are the very areas in which I am interested and want to sharpen my skills. Anna Schiller, my supervisor, also taught me many practical communication skills that I could use in future news production. Although it was not strictly a journalism internship, it really did give me opportunities to practice my journalistic skills, especially in social media content curation and multimedia reporting. In addition, the main part of my work developed around international women reporters and international journalism, which was the focus of my research as well.

In my second semester, I took the course of International Journalism taught by Prof. Beverly Horvit, and I learned from that class how international news can demonstrate media bias and what has influenced foreign newsgathering and presenting. Through readings on this area, I became interested in exploring more about international news and its relationship with foreign policy.

Unlike journalism focused on domestic news, international news is a rather different beast. For many newspaper readers and television audiences, international news is not challengeable because people don't normally have access to every international

incident. Even for Internet users in this digital era, physical constraints still prevent many people from going to the foreign countries themselves and seeing with their own eyes what was happening there. Hence, readers or audience rely on the news media coverage to a large extent when it comes to international news.

This makes it very important to examine whether foreign news is as objective and accurate as those mainstream media usually boasted. Thus, the research component of my graduate project was designed to explore the relationship between foreign news and foreign policies.

## **Chapter Two: Weekly Field Notes**

### **Week 1: 5/25-5/29**

Greetings to you all! I started my internship at the International Women's Media Foundation in Washington, D.C. last Tuesday. Since it was the first day after the National Memorial Day, my supervisor, Anna Schiller, let me work on some major projects of the Foundation on my very first day to work there. I learned how to curate Tweets from different media outlets, and I helped my supervisor create captions for those award-winning photos.

For the past week, I basically learned how to fulfill my responsibilities as a Communications Intern, including how to curate Tweets and maintain the Foundation's Twitter account through the cool tool, Hootsuite, and how to post new articles on the Wordpress-based website of the Foundation. I also helped the organization design its information sheet for its upcoming event in Berlin, Germany.

As a Communications intern, my main objectives could be three-fold. Firstly, I have always been interested in the role of social media in today's media environment. During my shifts in Missouriian, KBIA or KOMU, I was told to keep social media updated whenever I found news or my stories got published. However, I didn't really have a chance to explore the social media more than utilizing basic functions. This internship therefore could allow me to explore more how media organizations could use their social media accounts to spread out news and engage with their audience. Since I will curate tweets everyday using the Hootsuite, I will have plenty of opportunities to accomplish this goal.

Secondly, I would really like to get more experience with website, especially how to use it to update posts with interactive features. As digital media become more and more dominant in people's lives, it's important for us journalists to keep pace with the times. Since one of my main tasks is to update posts on the Foundation's website, this objective will be accomplished as well.

Lastly, being a female journalist myself, I am in particular interested to learn more about women journalists and the freedom of press around the globe. I plan to really get familiar with my "beat," that is to keep up with any news that is happening in the field of women journalists and press freedom. I have already added several Google Alerts to inform me of any latest information on these two topics, and I also followed several female journalists who delivered significant works in the past few years.

For my graduate research component, since I will mainly focus on my internship during the summer, I plan to only finish the data input process in these three months in D.C. For this past week, I input the data of 11 news stories from the three media, Xinhua, TASS and The New York Times.

Last Friday we had an orientation with the presence of Prof. Cochran, Prof. Dean and Prof. Pippert, and I learned more about the city and from the alumni of the program.

I am now living at an apartment in Arlington, Va. where I share rooms with three other girls. Though it's not located in D.C., it is just near the metro station, which is very convenient for daily commute. I like D.C. so far and I hope I could really enjoy this summer here.

## **Week 2: 6/1-6/5**

I was still getting used to the weather of D.C., which suddenly got cold and made me feel like autumn last week, but other than that the past week has been really exciting to me. As I started to take on more responsibilities I really began to immerse myself in my working environment.

I started to find some strategies in curating tweets in the morning every day, since I set up several google alerts to remind me of any latest news. On Monday, I also used IWJMF's Twitter handle to announce the grantees of the The Howard G. Buffett Fund For Women Journalists. I learned how to engage better with our audience via Twitter, and how to make the most of the character limit sending out the most information within maximum length.

I also learned how to post a webpage on our wordpress-based and, most importantly, how to use HTML 5 coding to change the content of a page. Anna, my supervisor, told me that she taught herself the HTML language which really gave me some confidence on improving my webpage skills.

From Wednesday to Thursday, besides the Tweet curation, I also created a presentation template for our organization from scratch. I wasn't sure how to do it when I said yes to my supervisor during a regular meeting with all the staff members. However, as I studied the Microsoft Powerpoint for a bit, I found my way quickly and completed a whole template for my organization with ten different layouts.

I also used this new template to revise our presentation for the African reporting trip this February and uploaded to ISSUU. Under the guidance of Anna, I also use HTML

code to add the link on ISSUU to those relative webpages on our website and customized their sizes accordingly.

On Tuesday, I joined our Missouri group at the Capitol Hill and met with the Senator Claire McCaskill. She spoke with us about the latest bill that she signed on and also those of her reflections on the current politics in the U.S. She especially stressed the polarization in the positions of senators in the Congress nowadays, as compared to decades ago. She also pointed out the gender gap existing in the Congress as well as female senator is greatly outnumbered by their male counterpart. Senator McCaskill also emphasized that she was worried about the current status of journalism and she encouraged us to pursue good quality journalism.

On Friday, we went to the Newseum and the trip was really rewarding. We saw a lot of exhibits that demonstrated the history of journalism in this country and its relationship with other part of the country, including war and technology.

I am really looking forward to learning more and experiencing more next week.

### **Week 3: 6/8-6/12**

On Monday, Anna, my supervisor, asked me if I would like to go to a memorial of fallen journalists held at the Neuseum, and I gladly said yes. I quickly curated several Tweets before we left for the memorial, and we set out around 10:00 a.m. We rode a cab to the Neuseum and Anna let me use the pass of her colleague Allison, who was having a doctor's appointment that day. The memorial was held on the Newseum's Journalists Memorial Gallery, and there is a whole wall of names of all the journalists that died on the field. At the ceremony, 14 journalists were added to the Journalist Memorial, and among them there was Kathy Gannon, who was injured in Afghanistan by a policeman while her fellow journalist Anja Niedringhaus fired to death at her side.

The International Women's Media Foundation announced its Anja Niedringhaus Courage in Photojournalism Award this May, so my supervisor was very excited when Kathy gave the speech at the memorial. Kathy talked about her understanding of war journalists, partly inspired by her fellow Anja, and she also told us what happened in Afghanistan to her and Anja. The whole ceremony was sad but peaceful, and some families and friends of the fallen journalists also came and spoke about their sons, daughters or friends. Anna also tweeted some pictures of the ceremony during the event, so I had an opportunity to learn how to update tweets when you are on-site and how to compose live tweets.

After we went back to office it was already around noon, I finished the rest of the Tweets for the day around 2:00 p.m. Then, I moved on to getting familiar with the World Pulse, a new website that our organization plans to use in the near future. Before I left for the day, Anna also discussed about the program of the Anja Award ceremony which is

coming up in Berlin on June 25. I made my suggestions to the content and the format of the program.

On Tuesday, after I curated several Tweets for the day, I began to explore on our website using the WordPress applications. Since Anna and Allison are very busy with the upcoming event to be held in Berlin, including the program of the ceremony, they asked me to join their meeting in deciding how the program would look like. I also helped Anna to contact several speakers of the ceremony to double check with them if their information shown on the program is correct.

In the afternoon, I also got familiar with the World Pulse, as I navigated the platform and found out that there is a group page for our website, on which we can post our announcement or other articles. The website is during its first phase of product development, so the design and the function of the website is still poorly-constructed. The pictures uploaded could be only seen in low definitions, and the body of the post shall include CSS language in order for it to look good on their website.

Since Anna wanted me to add our fellows of previous African trips to the group so that they can share their experiences with their fellows, I also learned how to add them to the group as well as how they can communicate with one another on the group page.

On Wednesday, I noticed that most of the latest news on women issues was focused on a Nobel laureate who made a speech about his women colleagues in his laboratories. He said women “cried” when being criticized which disrupts pure science inquiries. Many media outlets criticized his speech as “sexism” and showing no respect to women scientists who made great contributions to the science world. Emotionally, I agree

with those media that maybe the Nobel winner was just talking about his biased perspective of scientific work. However, as I dug deeper into the stories written about this news, I found that those labels, including “sexism,” were mostly based only on the quotes of the Nobel winner that actually stated some of the facts that we know. Some women scientist could have indeed fallen in love with him, and they could have cried when he criticized them. Though I don’t know if those facts are true, but a story solely based on the statement of those facts seems a stretch to me. Though the biologist should be more careful when addressing speech including the notion of lab segregation, his statement of those facts could not be used to make up a catchy headline.

After the Tweets curation, I also had a great opportunity to update our website, since Anna would like me to add a page to announce our new fellow of the Elizabeth Neuffer Fellowship. Also, she wanted me to update our Anja Award announcement, since the application for next year has already started. For those tasks, I studied a little bit how to write the HTML code in order to make the webpages look good after I update them. I learned that there are two different coding language in terms of linking a webpage to our homepage, one of them called “dynamic content,” the other just regular content. When updating those webpages I also learned how to adjust the margins of each element to make them fit together.

During the process, I also learned to use Submittable to create an application submit page, and link that page to our website. In that way, we can see all the entries of our applicants through the platform of Submittable.

On Thursday, I finished the Tweets around 11:00 a.m. as usual. Allison threw me some interesting contents to tweet about via emails, so I added them to our Tweet

schedule. One thing I learned about the tweets that Allison assigned to me is that sometimes to attract traffic we don't necessarily need to focus only on women issues or press freedom issues. The one tweet that has many "retweets" is the one news story about journalists suffering stress disorders, which is remotely connected with our organization, but it certainly appeals to most of our target audience, which are women journalists.

After the curation of social media feeds, I went to Anna's office to check on other tasks that I could help with. Anna and Allison are very busy, and Anna was in meeting for about three hours in the afternoon. Since I didn't have any tasks to work on, I opened our organization's website and started to learn how Anna coded each webpage. To be honest, at first I didn't understand many languages she used to create a table, and write up a paragraph of text or insert a picture, but as I googled a lot of coding terms, I started to understand how to compose each element in CSS/HTML languages. Anna also told me to make sure each element on our website contains a link to its designated pages, because nowadays we used mobile devices often, and on those small screens it may be more difficult to touch on certain words than just touching on a picture.

Around 3:30 p.m. I started a new task assigned to me, which is to add all the reporting fellows of our Tanzania and Democratic Republic of Congo trips, as well as our grantees of the Howard G. Buffet Funds for Women Journalists. I explored the new territory on the WordPress which is to add connections with their bios and their Twitter handles. I added around thirty fellows to our website under different categories, and Anna showed me how to do it beforehand.

After wrapping up the week, I also briefly chatted with Anna to follow up on several tasks that I started this week, and we also scheduled a meeting next Monday to

discuss about some longer-term projects she will have me to do, especially when she is gone to Berlin for the Anja Award ceremony.

For my research component, I continued to finish the data input of 15 stories every week.

This week we had an opportunity to meet with one of our Mizzou alumni and also a Washington Program alumni, Joe Morton. Joe is currently a Washington correspondent for the Omaha World-Herald, and he used to complete a Fulbright fellowship in Germany.

During the mini-lecture, Joe shared with us his experience in Washington D.C. and his tips for us on how to get the most of the program. Since he is now a regional newspaper reporter based in Washington, Joe said his daily work differs from his other fellows who works for national media outlets.

Joe described his work here as having great deal of “autonomy,” since he is far away from his supervisor and he made a lot of work decisions on his own. Since the newspaper is based in Nebraska, Joe said his main job is to chasing after the Nebraska delegation in D.C. The interesting part in this relationship with the Nebraska delegation is that sometimes it gets intense. Joe said, on the one hand, he depends on those congressmen for source of information he needs to write into the stories and tell his readers, while, on the other hand, those politicians rely on him for informing their constituencies. The mutual need sustains the relationship, but according to Joe, sometimes some politicians may not reply him in weeks simply because they don’t like what he wrote.

Joe also joked that being a journalist means to be not afraid of being a “pest,” and willing to ask annoying questions to those politicians.

During the Friday seminar, Prof. Dean also introduced the history of American journalism to us. He introduced how journalism developed from postal offices’ mailing services to telegraphs to radio and television. He also mentioned the one of the powerful tools journalists have: interview.

Since the emerging of new digital technologies, the landscape of U.S. journalism also transformed profoundly. Although TV still remains to be the most popular media, newspapers certainly falls. New devices rise with the younger generations, including cell phones and tablets. With those changes, Prof. Dean said that traditional news media shifted their battlefields to digital platforms and there news stories become brands themselves.

#### **Week 4: 6/15-6/19**

Starting this week, I have to manage a busier time at work every day, because IWWMF is going to hold its Anja Niedringhaus Courage in Photography Award ceremony in Berlin next Thursday, June 25. This event is pretty huge to me because Anna, Allison and I have been working on it since my first day at work there. Although the communication team usually doesn't take on event planning, the organization has assigned Anna to take charge of this ceremony because she's a German.

On Monday, I finished all the Tweets updates in the morning as usual, and then Anna and I worked together in our conference room. Since the ceremony of the award is going to be next week, we have to double check every text that will appear on our program, ceremony screen, website and our press releases. I reached out to several of our important guests and did some accuracy check with them. This process reminds me of the days in Mizzou when I fact checked with my sources, so I knew how to phrase my request so that they would not make huge edits by themselves other than pointing out the factual errors.

I also used our Twitter and Facebook handle to promote our Howard G. Buffet Fund for Women Journalists. Although this sounds more like PR-stuff, actually I used a lot of my broadcast judgement in the process. Twitter and Facebook are more like broadcast media than like print media in the sense that it is designed to roll out in a fast pace. So just like the teaser we often had in those KOMU broadcast shows, we have to find out the most catching line that can make the punch.

On Tuesday I mainly helped Allison to announce our new Elizabeth Neuffer Fellowship. I coded three web pages and revised several pages beforehand, and made the change at noon. I also scheduled several Tweets to promote it using our Twitter handle.

On Wednesday, Anna left for Germany around 1:00 pm, and she assigned me to several longer-term projects on Monday to help her with our digital campaign of the Anja Award. She also taught me how to send out press releases to the media contacts around the world using the VOCUS system.

The IWWMF is an organization with relative small staff, so it actually gives many opportunities to learn and practice. Right now half of our staff are in African working on a reporting fellowship, and another half of the staff are going to Berlin next week for the Anja Award ceremony, which leaves only four people in the office, including me. Since I will be mainly assisting Anna and Allison on the digital campaign I really think I can gain great amount of work during this time, which is really exciting!

On Wednesday we also met our Chancellor Loftin at a reception and there I also met with several Mizzou students from political science major. I really enjoyed those social event as we got to meet with a lot of different people and also explore more about how to spend time in this city.

In this week's seminar, we first talked about our latest progress at work, and Prof. Dean and Prof. Pippert gave us some suggestions respectively. Many of my fellow students did some amazing work at their organizations, and they also shared their tips in how to get more involved in the process, such as to be more self-initiated, and always willing to offer a helping hand.

In the afternoon, we went to the Information Technology Industry Council Offices, where we met with the senior vice president of external affairs at the organization, Adora Andy Jenkins. Adora impressed us all by her fancy resume, which includes working for the Department of Justice as well as the Environmental Protection Agency. She introduced to us how she managed her job incorporating both her communications side and her journalistic side. She said her former experience in journalism makes her understand better how to work with journalists, such as deadline pressure.

In the Q&A session, many of us asked questions about how she thinks could make a journalist stand out, whether in the competition for a job or for an exclusive story from her. She emphasized on fair and accurate reporting which she thinks is the most important quality she seeks in a journalist when she wants to release a story that may have a negative impact on her organization.

She also encouraged us all to pursue journalism first and consider PR jobs afterwards, for she thinks solid reporting skills could be helpful to finding a communications job. Recruiters often value people's writing skills very much when they hire a spokesperson, she said.

## **Week 5: 6/22-6/26**

Since Anna has left for Berlin last week, I have been sitting in her office now to get any phone calls for her while she is gone. It has been very quiet for the whole week in the office as many of our staff members are still wandering around the world.

On Monday, my task was to start the official countdown of the Anja Niedringhaus Courage in Photojournalism Award ceremony on our social media accounts. I scheduled several Tweets about the event for the whole week and from noon I began to draft the Facebook post. For the Facebook post I used a picture taken by the award winner Heidi Levine, which was shot in Jerusalem, since the visual element in nature is more compelling especially on social network platform than texts. The post then reached more than 2000 people and gained 30 or so shares.

On Tuesday, other than tweeting on regular curation contents focusing on women journalists and press freedom around the world, I also helped Anna tweet about the event she is going to organize before the ceremony in Berlin, including radio show with AP journalist Kathy Gannon and Heidi Levine. I also pitched to Anna to add picture to our Anja countdown tweets so that it could appeal to more audience.

On Wednesday, I started out with all the tweets as usual, and I began to write up many tweets for our digital campaign for the Anja event that day and the next day. Anna has organized a seminar on Wednesday inviting four speakers to talk about their experience in a café in Berlin, and Thursday is, of course, the big day with the award ceremony. In afternoon, I was assigned to finish a whole new webpage by myself about an event IWFMF just held in London, as several staff from the program team were

working on it Tuesday. This was a really a challenge for me, since before then I only updated a webpage with text already in front of me and the format of the webpage already being set up, or at least I could follow a previous example. I was nervous and excited at the same time. As I quickly looked through our archives, I found a similar post in the past, so I got a rough idea on how I am going to approach this. Then, I wrote up the text quickly, just summarizing the live tweets sent out by our program team on Tuesday, and finished several paragraphs. I sent the text to Allison for language checking and got her reply with only some minor edits. I then moved on to the coding part of the webpage, as well as using Photoshop to edit the photos of the event to make them fit for the webpage. After those were all done, I asked Allison to check if the preview of the webpage looked good, and I finally hit the “publish” button as she OKed it. That experience was so interesting, as it incorporates both the new technique I picked up interning here, such as coding language, and also the reporting skills I already grasped from the J-school.

On Thursday, finally the big day!! I literally never stopped working from the moment I walked into Anna’s office till the moment I left the office. The whole day was fully packed with all Anja related things. After I sent out the regular Tweets, I began immediately to schedule several Tweets to boost a final promotion of the Anja’s ceremony before it started. I also scheduled tweets about calling for nominations for the 2016 Anja Award as Anna asked before, to take an advantage of the publicity of this ceremony. When done with all the tweets, Allison and I began to work on several webpage updates. First is a call for press freedom post, since a Colombian journalist who was the Courage Award awardee was maltreated by her government. Then after quickly

working out that post, I moved on to the final announcement of the ceremony of Anja Award. Allison sent me the text with all the guest speakers' remarks collected beforehand, I needed to work out a new webpage including this text as well as some pictures of the ceremony. After I finished the basic coding of the webpage, I began to edit those photos of the ceremony sent out by Anna using our Twitter handle. Once I edited all of them, I finished the webpage and started to work on the press release. As I have already created several lists of all the media contacts around the world whose subject of work is related to our event, I only needed to work out the format of the press release and attach the picture to it. I eventually sent out press releases to eight lists, consisting of nearly 20,000 media contacts. I also updated our homepage to add the ceremony announcement so that people can be aware of our latest event.

In this week's seminar, Prof. Dean has invited Julia Pitner, the Regional Director for the Middle East and North Africa for Internews to give us a lecture on how she helps build journalism in a conflict-torn area in the Middle East.

The lecture was very impressive in the sense that it showed us how hard it was for Prof. Dean and Pitner to reach out to their audience under the constant military conflicts in Gaza West Bank, especially the physical threats posed by Hamas. They casted several interesting questions to us that touched upon how journalists could address the emergency situations like those occur in mid-East, such as what information does your audience need to know, and how you could get the information to your audience?

This actually reminds me of the earthquake happened in 2008 in China, which was really sad for many families who lost their loved ones during the earthquake. At that time, the hardest part for journalists was not to get into the site and explore how bad the

situation was, but was to get the information to the outside where people are ready to support and send aids to the stricken area. Because of the earthquake, a lot of the signal towers fell down, and electricity power was broken, and in some places there was no way to even contact your colleague journalists within the same location. Prof. Dean has shown us that according to a study, the most effective media for communication under those situations is radio, and then television. Also we learned that in those emergency situation, the most important thing is to also contact humanitarian aid groups and to assist the process of sending the aids to the people who really need them.

I asked a question during the lecture to Pitner about how to address objective reporting in Gaza West Bank where journalists have to protect their lives first. Ms. Pitner answered that they actually tried very hard to train those journalists there to report with fewer biases and include perspectives from more sides of the story. I would assume it is very hard under those circumstances, as we have learned in the international journalism class that war journalists or embedded journalists sometimes were affected by the military forces that protected them. And also, it is always hard to find the ultimate truth when you have civilians from both sides getting hurt and dying.

## **Week 6: 6/29-7/3**

As the Anja Niedringhaus Award ended last Thursday, the first major task for me this week was to tweet the event's press coverage clips and updated our website.

On Monday and Tuesday I followed the basic routines of scheduling tweets first and then checking in with Anna and Allison. Since I have been curating tweets for more than a month now, I have found that it's very important to tweet about news that appeals to our audience in order to attract traffic. Since our organization focuses on women journalists from around the world and press freedom, our audience usually care more about news on worldwide female journalists and the threats to press freedom across countries. Also, as many of our followers are journalists themselves, news about the media industry, its challenges and revolutions also attracts attention. Sometimes, Anna and Allison will emailed about the news that they thought is important, and usually those media-related topic would have many retweets and favorites. Thus starting this week, I paid more attention to finding news that precisely targets at out audience.

I also began to make a list of all the press coverage of the past Anja Award ceremony, since Anna asked me to update those press coverage on our website. Due to the fact that the Award was actually announced in this March, the ceremony this June didn't receive as much coverage as it did back then. And as the ceremony was held in Berlin, Germany where Anja's hometown was, many of the coverages were in German. Nonetheless, I still created a full list of all the media coverage by Tuesday and got ready for the website update.

On Tuesday, Allison also asked me to use Storify to create a post for the Award ceremony. I had no experience with the software before, and even in J-School, we only heard about it in the News Reporting class without actually using it in our reporting. I was very excited about this opportunity, to learn about this new tool that could be very helpful for my future career. I studied the function of the tool for quite a while, and started to find elements that I could put into the post using this tool. After discussing with Allison about the content as well as the photos that I could use for the post. On Wednesday I finished up the post around noon and published the post after Allison and Anna approved it. Here is the link to the post: <https://storify.com/IWMF/heidi-levine-receives-first-iwmf-anja-niedringhaus>

On Wednesday, our African team came back to the office and they shared with us their stories there and we scheduled a meeting on Thursday to talk about the presentation template I made weeks ago. In the afternoon, I worked on a web project Anna assigned me to which is to update the press coverage on our website. During leisure time at work I often opened our website and to study its coding and the use of HTML 5 language, so now when Anna or Allison asks me to update a webpage I usually could finish it within an hour or two.

On Thursday my work also began to shift to the editorial side, as Allison asked me to edit the videos that our African reporting team made interviewing the reporting fellows on that trip. Although those videos are not of high quality they are still workable for editing. Since the laptop doesn't have the Final Cut Pro which is used in our J-School, I found it easy to navigate using iMovie. I will finish the editing in next week.

## **Week 7: 7/6-7/10**

I finally moved to the editorial side of my work at the IWMMF this past week as I helped the organization create a video from scratch. It was a long process as opposed to my day-turn jobs, including Twitter curation or website updating, but I really enjoyed the experience very much. While I was at the J-school, I took the Fundamentals of Television, Radio and Photography and also the Broadcast News I. In my last semester, I also covered PA shift every Saturday night at KOMU. I have to admit that those late nights cutting and editing videos really have prepared me well with solid video editing skills and they also gave me great confidence when I said to my other supervisor Allison that “I can totally do this.”

The theme of the video is to introduce the fellows of our recent African reporting trip and let them share their experience in Africa with our potential future fellows.

The raw materials I had to work with for the video are hugely limited in their qualities as the shots are found often shaky and the lighting was terrible. The poor qualities were largely due to the restricted conditions our reporting group was in when they shot these interviews. The light went dark in one of the interviews because the electricity was not stable enough. There was no camerawoman on the team which led our program staff to ask a foreign journalist there to help them shoot the videos, so the picture was shaky and sometimes out of focus or with bad framing.

