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Military Women

A Content Analysis of United States and United Kingdom Newspapers Portrayal During the Iraq  
War

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A thesis

presented to

the faculty of the Department of Communication

East Tennessee State University

In partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree

Master of Arts in Professional Communication

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by

Audra J. Fritz

December 2011

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Dr. John King, Chair

Dr. Dan Brown

Dr. Kelly Price

Keywords: women, Iraq War, military service

## ABSTRACT

### Military Women

#### A Content Analysis of United States and United Kingdom Newspapers Portrayal During the Iraq War

by

Audra J. Fritz

The purpose of this study was to determine how the tone and roles of women serving in the Iraq War were portrayed in newspaper articles. Issues of how women in the military were portrayed in terms of page and story prominence were also of importance.

A content analysis was conducted in order to determine the tone, roles, story, and page placement of newspaper articles published in the United States and the United Kingdom over a 7-year time period. Newspaper articles related to the topic were retrieved from the LexisNexis database and analyzed.

The results showed that mentions of military women during the Iraq War in United Kingdom newspapers were almost twice as negative as those in United States newspapers (28.4% vs. 15.5%). Story placement of women in the military was more prominent in United States newspapers than United Kingdom newspapers. Mentions of women in news articles were 14.8 percentage points more positive than those in editorials. The tone of women serving in the military during the Iraq War was most polarized at the beginning of the war and became increasingly neutral as the war progressed.

## DEDICATION

This project is lovingly dedicated to the memory of Paul Asbury, Sr.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to sincerely thank Dr. John King for his helpful guidance and support during this process. Thank you for sharing your time and wisdom. Also, I am greatly appreciative for Dr. Dan Brown and Dr. Kelly Price. Thank you for your willingness to enhance my education and assist me with achieving my goals. I would also like to thank Dr. Kelly Dorgan for all the ways she has inspired me.

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## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

The way in which the media frame issues of national interest is important to understand. According to Goffman (as cited in Bryant & Miron, 2004, p. 693) “frames are definitions of a situation that include organization and subjective elements.” Simply put, frames are used to assist with the perception and the representation of the reality of an issue (Bryant & Miron, 2004, p. 693). Tetteh and King (2011) explained that framing theory “proposes that how an idea, issue, or personality is presented (framed) in the media influence how people think about that issue or personality” (p. 505). It is often the case that individuals form perceptions and opinions based on the information they receive from media sources, regardless of factual basis of such information.

Since the United States initiated the ground campaign phase of Operation Iraqi Freedom in Iraq on March 17, 2003, the public has relied on media for information concerning U.S. occupation, the military campaign, and efforts to rebuild Iraq. The daily lives of the troops have been extensively covered and presented to the American public as a result of embedded journalists located in Iraq. With the increased media coverage of the lives of men and women serving in Iraq, it is important to the public that they receive accurate portrayals of those serving in the military.

Print newspapers are a major source of information for many people. In a 2009 study conducted by the Pew Research Center for the People & The Press, it was determined that regardless of print newspapers’ struggle to stay economically viable, many Americans still list newspapers as their main informational source. The study showed that 41% of them regularly get local news from newspapers (Pew Research Center for the People & The Press, 2009, para 12). Consequently, it is necessary to understand how issues of importance are portrayed in newspapers in order to understand the perceptions and realities people may gain from them.

An area in which there has been much debate over the accuracy of the media's portrayal of their contribution to the Iraq War concerns women serving in the military. According to Thompson, Toro, and Gomez (2007), "mainstream media coverage of war often distorts or ignores women's perspectives and experiences in armed conflict" (p. 435). The media often portray military women as victims in order to attract sympathetic audiences (Thompson et al., 2007, p 435). As is the case with many other areas of life, women and men experience war differently. Regardless of the controversy over the place of women in the military, the presence of women cannot be ignored. Armstrong and Prashad (2005) stated, "War has never been men's work. Women are always part of wars. Women fight and die in wars" (p. 213). It is important to understand how media portray women serving in the military in order to increase the accurate portrayal of their military contributions.

According to the Pew Research Center for Excellence in Journalism (2010), the Iraq War has been one of the top three stories covered by newspapers since 2007 (para. 7). It is not clear from previous research how women serving in the military during the Iraq War are portrayed in newspapers specifically. The researcher sought to address this gap in research.

The aim of the researcher was to examine newspaper coverage of women serving in the military during the Iraq War from March 17, 2003, when the Iraq War officially began, through March 17, 2010, the date of the span of the war at the beginning of this project. The researcher sought to investigate the tone and roles of women serving in the military during the Iraq War in newspapers from both news articles and editorials from the United States and the United Kingdom. Also of importance was the page and story prominence the issue was given. The researcher also examined the trends in newspaper coverage of the topic of women serving in the military during the Iraq War over time.

The results of this research will provide media practitioners with insight into how they are portraying gender related issues, specifically those concerning the role of women in the Iraq War. Similarly, it is hoped that framing, as it pertains to newspapers and issues of gender and war, will be further examined in future studies as a result of this research.

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### Historical Context of the Iraq War

On September 11, 2001, four United States commercial passenger planes were hijacked. The planes were then used to launch an attack on the World Trade Center towers in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. In the wake of the crisis, President George W. Bush declared war on terror and the nations harboring terrorists and their efforts.

The Bush administration developed plans in the fall of 2002 to forcibly remove Iraqi president Saddam Hussein from power. Because the Bush administration believed that the United States, as well as the rest of the world, was facing an imminent threat in the form of weapons of mass destruction, Hussein was charged with holding and developing these weapons. On March 17, 2003, President Bush publicly addressed the nation in a televised speech during which he gave Saddam Hussein 48 hours to leave Iraq. If Hussein did not comply, the United States military would remove him by force (Bush, 2003).

The Iraq War, also referred to as the “Occupation of Iraq,” the “Second Gulf War,” and “Operation Iraqi Freedom,” began with the United States and United Kingdom’s invasion of Iraq on March 19, 2003. The invasion was led by the Third Infantry division from Kuwait into Iraqi territory (Allawi, 2007, p. 89). Since the invasion in March 2003, the media have consistently provided daily accounts of the happenings in Iraq.

#### Historical Context of Women Serving in the Military

Throughout the history of war, military recruitment efforts and military operations have been driven by masculinity (Feitz & Nagel, 2008, p. 201). Feitz and Nagel (2008) stated that not all men “love war, make war, or advocate war,” but that the connection between masculinity and war is longstanding (p. 201). There are those in today’s society who still feel challenged by

female immersion into historically male-dominated fields, and war is no exception (Ruffin, 2009, p. 2).

Despite the conflicts concerning female involvement in the U.S. military, women have served in various capacities during every armed conflict since the American Revolution (Ruffin, 2009, p. 2). It is not that the presence of women in the military is questioned, but their role in modern combat is. Regardless of their efforts to serve, the military has routinely dismissed women to second-class status. According to Howard and Prividera (2004), the problematic nature of dismissing women to lower ranks increased when the number of women in the military grew from 3% in 1972 to 14% in 1999 (p.89). Becraft (1988) asserted that the rise in the percentage of women in the military and the growing number of career fields open to them are the direct result of recent political and legal decisions. Even though rules have been established to exclude women from certain forms of combat, the nature of the current battlefield makes it impossible to strictly enforce such rules without seriously reducing combat capabilities, “degrading the professional development and thus the status of women, and producing a potentially serious reduction in overall readiness” (Putko & Johnson, 2008, p. vii). Regardless of the recent steps toward equality between the genders for those enlisted in the military, women are still often required to fill support roles such as cooks, nurses, and mechanics (Howard & Prividera, 2004, p. 89).

According to Rogan (1981) women’s involvement in war and civil conflict has, for the most part, been more acceptable in revolutionary, underground, terrorist, resistance, or partisan movements. According to research conducted by Putko and Johnson (2008), as of 2007, women comprised 15% of the United States Army (p.27). This statistic, of course, does not include all other branches of the United States military, but the increase in involvement in this specific branch is significant for the military as a whole. Even though the number of women serving in

the military has increased, the media's portrayal of their participation in military combat still remains marginal.

There has always been contention surrounding feminine involvement in the U.S. military, and that contention continues to be played out as result of American media's symbolic portrayal of women in war reporting (Ruffin, 2009, p. 34). As the number of women serving in the military continues to rise, it is important to examine the media's portrayal of female involvement in present war situations. Thus, this study analyzes the media's portrayal of women serving in the military during the Iraq War from March 17, 2003 until March 17, 2010.

The analysis of media coverage of women serving in the Iraq War from 2003 to 2010 includes several factors worth reviewing in previously published literature. The issues reviewed include theoretical implications pertaining to media framing and agenda setting. The issue of the media's historical portrayal of women serving in the military during war times is also explored.

#### United States and United Kingdom

According to Calabrese (2001), Winston Churchill described the relationship between the United States and the United Kingdom as a "special relationship" (p. 57). Calabrese also explained that Coral Bell describes the relationship between the United States and the United Kingdom as, "not a construction but a capacity – a capacity to see the elements of common interests in whatever international storms the time may bring" (p. 57).

Even before the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, the Middle East was a "geopolitical focal point" for the attention of both the United States and the United Kingdom (Calabrese, 2001, p. 58). The United States and the United Kingdom shared interests and objectives in both world wars, and those interests and objectives were confirmed further during their cooperation throughout the Cold War (Calabrese, 2001, p. 64). Calabrese (2001) suggested that it is crucial for the United States to draw support from its traditional European allies for its

Middle Eastern policies (p.85). While there has certainly been tension between the United States and the United Kingdom over the course of history, the United States and the United Kingdom have worked together to effectively deal with their differences in order to maintain similar policies. As Calabrese stated, “Developing and executing such a strategy depends in no small measure on a fundamental unity of purpose, as well as continued close cooperation between Washington and London” (p. 58). Similarly, though the United States and the United Kingdom do not share identical ideas about international responsibility, historically both have agreed that common goals could be reached through compatibility (Calabrese, 2001, p. 68). Despite the similarities in international policies pertaining to the Middle East, it is important to examine the possibility of a difference in their attitudes toward women serving in Iraq.

According to Segal (1995), “There are times when women’s military involvement may be seen as an extension of women’s roles as mother’s protecting their children” (p. 761). Segal also stated that when there is a high threat to society, the roles of women in the military tend to increase (p. 761). Because of the imminent threat of terrorist attacks on the United States, the increased involvement of women in the military during the Iraq War could be attributed to this notion. Consequently, because the United States suffered a greater loss than the United Kingdom from the terrorist attacks on September 11<sup>th</sup>, the issue of women serving to protect their country could contribute to the difference in the way women are portrayed in the United States and United Kingdom.

The diplomatic relationship between the United States and the United Kingdom has become increasingly important in the wake of the September 11<sup>th</sup> terrorist attacks on the United States. In addition to the historical relationship between the United States and the United Kingdom the latter has its own personal reasoning for continuing a cooperative relationship with the United States as it pertains to issues of terrorism, and most specifically, the Iraq War. The

United Kingdom has been the victim of perpetuated attacks by al-Qaida or its loyalists, as have other nations including Egypt, Indonesia, Jordan, Kenya, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Spain, Turkey, and Yemen (Pressman, 2009, p. 156).

### Framing

Prior research in framing explains how media portray various kinds of information. According to Miller (2002) instead of expressing direct opinions about topics, the media highlight the topics that people should have opinions about. Before the media can highlight an issue, the attention of the audience must be gained (Miller, 2002). The media use framing in order to determine what stories will maintain the interest of their audiences. Certain portions of information are oftentimes highlighted or excluded from a news story. The media engage in such actions in order to receive a specific reaction from the public.

Framing has been defined various ways by a variety of scholars. Dillard, Solomon, and Samp (1996) stated, “Frames are the lenses through which social reality is viewed” (p. 706). Shen (2004) explained that, “. . .media frames can have significant consequences on how audiences perceive and understand issues and can alter public opinions on ambivalent and controversial issues” (p. 402). Consequently, the tone of a message can be changed as a result of the material included or omitted from a story. The relevance of issues to the audience can be increased as a result of the media’s use of framing when producing a news story.

An example of the media’s use of framing in order to receive a specific reaction from an audience would be the portrayal of women serving in the military during the Iraq War. Reporters can highlight various issues concerning feminine involvement in military combat. They can focus on female soldiers’ completion of tasks traditionally only completed by male soldiers. On the other hand, a female soldier’s emotions can be highlighted in order to challenge the idea that women should be involved in military combat. According to Howard and Prividera



(2004), “The media further complicates women’s military roles by representing stories consistent with the dominant patriarchal militaristic narrative” (p.89). It can be asserted that the media often frame the emotions, femininity, and traditional gender roles when portraying women in their war reports.

In her study on the representation of women in war, Del Zotta (2002) argued “When women’s experiences *do* appear in the press or on television they are framed in such a way as to support elite masculinist interpretations of conflict, informed by ‘official voices” (p. 142).

Howard and Prividera (2004) argued that the media frame traditional patriarchal roles for female and male soldiers (p.89). According to Howard and Prividera, “The pervasiveness of the American news media and their function as an outlet for militaristic and masculinist rhetoric provide a foundational source for learning and/or reifying ‘appropriate’ gendered meanings” (p.89). This is done by framing females in such a way that focuses on specific gender roles instead of highlighting feats achieved by women that were traditionally achieved solely by their male counterparts.

In a study on a cross-national framing strategies in Nicaragua’s Contra War, McAdam, McCarthy, and Zald stated that framing is “the conscious strategic efforts by groups of people to fashion shared understandings of the world and of themselves that legitimate and motivate collective action” (as cited in Bayard de Volo, 2004, p. 717). According to various studies, polarized frames of masculinity and femininity can be observed during war (Bayard de Volo, 2004; Enloe, 2001; Goldstein, 2001; Nagel, 1998). This study found that women were often framed as maternal, and this type of imagery stirred emotion cross-culturally. While the focus of this study was Nicaragua’s Contra War, its implications are applicable to the study of the framing of women serving in the Iraq War. As Taylor suggested, (as cited in Bayard de Volo, 2004, p. 718) “Gender, as a constitutive element of social interaction, is key to making sense of

the wartime struggle for hearts and mind—a struggle that includes mobilizing people to collective action.” Consequently, as a result of the emotions evoked by war and the human struggle to legitimize sending women to war, it is necessary to understand the way women are framed in the media during war.