However, as we learned from class and numerous newsroom experiences, good editing can turn a weak case into a much stronger one. I was working with altogether six interviews, and I had to add some pictures that fellows took to provide some diversity in

the presentation. To get the most of the materials I had, I went through all the interviews and pictures at my hand carefully and took notes of what could be useful in the process. Since all the fellows were asked the same questions, Allison and I decided to structure the video with different questions and fellows' answers to them, instead of tossing clips around.

After I put together the clips with good content in them, I began to search pictures to match with the fellow's description of the trip. It was kind of hard since most of the pictures were taken with smartphones and with poor qualities. But with the help of our program team I eventually managed to find and arrange several good pictures. With the help of Allison, I also found some royalty-free music of Africa to connect different sections.

The video was eventually finished on Thursday with the approval from my supervisor and our program staffers.

In the past week, I also helped with updating a website and the promotion of the Howard G. Buffet funding applications using our Twitter handle.

This week's seminar, we had Major Garrett with us and he really gave us a good lecture. He shared his life lessons with us and I was amazed how he started with only a job in a very small local market and climbed his way up to where he is now.

Major also pointed out that technology actually empowers politicians in a rather unprecedented way. With the pressure of 24 hours news cycle, journalists are reduced to repetition as opposed to solid and original reporting. In the past when Twitter and other social media tools didn't thrive, the president relied on journalists to communicate with

his people. However, now the president has his own digital media team who bypasses journalists and communicates with people directly. This makes journalists' work even harder.

Major gave several suggestions to us, a new generation of journalists who still have some faith in this profession, that, even with doubt about the future of journalism, we should still pursue daily excellence as our priority. I was really moved by his speech.

## **Week 8: 7/13-7/17**

Anna came back from Berlin on Monday so I moved back to my assigned desk. On Monday, I finished up the video for our African reporting trip this June and uploaded it to our YouTube account (link: <https://youtu.be/rDhmEzKaoQ4>). On Tuesday, I started to help Anna with our big show and tell presentation on Thursday. Since both of our crew to Africa and Berlin came back this week, we scheduled meeting on Thursday to present our African and Berlin's events.

The main task Anna assigned to me was to help her integrate a video of the Anja's Courage Award using a raw footage of the ceremony. Since the sound of the raw footage is not ideal, Anna asked me to match the sound recorded by the Associated Press with the footage. For Tuesday I also updated the website for our program team since they are opening a new round of application for the Central African Republic reporting fellowship (<http://www.iwmf.org/call-for-applications/>). I also helped with sending out the press release to all the media contacts who might be interested in this great opportunity.

For Wednesday, I continued to help Anna with the video and I eventually worked out a new video of the ceremony with the best sound we have at our hands. The editing process turned tiresome as it required repetition in matching the movement of lips to sounds, with little space for creativity. However, the process certainly made me more proficient in editing and I also picked up several tricks to make the process more efficient.

On Thursday, Anna and I cut the full-length video of the ceremony to about 15 minutes to suit the presentation purpose. I also made some edits on the shortened version

including adding the introduction slide and some fading effects. Then came the big presentation that afternoon, and all of our teams, including our executive director Elisa Munoz, were sitting in our conference room. Anna presented our video and the slides she made first, and to make it more attempting, she brought a strawberry cake with her – she borrowed the recipe from Anja’s mother. Our presentation went on smoothly and the two clips Anna had an event planner do for the ceremony about those brave female conflict journalists were very compelling.

Our program team also gave a wonderful presentation about the trip to Tanzania and Congo, for which I helped them create the Meet The Fellows video. Since one of the fellow reporters from the Congo trip is a journalist with the Foreign Policy based in D.C., the team invited her to the presentation and gave her testimonial of the trip herself. The journalist talked about how she had an unforgettable experience from the trip, including the security training IWMF provided with the fellows and also the female working environment while they were out reporting in Africa. It was when she told us how rewarding she felt the trip was that I realized I am so proud of our organization. Those funding and reporting opportunities really gave many female journalists a chance to break the glass ceiling in their fields and to provide a comradeship among them. I truly felt thankful that I could become part of this course and help the organization run better to provide more opportunities like this.

On Wednesday, I went to the luncheon that Prof. Cochran moderated about the future of journalists. The guest speakers pointed out that we are still in the process of identifying the business model of journalism in the digital age and one of the trends of our news media is to become more and more specialized in terms of their target audience.

The internet has made general news a less attractive product for the mass audience, so journalists need to focus more narrowed beat compared to the past.

On Friday, we had the opportunity to explore the Capitol Hill and the Supreme Court. It was just an amazing experience to see the Capital Hill building which had more than 200 years of history. The inside of the building is grand and glamorous, and we saw how journalists moved around in the building as the technology evolved through time.

The Supreme Court is also very impressive, and it is just solemn and magnificent. Though it is a pity that we could not see the justices who are out on vacation during the summer, it's still very rewarding to have a tour and a lecture in the court room of the Supreme Court.

I'm glad that I chose to come to Washington D.C. for my graduate project!

## **Week 9: 7/20-7/24**

Although the program is nearing the end, my internship has not ended, not for another month. So, I am still thinking constantly about how to make progress at work and how to explore more about the city, in terms of networking and maybe going to some press conferences.

Anna has given me a lot of tasks to work on everyday this past week, as usual. I curated Tweets on news related to female journalists and press freedom and I also tweeted about the Howard G. Buffet Fund for Women Journalists to promote the second round of applications for the Fund. I also took the initiative to post on our Facebook page to promote the Fund.

Nonetheless, last week I was so excited when Anna handed me to important tasks that I had dreamed of doing. One is to collect the analytics data for our social network accounts, including our Twitter, Facebook account and our website pageviews. This experience really allowed me to get familiar with all the tools to review the performance of our social network accounts. I am especially very interested in this because in this digital era it's key to keep an eye on how we are doing in terms of our audience traffic which is one of the main drives for media's new business models.

Another task Anna assigned me which is also important was to create three digital campaigns for our organization using the Google AdWords. This is really a good opportunity to learn about how to bid our link to the first page on Google when searching for some keywords. Although this may sound like more of a PR task than a journalistic one, it actually helps me understand more how digital communication is functioned,

especially with the existence of search engines such as Google.com. I tried several keywords and with the online software you could see after several days that which keywords work the best in terms of its traffic attraction. Sometimes you could select some keywords that cost less but with more traffic simply because you understand what you target audience is and how they will find the information they are looking for.

Anna also said that I could work on a feature piece if I would like which in its content may overlap a little with the Meet The Fellow multimedia piece that I created. I am glad I have that space for me to create something, and right now I'm still thinking about it and may start this coming week.

Here is also a link to the Meet The Fellow multimedia piece that I put on our website last week as I wrote up and transcribed some of the interviews with the fellows of our African trip. Allison edited a little on my draft, and most of the edits were actually brand-oriented, rather than journalistic-oriented.

Last Friday we had a discussion about the recent news that happened around the world. I got to learn two pieces of news that I might have overlooked on news websites which addressed Chinese investment in Ecuador and the Washington Football team.

In the afternoon, we had a branding strategist, Jean Shaw, from FleishmanHillard to give us a lecture on her work at this top PR firm as well as her career advice. She told us how she balanced work and life, and she talked about how she climbed her way in the agency. She said if you want to enter into a company it really doesn't matter if you start with a job you don't like in the company – once you are in you can always adjust the position. The lecture is overall very practical.

## **Week 10: 7/27-7/31**

Although the Washington Program is reaching its end, I am still exploring different new things at work. This past week, Anna has allowed me to get my hands on some new web projects including designing a splash page from scratch.

On Monday and Tuesday, we mainly spent our time focusing on our social media accounts. As we have found that we didn't have enough posts on our Facebook account, Anna and I had a meeting, with also another girl Amanda, about how to create more posts on a regular basis. We browsed through our own websites as well as the latest hot topics related to our organization, including women's rights issues, press freedom and women journalists. As we looked through those topics, we created a list of news that we might want to follow and scheduled them for different days for the post.

On Tuesday and Wednesday, I also helped Anna work on our World Pulse page since our teams have now all come back. Here is a link to the page I work on. This World Pulse site is very new for our organization, and Anna would like me to connect with our reporting fellows from our African trips through this webpage as well. I may proceed with this in the following weeks.

On Wednesday and Thursday, I began to work on the web project that was brand new to me. The splash page is like an introduction page for a product with all the cool and creative designs that can catches your attention immediately. And the splash page I need to do is for our new mobile App tool, Reporta, which is a security app for journalists or anyone who uses it. The App could allow you to locate yourself when you are in a

dangerous or threatening situation, and also to contact your friends and families when you need urgent help.

The web page project is to a large degree very difficult for me because I had to do all the things by myself. First, I had to design the pictures and texts by myself using the Photoshop. Since I didn't take any course while I was in Mizzou on design, it really took me a while learning that by myself. Then I need to design all the codes for the splash page by myself. Since I have been doing it for many times on our organization's website, I thought this time would be of no difference. However, there are certain special effects Anna would like the page to show, which was actually very difficult to code.

For example, Anna would like the page to be a parallax page, which means some of the elements on the page would move when you scroll down, some wouldn't. This is very special CSS code, and even Java script. Also, Anna would like to have automatic slideshow on the iPhone icon, which I hadn't had enough time to explore it last week.

For now, I only figured out how to make the parallax page in a compromising way and I would keep working on how to reach the perfect effect this week, as well as finding out how to make de slideshow.

## **Week 11: 8/3-8/7**

I spent most of the past week in coding for a splash page for our new app launch. This project proved to be very challenging for me as I had almost none experience in webpage coding before. I was excited about this project since I am aware that with the emergence of digital media, more digital expertise is required of journalists. A good visualization of data or other news information can quickly catch audience attention and also presents the relationship between different characters clearly.

The splash page for the Reporta, our new app, is basically a page to introduce people to our app. It's similar to the landing pages of many mobile apps, which looks pretty and has some cool animations on it to grabs people's attention immediately when they open the page. The actual design of the page would be outsourced to a design company, while we still need to present a mockup page to show the designer how we would like the page to be. The project sounded very difficult and challenging for me the second I heard about it. Anna asked me to first research on the existing HTML and CSS coding online, with which I could build the splash page from scratch.

There are many resources online about HTML and CSS and I also found many examples of splash pages for mobile apps that look very appealing. The process of making a webpage is a little monotonous, but to create those animation effect is still harder than I expected. Good animation usually requires a good command of Java script which is far more complicated for a journalism student. However, after research I found an easier way to use only HTML and CSS to create the page.

After four days of working I finally managed to design the first webpage in my life using solely coding languages, without any pre-existing examples to learn directly from. Since it's only a mockup I don't have a published link to the page I created. I saved the whole folder for the webpage so that it can be opened on computer and I truly learned a lot from the process.

For the graduate academic component, I am about to finish the data input part and in a week I can move on to the data analysis. The data I have collected so far did to some extent confirm my hypothesis, but I will draw a clear conclusion after the analysis.

## **Week 12: 8/10-8/14**

Last week, I was mainly helping Anna to update webpages and improve the SEO of our website. This is a new task for me and it was part of the website maintenance.

SEO is the abbreviation of Search Engine Optimization and it's a common tool for many digital-oriented companies. I researched a little on how to improve a company's SEO performance and found out that one of the ways is to add accurate title and description to a webpage. The webpage will then show up when people searched on the Google or other search engines the keywords included in the title and description. The core idea here is to find the right word to summarize the page and attract the targeted audience of the page.

This may seem irrelevant to what I have learned from the Journalism School, but it's actually closely related. When I was adding description to many webpages, I found that I had to summarize the article in the simplest language. I had to think like a reader and found out what he or she would type in the search engine to find for information. This is like when we write a story, we have to think what the best way is to communicate and to present to our readers so that he or she would understand the story.

I also helped Anna with research on media contacts for the launch of our new app, Reporta. The kickoff ceremony will be held in September in New York, so I had to make up a list of influential tech reporters in the country, especially in the city for the promotion of this event. I searched directly on Google and also used Vocus, a professional PR tool, to find reporters' contact information.

For most of the time last week, I was still curating Tweets and meeting with our team of communication to discuss what the best content is to put on our Facebook page. We decided that for Twitter, we could have some serious news curated, while for Facebook, we would put on lighter news to attract user traffic.

I also helped Anna revise and update several webpages on our website. As I added SEO to each page I could also see the information on some of those pages is outdated. Thus, I helped revised those pages as well. I also revised the splash page I made last week a little so that our designers can read more easily my coding.

### **Week 13: 8/17-8/21**

Last week, I began with several routine tasks, including Twitter curation and webpage update. Now as I have been working on our Twitter handle for several weeks, I have really found several handy rules that can help attract traffic once applied.

On Monday, I saw this news about Meryl Streep donating an amount of money to a women's screen writing lab. For a while I was hesitating whether to Tweet about it, as I was not sure if this is closely related to our theme: women and journalism. It did link to women and women writers, and it also has a celebrity effect to it. Since my job was to create traffic for our organization, so I eventually decided to put it on our Twitter. Later that day, that single tweet got the most traffic for hours.

On Tuesday, I helped Anna with several updates of our website. I also sat with her through an interview with our new intern, who is also from Mizzou. From the interview I got to observe how Anna evaluate an interviewee and what key quality she looks for in a potential communication intern. The process made me reflect upon my past interview experience and I could see where I might have responded well and where I might have not.

On Wednesday, I helped Anna create several Facebook posts, since we are now entering the countdown of the Courage in Journalism Award. Anna asked me to post several posts about our latest Courage Award winners, so I wrote up some lines in the comment with their interview video in the content. The way communication works on Facebook is a little different from Twitter, as people tend to favor more light news than serious news on FB. Nonetheless, the two social network platforms share the

commonality that audience on both platforms are mostly driven by visual elements. Thus, we decided to go with the video instead of pure text or dull, static pictures.

On Thursday, I began to help Anna edit another video of the Anja's ceremony. The award ceremony was held in June in Berlin and Anna asked me to create a video which contains all the best-offs of the ceremony. This proved to be a task more difficult than I'd expected since it was hard to find the best part of the speaker's speech that could also fit in the video's own narrative. However, I found that the best way to edit a video is always to think through the structure before all the cutting and piecing together. For journalists, organization of a story, whether it's a video or a text story, is always a key measure of good story-telling.

## **Week 14: 8/24-8/28**

Last week was the last week for me to work at the IWWMF. I was mainly working on a video of the ceremony of the Anja Niedringhaus Award as Anna asked me to edit the best-off of the whole ceremony (the link is here: <https://youtu.be/cdbjs9bL2kQ> the resolution is not high because it was compressed during the upload. I will present the HD version in my project packet).

The editing process was not very smooth as there were a variety of elements I needed to integrate in the single video. The video needs to consist of all the best excerpts of all the speakers, the photos of the award winners and Anja Niedringhaus', background music that goes with the theme of the video, and also text slides that introduce the award and other information about the award to our audience. To make it even more difficult, I needed to figure out a narrative flow that could connect all these elements in a way that it can make sense to the audience.

I eventually decided to introduce the award first and then show how the ceremony for the award was like. Having decided the organization, it really became much easier for me to put together different pieces, and the next problem I needed to solve was only to find out the best parts of speakers' speech, and the pictures that could show the work of the award winners and Anja. For background music, I used that of the two videos that were used in the ceremony, as the videos were to showcase the photos taken by all the nominees of the award.

Before I ended my internship, I also went through once again the digital campaigns that I helped Anna initiated using the Google AdWords. I checked the

performance of all the keywords and made some revisions on the list accordingly. I was glad that I had this opportunity to learn about the Google AdWords and to actually practice it with real campaigns. I found that some keywords worked much better than the others and they were usually close to the content of the page that was linked to those ads. People also seem to be more interested if they see something that was described in details.

Overall, I really gained a lot of real experience from this internship, much more than I had expected. I was lucky I met Anna, a very patient and nice supervisor, who allowed me to get my hands on many cool projects that truly enhanced my multimedia skills.

## **Chapter Three: Evaluation**

### **Self-Evaluation**

My professional project at the International Women's Media Foundation (IWMF) and the weekly Friday seminars have truly broadened my horizon and improved my media skills. As a communications team member, I helped with all the media-related tasks of the organization, and I learned something new almost every day. Some of the work I was assigned was rather challenging for me, as it exceeded what I learned and practiced at the Missouri School of Journalism. Fortunately, my supervisor, Anna Schiller, handed me many useful tips along those tasks, which eventually helped me build my skills in those new areas more quickly than I would have expected. From the 10 weeks working at the organization, I also had an opportunity to learn how we can utilize social media and our website to communicate most effectively with our audience. Since the organization is focused on media issues, especially women's media issues, my work also revolved around journalism, including curating journalistic tweets and helping create videos. The weekly Friday seminars were really the highlight of these past 10 weeks, as we had the opportunity to meet with many media professionals, as well as some important public officials. Through those rewarding meetings, I learned from our predecessors how they accomplished successful careers in media industry and how they take the new revolution the Internet has brought to journalism. We also learned more about the current state of journalism and its future, and we dived into the capital city, as well, to see how politics is played here. As I walked around Washington I felt deeply amazed, and could not help imagining how generations of American politicians worked here and how they changed the history of this nation.

The work I have done at the IWWMF could be divided into four parts: social media management, website maintenance, multimedia content production, and organization communication and promotion.

Before I came to D.C., I only had limited experience with digital management. I took different courses on news reporting, including at *the Missourian*, KBIA and KOMU, where I spent most of the time learning and practicing basic reporting skills. As I realized the impact of the Internet on news media, I began to incorporate social media in my reporting process. I worked at KOMU as a digital producer once, and I designed graphics for one of the stories I worked on. I also used Twitter to find sources for one of the stories I wrote for the Missouri Business Alert. However, the more I used digital tools, the more I realized there was still so much that I didn't know how to do or I didn't fully understand. In awareness of that, I was eager to get my hands on new media, including social media management, at IWWMF, and so I did. Every day, I spent around one and a half hour browsing through the search engine, looking for any newsworthy leads to tweet about that could resonate with our targeted audience. Since our organization mainly serves women journalists around the globe, the bulk of the curated tweets are about women journalists and the challenge they face. The other key issue that we focus on is press freedom, so I also searched for news related to any jailed journalists or unfair treatment on them. One of our most prominent events is our Courage in Journalism Award, which is designed to honor those outstanding female journalists whose reporting shows great courage. As I curated Twitter every day, I found that the wording of the tweets is crucial in terms of audience engagement. Sometimes tweets with similar content but with different wording received different levels of attention. Sometimes copying

headlines of those articles may work, but most of the time, headlines were too wordy or too formal, which does not work on Twitter. It's better to have a punchline somewhere in the tweet or otherwise it's just not catchy enough for Twitter users. I also noticed that for Internet natives, visual elements communicate better than words. I posted several pictures on Twitter and Facebook to promote the Anja Niedringhaus Courage in Photojournalism Award, and it received more views and likes on both sites.

Every day I also spent around two hours on website maintenance. Since our website is WordPress-based, we have to code all our content in its system. This is also a part where I learned a lot of new skills, including HTML 5 language and CSS code. I updated webpages on our website whenever a new event of ours rolled out or a new award or grant called for applications. I also created a splash page from scratch for our new app, Reporta. Reporta was launched in October by the IWJMF and it was designed as a security app for journalists, and also anyone who may need to contact their close friends and family under emergency situation. One of its function was to let journalists to check-in when they are in dangerous situations so that their close friends and families can know their whereabouts. Also, another function of Reporta was to contact friends and families by simply pressing a button on its interface, and this function allows journalists to contact their emergency contacts immediately once they identify threats around them. This process was very challenging as I didn't have any existing coding model to learn from, as compared to our website where my supervisor had already coded a lot of pages. However, it was really the coolest project I came across so far at the organization because I really did a lot of research to find the right code for anything that needed to appear on the page. I also fixed many problems during the process, and eventually I finished the

page more smoothly and quickly than I would have expected. Now as I graduate this December, I can proudly tell any potential employer that I can code basic website and webpages without any difficulties.

For a longer-term project, I also worked with our program team and helped it create a short video about the fellows who went on our African reporting trip to Congo and Tanzania. The laptop I was assigned to only has iMovie on it, as opposed to more sophisticated software that we used at school. This made my editing more difficult, but it also tested my ability to report under any circumstances. I quickly got familiar with the iMovie and its functions, and then I was able to put together some of those materials with poor quality and created a video with the software. From the process I also got to learn more about our reporting fellowship in the African Great Lakes Area, and I became more and more proud of our organization for those great opportunities for female journalists. In our show and tell session, the program team also invited one of the fellow journalists to Congo to tell us how she felt about the trip. This Foreign Policy reporter said she was really grateful that she had this opportunity and she felt it really helped her with her professional career in getting into an area that is hard to access. She also mentioned that she felt our fellowship and our team made it convenient for them to do their reporting on the trip to Congo, as we worked with local fixers to provide help, especially with finding sources for their stories. I'm very proud that I could become part of this great initiative and help female journalists work their way up to break the glass ceiling in media industry.

Besides those journalistic projects, I also worked on several PR-related tasks. One of the tasks was to design digital campaigns using the Google AdWords, which is very

important for today's business. The basic idea is to bid a price on certain keywords that are closely related to the issue of your campaign so that anyone who typed in those keywords would see your webpage on the first search page of Google. If the price that I bid is the highest among all the bidders using the Google AdWords, then once people typed in the keyword that I bid on they would see the link connected to our webpage popping out at the top. This project really allowed me to reconsider how people seek information and how communication works among people. I began to realize that sometimes it's more effective for communication if we just use those words that could summarize best what we are trying to say.

I also appreciated the working experience in a non-profit organization. Before I went to D.C. and started my work at the IWMF, I didn't expect I could learn so much from this internship. As the size of the organization was smaller than the major media organizations in D.C., I was assigned with many major tasks. In June, half of our staff were in Africa coordinating our reporting trip there, and half of our staff were in Berlin, Germany, hosting the ceremony of the Anja Niedringhaus Photojournalism Award. Thus I got the opportunity to take on major communications tasks of our organization, which really pushed me to think more about how to improve our communication strategies as a whole. I also enjoyed working for the organization since it provided women journalists with great opportunities to connect with each other. One of our African reporting fellows said that she was really grateful of our program and that she also described her real experience of male-dominant newsroom. The events and awards that the IWMF held also touched upon the challenges women journalists face in their working environment, and I

learned both the difficulties that I might face in future and possible solutions for certain problems.

Weekly Friday seminars were really rewarding since we not only had the opportunities to tour important historical sites and offices, but also we met with many important people who gave us lessons on journalism, career and life. We also had great discussion about the current status of journalism, its future, and possible business models. We also learned about the history of American journalism and its characteristics in different ages. I was especially touched by Major Garrett's lectures, as he encouraged us to pursue daily excellence no matter how hard it could be at first being a journalist. He also shared his own take on the impact of the Internet on watchdog journalism. His speech triggered me to reconsider our current media environment and how we should deal with that in the future. Two Inspector General's lecture was also impressive. Their work is clearly very important in a democratic society, and their introduction of their work let us know that their work values prudence and accuracy.

Overall, I enjoyed every minute of the Washington Program, and the experience proved to be more rewarding than I expected before I came here. Working at the IWMPF gave me plenty of opportunities to sharpen my digital media reporting skills, as well as video editing skills. My supervisor, Anna, gave me great trust and handed me several big tasks to handle independently, and from those projects I picked up so many skills, including usage of web languages that could enrich my resumé to a great extent. The weekly Friday seminars also offered us chances to meet with professionals and to learn from their lessons. I hope in future I can come back to this city.

## **Evaluation by Supervisor**

Xiaoqian “Heidi” Li was an intern at the International Women's Media Foundation (IWMF) in Washington, DC, from May 26, 2015 to August 28, 2015. In this capacity, she worked 32 hours/week on a variety of projects, ranging from managing the IWMF's social media efforts and conducting research on press freedom and gender equality issues, to contributing multimedia content to the IWMF website.

### **Summary**

Ms. Li’s professional demeanor and impressive work ethic, her ability to think on her own, paired with her eagerness to contribute in a useful way quickly made her an indispensable addition to the IWMF communications team. She has a very pleasant personality, adapted very quickly, and provided invaluable assistance to the organization. She has a genuine interest in the IWMF mission and showed great enthusiasm for all projects she was involved in. She took the lead on several communications projects and was eager to live up to the expectations of the IWMF staff.