Ruffin (2009) conducted a study that analyzed female war veterans in the American media in order to gain a better understanding of the media’s representation of American women war veterans and the media’s reception and interpretations of female participation in combat action. Ruffin asserted that the stories of the men and women who serve our nation need to be told accurately in order to assure that their “sacrifices and triumphs are not forgotten” (p 4). In relation to media framing, Ruffin stated, “Many in the media seem to feel that heroes must be embedded within a recognizable mythos, a grand narrative. When the facts and clarifications come out, the story is often no less riveting, but it becomes tainted by the previous elaboration” (p. 5). The framing of war stories portraying women in a certain light often contributes to the diminishing of the facts of their contribution to the United States military.

If reporters focus only on certain issues of female involvement in military combat that reiterate traditional gender roles, other aspects of their contributions will be excluded. When the media frame stories about women in the military to arouse emotion from issues of motherhood, sacrifice, or struggle, the tone of the story is ultimately influenced. When only one-sided stories are reported, the audience’s ability to reach an objective conclusion is severely jeopardized.

### Agenda Setting

The agenda-setting theory asserts “People are aware or not aware, pay attention to or neglect, play up or downgrade specific features of the public scene” as a result of news media (Shaw, 1979, p. 96). Shaw (1979) explained that people often include or omit from their minds the information the media choose to include or omit from their content (p. 96). Simply stated,

the agenda setting theory suggests that the media tell the public what to think about based on the issues covered at a given point in time. It is important to understand agenda setting in relation to this research endeavor because it affects the way audiences receive media portrayals of women serving in the military during the Iraq War. However, this study does not specifically aim to apply this method to the data when researching the media's portrayal of women serving in the Iraq War.

An aspect of agenda setting that often occurs pertaining to the media's portrayal of women in the military is sensationalism. According to McQuail (as cited in Operation Iraqi Freedom, 2000, para. 4), sensationalism is used by the media as a tool to attract attention and induce emotion from audiences. Sensationalism uses stories, graphics, or language that is exciting and shocking in order to generate an increased level of interest in the story being reported. In a study conducted by Wanta and Hu (1993), agenda-setting was examined with relation to its impact on international news. The results of their study suggested that stories with high degrees of conflict and that include Americans in their stories have the strongest agenda-setting impact (Wanta & Hu, 1993).

One example of agenda setting that has occurred pertaining to female involvement in the Iraq War is the media's portrayal of the rescue of Private First Class Jessica Lynch of Palestine, West Virginia (Feitz & Nagel, 2008, p 204). At the onset of the United States's invasion of Iraq in March 2003, a caravan of 18 vehicles and 33 soldiers was attacked. The company attacked was a support unit of the U.S. Army's 507<sup>th</sup> Maintenance Company that included cooks, clerks, and repairmen (Feitz & Nagel, 2008, p. 205). Jessica Lynch, a 19-year-old supply clerk, suffered from various injuries, and she was then taken to have her injuries treated at an Iraqi hospital. Lynch was one of the three women taken prisoner by Iraqi soldiers, but it was her story that was given prominence over the others.

In the 2008 article, “The Militarization of Gender and Sexuality in the Iraq War”, Feitz and Nagel discussed the media’s use of agenda setting when broadcasting the rescue of Private Jessica Lynch. They argued that the media wanted audiences to see the positive side of the war, and the dramatic rescue details were widely circulated by the U.S. news media (Feitz & Nagel, 2008, p. 206). Not only were the media concerned with portraying the shocking and exciting elements of the dramatic rescue, but they also set the agenda for audiences to view women serving in the military in a specific light. The U.S. media portrayed Lynch’s rescue as “the heroic rescue of damsels in distress – American men saving a pretty, young, white American woman from possible sexual and personal assault by dark and dangerous Iraqis” (Feitz & Nagel, 2008, p. 206). According to Tucker and Walton (2006), “The spinning and counter-spinning of Lynch’s story moved the traditional captivity narrative into a new form of imperial myth making, obliterating hierarchies of race, gender and class at home, while setting Lynch in a foreign land where she was threatened by male, Arabic soldiers” (p. 311). As Tucker and Walton suggested, the fact that these women were even fulfilling a role that allowed them to be captured reflects how widely the roles of women in the military have expanded (p. 314). The media’s agenda was not to focus on Lynch’s contributions to the war effort but to highlight her male-dominated rescue, once again reverting to the traditional gender roles promoted by a patriarchal society.

#### Involvement of Women in the Iraq War

Despite the traditional resistance to women serving in direct combat during war, the increased number of women included in military ranks has become a resource for military leaders (Feitz & Nagel, 2008, p. 202). The media consistently focus on female contributions to war efforts by using sensationalism or appealing to the emotions of consumers by highlighting the feminine aspects of their service. Research suggests, however, that women soldiers, sailors, and National Guard personnel are playing parts not anticipated when first joining the service

(Feitz & Nagel, 2008, p. 203). Many women who initially served in support roles have found themselves in very different situations while serving in the Iraq War. In her book *Band of Sisters: American Women at War in Iraq*, Holmstedt (2008) interviewed 12 American women soldiers in order to share their accounts of their service in the Iraq War. Holmstedt stated, “Plenty of women in support roles have found themselves in vicious fire fights, under attack by mortar and rockets, and taking hostile fire in the air” (p. xx). Simply stated, combat does not stop for women. A female marine shared in her account to Holmstedt, “A missile doesn’t target a specific gender” (p. xx). That being said, it is important to understand that women, while not allowed to serve in the same capacities as men, are affected by the same weapons that wound and kill them.

In a study conducted by the United States Army War College (USAWC) in 2008, it was determined that students are familiar with the ground combat exclusion policy for female soldiers, but their perception is that, because of the asymmetric nature of the war in Iraq, the Army does not follow the policy and female soldiers are engaged in direct ground combat (Putko, 2008, p. 1). The study concluded that the Department of Defense should revise the female combat exclusion policy to realistically reflect the roles that female soldiers currently fill in combat (Putko, 2008, p.3). This is significant to the efforts of this study because it further emphasizes the importance of accurate media portrayal of the actual involvement of women in war efforts instead of sensitized information reported to solicit a response from audiences.

According to Oliver (2008) the images derived from recent wars that are most haunting are those of women (p.1). The author shares examples including the capture and rescue of Pfc. Jessica Lynch, Palestinian women suicide bombers, and the images at the Abu Ghraib prison of Pfc. Lynndie England and Army Spc. Sabrina Harman (Oliver, 2008). As the media released stories and images about the involvement of women in the military during the Iraq War, feelings

of both shock and fascination were evoked from the American public. As Oliver shared, these stories “share a sense of shock and confusion evidenced by various conflicting accounts of what it means for women to wage war” (p.1). Such images and stories, particularly those that portray sexual abuse or torture, prompted debates over the role of women in the military.

According to Cordesman (2003) the role of women in combat in the Iraq War has been exceedingly different from their role in any other war (p. 471). Approximately 15% of the United States military was made up of women (Cordesman, 2003, p. 471). More women held high-risk jobs during the Iraq War than any other war, specifically the Gulf War. Cordesman stated that (as of 2003) there were no reports within the military of problems pertaining to gender and combat in high-risk roles (p.471). Cordesman stated, “...this experience is a further refutation of the arguments that women cannot perform such duties or will disrupt operations in wartime” (p.471). Consequently, women serving in the military should be treated accordingly, regardless of their gender.

#### Media Coverage of Military Women During War

Because there is limited research available that pertains to the media’s portrayal of women during the Iraq War specifically, it is important that prior research concerning the media’s portrayal of women in the military be examined.

U.S. Army Captain Linda Bray led her troops in an assault in Panama on December 20, 1989 at the height of the U.S. invasion of Panama. Ruffin (2009) explained that Bray’s heroism was quickly replaced with negativity when the military realized that the issue of women serving in combat was surfacing as controversial. She stated, “It took only a few days for the media and the military to begin placing a negative spin upon Bray’s initial story” (Ruffin, 2009, p. 43). Because the media had framed the story in a way that the public deemed unfavorable, the accuracy of the story was quickly sacrificed in order to create more favorable results.

Fiala (2008) asserted that women are discussed in terms of their participation in war (p.49). She explained that stories about women going off to war often give audiences the false impression that a woman's military involvement requires her to leave her family in order to do a man's job (Fiala, 2008, p. 52).

Based on previous research concerning the history of the media's portrayal of women serving in the military, it can be asserted that the image the media depict often affects the audience's response to their opinions about the role women play in the military.

## CHAPTER 3

### RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESES

#### Hypotheses

Hypotheses were formed through previous research and analysis and from information gained from the literature review. The researcher formulated and tested 11 hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1 examined the tone of women serving in Iraq mentions between United States and United Kingdom newspapers. The tone was recognized as negative, neutral, and positive.

Hypothesis 1: Mentions of women in the military in UK newspapers will more frequently be negative than mentions of women in the military in US newspapers.

Hypothesis 2 examined the roles of women in the military as depicted by US and UK newspapers. Roles were recognized as feminine, neutral, or masculine.

Hypothesis 2: Mentions of women in the military in US newspapers will more frequently depict women in feminine roles compared to mentions of women in the military in UK newspapers.

Hypothesis 3 evaluated the story placement of women in the military in both US and UK newspapers.

Hypothesis 3: Story placement of women in the military will be more prominent in US newspapers than UK newspapers.

Hypothesis 4 concerned the page prominence of mentions of women in the military in both US and UK newspapers.

Hypothesis 4: Mentions of women in the military in US newspapers will more frequently appear on front pages or section fronts than mentions of women in the military in UK newspapers.

Hypothesis 5 examined the tone of mentions of women serving in the military compared to whether they appeared in news or editorial pieces.



Hypothesis 5: Mentions of women serving in the military will be more positive in news features than editorial pieces.

Hypothesis 6 concerned the roles of women serving in the military as depicted by news features and editorial pieces.

Hypothesis 6: Mentions of women in news features will more frequently depict women in masculine roles compared to mentions of women in the military in editorial pieces.

Hypothesis 7 measured the story placement of women in the military in both news features and editorial pieces.

Hypothesis 7: Story placement of women in the military will be more prominent in editorials than news features.

Hypothesis 8 compared the tone of the mentions of women serving in Iraq between time periods one, two, and three. Time periods were defined as follows:

- 1: March 17, 2003, through July 17, 2005.
- 2: July 18, 2005, through November 17, 2007
- 3: November 18, 2007, through March 17, 2010

Hypothesis 8: Mentions of women in the military in time period 1 will more frequently be positive than mentions of women in the military in times periods 2 and 3.

Hypothesis 9 compared the roles of women in the military between three equal time periods from March 17, 2003, to March 17, 2010.

Hypothesis 9: Mentions of women in the military in time period 1 will more frequently depict women in feminine roles compared to mentions of women in the military in time periods 2 and 3.

Hypothesis 10 evaluated the story placement of women in time periods 1, 2, and 3.

Hypothesis 10: Story placement of women in the military will be more prominent in time period 1 than periods 1 and 2.

Hypothesis 11 measured the page prominence of mentions of women in the military in time periods 1, 2, and 3.

Hypothesis 11: Mentions of women in the military in time period 1 will more frequently appear on front pages or section fronts than mentions of women in the military in time periods 2 and 3.

## CHAPTER 4

### METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study was to determine the way women serving in the Iraq war were portrayed in newspaper articles. A quantitative content analysis was conducted for this study in order to determine the tone, roles, story, and page placement of newspaper articles published in both the United States and the United Kingdom over a 7-year time period. According to White and Marsh (2006) content analysis has been widely used in mass communications research since the 1950s (p. 22). White and Marsh stated that content analysis is “a systematic, rigorous approach to analyzing documents obtained or generated in the course of research” (p. 22). Content analysis is used in many fields as an effective tool to reach research goals.

Various studies have employed content analysis as a way to measure media effects on a variety of subjects. John, Domke, Coe, and Graham (2007) used content analysis in their study of the Bush administration and the press after the September 11<sup>th</sup> terrorism attacks on the United States. John et al. examined news coverage about the Homeland Security Act and Iraq. They stated, “This approach provides structure to complex discourse, which makes dealing with a large collection of texts manageable” (p. 202). Kutz-Flamenbaum (2007) employed content analysis from October 2002 through January 2005 as a means of analyzing activist repertoire that challenged gender assumptions and anti-war movements in American culture. In a study examining public opinion between 9/11 and the beginning of the Iraq War, Sparrow and Stroud (2011) used content analysis to look at poll questions and public opinion in the media. Content analysis has been used to study issues of gender and war and is thus used as an effective method for this study.

## Research Design and Coding

The LexisNexis database was used to retrieve the newspaper articles that were used for the study. Data were collected from March 17, 2003, to March 17, 2010. This 7-year time period was chosen because the United States ground troops invaded Iraq on March 17, 2003. The end date of March 17, 2010 was chosen to give the researcher a precise 7-year period from which to gather data. Additionally, the time period was divided into three equal time periods. The first time period examined was March 17, 2003, through July 17, 2005. The second time period was July 18, 2005, through November 17, 2007. The third time period for examination was November 18, 2007, through March 17, 2010. The division of the 7-year time period was done in order to determine if there were any changes in the trends in the way the media portray women serving in the military during the Iraq War over time.

The unit of analysis for this study was individual mentions of “women” within the articles generated by random sampling. Dependent variables for the study include tone of the mention of women serving in Iraq (positive, negative, neutral), story placement of the article (lead, headline, body, paired with graphic or photo), page prominence (front page, section front, inside page), and the role women are fulfilling in the mention (feminine or masculine). Independent variables include the nation (United States or United Kingdom), whether the piece is a news article or editorial piece, and the date.