Ms. Li is smart, resourceful, hard-working, reliable, persevering, interested, and empathetic.

### **Personal Qualities**

Ms. Li showed an excellent ability to adapt to a variety of tasks, to set priorities, to pay attention to detail, and to work under minimal supervision on stressful days. She was considerate of others' opinions and skillfully presented her own, well-informed

opinion. She followed instructions and advice very closely while proving the ability to anticipate and point to problems and unintended consequences in her work.

She displayed great team-working skills and a great sense of humor as well as empathy. The entire IWWMF team was impressed by her work ethic, her efficiency, and her positive attitude.

## **Professional Skills**

### *Social Media Management*

The IWWMF's social media activities often reach 100,000 people/day. Faithful IWWMF followers are used to the high quality of the IWWMF's social media messages that focus on issues such as gender equality, press freedom, women's leadership, and journalist safety. Ms. Li took the lead on crafting and sharing the IWWMF's messages, particularly on Twitter, Facebook and Storify. She took her social media management responsibilities very seriously and quickly learned to maximize the reach and impact of each message.

Ms. Li utilized various analytics tools to keep track of the IWWMF's reach and impact on its social media platforms and its website.

### *Multimedia*

The IWWMF's website presents information in textual, graphic and audio-visual formats. Ms. Li showed great talent in arranging the various elements of multi-media web

content in ways that attract and expand web traffic. She was instrumental in editing numerous videos for the IWMF YouTube channel.

### Website

Ms. Li has a firm grasp of web technology. She developed an excellent understanding of WordPress, the content management system for the IWMF website. Over the course of the internship, she became very comfortable using HTML and CSS to create web pages and publish multi-media content on the IWMF website. She also created a highly complex HTML/CSS mockup for the splash page of the IWMF's forthcoming mobile app Reporta™.

### Communications/PR

The IWMF's communications efforts include targeted global media outreach. Ms. Li created comprehensive contact lists in the IWMF's media contact database Vocus to ensure distribution of press releases to relevant members of the news industry.

As a Google Grantee, the IWMF receives \$10,000/month worth of free advertising on Google's search engine. Ms. Li acquainted herself with the complex Google AdWords platform and created ad campaigns to drive increased traffic to the IWMF website.

### Research

All IWWMF communications projects include an element of research – ranging from quickly finding the latest news about a specific subject to getting a multi-level, 360° view of an issue that usually involves a country's press freedom and gender equality situation, the personal story of a female journalist, as well as ongoing conflicts, breaking news stories, and world events. Ms. Li's background in journalism became instantly apparent in her efficient and thorough approach to conducting research, as well as her ability to evaluate and present the results of her research.

### Administrative Tasks

The IWWMF team does not include administrative staff and while everyone usually takes care of their own administrative needs, interns are sometimes asked to assist with basic office management projects. Ms. Li did so with enthusiasm, tremendous attention to detail, and great reliability.

### Testimonials

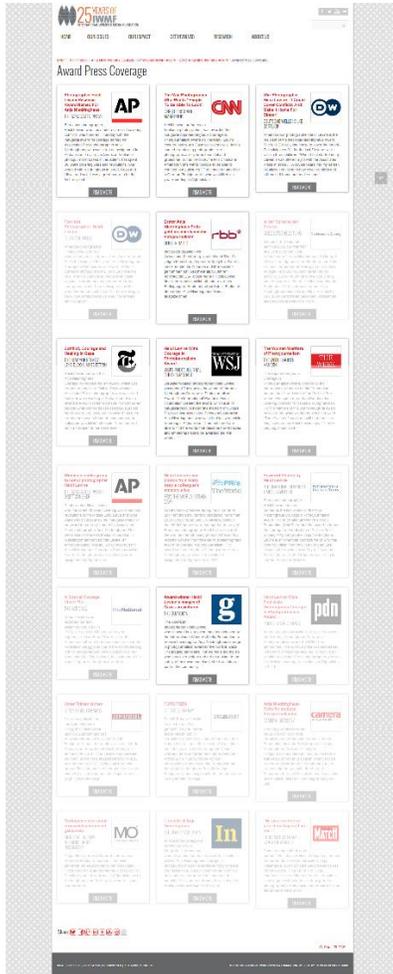
“I am sad to see Heidi go. I don't consider her an intern but a colleague. She required very little supervision, and took on responsibility for many aspects of the IWWMF's daily communications efforts. She handled several projects autonomously while I was out of the office on business travel. Her impressive cognitive skills and her interest in all aspects of the IWWMF mission made her a great partner in collaborative projects. She was eager to learn and use new skills. I have no doubt that she is a valuable asset to any future employer, and will be very successful in her professional career.”

- *Communications Strategist Anna Schiller*

## Chapter Four: Physical Evidence

### Webpages:

<http://www.iwmf.org/our-impact/anja-niedringhaus-courage-in-photojournalism-award/2015-award/award-press-coverage/>





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IWMF / African Great Lakes Reporting Fellowship / Call for Applications

## Call For Applications

IWMF CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC REPORTING FELLOWSHIP | NOVEMBER 2-17, 2015

Washington DC – The International Women's Media Foundation (IWMF) is pleased to announce its first reporting trip to the Central African Republic. Six women journalists will have the opportunity to travel with the IWMF to report on themes of civil society, governance and humanitarian issues from November 2 – 17, 2015. The online application for this fellowship will be open through August 12, 2015.

The African Great Lakes Reporting Initiative was created in 2014, building on the success of earlier IWMF reporting trips to the Western Sahara and DR Congo. The IWMF designed this reporting fellowship program to support journalists interested in pursuing stories in under-reported countries that go beyond the well-established narrative of political instability, armed conflicts, and humanitarian crisis in the region. To date, 44 IWMF reporting fellows have covered a wide range of topics including issues of empowerment, democracy, food security, and conservation efforts. **Their work has been produced and published by leading media outlets around the world.**

Over the next four years, the IWMF will continue to lead groups of women journalists to the Central African Republic, the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), Rwanda, South Sudan, Tanzania, and Uganda. By 2019, more than 250 reporters will have together reshaped traditional media narratives about this complicated region full of unacknowledged promise. The African Great Lakes Reporting Initiative is funded by a generous gift from the Howard G. Buffett Foundation.

For more information about this reporting trip to the Central African Republic, please review the trip details and eligibility requirements. There is additional information about the African Great Lakes Reporting Initiative online at [www.iwmf.org](http://www.iwmf.org)

### ONLINE APPLICATION:

The IWMF will accept **online applications** from **July 15 – August 12, 2015**.

### REPORTING TRIP DATES:

November 2 – 17, 2015

### ABOUT THE REPORTING TRIP TO THE CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC:

Fellows will begin their trip with three days of comprehensive security training alongside local Central African journalists. Fellows will then complete 10 days of in-country reporting, where they will have the opportunity to network with local journalists, collaborate with international peers, meet with sources and visit sites relevant to their reporting.

### TRAVEL ARRANGEMENTS AND EXPENSES:

The IWMF arranges travel and in-country logistics for all Fellows. The IWMF also covers fellowship-related expenses within the framework of the reporting trip including, visas, travel, lodging, meals and fixers/interpreters, unless a selected journalist's news organization wishes to assume these costs.

### ELIGIBILITY:

Applicants must be affiliated or freelance women journalists with at least three years of professional experience in journalism working in print, broadcast, or digital media. Applicants must have experience reporting from hostile environments. All nationalities are welcome to apply, but non-native English speakers must have excellent written and verbal English skills in order to fully participate in and benefit from the program. **Applicants proficient in French will be given priority** due to the lack of availability of English speaking fixers and interpreters. Applicants must be able to demonstrate support from an editor or have a proven track record of publication in prominent media outlets.



Read also:

[Submit An Application](#)

[Application Guidelines](#)

[Meet The African Great Lakes Reporting Fellows: Uganda And Rwanda](#)

[Reshaping the Narrative of Africa](#)

[About the African Great Lakes Reporting Initiative](#)

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Français | Appel À Candidatures





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IWMF / African Great Lakes Reporting Fellowship | IWMF Hosts First Hostile Environments Training for Congolese Reporters in Goma

## IWMF Hosts First Hostile Environments Training For Congolese Reporters In Goma

July 7, 2015 – The IWMF, with partner organization Global Journalist Security, offered its first-ever hostile environments and first aid training (HEFAT) workshop in Goma, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) for 25 Congolese journalists in June 2015. Participating reporters came from across North Kivu province. 2014 IWMF Courage in Journalism awardee Solange Lusika Nsimire and a team of her colleagues traveled from Bukavu, in South Kivu province, to participate.

This is the first time this type of workshop has been offered to journalists in Eastern DRC, and based on the overwhelming response – more than 100 applications received from North Kivu province alone – the training is urgently needed.

Participating journalists described widespread threats they regularly experience while working in DRC. Risks ranged from officials confiscating their equipment and directly threatening them in response to reporting on taboo topics, to getting caught in the middle of gunfire while working on the front lines of conflict, to being kidnapped by rebel groups active in the region. The DRC is ranked 150 out of 180 countries on Reporters Without Borders' 2015 Press Freedom Index. Threats against Congolese journalists are expected to escalate in the run up to next year's presidential elections.

During the four-day hands-on training that included a wide range of scenarios including civil unrest, traffic accidents and hostage situations, they learned vital skills to stay safe in the field, which many said they would immediately put into practice.

"I really learned how to protect myself and my colleagues; how to react in an emergency or accident; how to calm myself and help others during these situations," Lusika Nsimire said. Founder of the independent newspaper Le Souverain, Lusika Nsimire has been attacked repeatedly and received death threats for her work. She added that receiving hostile environments training helped her to "de-traumatize."

The workshop was offered as part of the IWMF's multi-year African Great Lakes Reporting Initiative, with future journalism and security training opportunities planned in the DRC, Central African Republic, Rwanda, Uganda, Tanzania and South Sudan.

Read also:  
[About The African Great Lakes Reporting Initiative](#)  
[Eastern DR Congo Reporting Fellowship](#)

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Twenty-five Congolese journalists, pictured here with Global Journalist Security trainers, completed the IWMF's first-ever hostile environments and first aid training workshop to be offered in Goma, DRC.



IWMF 2014 Courage in Journalism Awardee Solange Lusika Nsimire practices administering first aid during a June 2015 workshop in Goma.



Professional actors play the role of captors during a hostage scenario, part of the hostile environments training workshop designed to teach best practices for staying safe in the field. After each scenario, trainers debriefed with the journalists to discuss what techniques could increase their chances of survival in a real-life hostage situation.

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IWMF / Journalist Safety / News Reporting: Is Gender A Factor?

## News Reporting: Is Gender A Factor?

- Status of Women in News Media
- Violence and Harassment against Women Journalists

June 24, 2015 – On Tuesday, **Elisa Lees Munoz**, executive director of the IWMF moderated a panel organized by the IWMF, the Frontline Freelance Register (FFR) and the Rory Peck Trust in London.

Three experienced journalists, **Allison Baskerville**, board member of FFR and a documentary photographer, **Nadine Marroushi**, freelance journalist writing about the Middle East and Africa, and **Richard Spencer**, the Middle East editor for The Telegraph joined the panel. **Caroline Neil**, director of hostile environment training RPS Partnership, also spoke at the event and shared her knowledge in conflict mitigation.

**Brian Condon** @brian\_condon [Follow](#)

Excellent event @frontlineclub on the risks faced by women reporting in the field #journalselfcare - bit.ly/reporting-risk...  
2:56 PM - 23 Jun 2015

According to the **IWMF's research in a 2014 report**, about 20 percent of 1000 female journalists who took the IWMF's survey suffered abuse while reporting. Panelists agreed that women journalists would face both physical and psychological trauma after being sexually assaulted, and it's important for them to acknowledge how things are affecting them and to create space to talk openly. Some panelists pointed out, for journalists working on the frontline, more access and funding for mental health support is needed.

**Jill Ward** @jillward [Follow](#)

Inspiring convo with @IWMF this eve about gender-based risks in reporting @frontlineclub pic.twitter.com/4aUuYgqtSq  
3:11 PM - 23 Jun 2015

Munoz, also emphasized the need for an international databases of trusted fixers and translators, global hostile environment training standards and for increased efforts to reach out to local journalists affected by sexual assault.

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June 23, 2015: The IWMF organized a panel with the Frontline Freelance Register (FFR) and the Rory Peck Trust in London. (Video: Frontline)



IWMF Executive Director Elisa Lees Muñoz with panelists Allison Baskerville, Nadine Marroushi, Richard Spencer and Caroline Neil



Elisa Lees Muñoz with Nadine Marroushi and Caroline Neil

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IWMF | Anja Niedringhaus Courage in Photojournalism Award | Heidi Levine Receives First IWMF Anja Niedringhaus Courage in Photojournalism Award

## Heidi Levine Receives First IWMF Anja Niedringhaus Courage In Photojournalism Award

June 25, 2015 – Nearly 300 of Germany's media leaders gathered at the ewerk venue tonight to celebrate the inaugural International Women's Media Foundation (IWMF) Anja Niedringhaus Courage in Photojournalism Award. CNN Chief International Correspondent **Christiane Amanpour** and ZDF journalist **Barbara Hahlweg** awarded Jerusalem-based freelance photojournalist Heidi Levine with the inaugural award and \$20,000 prize. The award was created to honor the life and work of Pulitzer Prize-winning AP photographer Anja Niedringhaus (1965-2014) and established by the IWMF, a Washington DC-based not-for-profit organization dedicated to empowering women reporters around the world.

"I want to thank Anja's family who have paid the ultimate price for us to be gathered here tonight," said Heidi Levine, the winner of the Anja Niedringhaus Courage in Journalism Award during her acceptance speech. "I also would like to pay tribute to all my colleagues who have been wounded and killed while trying to report on the human cost of war. Journalists are now targets, and we as a reporting community must remain strong, resolute, and free so that those who are suffering will not be silenced and forgotten."

Levine's award-winning portfolio is a collection of six images from the 2014 conflict in Gaza.

The event, a celebration of the courage of women photojournalists who risk their lives documenting conflict and war while capturing moments of humanity also featured remarks by journalist and author Mariane Pearl, Associated Press reporter and 2002 IWMF Courage in Journalism winner **Kathy Gannon**, Associated Press Vice President Santiago Lyon, and IWMF Board Member Bryan Monroe, both Lyon and Monroe are members of the award jury, and IWMF Executive Director Elisa Lees Munoz. Several multi-media presentations were featured during the event, showcasing nominated images from the front lines of global conflicts and crises.

"What is fascinating is the fact that we see many woman journalists as heroes — but from my experience, the women I have met through the IWMF certainly are not heroes in their own countries, nor do they aspire to be heroes," said Christiane Amanpour to the audience of leaders from German media. Amanpour, CNN's chief international correspondent is the anchor of the network's award-winning, flagship global affairs program "Amanpour". She also serves on the IWMF Board of Directors and was the 1994 IWMF Courage in Journalism winner.

ZDF Journalist Barbara Hahlweg, the anchor of "mona lisa", a weekly news program on the German public television network, welcomed the IWMF to Berlin for their first event in Europe. "Tonight, we pay tribute to those women who brave danger and threats to share the stories of people living through the atrocities of war, terror, and hardship." Since 1990, the IWMF has honored international women reporters for their courage in journalism with award ceremonies in New York and Los Angeles. This year's Courage in Journalism award events will take place in October 2015.

The IWMF is now accepting nominations for the 2016 Anja Niedringhaus Courage in Photojournalism Award. The next winner will be announced in March 2016. Female photographers of all nationalities, both freelance journalists and those affiliated with a media organization, are eligible.

The IWMF announced the inception of Anja Niedringhaus Courage in Photojournalism Award in 2014. An online press-kit about the award and winner is available. Follow #AnjasCourage on Twitter (@IWMF).

Read also:  
Heidi Levine Wins Anja Niedringhaus Award | March 24, 2015  
Anja Niedringhaus Courage In Photojournalism Award | About the Award  
Call for Nominations | Nominate a female photojournalist for the Anja Niedringhaus Award  
About Anja Niedringhaus (1965-2014) | 2005 Courage in Journalism Award

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Christiane Amanpour (left) presents the Anja Niedringhaus Courage in Photojournalism Award to Heidi Levine



Left-right: Bryan Monroe, Barbara Hahlweg, Mariane Pearl, Heidi Levine, Kathy Gannon, Christiane Amanpour, Santiago Lyon



Elisa Lee Munoz (right) thanks Howard G. Buffet for providing funding for the Award



Kathy Gannon (right) shares her memories of Anja Niedringhaus, her friend and AP colleague

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IWMF / Our Impact / Anja Niedringhaus Courage in Photojournalism Award / About the Award / Nomination

## Nomination



"I could have stayed out of trouble most of my life but always have been drawn to the people who suffer in difficult situations," Anja Niedringhaus told the audience when she accepted the Courage in Journalism Award at the New York ceremony in 2005.

The Anja Niedringhaus Courage in Photojournalism Award recognizes women photojournalists whose work reflect the courage and dedication of Anja Niedringhaus.

Please read the eligibility criteria and application guidelines carefully before proceeding to the online nomination form.

### Eligibility Criteria

Candidates for the Courage in Photojournalism Award must:

- work full-time or part-time as a *woman journalist*; journalism must be the candidate's primary vocation. Both freelance journalists and those affiliated with a media organization are eligible to apply.
- have amassed a body of work reporting in challenging environments.

### Nomination Guidelines

**Self and third party nominations will be accepted.**

All nominations must include submit **6 photographs** that best represent the scope and style of their candidate's work, within the context of difficult reporting environments. Each photograph must be accompanied by a caption describing the place and situation captured. Photographs must have been taken within the last two years.

**Self nominations** must include a **1-2 page statement of purpose**. The statement must answer the following questions:

- What motivated you to pursue a career in journalism?
- Why did you choose photography as your medium?
- How do you choose decide what stories to tell?
- Describe the conditions under which you work.
- Explain why you chose the photographs submitted with this nomination. How do they capture the scope of your work?

**Third party nominations** must include a **1-2 page nomination statement**. The statement must answer the following questions:

- What stories does the candidate tell through her photos?
- Under what conditions does the candidate work?
- How do the photographs submitted with this nomination capture the scope of the candidate's work?

Although the preferred language for submissions is English, submissions in any language will be considered.

[SUBMIT A NOMINATION](#)

For questions or problems with the online nomination form, please [contact us here](#).

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Meet The African Great Lakes Reporting Fellows: Democratic Republic Of Congo

In June 2013, the IWMF led a reporting trip with six journalists to Eastern Congo. The purpose of the trip was to explore new narratives such as democracy and governance, economic development as a demobilization strategy and the impact of aid. This trip is part of the IWMF's African Great Lakes Reporting Initiative.

Since returning, the fellows' stories and multimedia content have been published in print outlets such as [The Times of London](#) and [The Christian Science Monitor](#). Fellows Roxanne Scott and Ruth Mackean's reflections have been posted to [BBC's website](#).

During the course of this reporting trip, the fellows sat down and talked to us about the highlights of the program, lessons learned, as well as how their perception of Congo changed as their reporting progressed.

The following Q&A is excerpted from Meet the Fellows interviews.

...

**Q: What has been the highlight of this trip?**

**Ruth Mackean:**

"I think my highlight was just finding out about so many new stories. I feel like I was pulled in 10 different directions and trying to report on everything at once. That was really fun and really interesting. I think there were a lot of interesting people to talk to who all had different takes on what the country is like, what its history is and what the different relationships between different groups are."

**Stéphane O'Grady:**

"There are so many highlights, but it's probably just the drives with the fellows and getting the chance to ask questions as we went. Pretty much everything that we passed on the road became a new story idea for the rest later when I'm in Congo."

**Arie Zivanick:**

"I think my highlight of the trip was the motorcycle ride we had from Goma to the town of Nainob. We were going to work on some stories on mining and it was just this incredible beautiful ride. And it was an amazing way to see part of the country, see the village we passed through, and see how incredibly gorgeous it can be in parts of this country."

**Roxanne L. Scott:**

"I was working on some story ideas and I had some extra time to do reporting. The favor and I decided to talk to as many people as we can, and I feel like I had a really good sense of Goma by doing that."

**Q: How has your perception of Congo changed as your reporting progressed?**

**Nuzale Kayasar:**

"I need to come in with an open mind, but when you read about this place you read about war, you read about atrocities. The reporting my partner and I have been doing is focused on youth culture, art and activism and it's really given me a much more hopeful and complete picture of this place."

**Koko Lumu:**

"So many of the stories we heard about Eastern Congo are about war, atrocity and rape and I came here to focus on young people and political expression. I met a whole slew of politicized smart young people who are writing songs about not giving children guns to join rebel groups. So I feel like I got a really nuanced idea of the society here."

**Ruth Mackean:**

"It's easy to think that a place like Eastern Congo is just going to be war torn. You read about it and you think it's had decades of conflicts. You know, the horrors thing about it is sadly that so many women have been raped here. But really, it's so much more than that. It's such a colorful interesting place with such lovely, gentle and kind people. It really added a depth to my understanding of what the Congo is and what it's like."

**Stéphane O'Grady:**

"I think in the U.S., when you tell people you are going to Congo, they remember all the violence, but getting the chance to focus on some stories that show a different side of Congo, how allowed me to see through my reporting that there's still so much hope in this area."

**Q: Why did you come to Congo through this fellowship?**

**Arie Zivanick:**

"I only read two types of stories from Congo in the last two years, one is focused on rape and arm groups in the region and one is focused on conflict interests. It just made me very curious about what else there was to write about in this region. And this is a great opportunity to come here, ask people questions and dig into the topics in a way that gave me more understanding of the issues."

**Q: What did you think about the security training that was provided through the reporting trip?**

**Roxanne L. Scott:**

"Security training really made me become so much more aware of the surroundings. In the future, I know I'm way more prepared about handling emergency situations or how to react."

**Nuzale Kayasar:**

"The security training is fantastic. I've done some security training before and I feel like this was really complete, helpful and practical for some of the situations I've been in and will be in in the future."

...

The African Great Lakes Reporting Initiative was created in 2014, building on the success of earlier IWMF reporting trips to the Western Sahara and Eastern DR Congo (EAC). The IWMF assigned this program to support journalists interested in pursuing stories that go beyond the well-established path of political instability, armed conflicts, and humanitarian crisis in the region. Please visit our website for more information.

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**25 YEARS OF IWMF**  
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IWMF / Our Impact / Training / Elizabeth Neuffer Fellowship / Fellows

## Fellows

- > MEERA SRINIVASAN | 2015/16
- > LOUISA REYNOLDS | 2014/15
- > PRODITA SABARINI | 2013/14
- > PRIYANKA BORPUJARI | 2012/13
- > JACKEE BATANDA | 2011/12
- > RABIA MEHMOOD | 2010/11
- > FIRLE DAVIES | 2009/10
- > JENNY MANRIQUE | 2008/09
- > SALLY SARA | 2007/08
- > HUDA AHMED | 2006/07
- > CATHERINE ELTON | 2005/06

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IWMF / Neuffer Fellows / Meera Srinivasan | 2015/16

## Meera Srinivasan | 2015/16

2015-2016 IWMF Elizabeth Neuffer Fellow

**The Hindu, India**

Meera Srinivasan is the 2015/16 Elizabeth Neuffer Fellow. Srinivasan is a senior assistant editor with *The Hindu*, an English-language daily in India. In her reporting career of nearly 10 years, she has covered public education, urban affairs and development in the southern Indian state of Tamil Nadu, and reconstruction and human rights in post-war Sri Lanka.

"I am excited to be part of the Elizabeth Neuffer fellowship – this is a fantastic opportunity for personal reflection on larger themes of human rights and social justice, that are critical to addressing class inequalities and discrimination reflected in vulnerable communities everywhere," said Srinivasan. "I consider the unique combination of academic learning and professional training valuable at this point in my career. In particular, I look forward to studying the fraught process of the return and resettlement of refugees and their livelihood challenges, and to sharpen my reporting skills in sharing the stories of marginalized communities."