Using LexisNexis, the researcher searched the terms “women and Iraq and military service.” This term was chosen after searching various terms. The chosen phrase yielded the most relevant results pertaining to the goal of this project. Sampling was used in order to assure that the articles generated had an equal chance of being selected. The online sampling source Research Randomizer (<http://www.randomizer.org/>) was used. The population size of the newspapers articles retrieved by LexisNexis was over 3,000. As a result, the sample was from

1,000 articles from LexisNexis. There were 135 different newspapers (See Appendix B) examined from the sample, but many of newspapers generated articles multiple times. For this study, a simple random sample of 400 articles was chosen. Because many of the articles had multiple mentions of the unit of analysis within stories, the sample size grew substantially. As a result, a .01 level of probability was set for this study.

This study analyzed the following independent variables: nation, news or editorial, and time. The dependent variables were tone, roles, story, and page. The tone variable determined whether the unit of analysis was positive, negative, or neutral. Positive mentions included those that portrayed women in a way that highlighted their ability to serve effectively in the military while negative mentions were those that criticized their service. For example, the phrase “...Congress kept that ban because women do not have the required upper-body strength...” (Scarborough, 10/17/2005), was coded as negative. The headline “Majority of Americans approve of women serving in Iraq” (5/26/2005, *USA Today*) was coded as positive. The roles variable measured whether the unit of analysis was masculine, feminine, or neutral. For example, “heroism is a reminder that women no longer serve only as nurses”(*St. Petersburg Times*, 7/4/2005) is a phrase that would have been coded as masculine. Similarly, the phrase, “More women have fought, and died, in Iraq than in any previous U.S. war” (*St. Petersburg Times*, 7/4/2005) was coded as masculine because it highlighted the gender’s capability of serving equally alongside male counterparts. The sentence, “Serving in Iraq or Afghanistan can pose particular challenges for women who are their child's primary caregiver. Many women cite family benefits as a reason for joining the armed forces, but the career choice also can separate them from loved ones” was coded as feminine because it suggested that women should stay home in order to fill traditional maternal roles (*Waterloo Courier*, 3/30/2008).

The story variable measured where the unit of analysis was located in the story. The story variable could be located in the lead, headline, or body, or it could be paired with a graphic or photo. The page variable measured the placement of the unit of analysis within the newspaper—front page, section front, or inside page.

### Inter-Coder Reliability Analysis

Coding instruments used were the LexisNexis database, a coding instruction sheet, and a coding sheet. Two experienced coders were responsible for the coding of the material. Three trial rounds of newspaper analysis were conducted in order to assure inter-coder reliability, and 40 articles were coded during each session. The trial sample of data collection came from newspaper articles outside the random sample generated for this study.

For this study, two trained coders, including the primary researcher, participated in coding training sessions. The primary researcher shared information with the second coder in order to assure that both coders understood the variables to be coded. After each coder was aware of what to look for when coding, each coder coded newspapers articles outside of the random sample generated for the study. The coders each used the coding scheme that was used consistently throughout the entire project (see Appendix A). The coders analyzed the articles, and more specifically, the sentences and phrases in which the unit of analysis was found. Each variable, both independent and dependent, was coded for each mention of the unit of analysis.

During the third and final training session, the coders reached 100% agreement on the nation, time, and news or editorial variables. A 95% agreement was reached for the tone, roles, and story variables. The coders reached a 90% agreement on the page variable. Holsti's (1969) formula to measure inter-coder reliability was then applied to the coding results. The Holsti (1969) formula for inter-coder reliability states,  $2M/N1+N2$ , where M is the number of coding decisions the two judges agree on, and N1 and N2 refer to the number of coding decisions made

by each respective coder. For this study, the Holsti formula  $(2(270)/280+280)$  yielded a .96 agreement coefficient. When the Holsti formula was applied to the tone, roles, and story variables,  $(2(38)/40+40)$ , a .95 agreement coefficient was reached. The page variable yielded a .90 agreement coefficient when the Holsti formula was used  $(2(36)/40+40)$ . The level of significance for this study was set at .01 as a result of the number (777) of mentions for the unit of analysis.

### Limitations

There are limitations to this study in need of discussion. Newspapers were the only form of media used for this study. Future research might include other forms of media such as television, radio, magazines, blogs, or other online news sources. The newspapers used for this study were retrieved using the LexisNexis database. The use of the LexisNexis database limits this study because not all newspapers are available for access through the LexisNexis database. While the use of the LexisNexis is considered a limitation, it is important to note that approximately 2.5 billion documents are available through LexisNexis, and 15 million documents are added weekly (Neuendorf, 2002, p. 215). Neuendorf (2002) stated that LexisNexis is perhaps the most well-constructed archive on earth (p. 215). For this study, the newspapers were limited to only those from the United States and the United Kingdom. The unit of analysis, “women”, could also be a limitation. Different newspapers could use different terms to describe the subject such as females, girls, ladies, etc. As a result, there could therefore be articles concerning the topic of women serving in the Iraq War that were not included in the sample. Another limitation of this study was that only English language newspapers were analyzed.

## CHAPTER 5

### RESULTS

#### Introduction

In order to test hypotheses in this study, chi-square tests and frequency tables were analyzed. The quantitative data yielded from these tests is included in the results sections. Each hypothesis is matched with the corresponding data. In order to limit the number of empty or low frequency cells, some variables were collapsed.

#### Frequencies

The frequency data yielded a general overview of the information found. This information is shown first.

A random sample of 400 newspaper articles was coded from a search that was generated using the search terms “women”, “Iraq”, and “military service.” From these articles, 777 mentions of the unit of analysis (“women”) were coded. The United States had the highest number of women mentions, with 90.5%. There were only 74 mentions of women in United Kingdom newspapers with 9.5%. Mentions of women were most frequent in news pieces, with 66.5% of mentions. Mentions of women in editorials occurred in 33.5% of the articles.

The frequency of mentions was highest during the time period of March 17, 2003 through July 17, 2005, with 46.7%. The frequency of mentions during the time period of July 18, 2005 through November 17, 2007 was second highest with 30.8%. The lowest frequency of mentions occurred between November 17, 2007 and March 17, 2010, with 22.5%.

When mentions by tone were analyzed, a mention was considered neutral if it was not predominantly positive or negative. Neutral mentions of women occurred most frequently with 54.2%. Positive mentions were the second most prominent with 29.1%. Negative mentions were the least prominent with only 16.7%.



When mentions by role were analyzed, a neutral role was defined as one that was not predominantly masculine or feminine. Neutral mentions had the highest frequency with 55%. Masculine mentions accounted for 27.3%, and feminine mentions accounted for 17.8%.

The majority of women mentions were in the body of the article, with 85.8%. Mentions in the lead were defined as any mention in the first two sentences. Mentions paired with a graphic were defined as occurring as a part of an article with a photo feature. Mentions paired with a graphic accounted for 12.4% while mentions in the headline accounted for 1.6%. The lowest frequency of mentions occurred in the lead with only 0.3%.

In order to eliminate low expected frequency count cells, story placement was condensed for future chi-square analysis. Mentions in the lead, headline, and those paired with a graphic were grouped together. Mentions in the body remained solitary. Mentions in the body accounted for 85.8% while all other mentions accounted for 14.2%.