In 2013 Srinivasan was posted to Sri Lanka, where she spent two years writing extensively on the post-war challenges of an island recovering from a brutal civil war that spanned almost three decades. During her time in Sri Lanka, she travelled across fishing villages in the island's former war zone, reporting on the conflict of interests between the ethnic minority Tamil communities who are denied their right to pursue a sustainable livelihood and Indian fishermen who have resorted to environmentally destructive bottom-trawling practices. Her investigative reporting on this issue, known in the region as the "Palk Bay fishing conflict" won an honorable mention at The World Media Summit Secretariat in Beijing in the category of Public Welfare Awards for Exemplary News Professionals in Developing Countries in January 2015.

"As a working journalist in both India and Sri Lanka over the past decade, I have encountered many disturbing realities of gross exploitation and systematic denial of basic rights, which are at best under-reported, and often invisible," said Srinivasan.

Srinivasan also reported on the plight of formerly indentured laborers working in the famed tea estates of Sri Lanka's central highlands. Her reporting covered issues pertaining to human rights, reconciliation, challenges faced by refugees and returnees, enforced disappearances, and emerging threats to religious freedom.

Following a bachelor's degree in commerce at the University of Madras, Srinivasan earned a postgraduate diploma in journalism from the Asian College of Journalism in Chennai, India. She later pursued a master's degree in elementary education, at the Tata Institute of Social Sciences in Mumbai.

Follow Meera Srinivasan on Twitter: [@Meerasrini](#)

Read also:

- [Louisa Reynolds | 2014-2015 IWMF Elizabeth Neuffer Fellow](#)
- [Prodipta Sabarini | 2013-2014 IWMF Elizabeth Neuffer Fellow](#)
- [Priyanka Borpujari | 2012-2013 IWMF Elizabeth Neuffer Fellow](#)
- [Jackee Batanda | 2011-2012 IWMF Elizabeth Neuffer Fellow](#)

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IWMF / Events

## Events

 Every year, the IWMF organizes and participates in a variety of events that bring together thought-leaders, raise funds, introduce inspiring women journalists, tell untold stories, and present IWMF activities and their results. Please check back frequently to find out about upcoming IWMF events. You can join many of our events from anywhere in the world via [Twitter](#) and live video streaming (see event details for more information).

*"This event which I come to just about every year, always humbles me – deeply. And it always inspires me. These amazing women encourage me. Their stories uplift me. Their work astounds me and leaves me in awe."* [▶ \[listen\]](#)

- Maria Shriver at the 2012 Courage in Journalism Awards 

### UPCOMING EVENTS

**INSIDE MEDIA: PHOTOJOURNALISTS ON COVERING GLOBAL CRISIS**

WHEN: September 19, 2015 @ 2:30 pm

WHERE: Newseum | Knight TV Studio  
555 Pennsylvania Avenue Northwest | Washington, DC 20001

COST: Free with Newseum admission. Seating is on a space-available basis.

On the opening weekend of the Newseum's newest exhibit **"40 Chances: Finding Hope in a Hungry World – The Photography of Howard G. Buffett,"** Emmy award-winning journalist **Ann Curry** moderates a panel of photo and video journalists who discuss how their work brings a sharpened focus on critical development issues.

The panel features:

**Natalie Keyssar**, a freelance photojournalist and story contributor at Institute for Artist Management, who has focused on themes of class inequality and the personal effects of political turmoil



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IWMF / About Us / IWMF Alumni

## IWMF Alumni

IWMF Alumni represent all media platforms including, print, broadcast, online and multimedia. These talented news professionals work with the IWMF as Mentors, Fellows, or Grantees. They are based around the world and are united in their pursuit of under-reported stories that are essential in shedding light on global issues. The IWMF is proud to support this community further develop their on-the-ground reporting skills through training, grants, mentoring, and reporting trips.

Select Fellowship

ZENAT ABDOL - SABC RADIO CHANNEL AFRICA	▼
JENN ABELSON - BOSTON GLOBE	▼
KIMBERLY ADAMS - FREELANCE	▼
ABENA AGYEMAN-FISHER - FACE2FACE AFRICA	▼
HUDA AHMED - MCCLATCHY NEWS SERVICE	▼
KRISTINE L. ALAVE - GMA NEWS NETWORK	▼
BERNARDINO "DINO" BALABO - 90.3 FM RADYO BULACAN	▼
MARIA BALINSKA - LATITUDE NEWS™	▼
ELIZA BARCLAY - NPR	▼
JACKEE BATANDA - GLOBAL PRESS INSTITUTE	▼
EMMA BEALS - FREELANCE	▼
TANJA BENCUN - SABC DIGITAL NEWS	▼
PRIYANKA BORPUJARI - FREELANCE	▼
TERESA BOUZA - COMPUTATIONAL REPORTING	▼
RYAN LENORA BROWN - FREELANCE	▼
RIZIEL ANN CABREROS - ABS-CNS NEWS CHANNEL	▼
SUSIE CAGLE - FREELANCE	▼
BIANCA CAPAZORIO - SUNDAY TIMES	▼
LILY CASURA - FREELANCE WRITER	▼
KRISTEN CHICK - THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR	▼

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IWMF / Our Impact / Howard G. Buffett Fund for Women Journalists

## Howard G. Buffett Fund For Women Journalists



Promoting the work and advancing the role of women in the news media across the globe is critical to transparency and the diversity of voices. The Howard G. Buffett Fund for Women Journalists, the first ever funding initiative of its kind that enables the IWMF to dramatically expand its support of women journalists. Established with a \$4 million gift from the Howard G. Buffett Foundation, the Fund will support projects including educational opportunities, investigative reporting and media development initiatives.

We are proud to announce the second group of Howard G. Buffett Fund for Women Journalists grantees: Imelda Abano, Deepa Bharath, Monique Curtis, Melanie DeKlerk, Elizabeth Dickinson, Karen Lowe, Alex Potter, Martine Powers and Laura Zommer.

The IWMF will announce details about future funding rounds in early November 2015.

*"This Fund will give outstanding women journalists the ability to turn their reporting ambitions into reality."*  
- Howard G. Buffett



### IWMF Announces Second Group of 2015 Grantees of The Howard G. Buffett Fund For Women Journalists



Women journalists from Argentina, Guinea, Philippines and the US to receive \$60,000 September 24, 2015 – The International Women's Media Foundation (IWMF) is proud to announce the second group of 2015 grantees for Howard G. Buffett Fund for Women Journalists. Nine women journalists were selected from a strong pool of 400 applicants representing media projects ...

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### IWMF Announces Inaugural Grantees Of The Howard G. Buffett Fund For Women Journalists



\$2.3 Million to be Awarded to Women Journalists  
Through 2024 Next Round of Funding Open for Applications from June 15 – July 27 June 1, 2015 – The International Women's Media Foundation (IWMF) is proud to announce the first group of 2015 grantees in the inaugural funding round of the Howard G. Buffett Fund for ...

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### FAQs



The IWMF's Howard G. Buffett Fund for Women Journalists provides the financial support for women journalists to pursue opportunities that will make them leaders in the news industry. Flexible grant amounts will support a wide range of innovative, original, and collaborative news media projects, and to strengthen the skills of women journalists worldwide. For more details about the Fund, please read our answers to frequently asked questions.

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### 2015 Grant Application Guide



The IWMF's Howard G. Buffett Fund for Women Journalists is an incredible resource for talented reporters and will make a real difference in the field of journalism. The IWMF will make an annual total of \$230,000 worth of grants to support women journalists in their projects and endeavors. Please read these guidelines before preparing your application.

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### Announcing the Howard G. Buffett Fund for Women Journalists



October 22, 2014 – Promoting the work and advancing the role of women in the news media across the globe is critical to transparency and the diversity of voices. The Howard G. Buffett Fund for Women Journalists, the first ever funding initiative of its kind, enables the IWMF to dramatically expand its support of women ...

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**IWMF Fund For Women Journalists | IWMF Announces Inaugural Grantees Of The Howard G. Buffett Fund For Women Journalists**

## IWMF Announces Inaugural Grantees Of The Howard G. Buffett Fund For Women Journalists

\$2.3 MILLION TO BE AWARDED TO WOMEN JOURNALISTS THROUGH 2024

NEXT ROUND OF FUNDING OPEN FOR APPLICATIONS FROM JUNE 15 - JULY 27

June 1, 2015 - The International Women's Media Foundation (IWMF) is proud to announce the first group of 2015 grantees in the inaugural funding round of the Howard G. Buffett Fund for Women Journalists. Nine trailblazing women journalists were selected from a stellar pool of 400 applicants representing media projects based in over 50 countries.

"We are in awe of the talent and diversity of voices represented in the thousands of applications we received from around the world for the Fund," said IWMF Executive Director Elba Lees Muñoz. "The strength of the proposals truly reflects the bold aspirations of women journalists."

**Inaugural IWMF Grantees**

**Howard G. Buffett Fund for Women Journalists**

**Lily Casura** is awarded a \$15,000 grant to complete a multimedia project examining homeless female veterans in the U.S. Casura is a freelance writer and the founder of the award-winning Healthy Combat Trauma website, created to address the issue of combat veterans and PTSD. Her work has appeared in Texas Tribune, Huffington Post, Agence France Presse and other media outlets. She is a chapter author in *Healing War Trauma: A Handbook of Creative Approaches* (Routledge).

**Phiyanka Dubey** is awarded a \$1,800 grant to help her complete her book on the crisis of rape in India. Dubey is an independent journalist based in New Delhi. She covers human rights, gender, conflict and development in India. Her work has been published in Yahoo! News, The Washington Times and BuzzFeed. Her work has been recognized through several national and international awards including the 2015 Knight International Journalism Award, the Kurt Schork Award in International Journalism, and Hamamah Coenka Award for Excellence in Indian Journalism.

**Rahima Gambo** is awarded a grant of \$8,400 to pursue a multimedia web project about students in Northeastern Nigeria, who have been impacted by the Boko Haram insurgency. She will also participate in a Mobile Environment & Emergency First Aid Training (MEET-AT). Gambo is a freelance visual journalist based in Abuja, Nigeria. She was a 2014 Magnum Foundation fellow and her images can be seen in The New York Times, Time Magazine, Leadership Newspaper, The Nation Newspaper, City Limits and other media outlets.

**Iris Kue** and her team are awarded a grant of \$9,500 to create a multimedia research tool and web app, LedBetter, to increase access to information on gender in corporate leadership. Kue reports for Argus Media, an international energy wire based in Houston, Texas, and was recently selected as one of 10 2015-2016 Knight Digital fellow at Columbia University. Previously, she led green energy investment coverage for the tech news outlet Venturebeat and reported for The Wall Street Journal in Hong Kong.

**Victoria McKenzie** is awarded a grant of \$2,500 to pursue an investigative reporting project on water access in rural Colombia. Decades of failed water projects in Colombia's northernmost department of La Guajira suggest the need for closer evaluation of aid and development effectiveness. McKenzie is a human rights and global health reporter based in New York City, focused on international aid and development. She has covered political corruption in Colombia for VICE News and Colombia Reports.

**Faizah Miller** and her team are awarded a grant of \$10,000 to implement a skills building workshop for female journalists in the Middle East and North Africa. The program will be hosted in Cairo, Egypt. Miller is a freelance multimedia journalist based in Germany and coordinator of Middle East and North Africa Committee (MEMAC) of the European Youth Press (EYP). She has written for Jordan Times, Syria Deeply, ProJomo and the German daily Tagesspiegel. She mostly writes about MENA politics, women's rights and terrorism.

**Kate Orlinsky** is awarded a grant of \$10,000 to complete a photography project exploring climate change and environmental issues in Asian communities. Orlinsky is a photographer and cinematographer from New York, and has photographed personal projects, assignments and documentaries all over the world. Orlinsky regularly works for The New York Times, The New Yorker, the Wall Street Journal, Al Jazeera America, a variety of international magazines and non-profit organizations such as Too Young to Host, an organization and campaign to end child marriage around the world.

**Alex Su** is awarded a grant of \$3,000 grant to complete Middle environments & Emergency (MEETA). Su is an independent journalist based in Amman, Jordan. Her work focuses on refugees, religion, China and the Middle East, and has been published in The Guardian, The Atlantic, BBC News, Foreign Policy, Vice News, WIREID and Al Jazeera America, among other outlets.

**Tennessee Jane Watson** and her team are awarded a grant of \$30,000 to complete an audio documentary examining childhood sexual abuse in the United States. Watson is a documentary artist and educator who has produced nationally distributed radio features, award-winning films, oral histories, public sound installations and youth media projects. Access describes her practice as defined by a collaborative and community-based approach.

Three additional funding rounds will be completed in 2015, and a total of \$200,000 will be awarded to applicants this year. The next application period will be open from June 15 - July 27, 2015. At least \$2.3 million will be awarded to grantees over the next 10 years. The opportunities this Fund will empower are critical to transparency, democracy and embracing the diversity of voices reporting across all media platforms. The only prerequisite is that grantees are female journalists working full-time either for a specific media outlet or as a freelancer.

The Fund was established by the IWMF in 2014 with the generous support of the Howard G. Buffett Foundation to promote the work and advance the contributions of women in the media working around the world.

Learn more about the Fund, sign up for updates, and submit proposals during the application period for future funding rounds at [iwmf.org/fund](#).

Follow the progress of IWMF grantees on Twitter: [@IWMF](#), [@IWMFfund](#), [@IWMFgrantee](#).

Read also:  
[Announcing The Howard G. Buffett Fund For Women Journalists](#)  
[FAQs | Howard G. Buffett Fund for Women Journalists](#)  
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<https://www.worldpulse.com/en/community/groups/international-womens-media-foundation>

The screenshot displays the World Pulse website interface. At the top, there is a navigation bar with the World Pulse logo, a search bar, and user options like 'WELCOME, TELUWIWI' and 'LOG OUT'. Below the navigation bar, there are tabs for 'Global Issues', 'Community', 'Get Involved', 'About Us', 'My Pulse', and 'DONATE'. The main content area features a large banner for the International Women's Media Foundation (IWMF) celebrating its 25th anniversary. The banner includes a photo of Heidi Levine and a quote: '2015 Asia Nerdingerhaus Courage in Photojournalism Award'. Below the banner, there is a section titled 'International Women's Media Foundation' with contact information: '1025 K Street NW, Suite 1705, Washington, DC 20009, United States'. A paragraph describes the IWMF's mission: 'For 25 years, the International Women's Media Foundation (IWMF) has been dedicated to strengthening the role of women journalists worldwide. The media is not truly free and representative without the equal voice of women. Our work celebrates the courage of women journalists who overcome threats and aggression to report and bear witness to global issues. Through our programs and grants we empower women journalists with the training, opportunities, and support to become leaders in the news industry.' Below this, a list of 'IWMF DELIVERIES IN' includes: 'the leadership role of women in independent journalism worldwide', 'the importance of women's journalistic perspectives to providing high-quality information in the public interest', 'support for women journalists in contexts of crisis, intimidation, and persecution', and 'equal opportunity and advancement for women journalists'. The IWMF is noted as the Deputy General Secretary of UNFICW's Global Alliance on Media and Gender.

The 'Featured' section contains several articles:

- Heidi Levine Receives First IWMF Asia Nerdingerhaus Courage in Photojournalism Award** (July 25, 2015). Heidi Levine, a German media leader, gathered all the work she has done to celebrate the inaugural International Women's Media F.O. (November 17, 2015).
- Reports™: Harnessing Technology To Help Protect Journalists On The Ground** (November 17, 2015). The International Women's Media Foundation (IWMF) is in the final stages of developing Reports™, a mobile security application (see below on p. 16) (November 17, 2015).
- Howard G. Buffett Fund For Women Journalists** (November 17, 2015). Honoring the work and advancing the role of women in the news media across the globe is a critical to transparency and the diversity of voices (November 17, 2015).
- Open Call For Applications | Reporting Trip to CAR** (November 17, 2015). The International Women's Media Foundation is pleased to announce its 1st reporting trip to the Central African Republic (November 17, 2015).
- Global Elizabeth Newell Fellowship** (November 17, 2015). Now in its 11th year, the fellowship provides an academic and professional opportunity for women journalists who focus on human rights and social (November 17, 2015).

The 'Community Voices' section includes:

- Heidi Levine Receives First IWMF Asia Nerdingerhaus Courage in Photojournalism Award** (November 17, 2015). Heidi Levine, a German media leader, gathered all the work she has done to celebrate the inaugural International Women's Media F.O. (November 17, 2015).
- Reports™: Harnessing Technology To Help Protect Journalists On The Ground** (November 17, 2015). The International Women's Media Foundation (IWMF) is in the final stages of developing Reports™, a mobile security application (see below on p. 16) (November 17, 2015).
- African Great Lakes Reporting Initiative - Application Criteria** (November 17, 2015). Highly criteria (November 17, 2015).

At the bottom of the page, there is a footer with links for 'About Us', 'Partner with Us', 'Donate', 'Newsroom', 'Frequently Asked Questions', 'Terms of Service/Privacy', 'Contact Us', and 'Employment'. The footer also includes the text '© 2015 World Pulse | 1025 K Street NW, Suite 1705 | Washington, DC 20009' and social media icons for Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn, and YouTube.



<https://storify.com/IWMF/heidi-levine-receives-first-iwmf-anja-niedringhaus>



June 25, 2015 - Nearly 300 of Germany's media leaders gathered at the ewerk venue to celebrate the inaugural International Women's Media Foundation (IWMF) Anja Niedringhaus Courage in Photojournalism Award. CNN Chief International Correspondent [Christiane Zampour](#) and ZDF Journalist [Barbara Hahlage](#) awarded Jerusalem-based freelance photojournalist Heidi Levine with the inaugural award and \$20,000 prize. The award was created to honor the life and work of Pulitzer Prize-winning AP photographer Anja Niedringhaus (1965-2014) and established by the IWMF, a Washington DC-based not-for-profit organization dedicated to empowering women reporters around the world.



People gather at the ewerk in Berlin to celebrate the Award.

#AnjasCourage

Anja Heyde (@AnjaHeyde) 1:01 PM · 25 Jun 2015  
Der Anja Niedringhaus Preis wird heute das erste Mal in Berlin vergeben. #AnjasCourage

Christian Langheim (@chlangheim) 1:00 PM · 25 Jun 2015  
erste Verleihung des Anja Niedringhaus Preises / first AN award for courage in photojournalism #AnjasCourage

AP CorpComm (@AP\_CorpComm) 6:20 PM · 25 Jun 2015  
Heidi Levine accepts Courage in Photojournalism Award, created to honor the late AP photographer Anja Niedringhaus.



**Holly Pickett** (@hollypickett) [Follow](#)

So proud. Heidi Levine accepts the Anja Niedringhaus Courage in Photojournalism Award last night. #AnjasCourage #Amif  
 1:13 AM - 29 Jun 2015  
 1 2

"I want to thank Anja's family who have paid the ultimate price for us to be gathered here tonight," said Heidi Levine, the winner of the Anja Niedringhaus Courage in Journalism Award during her acceptance speech. "I also would like to pay tribute to all my colleagues who have been wounded and killed while trying to report on the human cost of war. Journalists are now targets; and we as a reporting community must remain strong, resolute, and free so that those who are suffering will not be silenced and forgotten."



**Sissi Pitzer** (@sisi\_pitzer) [Follow](#)

Trauriger Anlass, großartige Preisrögerin: Anja Niedringhaus' #AnjasCourage von @IWWF an Heidi Levine verliehen  
 6:11 PM - 29 Jun 2015  
 1 1



**Jürgen Krüger** (@jurgenskrueger) [Follow](#)

Danke und Gratulation an Heidi Levine, erste Preisrögerin des Anja-Niedringhaus-Awards #AnjasCourage  
 4:09 PM - 29 Jun 2015 - Bonn, Germany, Deutschland  
 1 1



**Brian Kerrigan** (@briankerrigan) [Follow](#)

Spine a thought for photographers (and their families) who take great risk to show you your world. #AnjasCourage  
 4:11 PM - 29 Jun 2015  
 1 1



**CNN Germany** (@CNNGermany) [Follow](#)

©cannatour verleiht Anja Niedringhaus Preis an die Fotojournalistin Heidi Levine. Donnerstag, 29.06 auf #CNN  
 #Amif #AnjasCourage  
 9:00 AM - 29 Jun 2015  
 1 1



**Brian Kerrigan** (@briankerrigan) [Follow](#)

Blessed to be able to see first Anja Niedringhaus Courage in Photojournalism Award go to Heidi Levine. #AnjasCourage  
 4:37 PM - 29 Jun 2015  
 1 1

"What is fascinating is the fact that we see many woman journalists as heroes — but from my experience, the women I have met through the IWMF certainly are not heroes in their own countries, nor do they aspire to be heroes," said Christiane Amanpour to the audience of leaders from German media. Amanpour, CNN's chief international correspondent is the anchor of the network's award-winning, flagship global affairs program "Amanpour". She also serves on the IWMF Board of Directors and was the 1994 IWMF Courage in Journalism winner.



Christiane Amanpour (left) presents the Award to Heidi Levine (right).



us\_top9news  
 @us\_top9news  
 Photographer Heidi Levine receiving prize named for AP's Niedringhaus from women's...  
 us\_top9news.com/2015/06/26/pho...  
 7:23 PM - 25 Jun 2015



Brent Goff  
 @BrentGoff  
 Not a dry eye in the house as Heidi Levine accepts 1st Anja Niedringhaus Courage in Photojournalism Award. #anjasco...  
 3:49 PM - 25 Jun 2015

The event, a celebration of the courage of women photojournalists who risk their lives documenting conflict and war while capturing moments of humanity also featured remarks by journalist and author Mariane Pearl, Associated Press reporter and 2002 IWMF Courage in Journalism winner [Kathy Gannon](#), Associated Press Vice President Santiago Lyon, and IWMF Board Member Bryan Monroe, both Lyon and Monroe are members of the [award jury](#), and IWMF Executive Director Elisa Lees Muñoz. Several multi-media presentations were featured during the event, showcasing nominated images from the front lines of global conflicts and crises.



L-r: Bryan Monroe, Barbara Hahiwieg, Mariane Pearl, Heidi Levine, Kathy Gannon, Christiane Amanpour, Santiago Lyon



L-r: Heidi Levine, Kathy Gannon and Mariane Pearl.



**Bryan Monroe**  
@bryanmonroe  
Am about to present at the #WJMF event honoring #AnjasCourage in Berlin, we'll commemorate 1.06.198 - 25 Jun 2019 Berlin, Germany, Deutschland



**Brent Goff**  
@brentgoff  
"Women journalists bring deep knowledge of human heart to forgotten walls of oppression" @MarianePearl #AnjasCourage 1.31.198 - 25 Jun 2019

**Paoline Müller**  
@paoline  
@MarianePearl at #AnjasCourage: Anja Niedringhaus for me is an icon for invisible courage. @WJMF 1:27 PM - 25 Jun 2019

**Mme Winterberg**  
@gouvernement  
Mariane Pearl reminds us of the importance of the ownership of the narrative. #AnjasCourage #JournalSecurity #WJMF 1:37 PM - 25 Jun 2019



Kathy Gannon shares her memories of Anja Niedringhaus, her friend and AP colleague.



**Sanaz Saleh-Ebrahimi**  
@sanazse  
Heidi Wirtz zum 1. Mal der Anja Niedringhaus Award verliehen. Mit @christiane\_l. @sarahschlegel #AnjasCourage #Berlin 1:26 PM - 25 Jun 2019



The IWMF is now [accepting nominations](#) for the 2016 Anja Niedringhaus Courage in Photojournalism Award. The next winner will be announced in March 2016. Female photographers of all nationalities, both freelance journalists and those affiliated with a media organization, are eligible.



**David Keller**  
@kretinasfund

War Photo's from Heidi Levine in Jerusalem, credit Levine press

6:19 PM - 25 Jun 2015

**Sarah Lynn**  
@wanderb4what

Stunning and heartwrenching images.  
[edition.cnn.com/2015/06/25/wor...](http://edition.cnn.com/2015/06/25/wor...)

9:15 PM - 25 Jun 2015



**The breathtaking war photographs of Heidi Levine - CNN.com**  
American photographer Heidi Levine, who took a stunning cache of photos during the 2014 Gaza war, has just won the 2015 Anja Niedringhaus Courage in Photojournalism Award. CNN's Christine Amanpour...

[View on web](#)

**DW | Kultur**  
@dw\_kultur

Heidi Levine bekommt Preis für Kriegsphotografie: Die US-Amerikanerin Heidi Levine bekommt den ersten Anja-Nied...  
[bit.ly/1Lrffll](http://bit.ly/1Lrffll)

9:36 AM - 25 Jun 2015

**SZ Top-News**  
@SZ\_TopNews

#AnjasCourage, der Anja-#Niedringhaus-Preis für mutigen Fotojournalismus wird erstmals vergeben - an #HeidiLevine.  
[sz.de/1.2533064](http://sz.de/1.2533064)

2:24 AM - 25 Jun 2015

**Süddeutsche Zeitung**

**Anja-Niedringhaus-Preis für Heidi Levine**  
Ein Preis, der nach der ermordeten Kriegsphotografin Anja Niedringhaus benannt ist, wird erstmals vergeben. Er geht an Heidi Levine.



[View on web](#)

**FinanzNachrichten.de**  
@F\_N\_Presse

Heidi Levine erhält den ersten Anja Niedringhaus-Preis für mutigen Fotojournalismus [finanznachrichten.de/nachrichten-20...](http://finanznachrichten.de/nachrichten-20...)

5:02 PM - 25 Jun 2015

**FOX23**  
@FOX23

Photographer Heidi Levine honored by women's media group  
[trib.al/F12XA1Q](http://trib.al/F12XA1Q) #FOX23

3:53 PM - 25 Jun 2015

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**Splash page I made from scratch (Can only be opened after download, and the file is 'splash2'):**

[http://www.megafileupload.com/978h/mockup\\_new.zip](http://www.megafileupload.com/978h/mockup_new.zip)

**Video:**

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rDhmEzKaoQ4>

<https://youtu.be/cdbjs9bL2kQ>

**Tweets:**

See APPENDIX.

## **Chapter Five: Research Component**

### **Introduction**

As the Ukraine crisis escalated, scholars (Sirinyok-Dolgaryova, 2014, p. 20, 34) found that media around the globe were all covering the ongoing crisis with their own focuses and news frames. The differences in news coverage might be traced back to the different foreign policies these countries have adopted regarding the Ukraine crisis. Has the tension among Russia and Western countries affected their media's coverage on this crisis, and does their coverage rely on official sources who stand for the government policy? Also, with China being a third party in this crisis, how would Chinese media's portrayal of the crisis be affected by China's foreign policy?

With those questions in mind, this research is aimed at examining three countries' media coverage on the Ukraine Crisis, and the selected media include the independent New York Times of the U.S. and two state-owned news organizations, the Xinhua News Agency of China and the Informatsionnoye agentstvo Rossii TASS (TASS) of Russia. These news media are considered the most influential in each country (McCombs & Reynolds, 1994, p. 12; Hong, 2011, p. 381; Xin, 2006, p. 49; Eckler & Kalyango, 2012, p. 41).

The Ukraine Crisis has attracted the world's attention and significant news coverage since early February 2014, when protests against Ukraine's then-president, Viktor Yanukovich, broke out. The crisis in Ukraine began on November 21, 2013, when then-president Yanukovich postponed the Association Agreement with the European Union.

### ***Background on the crisis***

Since Viktor Yushchenko was declared to be the Ukraine president after the Orange Revolution in Ukraine in 2004, Ukraine had been seeking a closer relationship with the West, such as gaining membership in NATO (Tsygankov 2015, p. 282). Wolff (2015) found that, after the fall of Berlin Wall, NATO had adopted an expansion policy that includes Ukraine and excludes Russia (p. 1107), and the policy was strengthened further after the 9/11 attack to build an anti-terrorist front (p. 1108). However, since the end of the Cold War, Russian nationalists had called for “re-unification” of all Russian lands in the former Soviet space, including Ukraine (Tsygankov 2015, p. 280). Auer (2015) argued that the hegemonic policy that Russia had adopted in its “near abroad” and in the annexation of Crimea was just part of its plan to impose order within the region (p. 964). Not until February 2010, when Yanukovich was elected the new president, did Russia begin to improve its relations with Ukraine (Tsygankov 2015, p. 284). Russia continuously lured Ukraine with gas discounts in the hope of pulling Ukraine away from NATO, and, in November 2013, Russia offered Ukraine another major discount on energy prices and pledged \$15 billion in aid (p. 284). As a result, Yanukovich postponed the Association Agreement with the EU, which had aimed to establish a political and economic association between the two parties.

Yanukovich’s decision was perceived as the leadership’s unwillingness to join the European Union and led to the Euromaidan, which was a wave of demonstrations and civil unrest in Maidan Nezalezhnosti (“Independence Square”) in Kiev, demanding closer European integration (Tsygankov, 2015, 284-285). Yanukovich was ousted by the

protesters on February 22, 2014, and, on May 29, 2014, Petro Poroshenko was elected to be the new Ukraine president.

Tsygankov (2015) argued that, as a response to the West's previous support for color revolutions in former Soviet nations, such as the Orange Revolution in Ukraine and the Rose Revolution in Georgia, Russia eventually annexed Crimea in March 2014 after Crimea's referendum (p. 280), claiming to "guarantee the rights of the Russian-speaking population in the southeast of Ukraine."<sup>1</sup> Tsygankov (2014) also argued that Russia tended to adopt a nationalist and assertive foreign policy toward Ukraine that emphasized the "brotherly" cultural and historical ties between Russia and Ukraine, as well as their shared geographical borders (p. 2).

For the U.S., however, the Ukraine crisis was seen as a new threat to NATO (Ruhle, 2015, p. 81), and on March 19, 2014, U.S. Vice President Joe Biden responded to Russia's intervention, saying "as long as Russia continues on this dark path, they will face increasing political and economic isolation."<sup>2</sup> On March 17, the EU and the U.S. banned several officials from Russia and Ukraine from travelling to the EU and the U.S., and froze their assets after the annexation.<sup>3</sup> Ruhle (2015) argued that the West felt threatened by Russia's intervention in the Ukraine crisis and responded with the Readiness Action Plan (p. 82), which calls for increasing the readiness level of NATO's reaction forces in Central and Eastern Europe. As the leader of NATO, the United States played a key role in this plan (p. 84).

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<sup>1</sup> Ukraine crisis & Crimea dominate Putin's annual call-in with Russian people – summary. ITAR-TASS

<sup>2</sup> <http://csis.org/ukraine/crimea.htm>

<sup>3</sup> <http://csis.org/ukraine/crimea.htm>

As a third party, China remained relatively neutral on the issue of Ukraine crisis. However, some scholars found that China may have become a “reluctant” ally of Russia (Yu, 2014, p. 8; Kuznetsov, 2014, p. 51). On the one hand, on March 15, Chinese Prime Minister Li Keqiang stated that China respects Ukraine’s “independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.”<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, China’s interest in Ukraine has also been greatly affected by the crisis, as it could have secured \$8 billion loan package to Ukraine which was cancelled after President Yanukovich was toppled (p. 8). China and Russia have long forged a close relationship in both military cooperation and economic partnership, and, in fact, China and Russia signed a thirty-year, \$400 billion gas deal on May 21, 2014, which was further expanded in November 2014<sup>5</sup>.

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4

<sup>5</sup> <http://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2014-11-10/russia-china-add-to-400-billion-gas-deal-with-accord>

## Literature Review

### *U.S. media and foreign policies*

In the realm of international news, scholars have debated whether news media or government sets the agenda of foreign policy. One of the major assertions scholars have made about the U.S. media is that news coverage on foreign affairs tends to reflect the country's foreign policy (Wood & Peake, 1998, p. 73; Herman, 1993, p. 45). Herman (1993) argued that among all the news topics, foreign affairs is the one on which the U.S. media support their government policy the most (p. 23). Robinson (2002) found that policy makers tend to influence media coverage toward stances more favorable to them (p. 120).

Some scholars also found direct links between news coverage and U.S. foreign policy. Bennett (1990) developed the "indexing" theory by examining closely the media's coverage on U.S. policy on Nicaragua in the mid-1980s (p. 112), and he found that news media tend to mirror, or "index," the government debate and merely reflect the ideas and opinion presented in the debate (Bennett, 1990, p. 106). Mermin (1999) also used the "indexing" theory in his study on media coverage of U.S. military intervention in the post-Vietnam era (p. 12), and argued that the reliance of media on indexing government debate is significant (p. 100). Mermin concluded that in foreign policy coverage, there were no independent perspectives other than the ones reflected in the policy debate (p. 143).

Some scholars looked beyond government structures and focused on the impact of ideology and political culture on media coverage. Rachlin (1988) noted that the U.S.

press's presentation of news events related to the Soviet Union has demonstrated the great influence of the U.S. administration and the political culture of America (p. 93).

Scholars have also focused on *The New York Times*' coverage and its relationship with the U.S. foreign policy. Some scholars found that *The New York Times* relied on government sources when reporting on foreign affairs (Herman, 1993, p. 26; Entman, 1991, p. 25). Herman (1993) stated that both *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* depended heavily on official sources for international news (p. 26).

In his study on the framing of the *Times*' coverage on the Korean Air Lines flight shot down by the Soviet Union and Iran Air flight shot down by the U.S. Army, Entman (1991) also noted that "for breaking foreign news, official sources in the White House, State Department, Pentagon, and other administration outposts hold the commanding influence" (p. 25).

However, some scholars disputed the accusation that *The New York Times* has always been a passive participant in foreign policy when reporting on foreign news. In his book on *The New York Times* coverage of the U.S. foreign policy, Barry (1990) argued that the distinction between passive and active participant would be meaningless if we don't take into account the different stages of foreign policy. Barry studied five cases of U.S. foreign policy, including the Bay of Pigs, U.S. combat in Vietnam, the Cambodian incursion, the Iran hostage crisis and the 1982-84 intervention in Lebanon. He argued that although the *Times* reported more consistently in favor of government policy when policy was still in the formulation and execution stages, the *Times* actually used more foreign officials and appeared more active in the outcome stage (p. 143).

Van Belle (2010) found that the U.S. government is more affected by *The New York Times*' coverage on U.S. foreign aid allocations than by the U.S. television news (p. 278). Bartel (1996) also found that *The New York Times* may influence the congressional activities indirectly by either stimulating executive branch activities, which "in turn prompt congressional responses a few days later," or stimulating more ABC News coverage, which helps trigger congressional responses a week later (p. 12).

Sirinyok-Dolgaryova (2014) also discovered that the *Times* covered the Ukraine crisis with a range of perspectives toward Ukraine, from positive to negative ones (p. 20). Sirinyok-Dolgaryova also noted that the *Times* used op-eds with negative sentiments over Russia's annexation of Crimea (p. 20).

### ***US media and sourcing***

Many scholars have recognized the impact of sources on newsgathering of the U.S. media (Gans, 1979, p. 144-145; Mermin, 1997, p. 388; Rachlin, 1988, p. 131; Sigal, 1973, p. 123-124; Hallin, 1986, p. 8; Wood and Peake, 1998, p. 175; Bennett, 1990, p.114; Soley, 1992, p. 76). Gans (p. 116) compared the relationship between sources and journalists to a dance, and noted that reporters tend to rely on sources who can provide information on a regular basis, and public officials, including the president, become the best available and suitable sources in this sense (p. 144-145).

Many scholars also noticed the dominance of official sources in U.S. media coverage, including *The New York Times*' coverage on the Nicaraguan contras (Bennett 1990, p. 116). Sigal (1973) argued that many reporters depended on official sources (p. 54), and the "organizational routines and bureaucratic politics" have a great influence on

the shaping of news (p. 119). He stated that “nearly one-half of all the sources cited in the sample of *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* page-one stories” relied on official sources of the U.S. government (p. 123-124). Soley (1992) also asserted the “systematic biases” in the choice of sources by journalists (p. 17), which was reflected in the dependence on government officials.

Kern et al. (1983) stated in their study that the use of non-official sources may indicate challenges raised against dominant news frames, and they used sourcing patterns of news coverage on the crises during Kennedy’s presidency to measure the influence of different types of sources (p. 7). Kern et al. found that for most of the cases, the press was a reflective institution that reflects the views of other political actors on foreign policy issues (p. 196).

Zelizer, Park and Gudelunas (2002) examined sourcing patterns of three U.S. newspapers, *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post* and *the Chicago Tribune* (p. 287). They compared the sources used by the three media on the Middle East coverage across three attributes: the rank of sources consulted (high or low rank), the explicitness of sources consulted (anonymous or named) and the nationality of sources consulted (Israeli, Palestinian and U.S./other as an individual category) (p. 292). They found that *The New York Times* relied mostly on U.S. sources when citing anonymously, as compared to Palestinian or Israeli sources. *The New York Times* was also more likely to use non-official sources when it cited from Palestinian, non-anonymous sources (p. 301). They also found that the *Times* tended to quote more U.S. sources than foreign sources. They also concluded that the *Times*’ coverage on the Middle East showed more bias in favor of Israel than objective reporting (p. 303).

### *Comparative sourcing studies*

Although many scholars have focused on media coverage within the U.S. or other single countries, there are few studies with cross-country comparisons that could reflect some universal characteristics shared by different countries' media. One of the exceptions was the study by Horvit (2006) on the Iraq War debate coverage, and she compared media coverage of AP, Agence France Presse, Reuters, Xinhua, ITAR-TASS and Inter Press Service (p. 427). Horvit categorized sources by their nationalities and status as governmental sources (p. 433) and found that there is indeed a West vs. non-West bias in sourcing for the news media (p. 438). The non-Western news media tended to cite more non-Western sources, and Western news media tended to cite more Western sources (p. 438).

Horvit (2006) also found that Xinhua's reporting on the Iraq War reflected less dependence on official sources than The Associated Press, the presumably more independent counterpart of Xinhua (p. 441). She also noted that Xinhua's coverage was more balanced in terms of its use of Western sources and non-Western sources than the Associated Press and ITAR-TASS, as it cited Western sources for 46 times and non-Western sources 52 times in total (p. 438).

Horvit (2006) also noted that the coverage of ITAR-TASS on the Iraq War used mostly Russian official sources, which accounted for more than half its sources (p. 434), and she also found that ITAR-TASS, of the six news agencies examined, reflected a strong nationalistic and regional bias (p. 437-438).

In their comparative study on framing strategies of Xinhua, Reuters and AP, Zeng, Zhou and Li (2015) have found that Xinhua's news coverage greatly relied on official sources (p. 61). Zeng, Zhou and Li focused their research on the "July 5th" Urumqi event in 2009, a sensitive topic for the Chinese government, and discovered that Xinhua's coverage of the event was hugely constrained due to its limited freedom in information distribution (p. 66).

### ***History of Xinhua***

Many scholars have examined the role of the Xinhua News Agency in Chinese foreign policy, and most of them have asserted a close relationship between the news agency and Chinese government (Xin, 2006, p. 47; Chan & Lee, 1991, p. 307; Elliott, 1997, p. 11-13; Chu, 1999, p. 32). Scholars have also found Xinhua's dual responsibilities in its past and its role in both propaganda and diplomacy (Dial, 1976, p. 302; Shambaugh, 2007, p. 44).

Dial (1976) examined how the Xinhua News Agency, identified as The New China News Agency in his study, functioned as a dual-missioned agency in China before the opening and reform in the 80s, as both a media and also a diplomatic branch of the central government (p. 302-303). He noted that Chinese foreign correspondents often "assumed negotiating roles (p. 303)" in foreign affairs between China and other countries, and the agency's publications were presumed to be "internal" materials that served at the elites in China who made decisions on foreign policies (p. 308).

In a historical analysis on Xinhua's Hong Kong branch, Chu (1999) stated that the Xinhua News Agency bore a dual function as a "diplomatic liaison" with Hong Kong (p.

32). In his historical study on Xinhua and Chinese newspapers, Xin (2006) also found that in the early years when the Xinhua News Agency was firstly established, it was “politically motivated” (p. 47), and it was the “only legitimate national news agency” (p. 49).

In his historical study on China’s propaganda system from 1980s to 2004, Shambaugh (2007) also noted Xinhua’s role in disseminating the Communist Party and state propaganda, and he found that the news agency functions as a part of the State Council and integrates party propaganda guidance in its daily news coverage (p. 44).

However, many scholars noted the changes that Xinhua has undergone for the past decades. Elliott (1997) noted that the news tended to be more about the future, less negative and less subjective in the 1980s compared to the 1950s (p. 11-13). Xin (2006) stated that because of the commercialization of the media in China from 1990s to 2003, Xinhua became more professional in journalism, providing more investigative stories on corruption and fraudulent business practices to compete with the metropolitan networks (p. 59).

Hong (2011) found in his historical study on Xinhua that, since 1978, the agency has transformed from a pure propaganda apparatus of the Chinese Communist Party to a media with multiple functions, including serving society and the public with news and information, and making profits as a commercial entity (391).

Keck and Tiezzi (2015) found out that Xinhua has covered the Ukraine crisis by a relative neutral tone (p. 165), but in its commentary section, it also depicted the crisis

with a stance more favorable toward Russia (p. 165-166). They also noted that Xinhua's news coverage paid minimal attention to China's role in the Ukraine crisis (p. 166).

### *History of ITAR-TASS*

Scholarship has revealed that ITAR-TASS (Informatsionnoye agentstvo Rossii TASS), a Russian news agency, constantly maintains a close relationship with the Russian government (Camaj, 2010, p. 649; Rantanen & Vartanova, 1995, p. 218).

Schwartz (1970) found that TASS, just like the news agencies from other communist countries, served mostly the government, as the latter owned and controlled the former. Consequently, it wasn't profit-driven at all (p. 743). Alleyne and Wagner (1993) stated that TASS, controlled by the government, functioned more as "an instrument of Soviet domestic and foreign policy" (p. 41). They also noted that the agency started to become diversified and technical in the 1980s as it was required by the government to focus more on "what can be taken out of Western life and introduced into the Soviet Union" (p. 46). Michiewicz (1981) noted that TASS operated under the supervision of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet government, and it was producing news both within the Soviet Union and abroad (p. 52).

Other than its coverage, TASS' function as part of the Russian government was also examined by many scholars, as well as its transformation into ITAR-TASS in 1992, and some found that the Russian then-president Boris Yeltsin re-defined the status of TASS in English and changed its name into ITAR-TASS (Rantanen & Vartanova, 1995, p. 213). Some scholars have found that since the agency was renamed as ITAR-TASS, it underwent some changes, but it also kept some traditions.

Rantanen and Vartanova (1995) noted that ITAR-TASS adopted a more Western style in its coverage, though its operations did not change greatly since its transformation. It is still exempt from taxes, and it has access to the government's communication technology (p. 214). Camaj (2010) noted in his study of 2006-2007, ITAR-TASS journalists still play more of a commentary role as they interpreted more than just presenting the facts (p. 649).

In their comparative content analysis on the coverage of the 2008 Russia-Georgia conflict, Eckler and Kalyango (2012) found that ITAR-TASS' coverage of the conflict reflected the news agency's propagandistic approach in portraying this conflict. Eckler and Kalyango found that the most prominent theme was that of Russia's success in the war and Georgia's defeat, which demonstrated its bias toward Russia's military intervention in Georgia (p. 43).

As for Ukraine crisis, Berglund (2015) noted that Russian media portrayed Euromaidan as a conspiracy led by the U.S. and European Union instead of simply a protest; they also misstated the position of the Ukraine government, the international community and international law (p. 507). Sirinyok-Dolgaryova (2014) also noted that propaganda permeated Russian media coverage on the Ukraine crisis (p. 20), and "misleading and unfair reporting" was found in whatever platform, print, broadcasting or online (p. 34).

## Research Questions

This research will also focus on comparison of three media: *The New York Times*, the Xinhua News Agency and Informatsionnoye agentstvo Rossii TASS (TASS). *The New York Times* is an independent news organization based in the United States, while both the Xinhua News Agency and TASS are state-owned media based in China and Russia, respectively.

*RQ1 – How do sourcing patterns differ across The New York Times, Xinhua and ITAR-TASS on the Ukraine crisis? Do they differ in the degree to which they rely on official sources? Do they rely more on sources from their own countries?*

H1: *The New York Times*, Xinhua and TASS will cite more official sources than non-official sources.

H2: Russian sources will dominate TASS' news coverage on the Ukraine crisis.

*RQ2 – How do sources differ in the tone of their coverage regarding Russia's intervention in the Ukraine crisis? Does the news coverage favor the organizations' home countries' foreign policies?*

H3: There were more positive paragraphs in TASS' stories toward Russia's annexation of Crimea than negative paragraphs.

## Methodology

I retrieved a random sample of about 50 stories for each news organization. I searched for English-language stories from the LexisNexis database, using “Ukraine” and “crisis” as keywords, “between Feb. 1, 2014 and Dec. 1, 2014” as the date, and the news organization (*The New York Times*, Xinhua News Agency and ITAR-TASS) as the source. The eleven-month time period started when the conflict between the pro-Russian and the anti-government protests escalated, and, due to the constraints of the study, the end date was selected as December 1, 2014. The search results produced 1,881 stories for the Xinhua News Agency, 1,135 stories for ITAR-TASS and 120 stories for *The New York Times*. One out of every 37 stories was selected for the Xinhua News Agency (N=51), one out of every 22 stories was selected for the ITAR-TASS (N=52), and one out of every two or three stories was selected for *The New York Times* (N=49). Duplicates were excluded from the possible sample.

Each paragraph of every story was coded for the sources cited and the valence – positive, negative or neutral – toward the Russia’s intervention in Crimea during the Ukraine crisis (see Appendix). Studies by Horvit (2006), Kim (2000), Giffard (1999) and Alexseev and Bennett (1995) used a similar method. Statistics on the sources cited by each news organization could reflect the difference in their sourcing patterns, whereas data on the valence of each paragraph could demonstrate the impact of sources on the attitude of each news organization.

Sources from Ukraine, Russia, the U.S. and China were coded as either official sources or non-official sources from those countries. Sources of other nationalities were coded as official or non-official sources by whether they are from Western countries or

“other” countries. The United Nations was coded as official sources from “other” countries. Other media outlets, including Ukrainian local media and Russian news media, were a separate category. Official sources included the government officials, the head of state, past or present members of the military, and legislative officials in those countries, as Kern (1983, p7) used in their study on the Kennedy’s crisis. Non-official sources included information attributed to academics, business leaders, public opinion polls and citizens.

A paragraph was coded as positive toward the Russia’s intervention if it provided support for Russia’s annexation of Crimea. For example, paragraphs were coded positive if they described the legitimacy of the Crimea referendum or the positive impact of Russia’s intervention on Crimean people. On the other hand, a paragraph was coded as negative if it showed criticism over Russia’s intervention. For example, paragraphs were coded as negative if they supported the sanctions raised against Russia by Western countries.

After the initial coding, the author and a graduate student in journalism coded the valence of paragraphs using 15 randomly selected stories to test the reliability of the coding. Of the 110 paragraphs coded, the two coders agreed on 60 paragraphs for a level of 55%. However, the level of agreement that is acceptable is 80 %, according to Riffe et al. (1998, p. 51). The two coders differed mostly in paragraphs that were not so obvious in their tone of coverage. The author tended to code paragraphs as neutral toward Russia’s intervention, when the paragraphs used mostly facts and did not show a clear inclination. However, the independent coder tended to code those paragraphs into negative or positive toward the intervention when the tone of coverage was not so

obvious. Since the sourcing for each paragraph was straightforward, the two coders didn't compare their coding on sourcing.

## Findings

The news organizations varied in terms of story length and the extent to which they cited different types of sources. On average, Xinhua and ITAR-TASS produced shorter stories than *The New York Times*, at about 369 words and 327 words respectively. *The New York Times* averaged more than 1,000 words per story. Xinhua and ITAR-TASS cited sources in a higher percentage of paragraphs than did *The New York Times*. Seven out of ten paragraphs for Xinhua and ITAR-TASS were attributed, while five out of ten paragraphs for *The New York Times* quoted sources. In total, there are 560 sourced paragraphs for the *Times*, 364 sourced paragraphs for Xinhua and 338 sourced paragraphs for TASS.