The front was defined as any mention that occurred on the front page. The section front was defined as any mention that was featured on a section front. Mentions that occurred on any pages other than the front page or section front were defined as inside page. The majority of women mentions were on inside pages (66.3%) followed by mentions on the section front (11.8%) then mentions on the front page (4.9%).

Page placement was condensed in order to eliminate cells with lower than expected frequencies for chi-square analysis. Mentions that occurred on the front page and section front were combined to account for 16.7% while inside mentions (83.3%) remained alone.

### Hypothesis 1

Table 1 illustrates the results of the first hypothesis: Mentions of women in the military in UK newspapers will more frequently be negative than mentions of women in the military in US newspapers.

As shown in Table 1, the results lend support for the hypothesis. Mentions of women in United Kingdom newspapers were almost twice as negative as those in United States newspapers. While the tone of mentions of women in UK newspapers is more negative it is also more positive.

Table 1

#### *Tone of Women by Nation*

Country	Positive	Neutral	Negative
US	200 (28.5%)	394 (56%)	109 (15.5%)
UK	26 (35.1%)	27 (36.5%)	21 (28.4%)

N=777, Chi-square=12.39, df=2, p<.01

### Hypothesis 2

Table 2 displays the results of the second hypothesis: Mentions of women in the military in US newspapers will more frequently depict women in feminine roles compared to mentions of women in the military in UK newspapers.

As Table 2 demonstrates, the hypothesis is not supported. Feminine mentions of women in United Kingdom newspapers were more frequent than feminine mentions of women in United States newspapers. It is important to note, however, that mentions of women in United Kingdom newspapers were also more masculine.

Table 2

*Role of Women by Nation*

Country	Masculine	Neutral	Feminine
US	186 (26.5%)	400 (56.9%)	117 (16.6%)
UK	26 (35.1%)	27 (36.5%)	21 (28.4%)

Note: N=777; chi-square=12.12; df=2; p<.01

Hypothesis 3

Table 3 displays the results of the third hypothesis: Story placement of women in the military will be more prominent in US newspapers than UK newspapers.

As Tables 3 and 4 show, this hypothesis was strongly supported. Story placement of women in the military was more prominent in United States newspapers than United Kingdom newspapers.

Table 3

*Story Placement of Women by Nation*

Country	Lead	Headline	Body	With Graphic
US	2 (.3%)	12 (1.8%)	569 (84.4%)	91 (13.5%)
UK	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	69 (98.6%)	1 (1.4%)

N=744, chi-square= 10.41, df=3, 3 cells (37.5%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .19.

In order to eliminate cells with lower than expected frequencies, story placement was condensed to include lead, headline, and paired with graphic together while body remained solitary in Table 4.

Table 4

*Story Placement of Women by Nation (condensed)*

Country	Body	Lead head graphic
US	569 (84.4%)	105 (15.6%)
UK	69 (98.6%)	1 (1.4%)

N=744, Chi-square=10.39, df=1, p<.001

Hypothesis 4

Hypothesis 4 measured the page placement of women by nation. Hypothesis 4 stated that mentions of women in the military in US newspapers will more frequently appear on front pages or section fronts than mentions of women in the military in UK newspapers. As Table 5 shows, Hypothesis 4 was supported.

Table 5

*Page Placement of Women by Nation*

Country	Front	Section Front	Inside
US	29 (5.1%)	72 (12.8%)	462 (82.1%)
UK	1 (1.8%)	1 (1.8%)	53 (96.4%)

N=618, Chi-square= 7.48, df= 2, p=n.s.;1 cells (16.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 2.67.

In order to eliminate cells with a low expected count, the front and section front were combined while the inside mentions remained solitary. Table 6 shows that Hypothesis 4 was strongly supported.

Table 6

*Page Placement of Women by Nation (condensed)*

Country	Front or Section Front	Inside
US	101 (17.9%)	462 (82.1%)
UK	2 (3.6%)	53 (96.4%)

N=618, Chi-square= 7.38, df=1, p<.01

Hypothesis 5

Hypothesis 5 stated that mentions of women serving in the military will be more positive in news articles than editorial pieces. As Table 7 reflects, the hypothesis is strongly supported.

Table 7

*Tone of Women by News or Editorial*

News/Editorial	Positive	Neutral	Negative
News	176 (34.0%)	263 (50.9%)	78 (15.1%)
Editorial	50 (19.2%)	158 (60.8%)	52 (20.0%)

N=777, Chi-square=18.67, df=2, p<.001

Hypothesis 6

Hypothesis 6 stated that mentions of women in news articles will more frequently depict women in masculine roles compared to mentions of women in the military in editorial pieces.

Table 8 shows that this hypothesis is supported.

Table 8

*Role of Women by News or Editorial*

News or Editorial	Masculine	Neutral	Feminine
News	162 (31.3%)	273 (52.8%)	82 (15.9%)
Editorial	50 (19.2%)	154 (59.3%)	56 (21.5%)

N=777, Chi-square=13.73, df=2, p<.001

### Hypothesis 7

Hypothesis 7 stated that story placement of women in the military will be more prominent in editorials than news articles. Table 9 displays the results of Hypothesis 7. Because low frequency cells were present, the variables were collapsed. Lead, headline, and paired with graphic were grouped together while body remained solitary. As Table 10 displays, this hypothesis was not supported.

Table 9

#### *Story Placement of Women by News or Editorial*

News or Editorial	Lead	Headline	Body	With Graphic
News	2 (.4%)	7 (1.4%)	406 (82.7%)	76 (15.5%)
Editorial	0 (0%)	5 (2%)	232 (91.7%)	16 (6.3%)

N=744, Chi-square=14.24, df=3, p=n.s.; 3 cells (37.5%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .68.

Table 10

#### *Story Placement of Women by News or Editorial (condensed)*

News or Editorial	Body	Lead, head, or graphic
News	406 (82.7%)	85 (17.3%)
Editorial	232 (91.7%)	21 (8.3%)

N=744, Chi-square=11.10, df=1, p<.01

### Hypothesis 8

Hypothesis 8 evaluated the tone of women as measured by time. This hypothesis stated that mentions of women in the military in time period 1 will more frequently be positive than mentions of women in the military in times periods 2 and 3. As Table 11 portrays, this hypothesis was supported.

Table 11

*Tone of Women by Time*

Time	Positive	Neutral	Negative
3/17/2003-7/17/2005	131 (36.1%)	160 (44.1%)	72 (19.8%)
7/18/2005-11/17/2007	59 (24.7%)	147 (61.5%)	33 (13.8%)
11/18/2005-3/17/2010	36 (20.6%)	114 (65.1%)	25 (14.3%)

N=777, Chi-square=29.10, df=4, p<.001

Hypothesis 9

Hypothesis 9 measured the role of women by time. Hypothesis 9 stated that mentions of women in the military in time period 1 will more frequently depict women in feminine roles compared to mentions of women in the military in time periods two and three. As Table 12 reflects, this hypothesis was supported.