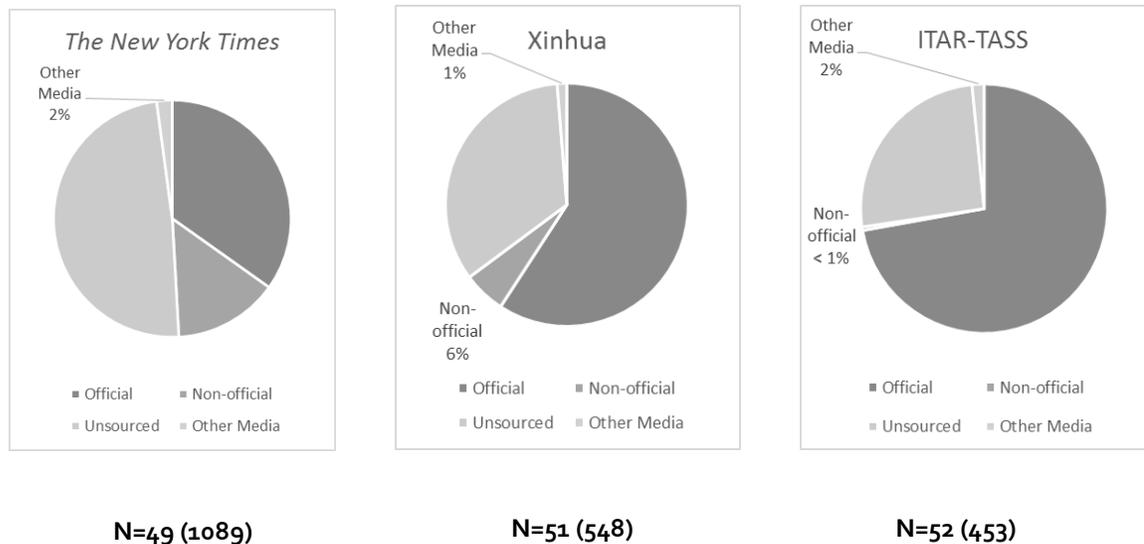
All three media also used other media as sources. Nine out of 50 stories of *The New York Times* used other media, mainly Russian media, including RIA, Interfax and Vedomosti, and the *Times* also cited a Facebook page of Ukraine's so-called Anti-terrorist Operations as source. Xinhua and ITAR-TASS cited fewer other media than the *Times*. Five out of 51 stories of Xinhua cited other media, and it cited ITAR-TASS as its source in two stories, and RIA in one story. Three out of 52 stories of ITAR-TASS cited other media, mostly Ukrainian local media.

The three news organization also varied in their datelines, and, in this sample, the *Times* delivered more reporting from the field than Xinhua and TASS. The *Times* sent reporters to multiple places in Ukraine, including Kiev, Simferopol, Donetsk and Balaklava and Lviv. In contrast, in this sample, Xinhua only assigned reporters to Kiev, and TASS only sent reporters to Kiev and Lugansk in Ukraine

*Official and non-official sources*

**Figure 1: Sourcing patterns by agency – Official vs. Non-official**  
**The percentage of different types of sources is showed.**

The number of paragraphs in the sample is in parentheses. The sample size is recorded as N.

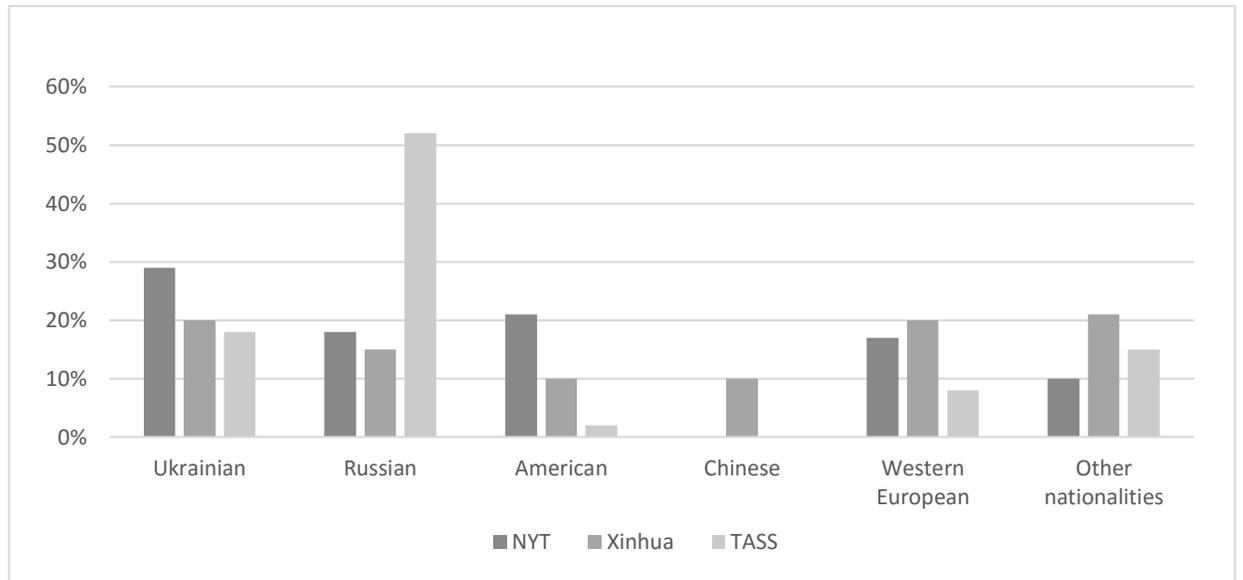


All three media relied on official sources much more than non-official sources (see Figure 1), and TASS' coverage relied almost solely on official sources, using non-official sources less than 1 percent of the time. *The New York Times* cited non-official sources most frequently among the three news media, at 14 percent. Xinhua cited official sources 59 percent of the time and non-official sources 6 percent. Thus, H1 was supported.

Interestingly, *The New York Times* had the highest percentage of unsourced paragraphs in its stories, as compared to Xinhua and TASS. Half of *the Times*' paragraphs are unsourced paragraphs.

## Nationalities of sources

Figure 2: Mean percentage of sources by nationalities



An analysis of variance showed significant difference among the three media's use of Russian sources ( $F=19.250$ ,  $d.f.=2$ ,  $p<0.001$ ,  $N=152$ ), and post hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test showed that ITAR-TASS' use of Russian sources was significantly higher than the other two news organizations (see Table 4.1). In total, about 52 percent of TASS' sources were Russian sources, including both official and non-official sources, while 19.6 percent of the *Times*' sources were Russian sources and 14.6 percent of Xinhua's sources were Russian sources (See Table 1). Hence, H2 was supported.

The ANOVA results also show significant difference among the three media's use of the U.S. sources ( $F=9.266$ ,  $d.f.=2$ ,  $p<0.001$ ,  $N=152$ ). Post hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test showed that the *Times*' use of the U.S. sources was significantly higher than Xinhua and TASS (see Table 4.2). About 22.1 percent of the *Times*' sources were

the U.S. sources, while only 1.5 percent of TASS' sources were the U.S. sources and 8.82 percent of Xinhua's sources were the U.S. sources.

Neither the *Times* nor TASS quoted from Chinese sources, and yet on average 10 percent of Xinhua's sources were Chinese sources (see Table 2). Post hoc comparisons using the Tukey HSD test showed that Xinhua's use of Chinese sources was significantly higher than *the Times* and TASS ( $F=6.376$ ,  $d.f.=2$ ,  $p<0.01$ ,  $N=152$ ; see Table 4.3). The stories that cited Chinese sources mainly focused on the relationship between China and Russia, and emphasized China's stance on the crisis.

On average, about 29 percent of the *Times*' sources were Ukrainians, 20.3 percent of Xinhua's sources were Ukrainians and 18.1 percent of TASS' sources were Ukrainians. An analysis of variance shows that the *Times*' use of Ukrainian non-official sources was significantly higher than the other two news organizations ( $F=9.98$ ,  $d.f.=2$ ,  $p<0.001$ ,  $N=152$ ; see Table 2). On average, about 12 percent of the *Times*' sources were Ukrainian non-officials, only 3 percent of Xinhua's sources were Ukrainian non-officials and TASS didn't cite any Ukrainian non-officials (see Table 2).

On average, nearly 20 percent of Xinhua's sources were Western European sources, 18 percent of the *Times*' sources were Western European sources and 8.3 percent of TASS' sources were Western European sources. An analysis of variance shows that the *Times*' use of Western non-official sources was significantly higher than Xinhua and TASS ( $F=6.92$ ,  $d.f.=2$ ,  $p<0.01$ ,  $N=152$ ). About 4 percent of the *Times*' sources were Western European non-official sources, whereas neither Xinhua nor TASS cited any Western non-official sources (see Table 2).

On average, about 15.4 percent of TASS' sources were from other countries than Ukraine, Russia, the U.S., China or Western countries, 10 percent of the *Times*' sources were from other countries and 21 percent of Xinhua's sources were from other countries, mostly the United Nations (see Figure 2).

### *Tone of coverage*

Because Russia annexed Crimea after the Ukraine crisis escalated, the state-owned ITAR-TASS was expected to portray this episode with a supportive tone. On the other hand, since the U.S. foreign policy was against Russia's intervention in the Ukraine crisis, its mainstream news outlet *The New York Times* might be expected to present Russia's annexation of Crimea with a negative attitude. As China is not a key player in the Ukraine crisis, its news agency, Xinhua, is likely to take a neutral stance when reporting on Russia's intervention in the crisis.

A Chi-square test shows that the tone of coverage of the *Times*, ITAR-TASS and Xinhua differed from one another significantly ( $\chi^2=99.27$ , d.f.=4,  $p<0.001$ ; see Table 3.1).

About 11 percent of the *Times*' paragraphs were negative toward Russia's intervention in the Ukraine crisis, whereas only 1.8 percent of TASS' paragraphs and 7.9 percent of Xinhua's paragraphs were negative toward the intervention. The *Times*' reporters accused Russia, without citing any sources, of using the results of the referendums in Crimea to "intensify pressure for some kind of negotiated autonomy"<sup>6</sup> for provinces including Crimea. One of the *Times*' stories also depicted Russia's intervention

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<sup>6</sup> Neil Macfarquhar, Russia takes softer line on rebel votes in east Ukraine; Kremlin says it 'respects' will of people but stops short of full recognition. International New York Times, May 13, 2014

in the Ukraine crisis as “a stealthy invasion by Russian forces.”<sup>7</sup> As a response to Russia’s repeated mention of following the international law in intervention in Ukraine, the *Times* cited a Russian computer expert saying that Russia’s intervention was “an illegal military occupation,”<sup>8</sup> and it also cited U.S. President Obama as deeming the intervention a “breach of international law.”<sup>9</sup> Some of the *Times*’ stories also depicted the pro-Russian protests in southeastern Ukraine as “Russian-backed separatist rebels,”<sup>10</sup> and that NATO members came to put a “pause in the violence” in attempt to “counter Russian aggression.”<sup>11</sup>

Only two percent of the *Times*’ paragraphs were positive toward the intervention and about 86 percent of its paragraphs were neutral about the intervention. One of the *Times*’ stories cited a Russian official saying that Russia’s intervention in the Ukraine crisis was justified by “baseless threats” against Russia by the United States and NATO.<sup>12</sup> One of the *Times*’ stories also cited the pro-Russian protesters in Ukraine saying that they would prefer that “Russian troops invade the city.”<sup>13</sup> Another *Times*’ story cited Russian

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<sup>7</sup> Andrew Higgins, Michael R. Gordon, Photos link masked men in Ukraine to Moscow; Growing accusations tie them to Russian military and intelligence forces. International New York Times, April 22, 2014

<sup>8</sup> Andrew Higgins, Alison Smale, In Crimea, heavily armed men confront an unseen enemy. International New York Times, March 4, 2014

<sup>9</sup> Peter Baker, Heat rises as Obama confronts Russia; President urged to move assertively as Moscow tightens grip on Crimea. International New York Times, March 4, 2014

<sup>10</sup> Neil Macfarquhar, Ukraine and rebels agree to cease-fire; As truce goes into effect, fighting appears to ebb, but skepticism lingers. International New York Times, September 6, 2014

<sup>11</sup> Neil Macfarquhar, Ukraine and rebels agree to cease-fire; As truce goes into effect, fighting appears to ebb, but skepticism lingers. International New York Times, September 6, 2014

<sup>12</sup> Steven Lee Myers and Steven Erlanger, Tensions still high in Crimea amid renewed effort to mediate. International New York Times, March 10, 2014

<sup>13</sup> Steven Erlanger, Ukraine rushes to dampen secessionist mood in east; With Russia in control of Crimea, Kiev worries that region is next to fall. International New York Times, March 4, 2014

Foreign Minister Sergey V. Lavrov as saying that Russia would “defend its compatriots in Ukraine ‘uncompromisingly.’”<sup>14</sup>

By comparison, the percentage of TASS’ positive coverage was higher than the other two news organizations. About 13.25 percent of the TASS’ paragraphs were positive toward Russia’s intervention in the Ukraine crisis, whereas only 2.6 percent of the *Times*’ paragraphs and 5.5 percent of Xinhua’s paragraphs were positive toward the intervention. Hence, H3 was supported as well. Many of TASS’ stories used words or phrases that supported Russia’s intervention in the Ukraine crisis and provided legitimacy of the annexation of Crimea. The headline of one story was “Crimea not annexed but protected,”<sup>15</sup> indicating that the intervention was more beneficial to Crimean people than harmful. Some of TASS’ stories also described the anti-government protests in Ukraine, which led to the escalation of the conflict later, as a “coup” that “often turned violent,”<sup>16</sup> and described Ukraine’s former president, Yanukovich, as the country’s “legitimate leader.”<sup>17</sup> Some of TASS’ stories also described Western countries’ sanctions against Russia as “ungrounded sanctions,” and cited Russian Foreign Minister Lavrov saying that “Moscow has never sent any military to Ukraine.”<sup>18</sup> TASS’ coverage on the Ukraine crisis also emphasized repeatedly, without citing any sources, that the referendum in Crimea “complied with the international law,”<sup>19</sup> and that the anti-government protests against the new Ukraine leaders in southeastern Ukraine were justified.

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<sup>14</sup> Andrew Higgins and Steven Lee Myers, Crimea becoming flash point in Ukraine. International New York Times, February 28, 2014

<sup>15</sup> URGENT: Crimea not annexed but protected – Putin. ITAR-TASS, August 29, 2014

<sup>16</sup> WRAP: Ukraine is on verge of bankruptcy - parliament-appointed PM. ITAR-TASS, March 27, 2014

<sup>17</sup> WRAP: Ukraine is on verge of bankruptcy - parliament-appointed PM. ITAR-TASS, March 27, 2014

<sup>18</sup> Russian senior lawmaker rules out military scenarios for Ukraine. ITAR-TASS, April 25, 2014

<sup>19</sup> Geneva agreements on Ukraine to help settle crisis - UN chief. ITAR-TASS, April 18, 2014

Only one percent of TASS' paragraphs showed a negative attitude toward the intervention and 85 percent of its paragraphs showed a neutral attitude. One of TASS' stories cited the U.S. vice president John Kerry saying that the Russia has given "order to protester" in the southeast of Ukraine.<sup>20</sup> Another TASS' story cited EU leaders who warned Russia about serious consequence if the latter scale down tensions.<sup>21</sup>

Xinhua's coverage of the crisis used mostly a neutral tone toward Russia's intervention, with a slight inclination toward the negative side. About six percent of Xinhua's paragraphs were positive toward Russia's intervention, but more than eight percent of its paragraphs were negative. One of Xinhua's stories cited the Ukraine Prime Minister Arseniy Yatsenyuk, saying that Russia "did not support the territorial integrity of Ukraine,"<sup>22</sup> and in one story, Xinhua's reporter mentioned China's resolution to safeguard "territorial sovereignty,"<sup>23</sup> in response to questions on the Ukraine crisis and other foreign issues. Similarly, some of its stories also depicted the crisis as Ukraine facing "the threat of splitting up after the Crimean parliament adopted a declaration of independence from Ukraine."<sup>24</sup> Xinhua also cited many sources, including the U.S. President Barack Obama, accusing Russia of "breaking the rules" with the "illegal annexation of Crimea."<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Russian senior lawmaker rules out military scenarios for Ukraine. ITAR-TASS, April 25, 2014

<sup>21</sup> Aftermaths of Crimea referendum, sanctions against Russia to be discussed by EU ministers. ITAR-TASS, March 17, 2014

<sup>22</sup> William M. Reilly, Roundup: Ukraine, Russia exchange fire at UN meeting. Xinhua News Agency, March 13, 2014

<sup>23</sup> Xinhua Insight: Peace-seeking China eyes more active int'l role. Xinhua News Agency, March 8, 2014

<sup>24</sup> William M. Reilly, Roundup: Ukraine, Russia exchange fire at UN meeting. Xinhua News Agency, March 13, 2014

<sup>25</sup> Roundup: Obama holds talks with Central, Eastern European leaders on security, regional issues. Xinhua News Agency, June 4, 2014

However, Xinhua's coverage on the Ukraine crisis also showed a strong neutral stance and some positive stories toward Russia's intervention in the Ukraine crisis. Some of Xinhua's stories cited Russian president Vladimir Putin denouncing the NATO enlargement to have pulled Ukraine closer to Western countries as a measure to "squeeze Russia,"<sup>26</sup> and urged the West "not to threaten sanctions against Moscow," as sanctions are "counter-productive."<sup>27</sup> Xinhua also cited sources that accused the Ukraine government of forcing the Crimean government "to lose control of the situation."<sup>28</sup>

Interestingly, the Chi-square table (see Table 3.3) has shown that many of the paragraphs that filled the coverage with negative or positive sentiments were actually unsourced paragraphs for both TASS and *The New York Times*. Nearly 67 percent of "positive" paragraphs of TASS were unsourced paragraphs, and more than 40 percent of "negative" paragraphs of the *Times* were unsourced, as well. None of the *Times* and Xinhua's unsourced paragraphs was positive toward Russia's intervention in Ukraine, and none of TASS' unsourced paragraphs was negative about Russia's intervention.

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<sup>26</sup> Lu Jiafei, Qiu Xia, (Yearenders-Series-Ukraine Crisis) Spotlight: Balanced approach needed to prevent possible new Cold War. Xinhua News Agency, December 19, 2014

<sup>27</sup> Roundup: Ukrainian PM says Crimea referendum illegal. Xinhua News Agency, March 6, 2014.

<sup>28</sup> Crimean leader urges Putin to help restore peace. Xinhua News Agency, March 1, 2014.

## Discussion

The study has found that *The New York Times*, Xinhua and ITAR-TASS varied in their sourcing patterns, as well as the overall attitude reflected in their reporting toward Russia's intervention in Ukraine. The study results showed a clear difference in three news organizations' sourcing patterns and their tone of coverage. The results also indicate an association between the news coverage and foreign policies, since the three news organizations' tone of coverage all coincided with their countries' foreign policies.

All three media organizations cited more official sources than non-official sources in their coverage of the crisis, and TASS cited officials the most frequently. Xinhua cited official sources more frequently than the *Times*, which also supported the Hypothesis 1. The reliance on official sources echoed previous studies that discovered the close relationship between news reporters and officials (Bennett 1990, p. 116; Sigal, 1973, p. 54), as officials are often the "best available and suitable sources" (Gans, 1979, p. 144-145). Especially in the realm of international news, where the cost of field reporting is comparatively high, citing officials is efficient and effective for most of the time.

The news coverage of TASS showed a great tendency for the news agency to rely on sources from Russia. Russian sources dominated in most of TASS' stories, whereas the *Times*' coverage showed a more balanced reporting in terms of the nationalities of its sources. However, whether the sourcing patterns of the three media reflects their biased reporting is still in question. On the one hand, since Russia was one of the key players in the conflict, it is relevant for TASS to cite more sources from Russia than from other countries (Galtung & Ruge, 1965, p. 70). On the other hand, if sources were cited according to the relevance of their nationalities, then we should have seen the same

percentage of Ukrainian sources as Russian sources cited. However, only Xinhua, among the three news organizations, cited nearly as many Ukrainian sources as Russian sources. About 20 percent of its sources were Ukrainians and 15.4 percent were Russians. By comparison, about 18 percent of TASS' sources were Ukrainians, while 53 percent of its sources were Russians. On average, nearly 30 percent of the *Times*' sources were Ukrainians, whereas about 18 percent of the *Times*' sources were Russians. Since Ukraine was in a position against Russia in the crisis, Ukrainian sources and Russian sources often disagreed with each other. The tendency to cite more Ukrainian sources than Russian sources may thus indicate that the *Times*' coverage was more negative toward Russia's intervention in Ukraine, which coincides with the U.S. foreign policy on the crisis. On the other hand, the tendency to cite more Russian sources than Ukrainian sources may prove TASS' support for Russia's intervention in the crisis, which coincides with Russia's foreign policy on the crisis.

Interestingly, Xinhua was the only news organization to cite Chinese sources. Despite that the Chinese sources didn't dominate its coverage. It may be explained as an attempt to establish relevance of the Ukraine crisis with China. Also, since China was not one of the key players in the Ukraine crisis, it makes sense that neither *The New York Times* nor ITAR-TASS cited any Chinese sources.

As expected, ITAR-TASS' coverage showed a more positive tone toward the intervention, which proves the association between its coverage and Russian foreign policies. *The New York Times*' coverage showed more negative tone toward Russia's intervention in Ukraine, which echoed the U.S.' foreign policy against Russia's annexation of Crimea. Xinhua's coverage showed more neutral tone toward the

intervention and a slight inclination toward the negative side. When mentioning Russia's annexation of Crimea, it referenced China's stance on territorial integrity and sovereignty, which tied back to the core of China's foreign policy (Kuznetsov, 2014, p. 56).

However, difference in the tone of coverage of three media's unsourced paragraphs indicated that the tone of stories was not solely affected by the sources cited. Many of the unsourced paragraphs for the three media carried a clear positive or negative attitude toward Russia's intervention in Ukraine. In absence of these paragraphs, the difference in the attitude for the three media was not significant as expected, as only six percent of TASS' paragraphs were positive toward the intervention. Hence, whether sources have a significant impact on the tone of news coverage were not clearly proved by this study.

What surprised me was that there were actually many unsourced paragraphs in the *Times'* stories – nearly half of all the coverage, and none of those paragraphs actually showed a positive attitude toward Russia's intervention. Some of those unsourced paragraphs were mere observation of the conflict, but some unsourced paragraphs described the conflict with a clearly negative tone toward Russia's intervention. This finding indicates an association of the *Times'* coverage and the U.S. foreign policies.

Although the tone of the *Times'* coverage on the Ukraine crisis showed its inclination to agree with the U.S. foreign policies, it did deliver the most balanced reporting among all the three news organizations. The *Times* assigned reporters to the field and delivered the most original reporting. It also cited more non-official source than the other two organizations. The non-official sources sometimes disagreed with their

authorities, so, by citing more non-official sources, the *Times* gave readers a closer look at the crisis and what truly happened in Ukraine. The *Times* also cited sources from multiple countries, which showed different perspectives of the conflict. By citing contrasting perspectives of the conflict parties, the *Times* provided readers with a more complete picture of the Ukraine crisis. In contrast, TASS' coverage was substantially dependent on official sources and showed a great bias toward Russia. More than half of TASS' sources were Russian officials, which marginalized perspectives from other countries and from civilians.

Xinhua's news coverage on the Ukraine crisis showed a more balanced reporting, as it cited sources of different nationalities. The coverage also tended to be neutral toward the Russia's intervention in Ukraine, and it was based mostly on facts other than opinionated observation. However, Xinhua also used more Chinese sources than the other two news media, and it may indicate its nationalistic bias.

#### *Limitations of the study*

Although this study highlights the association between the tone of news coverage and a country's foreign policies, it still has many limitations.

Although this study showed that the tone of coverage of each news organization coincided with their home countries' foreign policies, it did not prove that sourcing actually has a significant impact on the tone of news stories. The difference tone of coverage was not obvious in sourced paragraphs across the three media, whereas the difference was fairly obvious in unsourced paragraphs, and thus in overall paragraphs across three media. About six percent of TASS' sourced paragraphs were positive toward

Russia's intervention in the Ukraine crisis, but it was only one percent higher than the *Times*. However, about 33.6 percent of TASS' unsourced paragraphs were positive toward the intervention, whereas none of the *Times*' unsourced paragraphs was positive toward the intervention.

Thus, future researchers could explore other effective measures for the influence of foreign policies on news coverage besides the tone of coverage. For example, could we examine the role these news organizations play in their countries' propaganda system by examining their organization and personnel structures, especially for TASS and Xinhua? Or could we study the different editorial policies that these three news organizations have adopted? Or rather, do the different budgets the *Times*, Xinhua and TASS have sometimes limited field and in-depth reporting? Those are all questions that future research could explore. Researcher could make the difference in editorial guidelines or in budget size an independent variable, and the foreign policies as dependent variable.