Table 12

*Role of Women by Time*

Time	Masculine	Neutral	Feminine
3/17/2003-7/17/2005	127 (34.9%)	161 (44.4%)	75 (20.7%)
7/18/2005-11/17/2007	53 (22.2%)	150 (62.7%)	36 (15.1%)
11/18/2005-3/17/2010	32 (18.3%)	116 (66.3%)	27 (15.4%)

N=777, Chi-square=32.77, df=4, p<.001

Hypothesis 10

Hypothesis 10 evaluated the story placement of women by time. It stated that the story placement of women in the military will be more prominent in time period 1 than periods 2 and 3. Table 13 displays the results of Hypothesis 10. The variables were condensed in Table 14 in order to eliminate low frequency cells. As Table 14 reflects, the hypothesis was not supported.

Table 13

*Story Placement of Women by Time*

Time	Lead	Headline	Body	With Graphic
3/17/2003-7/17/2005	1 (0.3%)	10 (2.9%)	301 (87.2%)	33 (9.6%)
7/18/2005-11/17/2007	0 (0%)	1 (0.4%)	191 (82.7%)	39 (16.9%)
11/18/2005-3/17/2010	1 (0.6%)	1 (0.6%)	146 (86.9%)	20 (11.9%)

N=744, Chi-square=14.30, df=6, p= n.s.; 5 cells (41.7%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .45.

Table 14

*Story Placement of Women by Time (condensed)*

Time	Body	Lead, Head, or Graphic
3/17/2003-7/17/2005	301 (87.2%)	44 (12.8%)
7/18/2005-11/17/2007	191 (82.7%)	40 (17.3%)
11/18/2005-3/17/2010	146 (86.9%)	22 (13.1%)

N=744, Chi-square=2.59, df=2, p= n.s.

Hypothesis 11

Hypothesis 11 measured the page placement of women by time. Hypothesis 11 stated that mentions of women in the military in time period 1 will more frequently appear on front pages or section fronts than mentions of women in the military in time periods 2 and 3. The results of Hypothesis 11 are displayed in Table 15. In order to eliminate low frequency cells, the variables were condensed in Table 16.



Table 15

*Page Placement of Women by Time*

Time	Front	Section Front	Inside
3/17/2003-7/17/2005	27 (8.4%)	38 (11.7%)	259 (79.9%)
7/18/2005-11/17/2007	2 (1.0%)	26 (13.4%)	166 (85.6%)
11/18/2005-3/17/2010	1 (1.0%)	9 (9.0%)	90 (90.0%)

N=618, Chi-square=19.17, df=4, p=n.s.; 1 cells (11.1%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 4.85.

Table 16 shows that this hypothesis was not supported because it did not reach significance.

Table 16

*Page Placement of Women by Time (condensed)*

Time	Inside	Front or Section Front
3/17/2003-7/17/2005	259 (79.9%)	65 (20.1%)
7/18/2005-11/17/2007	166 (85.6%)	28 (14.4%)
11/18/2005-3/17/2010	90 (90.0%)	10 (10.0%)

N=618, Chi-square=6.59, df=2, p= n.s.

## CHAPTER 6

### DISCUSSION

#### Summary of Major Findings

##### Frequency of Mentions of Women

The mentions of women serving in the Iraq war in newspaper articles occurred most frequently in United States newspapers. The mentions overwhelmingly occurred in United States newspapers (90.5%), as compared to newspapers from the United Kingdom (9.5%) with an 81 percentage point difference.

##### Mentions of Women by Nation

The frequency of positive mentions in United Kingdom newspapers was greater than the frequency of positive mentions in United States newspapers (35.1% vs. 28.5%). It is important to note that the frequency of negative mentions of women in United Kingdom newspapers was also greater in United States newspapers (28.4% vs. 15.5%). It can be deduced from these statistics that the portrayal of women serving in the Iraq War was more polarized in United Kingdom newspapers, meaning that the opinions toward the subject are more extreme than those in the United States. This could be attributed to the common trend of European aversion toward US policies.

The frequency of feminine mentions in United Kingdom newspapers was greater than the frequency of feminine mentions in United States newspapers (27.3% vs. 16.6%). While the frequency of feminine mentions in United Kingdom newspapers was greater, the frequency of masculine mentions was also 7.3 percentage points higher than feminine mentions in United States newspapers. This can again be attributed to the polarization of the issue in the United Kingdom. Additionally, while equality for both genders is important in both nations, it could be

the case that the United States places emphasis on the issue, resulting in a more neutral portrayal of the roles of women serving in the military.

Story placement of women was more prominent in United States newspapers as compared to United Kingdom newspapers. United States newspapers mentioned women more prominently, with mentions occurring in the lead, headline, or paired with a graphic 14.2 percentage points more than those in United Kingdom newspapers. This could have been a result of the fact that the Iraq War began with the United States as opposed to the United Kingdom. Similarly, more women from the United States serve in the military than in the United Kingdom. Consequently, it could be assumed that there are more women soldiers from which to derive stories, resulting in more prominent placement within newspapers.

Mentions of the unit of analysis were overwhelmingly more prominent on the front and section front in United States newspapers, supporting the hypothesis. It could be argued that this is a result of a larger enrollment of women in the military in the United States when compared to the United Kingdom. Because a larger percentage of women serve in the military in the United States, there are more opportunities to report on their actions or other issues concerning their military service, therefore giving the issue more page prominence than is given in the United Kingdom.

#### Mentions of Women in News and Editorials

When news articles and editorials were compared, it was determined that positive mentions of women in news articles occurred 14.8 percentage points more frequently than positive mentions of women in editorials. Further strengthening the hypothesis, the frequency of negative mentions of women in editorials was greater than the frequency of negative mentions of women in news articles (20.0% vs. 15.1%). These findings could be a result of the varying types of information found in news articles and editorials. Because editorials are based on opinion, it

is likely that a wider range of coverage was present in editorials. As a result, it is possible that more negative information was presented in editorials rather than news articles because of the nature of editorial pieces to be based more on opinion and emotion rather than facts.

The frequency of masculine mentions in news articles was 12.1 percentage points greater than the frequency of masculine mentions in editorials, strongly supporting the hypothesis. Editorials tended to have a higher frequency of feminine than masculine mentions (21.5% vs. 19.2%). These findings could be a result of the tendency of news articles to discuss men and women both when reporting on issues of the Iraq War. Editorials often focus on a positive or negative aspect of the issue, and the polarization of the coverage is likely to be higher in editorials.

#### Mentions of Women by Time

Three equal time periods were analyzed in order to determine how the tone of the mentions of women serving in Iraq evolved over time. The frequency of positive mentions of women was greatest in the first time period (March 17, 2003 through July 17, 2005). During this same time period, however, the mentions were more frequently negative as compared to the later two time periods. In each time period, the mentions of women were more frequently positive than negative. As the war progressed, the mentions of women became both less positive and less negative. The frequency of the mentions also declined over the time periods. This could be attributed to the war's longevity and the lack of coverage of the topic as the war progressed. It can be deduced from these results that the coverage of women serving in the military during the Iraq War became more balanced as time progressed. Because newspapers aim to express news in a neutral tone, the neutrality of the issue as time went on could be a result of steps taken by newspapers to eliminate biased tones.