Another major limitation of this study is that the level agreement of the author and the other independent coder didn't reach 80 percent, which was "usually the standard" for reliability of the study (Riffe et al., 1998, p. 51). The independent coder for this study was a Chinese graduate student at the Missouri School of Journalism, who has the same background as the author, so future research could find an independent coder with different background to test his or her coding. Future researchers could also find more than one independent coders to assist with pre-test coding check, and, in this way, the eventual coding of valence of each paragraph would be more reliable. Future research could also explore more keywords related to the Ukraine crisis to capture additional

relevant news stories, such as the “Ukraine conflict,” “Crimea,” “Crimea referendum,” and “Crimea annexation.”

This study also didn’t examine the stories of Xinhua and TASS that were written in Chinese or Russian, respectively, as those stories were targeted at internal audience. The English stories of Xinhua and TASS may be targeted at external audience, which may also have an influence on their tone of coverage, as well as their sourcing patterns.

More research also is needed to compare more news media from the three countries, as one single news media could not represent the media industry of its country. Other mainstream U.S. news media such as the Associated Press, other major Russian media include RIA and Interfax, and other major Chinese news outlets include *The China Daily* and Caixin.com.

It would be also interesting to compare the news coverage on different media, such as print and digital, television or radio, to see whether “media is the message” also holds true in this specific context. To exclude the factor of media platforms, future research shall also compare news media from the same platform of media. Is it better to compare Xinhua and ITAR-TASS with Reuters or AP, or is it better to compare the digital versions of *The New York Times* with *The China Daily* and *the Moscow’s Times*. It would be interesting to compare television news from the three countries, as well, since television news is more visual than print and digital news, which could be more emotional.

The study could also be expanded in its timeframe and sample size. It would be interesting to compare the tone of news coverage as the crisis escalated and the tension

between the West and Russia strengthened. The sample size of future research could also be expanded, since the population of Xinhua and TASS' stories was so large that the proportions of the selected sample were much smaller than the *Times*' stories. One out of every 37 stories was selected for the Xinhua News Agency (N=51), one out of every 22 stories were selected for the ITAR-TASS (N=52), and one out of every two or three stories was selected for *The New York Times* (N=49). To expand the sample size, future researchers could select one out of every ten stories for Xinhua and TASS.

## Conclusion

Despite the limitations of this study, it shows the reliance on official sources when news media covered foreign news, and it also shows the great tendency for reporters to cite sources from the same countries as the news organizations they were working for. ITAR-TASS' news coverage showed the heaviest reliance on official sources, as more than 70 percent of its sources were official sources. *The New York Times*' news coverage included the most non-official sources among the three media, as 14 percent of its sources were non-official sources.

Both *The New York Times* and ITAR-TASS cited more sources from their own countries, and only Xinhua cited sources from China. Nearly 52 percent of ITAR-TASS' sources were Russian, nearly 22 percent of the *Times*' sources were American, and about 16 percent of Xinhua's sources were Chinese. *The New York Times*' coverage was most diverse in terms of nationalities of the sources it cited, whereas ITAR-TASS relied the most heavily on Russian sources.

The overall tone of the *Times*, Xinhua and TASS' news stories varied to a great extent, as the coverage of each news organization reflected the foreign policy of that country. TASS' reporting showed more positive attitude toward Russia's intervention in Ukraine than the other two media, whereas the *Times*' stories demonstrated a more negative attitude toward the intervention than the other two media. Xinhua showed China's stance on sovereignty and territorial integrity, whereas the other two media mentioned none of China's interests in the issue.

**Table 1: Sourcing by agency**

The percentage of paragraphs in which the type source was cited is in parentheses

	<b>NYT</b>	<b>ITAR-TASS</b>	<b>Xinhua</b>	<b>Total</b>
<b><i>Official sources</i></b>	<b>378 (67.99%)</b>	<b>322 (97.28%)</b>	<b>325 (89.53%)</b>	<b>1025 (82.00%)</b>
Ukrainian official sources	90 (16.19%)	83 (25.08%)	52 (14.33%)	225 (18.00%)
Russian official sources	82 (14.75%)	171 (51.66%)	52 (14.33%)	305 (24.40%)
U.S. official sources	89 (16.01%)	5 (1.51%)	30 (8.26%)	124 (9.92%)
Western/NATO sources	62 (11.15%)	16 (4.83%)	65 (17.91%)	143 (11.44%)
Chinese official sources	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	50 (13.77%)	50 (4.00%)
Other official sources	55 (9.89%)	47 (14.20%)	76 (20.94%)	178 (14.24%)
<b><i>Non-official sources</i></b>	<b>155 (27.88%)</b>	<b>2 (0.60%)</b>	<b>31 (8.54%)</b>	<b>188 (15.04%)</b>
Ukrainian non-official sources	64 (11.51%)	1 (0.30%)	12 (3.31%)	77 (6.16%)
Russian non-official sources	27 (4.86%)	1 (0.30%)	1 (0.28%)	29 (2.32%)
U.S. non-official sources	34 (6.12%)	0 (0%)	2 (0.55%)	36 (2.88%)
Western/NATO sources	26 (4.66%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	26 (2.08%)
Chinese non-official sources	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	7 (1.93%)	7 (0.56%)
Other non-official sources	4 (0.72%)	0 (0%)	9 (2.48%)	13 (1.04%)
<b><i>Other media</i></b>	<b>23 (4.14%)</b>	<b>7 (2.11%)</b>	<b>7 (1.93%)</b>	<b>37 (2.96%)</b>
<b><i>Nationalities</i></b>				
Ukrainian sources	154 (27.70%)	84 (25.38%)	64 (17.63%)	302 (24.16%)
Russian sources	109 (19.60%)	172 (51.96%)	53 (14.60%)	334 (26.72%)
U.S. sources	123 (22.12%)	5 (1.51%)	32 (8.82%)	160 (12.80%)
Western/NATO sources	88 (15.83%)	10 (4.83%)	65 (17.91%)	169 (13.52%)
Chinese source	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	57 (15.70%)	57 (4.56%)
Other Countries' sources	59 (10.61%)	47 (14.20%)	85 (23.42%)	191 (15.28%)
<b><i>Total paragraphs</i></b>	<b>556</b>	<b>331</b>	<b>363</b>	<b>1250</b>

**Table 2: Mean Percentage of Sources by Source Categories (for sourced paragraphs)**

<i>The New York Times</i>		ITAR-TASS		Xinhua	
Ukraine official	17%	Russian official	53%	Western/NATO official	20%
U.S. official	15%	Ukraine official	18%	Other official	19%
Russian official	14%	Other official	15%	Ukraine official	17%
Western/NATO official	14%	Western/NATO official	8%	Russian official	14%
Ukraine non-official	12%	U.S. official	2%	U.S. official	9%

**Table 3.1: Attitude**

All the paragraphs of NYT, ITAR-TASS and Xinhua's stories.

	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Total
NYT	28 (2.57%)	122 (11.2%)	939 (86.23%)	1089
ITAR-TASS	60 (13.25%)	8 (1.77%)	385 (84.99%)	453
Xinhua	30 (5.47%)	43 (7.85%)	475 (86.68%)	548
<b>Total</b>	<b>118 (5.65%)</b>	<b>173 (8.28)</b>	<b>1799 (86.08%)</b>	<b>2090</b>

\* Chi-square=99.27, p<0.001, d.f.=4.

**Table 3.2: Attitude**

All the sourced paragraphs of NYT, ITAR-TASS and Xinhua's stories.

	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Total
NYT	28 (5.04%)	73 (13.13%)	455 (81.83%)	556
ITAR-TASS	20 (6.04%)	7 (2.11%)	304 (97.75%)	331
Xinhua	30 (8.26%)	40 (11.02%)	293 (80.72%)	363
<b>Total</b>	<b>78 (6.24%)</b>	<b>120 (9.6%)</b>	<b>1052 (84.16%)</b>	<b>1250</b>

\* Chi-square=34.18, p<0.001, d.f.=4

**Table 3.3: Attitude**

All the unsourced paragraphs of NYT, ITAR-TASS and Xinhua's stories.

	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Total
NYT	0 (0%)	49 (9.19%)	484 (90.81%)	533
ITAR-TASS	41 (33.61%)	0 (0%)	81 (66.39%)	122
Xinhua	0 (0%)	3 (1.62%)	182 (98.38%)	185
<b>Total</b>	<b>40 (4.76%)</b>	<b>53 (6.31%)</b>	<b>747 (88.93%)</b>	<b>840</b>

\* Chi-square=263.74, p<0.001, d.f.=4

**Table 4.1**

**Russian sources**

Tukey HSD<sup>a,b</sup>

News Source	N	Subset for alpha = 0.05	
		1	2
Xinhua	51	.15393070980	
NYT	49	.17724275802	
TASS	52		
Sig.		.938	1.000

Means for groups in homogeneous subsets are displayed.

a. Uses Harmonic Mean Sample Size = 50.636.

b. The group sizes are unequal. The harmonic mean of the group sizes is used. Type I error levels are not guaranteed.

**Table 4.2**

**U.S. sources**

Tukey HSD<sup>a,b</sup>

News Source	N	Subset for alpha = 0.05	
		1	2
TASS	52	.02163461538	
Xinhua	51	.09580767816	
NYT	49		
Sig.		.229	1.000

Means for groups in homogeneous subsets are displayed.

a. Uses Harmonic Mean Sample Size = 50.636.

b. The group sizes are unequal. The harmonic mean of the group sizes is used. Type I error levels are not guaranteed.

**Table 4.3**

**Chinese sources**

Tukey HSD<sup>a,b</sup>

News Source	N	Subset for alpha = 0.05	
		1	2
TASS	52	.00000000000	
NYT	49	.00000000000	
Xinhua	51		
Sig.		1.000	1.000

Means for groups in homogeneous subsets are displayed.

- a. Uses Harmonic Mean Sample Size = 50.636.
- b. The group sizes are unequal. The harmonic mean of the group sizes is used. Type I error levels are not guaranteed.

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## Appendix I

### *Coding Protocol*

**Part I. Basic information:** For each story, I will put the following information into a spreadsheet accordingly.

**A) News source:** Put in the news source, as from *The New York Times*, or the Xinhua News Agency, or TASS.

**B) Headline:** Put in the headline for each story in each cell under the A column.

**C) Total number of paragraphs:** Record the number of paragraphs for each story.

**D) Word count:** Record the word count of the story as listed by LexisNexis.

**E) Dateline:** Record the date and time of the story as listed by LexisNexis.

**Part II. Sourcing:** For each story, I will record the number of paragraphs for each source, including the total number of paragraphs.

**F) Ukraine official:** official sources, ie. Government, politicians, authorities, military personnel

**G) Ukraine non-official:** civilians, including experts

**H) Russian official:** official sources, ie. Government, politicians, authorities, military personnel

**I) Russian non-official:** civilians, including experts

**J) U.S. official:** official sources, ie. Government, politicians, authorities, military personnel

**K) U.S. non-official:** civilians, including experts

**L) Chinese official:** official sources, ie. Government, politicians, authorities, military personnel

**M) Chinese non-official:** civilians, including experts

**N) Western European official:** official sources from the European Union member countries, including EU officials

**O) Western European non-official:** civilians including experts from the EU member countries

- P) Other official:** officials from world organizations, such as the United Nations
- Q) Other non-official:** civilians from other countries
- R) Other media outlets:** Another paper or agency, such as AP, Al Jazeera etc.
- S) Non attribution:** No source was cited

**Part III. Valence:** For each story, I will record the valence of source for each paragraph, and I will then record the number of paragraphs with each type of valence in the appropriate column.

- T) Positive:** Positive toward Russia's intervention in Ukraine
- U) Negative:** Negative toward Russia's intervention in Ukraine
- V) Neutral:** Neutral about Russia's intervention in Ukraine

## Appendix II

### ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Per_UO	Between Groups	.001	2	.001	.007	.993
	Within Groups	13.543	149	.091		
	Total	13.544	151			
Per_UNO	Between Groups	.356	2	.178	9.934	.000
	Within Groups	2.672	149	.018		
	Total	3.028	151			
Per_UT	Between Groups	.342	2	.171	1.469	.234
	Within Groups	17.357	149	.116		
	Total	17.699	151			
Per_RO	Between Groups	5.064	2	2.532	22.168	.000
	Within Groups	17.020	149	.114		
	Total	22.084	151			
Per_RNO	Between Groups	.030	2	.015	4.030	.020
	Within Groups	.562	149	.004		
	Total	.593	151			
Per_RT	Between Groups	4.537	2	2.268	19.250	.000
	Within Groups	17.559	149	.118		
	Total	22.096	151			
Per_USO	Between Groups	.421	2	.210	4.763	.010
	Within Groups	6.581	149	.044		
	Total	7.001	151			
Per_USNO	Between Groups	.130	2	.065	9.078	.000
	Within Groups	1.066	149	.007		
	Total	1.196	151			
Per_UST	Between Groups	.950	2	.475	9.266	.000
	Within Groups	7.635	149	.051		
	Total	8.585	151			
Per_CO	Between Groups	.193	2	.096	4.516	.012
	Within Groups	3.182	149	.021		
	Total	3.375	151			
Per_CNO	Between Groups	.022	2	.011	1.564	.213
	Within Groups	1.061	149	.007		
	Total	1.083	151			

Per_CT	Between Groups	.346	2	.173	6.376	.002
	Within Groups	4.046	149	.027		
	Total	4.392	151			
Per_WEO	Between Groups	.347	2	.174	2.076	.129
	Within Groups	12.467	149	.084		
	Total	12.815	151			
Per_WENO	Between Groups	.055	2	.028	6.885	.001
	Within Groups	.600	149	.004		
	Total	.655	151			
Per_WET	Between Groups	.396	2	.198	2.257	.108
	Within Groups	13.068	149	.088		
	Total	13.463	151			
Per_OO	Between Groups	.276	2	.138	1.482	.231
	Within Groups	13.873	149	.093		
	Total	14.149	151			
Per_ONO	Between Groups	.006	2	.003	1.202	.303
	Within Groups	.351	149	.002		
	Total	.357	151			
Per_OT	Between Groups	.297	2	.149	1.501	.226
	Within Groups	14.764	149	.099		
	Total	15.062	151			
Per_OM	Between Groups	.002	2	.001	.043	.958
	Within Groups	2.783	149	.019		
	Total	2.785	151			

Post-hoc Test:

#### ANOVA

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Per_UO	Between Groups	.001	2	.001	.007	.993
	Within Groups	13.543	149	.091		
	Total	13.544	151			

Per_UNO	Between Groups	.356	2	.178	9.934	.000
	Within Groups	2.672	149	.018		
	Total	3.028	151			
Per_UT	Between Groups	.342	2	.171	1.469	.234
	Within Groups	17.357	149	.116		
	Total	17.699	151			
Per_RO	Between Groups	5.064	2	2.532	22.168	.000
	Within Groups	17.020	149	.114		
	Total	22.084	151			
Per_RNO	Between Groups	.030	2	.015	4.030	.020
	Within Groups	.562	149	.004		
	Total	.593	151			
Per_RT	Between Groups	4.537	2	2.268	19.250	.000
	Within Groups	17.559	149	.118		
	Total	22.096	151			
Per_USO	Between Groups	.421	2	.210	4.763	.010
	Within Groups	6.581	149	.044		
	Total	7.001	151			
Per_USNO	Between Groups	.130	2	.065	9.078	.000
	Within Groups	1.066	149	.007		
	Total	1.196	151			
Per_UST	Between Groups	.950	2	.475	9.266	.000
	Within Groups	7.635	149	.051		
	Total	8.585	151			
Per_CO	Between Groups	.193	2	.096	4.516	.012
	Within Groups	3.182	149	.021		
	Total	3.375	151			
Per_CNO	Between Groups	.022	2	.011	1.564	.213
	Within Groups	1.061	149	.007		
	Total	1.083	151			
Per_CT	Between Groups	.346	2	.173	6.376	.002
	Within Groups	4.046	149	.027		
	Total	4.392	151			
Per_WEO	Between Groups	.347	2	.174	2.076	.129
	Within Groups	12.467	149	.084		
	Total	12.815	151			
Per_WENO	Between Groups	.055	2	.028	6.885	.001
	Within Groups	.600	149	.004		

	Total	.655	151			
Per_WET	Between Groups	.396	2	.198	2.257	.108
	Within Groups	13.068	149	.088		
	Total	13.463	151			
Per_OO	Between Groups	.276	2	.138	1.482	.231
	Within Groups	13.873	149	.093		
	Total	14.149	151			
Per_ONO	Between Groups	.006	2	.003	1.202	.303
	Within Groups	.351	149	.002		
	Total	.357	151			
Per_OT	Between Groups	.297	2	.149	1.501	.226
	Within Groups	14.764	149	.099		
	Total	15.062	151			
Per_OM	Between Groups	.002	2	.001	.043	.958
	Within Groups	2.783	149	.019		
	Total	2.785	151			

Xinhua:

#### Descriptive Statistics

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Per_UO	51	.00000000	1.00000000	.17103599018	.328848498023
Per_UNO	51	.00000000	.66666667	.03159041394	.123855203190
Per_UT	51	.00000000	1.00000000	.20262640412	.347640889954
Per_RO	51	.00000000	1.00000000	.14412678824	.289820454655
Per_RNO	51	.0	.5	.010	.0700
Per_RT	51	.00000000	1.00000000	.15393070980	.293283686822
Per_USO	51	.00000000	1.00000000	.09279108690	.258251768343
Per_USNO	51	.00000000	.153846154	.00301659125	.021542770545
Per_UST	51	.00000000	1.00000000	.09580767816	.259872642472
Per_CO	51	.00000000	1.00000000	.07544351075	.252275580079
Per_CNO	51	.00000000	1.00000000	.02564102565	.145680745769
Per_CT	51	.00000000	1.00000000	.10108453639	.284463656808
Per_WEO	51	.00000000	1.00000000	.19960671139	.365891874675
Per_WENO	51	0	0	.00	.000

Per_WET	51	.000000000	1.000000000	.19960671139	.365891874675
Per_OO	51	.000000000	1.000000000	.19450076069	.326583625004
Per_ONO	51	.000000000	.400000000	.01453470278	.068402476006
Per_OT	51	.000000000	1.000000000	.20903546345	.351362182122
Per_OM	51	.000000000	1.000000000	.03790849673	.158607777285
Valid N (listwise)	51				

TASS:

**Descriptive Statistics**

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Per_UO	52	.000000000	1.000000000	.17793862123	.351651932880
Per_UNO	52	.000000000	.166666667	.00320512821	.023112508222
Per_UT	52	.000000000	1.000000000	.18114374944	.355384645519
Per_RO	52	.000000000	1.000000000	.52823565323	.474476831416
Per_RNO	52	.000000000	.038461538	.00073964496	.005333655669
Per_RT	52	.000000000	1.000000000	.52897529819	.473666523958
Per_USO	52	.000	1.000	.02163	.139417
Per_USNO	52	0	0	.00	.000
Per_UST	52	.000	1.000	.02163	.139417
Per_CO	52	0	0	.00	.000
Per_CNO	52	0	0	.00	.000
Per_CT	52	0	0	.00	.000
Per_WEO	52	.000000000	1.000000000	.08349358975	.248363326615
Per_WENO	52	0	0	.00	.000
Per_WET	52	.000000000	1.000000000	.08349358975	.248363326615
Per_OO	52	.000	1.000	.15385	.353220
Per_ONO	52	0	0	.00	.000
Per_OT	52	.000	1.000	.15385	.353220
Per_OM	52	.000000000	1.000000000	.03090659340	.145464450189
Valid N (listwise)	52				

NYT:

**Descriptive Statistics**

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Per_UO	49	.000000000	.750000000	.17373502349	.195217728543
Per_UNO	49	.000000000	.875000000	.11778616931	.197791967193
Per_UT	49	.000000000	1.000000000	.29152119280	.318629508575

Per_RO	49	.000000000	.666666667	.14281741504	.166972704417
Per_RNO	49	.000000000	.370370370	.03442534300	.081124192804
Per_RT	49	.000000000	.833333333	.17724275802	.194483257344
Per_USO	49	.000000000	.833333333	.15037607784	.216726498458
Per_USNO	49	.000000000	.600000000	.06397584843	.147372562404
Per_UST	49	.000000000	1.000000000	.21435192627	.260888127568
Per_CO	49	0	0	.00	.000
Per_CNO	49	0	0	.00	.000
Per_CT	49	0	0	.00	.000
Per_WEO	49	.000000000	.857142857	.13843917798	.233967779940
Per_WENO	49	.000000000	.529411765	.04085445867	.111771347791
Per_WET	49	.000000000	.857142857	.17929363665	.259316991207
Per_OO	49	.000000000	1.000000000	.09013796718	.212986904741
Per_ONO	49	.000000000	.333333333	.00983030573	.049454356226
Per_OT	49	.000000000	1.000000000	.09996827292	.215465164930
Per_OM	49	.000000000	.533333333	.03762221339	.096401687614
Valid N (listwise)	49				

**APPENDIX A**

**1. Project Proposal**

**Graduate Project Proposal**

**Exploring the relationship between international news and foreign  
policy:**

**How *The New York Times*, *the Xinhua News Agency*, *TASS* differed in their coverage  
on the Ukraine Crisis?**

**Master Student:**

**Heidi (Xiaoqian) Li**

**Graduate Committee:**

**Beverly Horvit**

**Amy McCombs**

**Barbara Cochran**

## **General Introduction**

To know about the world has always been my ambition ever since I was a little girl who imagined about foreign countries when reading a picturesque tourist guide of the Wonders of the World. Before I came to Missouri, I studied international relations in Fudan University in Shanghai, a metropolis that attracts many foreigners. After studying latest schools of thoughts on international relations, I began to grasp the difference of countries and the meaning of many international affairs.

However, as much as I enjoyed the macro-level discussion of international relations, I really wanted to explore more into the micro-level, to see how people live differently from one culture to another. I am eager to see how contrasting the government policies might be with one another, as well as how similar they sometimes are.

I chose journalism as the focus of my graduate study mainly because it is one of those places where countries can differ the most, and where the conflicts between government and people are vocalized the most. Through studying journalism, I could not only better serve my country, but also I could see more clearly how countries vary from and relate to each other.

When studying at the Missouri School of Journalism for the past two years, I gained abundant practical experience at several school-based media outlets, including the *Missourian*, *Missouri Business Alert*, *KBIA-Radio* and *KOMU-TV*. Those hands-on experiences not only prepared me with a deeper understanding of journalism, especially its principles such as “objectivity” and “accuracy,” but also enriched my portfolio and helped me get a summer internship from the International Women’s Media Foundation.

I also took the course of International Journalism taught by Prof. Beverly Horvit, and I learned from that class how international news can demonstrate media bias and what has influenced foreign newsgathering and presenting. Through readings on this area, I became interested in exploring more about the international news and its relationship with foreign policy.

Unlike journalism focused on domestic news, international news is a rather different beast. For many newspaper readers and television audiences, international news is not challengeable because people don't normally have access to every international incident. Even for Internet users in this digital era, physical constraints still prevent many people from going to the foreign countries themselves and seeing with their own eyes what was happening there. Hence, readers or audience rely on the news media coverage to a large extent when it comes to international news.

This makes it very important to examine whether foreign news is as objective and accurate as those mainstream media usually boasted.

Thus, I decided to focus my graduate project on international journalism, and following is my plan for both the professional component and research component.

## **Professional Skill Component**

I will work at the International Women's Media Foundation this summer in Washington, D.C. The professional project will start May 25 and end Aug. 28. I will mainly work with the communications team of the organization.

Anna Schiller, the communications strategist of the IWMMF, will be my direct supervisor. I will be mainly responsible for two tasks: maintaining the organization's social media accounts and helping organize events during the summer season. I will update tweets on the organization's Twitter account constantly and also post statuses on its Facebook page. My physical evidence of my work there will include screenshots of the tweets and Facebook posts, as well as documents related to the events that I help organize.

I will file weekly field reports to my committee by email, and I will also document my work on social media. Since I am attending the Washington Program, I will also include my weekly seminar reports and send them to my committee through emails.

In general, I want to get hands-on experience with social media and practice my communication skills this summer in an organization where I will have the opportunity to meet many international journalists.

## **Research Component**

### **Introduction**

As a conflict that involved multiple parties, the Ukraine Crisis has called the world's attention and gained numerous news coverage since it first broke out in February 2014. Russia's annexation of Crimea in March escalated the tension between Russia and Ukraine, as well as other Western countries, including the United States and the European Union member states. According to the Center for Strategic and International Studies, U.S. Vice President Joe Biden stated as a response to Russia's intervention that "as long

as Russia continues on this dark path, they will face increasing political and economic isolation.” That isolation started to take its shape when the European Union and the United States banned several officials from Russia and Ukraine to travel and froze their assets after the annexation. On July 30, the EU and the U.S. raised new sanctions against Russia, and as a result of rounds of sanctions, Russia’s economy has entered into its downturn. Although Russian President Vladimir Putin expressed his optimism about the rebound of the Russian economy, former Russian Minister of Finance Alexei Kudrin stated that mass layoffs early this year implied that Western sanctions were “having a ‘deepening’ effect” on the Russian economy, according to the Center for Strategic and International Studies. As for China, being a third party in this conflict, China’s foreign policy on this issue is somewhat divided. According to the World Affairs Journal, China and Russia signed a thirty-year, \$400 billion gas deal on May 21, 2014. However, Chinese Prime Minister Li Keqiang expressed China’s official position on the Ukraine Crisis, stating that China respects Ukraine’s “independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity,” according to the Center for Strategic and International Studies.

Has this tension among Russia and Western countries affected their media’s coverage on this crisis, and does their coverage rely on official sources who stand for the government policy? Also, as China being a third party in this crisis, how would Chinese media’s portrayal of the crisis be affected by China’s foreign policy?

With those questions in mind, this research is aimed at examining three countries’ media coverage on the Ukraine Crisis, and the selected media include the independent media organization, The New York Times of the U.S., and two state-owned news organizations, the Xinhua News Agency of China and the Informatsionnoye agentstvo Rossii TASS

(TASS) of Russia. I selected these news media mainly because they are considered the most influential in each country. It is important to note that even though The New York Times is independent while the other two, the Xinhua News Agency and TASS, are state-owned, they still share the similarity of being the most influential in their countries in terms of a wide audience.

## **Literature Review**

In the realm of international news, scholars have debated about whether news media or government sets the agenda of foreign policy. Some scholars contended that news media, especially the ones in the U.S., have certain independence in news production and thus could assert certain power in policy making. However, other scholars argued that government has great influence on media's newsgathering processes, and news coverage to a large extent depends on what government officials say on international affairs. While the question of who leads and who follows in setting the agenda of foreign policy is difficult to answer, scholars have attempted to unveil the possible interaction between the news media and the government through in-depth research.

### ***Media and foreign policy***

There have been numerous studies on the relationship between news media and foreign policy. Although studies are divided in their findings on whether the government or news media dominates in foreign policy, studies from both sides will be reviewed here.

One of the major assertions scholars have made is that news coverage on foreign affairs tends to reflect the country's foreign policy (Wood & Peake, 1998, p. 73; Herman, 1993,

p. 45). Some scholars (Bartel, 1996) examined the influence of government on news media and found that news media could not change the “labor division” of government body in foreign policy decision-making process, which means the executive and legislative still possess the power to decide the U.S. foreign policy (p. 18).

Herman (1993) argued that among all the news topics, foreign affairs is the one on which media support the government policy the most (p. 23). He also stated that the Soviet press were criticized by the Soviet official for publishing adversarial comments on the foreign policy (p. 28). On the other hand, the U.S. often served as “supportive arm of the state and dominant elites” (p. 25).

Many scholars have also attempted to explain the mechanism of American news media shaping the U.S. foreign news. Bennett (1990) developed the “indexing” theory by examining closely the media’s coverage of American policy on Nicaragua in the mid-1980s (p. 112), and he found that news media tend to mirror, or “index,” the government debate and merely reflect the ideas and opinion presented in the debate (Bennett, 1990, p. 106; Mermin, 1999, p. 100, p. 143). Mermin (1999) used the “indexing” theory in his research on media coverages on eight cases of U.S. military intervention in the post-Vietnam era (p. 12), and he pointed out that the reliance of media on indexing government debate is significant (p. 100). Mermin concluded that in the foreign policy coverage, there were no independent perspectives other than the ones reflected in the policy debate (p. 143). Kern et al. (1983) used sourcing as a measure of media framing, and they pointed out in their study that use of non-official sources may indicate challenges raised against dominant news frames, and they used different sources to measure the influence of different actors in the society (p. 7).

Robinson (2002) responded to the “CNN effect,” and he stated that news media coverage on Bush’s policy of intervention in Somalia reflected more of indexing than the strong CNN effect, which argues that media could have an influence on foreign policy agenda-setting (p. 59). He found when policy is decided, policy makers tend to influence media coverages towards stances more favorable to them (p. 120).

Some scholars looked beyond government structures and emphasized the impact of ideology and political order on media coverage. Rachlin (1988) has identified the order of American society as hegemonic, which means “a certain way of life and thought is dominant” (p. 24), and the media are greatly influenced by this order (p. 28-29). Rachlin also noted that the U.S. press’s presentation of news events related to the Soviet Union has demonstrated the great influence of the U.S. administration and the political culture of America (p. 93). This means the media coverage became a part of the propaganda of the government since it fits into the ideology that the latter was proposing. He argued that the hegemonic ideology has functioned as part of the domestic order of the nation, which could be found in both international and domestic news (p. 128-129).

However, scholars have also studied the media’s active role in setting the agenda of foreign policy. Some scholars asserted links between media coverage and public opinion, and they claimed that those links condition whether news media coverage would be affected by government policy (Entman, 2004, p. 5). The cascading activation model developed by Entman (2004) helps explain not only how government preferred frames spread to the public via media, but also the condition for contesting frames to rise (p. 5).

Some scholars also claimed that news media have a say in the agenda-setting of government priorities (McCombs & Shaw, 1972, p. 184; Walgrave & Aelst, 2006, p. 93).

During the Vietnam War, the U.S. military claimed that the negative coverage of the U.S. press contributed to the eventual defeat (Hachten et al., 1996, p. 145). A scholar also claimed that the ABC's stories on Somalia "have signaled to the White House" to take necessary actions, which led to the U.S.' involvement in the Somalia humanitarian crisis during George H. W. Bush's administration (Mermin, 1997, p. 402).

### *Sourcing*

Many scholars have recognized the impact of sources on newsgathering (Gans, 1979, p. 144-145; Mermin, 1997, p. 388; Rachlin, 1988, p. 131; Sigal, 1973, p. 123-124; Hallin, 1986, p. 8; Wood and Peake, 1998, p. 175; Bennett, 1990, p.114; Soley, 1992, p. 76). As pointed by Gans (p. 116), "[t]he relationship between sources and journalists resembles a dance, for sources seek access to journalists, and journalists seek access to sources. Although it takes two to tango, either sources or journalists can lead..." Gans noted that powerful sources such as the president of the United States gain access to almost all the news media (p. 119). Gans also noted that reporters tend to rely on sources that can provide information on a regular basis, and public officials including the president become the best available and suitable sources in this sense (p. 144-145).

Mermin (1997) also pointed out in his research that the news frames are affected by both journalists and sources, and sources are likely to influence the news (p. 388). Rachlin (1988) also noted that the reliance of the press on government sources reflected the news media attitude toward government, as they consider government sources as the most credible (p. 131).

Many scholars noticed there has been a trend of relying on official sources in the U.S. media coverage. Sigal (1973) pointed out that many reporters depended on official sources (p. 54) and the “organizational routines and bureaucratic politics” have a great influence on the shaping of news (p. 119). He stated that “nearly one-half of all the sources cited in the sample of Times and Post page-one stories” relied on official sources of the U.S. government (p. 123-124).

Bennett (1990) also used sources as a measure of the external influence on the news creation (p. 114), and he argued that the research results showed that news stories quoted more from government officials (p. 116). Soley (1992) also asserted that there are “systematic biases” in the choice of sources by journalists (p. 17), which was reflected in the dependence on government officials. He also stated that relying on experts from the Council on Foreign Relations has restricted “the range of political opinions that are expressed” (p. 76).

Zelizer, Park and Gudelunas (2002) have examined sourcing patterns of three newspapers in the U.S., The New York Times, the Washington Post and the Chicago Tribune (p. 287). They compared the sources used by the three media on the Middle East coverage across three attributes: the rank of sources consulted (high rank or low rank), the explicitness of sources consulted (anonymous or named) and the nationality of sources consulted (Israeli, Palestinian, U.S./other) (p. 292). By examining those sourcing patterns, they found that The New York Times relied mostly on the US sources when citing anonymously, as compared to Palestinian or Israeli sources. The New York Times was also more likely to use non-official sources when it cited from Palestinian, non-anonymous sources (p. 301).

Horvit (2006) analyzed sourcing in her research on the Iraq War debate coverage, and she categorized sources by their nationalities and whether they are governmental sources (p. 433). By referencing to the sourcing patterns of six media, Horvit found that there is indeed a West vs. non-West Bias in sourcing for the news media, as the non-western news media tend to cite non-western sources, and western news media tended to cite western sources (p. 438).

### *News Agencies*

As many scholars focused on media comparison within the U.S. or other single countries, there are few literatures on cross-country comparison that could reflect some universal characteristics shared by different countries' media. This research will thus focus on three media: The New York Times, the Xinhua News Agency and Informationsnoye agentstvo Rossii TASS (TASS). The New York Times is independent news media, while both the Xinhua News Agency and TASS are state-owned media.

### *The New York Times*

Scholarship is divided in whether The New York Times set the agenda of the U.S. foreign policy or whether the government dominated the Times' coverage.

Some scholars have found that the U.S. media have constantly presented a perspective along the line of the U.S. foreign policy (Herman, 1993, p. 30), and for The New York Times in particular, it relied on government sources when reporting on foreign affairs (Herman, 1993, p. 26; Entman, 1991, p. 25).

Herman (1993) stated that both The New York Times and the Washington Post depended heavily on official sources for international news (p. 26).

Zelizer, Park and Gudelunas (2002) have found that the Times tends to quote more from US sources than foreign sources, and they asserted in their research on The New York Times' coverage on the Middle East that compared with the Washington Post and the Chicago Tribune, the Times "repeatedly turned to U.S. sources when citing anonymously" (p. 301). They also found, surprisingly, that though the Times is always considered as adhering to traditional U.S. journalistic practices, its coverage on the Middle East showed more bias in favor of Israel than objective reporting (p. 303).

Entman (1991) also noted in his study on the framing of The New York Times' coverage on the Korean Air Lines flight shot down by the Soviet Union and Iran Air flight shot down by the U.S. Army incidents that "for breaking foreign news, official sources in the White House, State Department, Pentagon, and other administration outposts hold the commanding influence" (p. 25).

However, some scholars denied the accusation that The New York Times has always been a passive participant in foreign policy when reporting on foreign news.

Barry (1990) argued in his book on The New York Times's coverage on the U.S. foreign policy that the distinction of passive and active participant would be meaningless if we don't take it into account the different stages of foreign policy. He stated that the Times reported more consistently in favor of government policy when it was still in the formulation and execution stages of the U.S. foreign policy, and it used more foreign

officials and appeared active in the outcome stage (p. 143). He stated that “the initial story in foreign policy is more one-sided, less controversial, and more hidden” (p. 148).

Van Belle (2010) also noted that the U.S. government is more affected by The New York Times’ coverage on U.S. foreign aid allocations than by the U.S. television news (p. 278).

Bartel (1996) also found that The New York Times may influence the congressional activities indirectly by either stimulating executive branch activities, which “in turn prompt congressional responses a few days later,” or stimulating more ABC News coverage, which helps trigger congressional responses a week later (p. 12).

#### *Xinhua News Agency (New China News Agency)*

Many scholars have examined the role of the Xinhua News Agency in Chinese foreign policy, and most of them have asserted a close relationship between the news agency and Chinese government (Xin, 2006, p. 47; Chan & Lee, 1991, p. 307; Elliott, 1997, p. 11-13; Chu, 1999, p. 32).

Dial (1976) examined how the Xinhua News Agency, identified as The New China News Agency in his study, functioned as a dual-missioned agency in China, as both a media and also a diplomatic branch of the central government (p. 302-303). He noted that Chinese foreign correspondents often “assumed negotiating roles (p. 303)” in foreign affairs between China and other countries, and the agency’s publications served mostly as “internal” materials targeted at the elites in China who made decisions on the foreign policies (p. 308).

Chu (1999) stated that the Xinhua News Agency bore a dual function as a “diplomatic liaison” with Hong Kong (p. 32). Xin (2006) also found that in the early years when the Xinhua News Agency was firstly established, it was “politically motivated” (p. 47), and it was the “only legitimate national news agency.”

However, many scholars noted the changes that Xinhua has undergone for the past decades. Elliott (1997) noted that the news tended to be more about the future, less negative and less subjective in the 1980s compared to the 1950s (p. 11-13).

Xin (2006) pointed out that because of the commercialization of the media in China, Xinhua became more professional in journalism, providing more investigative stories on corruption, fraudulent business practices, in order to compete with the metropolitan networks (p. 59).

Gang and Bandurski (2011) also noted that the rising of Internet contributes to the change in China, and the media in China “no longer compose a ‘monolithic bloc’” (p. 60). They also stated that the Internet was influencing the agenda-setting on major news issues (p. 61), and the Internet made it possible for media, experts and ordinary members of society to interact with each other in real-time (p. 62).

As for the coverage on international news, Horvit (2006) also found that its coverage on the Iraq War reflected a less dependence on official sources than the Associated Press, its presumably more independent counterpart (p. 441). She also noted that Xinhua’s coverage demonstrated fairer balance in using Western sources and non-Western sources than the Associated Press and ITAR-TASS (p. 438).

*TASS – Russian News Agency*

Scholarship has revealed that TASS, the Russian News Agency, still maintains a close relationship with the Russian government (Camaj, 2010, p. 649; Rantanen & Vartanova, 1995, p. 218). Studies have also shown that TASS, owned by the Russian government, relied mostly on non-Western sources when it covered international affairs (Horvit, 2004, p. 78).

Horvit (2006) noted that the coverage of ITAR-TASS on the Iraq War used mostly Russian official sources, which accounted for more than half the total sources it used (p. 434), and she also noted that ITAR-TASS, among all the six major agencies around the world, reflected a strong nationalistic and regional bias (p. 437-438).

Eckler and Kalyango (2012) found that ITAR-TASS's coverage on the 2008 Russia-Georgia conflict reflected the news agency's propagandistic approach in portraying this incident, as they found that the most prominent theme in the coverage was that of Russia's success in the war and Georgia's defeat (p. 43).

Watanabe (2014) examined the coverage of ITAR-TASS on the Ukraine Crisis in particular and found that its coverage became more Russia-centered after the Crimean secession referendum and more favorable toward Russia's foreign policy (p. 6-7).

An interesting feature of TASS' international news coverage was that nearly half of its stories on the United States used to be taken from The New York Times, which greatly influenced its presentation of the U.S. (Kruglak, 1962, p. 106).

Other than its coverage, TASS's function as part of the Russian government was also examined by many scholars, as well as its transformation into the ITAR-TASS as late as in 1992 (Rantanen & Vartanova, 1995, p. 213).

Schwartz (1970) found that TASS, just like the news agencies from other communist countries, served mostly the government, as the latter owned and controlled the former. Consequently, it wasn't profit-driven at all (p. 743). Alleyne and Wagner (1993) stated that TASS, controlled by the government, functioned more as "an instrument of Soviet domestic and foreign policy" (p. 41). They also noted that the agency started to become diversified and technical in the 1980s (p. 46). Michiewicz (1981) noted that TASS operated under the supervision of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet government, and it was producing news both within the Soviet Union and abroad (p. 52).

Some scholars have found that since the agency was renamed as ITAR-TASS, it underwent some changes, but it also kept some traditions.

Rantanen and Vartanova (1995) noted that ITAR-TASS adopted a more Western style in its coverage, though its operations did not change greatly since its transformation. It is still exempt from taxes, and it has access to the government's communication technology (p. 214).

Camaj (2010) noted in his study that even today (from Feb. 2006 to Dec. 2007) ITAR-TASS journalists still play a more commentary role as they interpreted more than just presenting the facts (p. 649).

## **Research questions**

RQ1 – How do sourcing patterns differ across The New York Times, the Xinhua News Agency and TASS on the Ukraine Crisis?

RQ2 – How do sources impact the direction of the story?

Hypotheses:

H1: The New York Times' coverage would use more official sources from the U.S., and the sources overall would support the U.S. foreign policy, which is against Russia's intervention.

Although there might be some variation in what different U.S. sources said in regard to the Russia's intervention, I expect more reliance on the U.S. official sources and the overall valence more against Russia.

H2: TASS's coverage would use more official sources from the Russian government, and the valence would be more consistent with the Russian foreign policy, which is in favor of the intervention.

## **Methodology**

I will mainly use quantitative content analysis to examine the sourcing patterns of the three media and if there are specific positions on the Ukraine issue of different types of sources.

Content analysis is defined as “a research method that uses a set of procedures to make valid inferences from text” (Weber, 1990, p. 9). Riffe et al. (2005) also stated that quantitative content analysis is “the systematic and replicable examination of symbols of communication,” which, under measurement rules, can be assigned with values, and “the analysis of relationships involving those values using statistical methods, to describe the communication, draw inferences about its meaning, or infer from the communication to its context, both of production and consumption” (p. 25).

The research that used the quantitative content analysis includes Horvit’s research on the media coverage of the Iraq War (2006), which compared the sourcing patterns across six media agencies, including the Associated Press, Agence France Press, Reuters, Xinhua, ITAR-TASS and the Inter Press Service. Rowling et al. (2011) also used the source as the unit of analysis, as they wanted to identify major sources that journalists relied on and examined the perspective of different types of sources, as well as the direction of their opinions (p. 1051).

The quantitative content analysis I will conduct will be two-fold. First, the unit of analysis of my research will be the number of paragraphs per source that the three media used when covering the Ukraine Crisis, and I will code different sources into several categories for the purpose of comparing them across the three media. Second, I will study the valence of each source type, which means their attitudes and positions on Russia’s intervention in Ukraine.

All the paragraphs will be coded by source, as well as valence – positive, negative or neutral – toward Russia’s intervention in Ukraine. Studies by Horvit (2006) and Rowling et al. (2011) used a similar method. Rowling et al. (2011, p. 1052) coded each source’s

statement as “1” if it was congruent with the administration’s messages, “2” if it was mixed/neutral, and “3” if it challenged the administration’s messages.

Sources from Ukraine, Russia, the U.S., China and European Union countries were divided into official and non-official sources. Sources from other countries were coded as either “other official” or “other non-official.” Sources as other media outlets were also coded separately, as well as the paragraphs that weren’t attributed.

### *Sampling*

I used LexisNexis to retrieve random a sample from The New York Times, the Xinhua News Agency and TASS. The time period I selected is from February 2014, when the conflict between the Pro-Russian and the Euromaidan escalated, to December 2014.

The sampling process included selecting news stories by using “Ukraine” and “crisis” as key words. To obtain an equal number of stories across the three media, I randomly selected the news stories from the list I obtained on the LexisNexis. I divided the total number of the stories generated for each news media by 50, which is  $N$ , and use  $(N-1)$  as a skip number. I also filtered the section of the Xinhua News Agency to contain only the political section and The New York Times to contain only the news section. The reason for restricting the sections was to rule out pure financial news, which is composed under different principles than international news. The total number of The New York Times stories generated was 120. For the Xinhua News Agency, it was 1881, many of which had duplicate records. For TASS, the number was 1135. In all, 150 stories were selected, and for each news organization, 50 stories were selected.

## *Coding Protocol*

**Part I. Basic information:** For each story, I will put the following information into a spreadsheet accordingly.

**A) News source:** Put in the news source, as from The New York Times, or the Xinhua News Agency, or TASS.

**B) Headline:** Put in the headline for each story in each cell under the A column.

**C) Word count:** Record the word count of the story as listed by LexisNexis.

**D) Dateline:** Record the date and time of the story as listed by LexisNexis.

**Part II. Sourcing:** For each story, I will record the number of paragraphs for each source, including the total number of paragraphs.

**E) Ukraine official:** official sources, ie. Government, politicians, authorities, military personnel

**F) Ukraine non-official:** civilians, including experts

**G) Russian official:** official sources, ie. Government, politicians, authorities, military personnel

**H) Russian non-official:** civilians, including experts

**I) U.S. official:** official sources, ie. Government, politicians, authorities, military personnel

**J) U.S. non-official:** civilians, including experts

**K) Western European official:** official sources from the European Union member countries, including EU officials

**L) Western European non-official:** civilians including experts from the EU member countries

**M) Other official:** officials from world organizations, such as the United Nations

**N) Other non-official:** civilians from other countries

**O) Other media outlets:** Another paper or agency, such as AP, Al Jazeera etc.

**P) Non attribution:** No source was cited

## Q) Total number of paragraphs

**Part III. Valence:** For each story, I will record the valence of source for each paragraph, and I will then record the number of paragraphs with each type of valence in the appropriate column.

**R) Positive:** Positive toward Russia's intervention in Ukraine

**S) Negative:** Negative toward Russia's intervention in Ukraine

**T) Neutral:** Neutral about Russia's intervention in Ukraine

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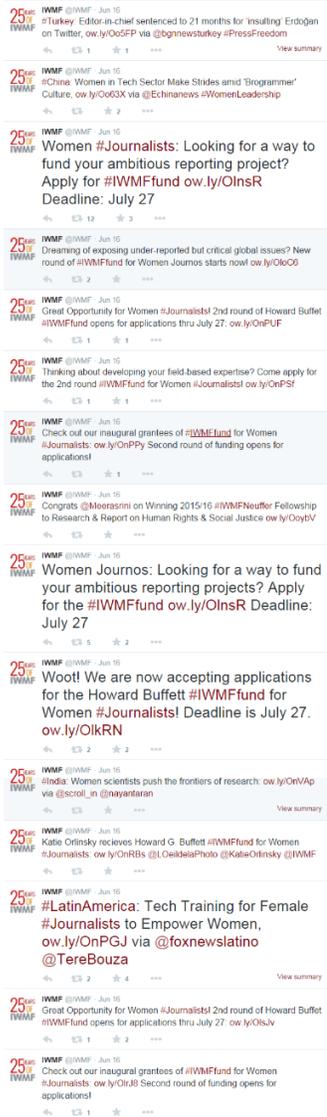
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## APPENDIX II Social Media Curation

Due to the lengths of the Tweets, I cut them into pieces, and you can zoom in to read them clearly. (No need to resize the picture.)





















1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions and activities. It emphasizes the need for transparency and accountability in financial reporting.

2. The second part of the document outlines the various methods and techniques used to collect and analyze data. It includes a detailed description of the experimental procedures and the tools used for data collection.

3. The third part of the document presents the results of the study, including a comparison of the different methods and techniques used. It includes a detailed analysis of the data and a discussion of the implications of the findings.

4. The fourth part of the document discusses the limitations of the study and the need for further research. It also includes a list of references and a list of figures and tables.

5. The fifth part of the document is a conclusion that summarizes the main findings of the study and provides a final assessment of the results.

6. The sixth part of the document is a list of references that includes all the sources used in the study.

7. The seventh part of the document is a list of figures and tables that includes all the visual elements used in the study.

8. The eighth part of the document is a list of appendices that includes all the supplementary material used in the study.

9. The ninth part of the document is a list of acknowledgments that includes all the individuals and organizations that provided support for the study.

10. The tenth part of the document is a list of contact information for the authors and the publisher.





1. The first step in the process of...  
2. The second step is to...  
3. The third step involves...  
4. The fourth step is to...  
5. The fifth step is to...  
6. The sixth step is to...  
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50. The fiftieth step is to...

1. Die folgenden Aussagen sind wahr oder falsch? Begründen Sie Ihre Antwort!  
a) Die Nullmatrix ist invertierbar. (falsch)  
b) Die Inverse einer Matrix ist die Umkehrabbildung. (wahr)  
c) Die Determinante einer Matrix ist das Produkt der Eigenwerte. (wahr)  
d) Die Determinante einer Matrix ist das Produkt der Diagonalelemente. (falsch)  
e) Die Determinante einer Matrix ist das Produkt der Spaltenvektoren. (falsch)  
f) Die Determinante einer Matrix ist das Produkt der Zeilenvektoren. (falsch)  
g) Die Determinante einer Matrix ist das Produkt der Spaltenvektoren und der Zeilenvektoren. (falsch)  
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z) Die Determinante einer Matrix ist das Produkt der Spaltenvektoren und der Zeilenvektoren. (falsch)

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