The mentions of women serving in the Iraq War were most feminine during the first time period from March 17, 2003 to July 17, 2005. Mentions of women were also most frequently feminine during the first time period as compared to the later dates. As the Iraq War progressed, the mentions of women became increasingly more neutral. This could be a result of the idea that women serving in the military became less of a novelty as time passed. For example, since women have been more active in military roles during the Iraq War, the issue received a lot of newspaper coverage at the beginning of the war. As time went on, the fact that women are serving in greater roles in the military became more accepted, and coverage therefore lessened.

In each of the time periods analyzed, the story placement of women in the military occurred most frequently in the body of the story. The mentions in the lead, headline and paired with a graphic appeared most during the second time period (July 18, 2005 through November 17, 2007). These results were not significant, but it is important to note how the placement of the mentions changed as the war progressed.

The mentions of women serving in the Iraq war appeared most frequently on the inside of the newspaper over the three time periods. These mentions were most likely to appear on the front or section front in the first time period (March 17, 2003 to July 17, 2005). The mentions on the front or section front decreased over the time periods. Consequently, the mentions on the inside were most frequent during the third time period (November 18, 2005 through March 17, 2010). This is most likely attributed to the war's progression. As time passed, the coverage of women serving in the military during the Iraq war decreased as a result of the public's familiarity with the issue and the increased amount of coverage concerning newer issues such as the United States economic crisis.

### Future Research

Newspapers were the only form of media used for this study. Future research might include other forms of media such as television, radio, magazines, blogs, or other online news sources. Additionally, it might be beneficial to examine various genres of films to determine the way women serving in the military are portrayed. As stated previously, the unit of analysis, “women”, might have been a limitation. Different newspapers could use different terms to describe the subject, and there could therefore be more articles concerning the topic of women serving in the Iraq War that were not included in the sample. In order to avoid this problem in future studies, various forms of the word women (females, girls, ladies) could be used in order gain a larger sample of data.

It might be beneficial for a qualitative study to be conducted on this same topic in order to gather data pertaining to the thoughts and opinions of individuals about the role of women in the Iraq War. This information could be attained through focus groups and interviews with human subjects. It would be interesting to understand how such perceptions would evolve over the course of the war as well as how individuals react to the media’s coverage of the topic.

A major application of the study would be to aid media practitioners in understanding how their information is being presented to the public. As this study shows, newspapers do not always portray information neutrally. It could be beneficial for newspapers to gain an understanding of how they present information in order to make the changes necessary to providing information without bias. Additionally, it could be interesting to understand how the framing of women serving in Iraq might affect people who read the newspapers as opposed to those who get information from another source such as magazines, television, radio, blogs, or other online news sources.

Studies concerning gender during war can be used to further the understanding of the impact war has on different societies. It might be interesting to further explore this topic by researching the role of women in the Iraq War as compared to other wars. Similarly, future researchers should investigate how regional distinctions affect media coverage of women serving in war, if not the Iraq War specifically.

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APPENDIX A  
Coding Instructions

Coder Name:

Country: Number of the country where the newspapers was published

United States – 1

United Kingdom – 2

Time Period: Number of the time period of the date from which the article was published

March 17, 2003 through July 17, 2005 – 1

July 18, 2005 through November 17, 2007 – 2

November 18, 2007 through March 17, 2010 – 3

News/Editorial: Number describing whether the article was a news feature or an editorial piece.

A news article presents factual information about a situation, an event or disaster and has a timeliness connected to it. It is objective because no opinion or conclusions are included.

Editorials are the position of newspapers. These are factual but highly opinionated and usually one-sided to make a point. They represent the editorial board's stand on issues, politics and courses of action.

News – 1

Editorial – 2

Tone: Number describing the tone as it is depicted by the mention.

Positive – 1

Positive mentions will be those that discuss women's roles in Iraq as equal to men's. Bravery, service in the field, accomplishments, successful completions of military tasks, etc.

Neutral – 2

No clear tone either positive or negative can be derived from the specific mention.

Negative – 3

Negative mentions will be those that “feminize” the role of women in Iraq.

Mentions of leaving children, neglecting motherly duties, performance not adequate to men, sexual harassment struggles, etc.

Roles: Number describing the role as masculine or feminine.

Masculine – 1

Masculine mentions include those that portray women as equal to men in combat.

Neutral -- 3

Feminine – 2

Feminine mentions are those that focus on issues of the family, feminism, and other issues not concerning combat.

Story: Number describing the mention on the page where it was printed.

Lead – 1 (first two lines after headline)

Headline – 2

Body – 3

Paired with graphic – 4

If the article is paired with a graphic it will most likely be mentioned at the bottom of the page.

Page: Number of the placement of the story within the newspaper.

Front page – 1

Section front – 2

Inside page – 3

## APPENDIX B

### Newspapers Examined in Study

*Aberdeen American News*  
*Akron Beacon Journal*  
*Anchorage Daily News*  
*Arkansas Democrat-Gazette*  
*Austin American-Statesman*  
*Bangor Daily News*  
*Birmingham Evening Mail*  
*Bluefield Daily Telegraph*  
*Brattleboro Reformer*  
*Buffalo News*  
*Cape Gazette*  
*Capital Times*  
*Chambersburg Public Opinion*  
*Charleston Daily Mail*  
*Charleston Gazette*  
*Chattanooga Times Free Press*  
*Chicago Daily Herald*  
*Chicago Sun Times*  
*Christian Science Monitor*  
*Columbia Daily Tribune*  
*Connecticut Post*  
*Connecticut Post Online*  
*Contra Costa Times*  
*Daily Mail*  
*Daily News*  
*Daily Oklahoman*  
*Daily Post*  
*Daily Record*  
*Dayton Daily News*  
*Desert Dispatch*  
*Duluth News-Tribune*  
*East Valley Tribune*  
*El Paso Times*  
*Fairbanks Daily News-Miner*  
*Famington Daily Times*  
*Florida Times-Union*  
*Grand Forks Herald*  
*Grant County Press*  
*Herald Sun*  
*Inland Valley Daily Bulletin*  
*LA Weekly*  
*Lancaster New Era*  
*Lewiston Morning Tribune*



*Lincoln Journal Star*  
*McClatchy-Tribune Business News*  
*Modesto Bee*  
*Monterey County Herald*  
*North Devon Journal*  
*Omaha World-Herald*  
*Orange County Register*  
*Palm Beach Post*  
*Pasadena Star-News*  
*Portland Press Herald*  
*Richmond Times Dispatch*  
*Sacramento Bee*  
*Saint Paul Pioneer Press*  
*Salt Lake Tribune*  
*San Antonio Express-News*  
*San Gabriel Valley Times*  
*San Jose Mercury News*  
*Sarasota Herald-Tribune*  
*Sentinel & Enterprise*  
*South Bend Tribune*  
*South Florida Sun-Sentinel*  
*Spokesman Review*  
*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*  
*St. Petersburg Times*  
*Star Tribune*  
*Star-News*  
*Sunday News*  
*Sunday Times (London)*  
*Tampa Tribune*  
*Telegram and Gazette*  
*Telegraph Herald*  
*The Atlanta Journal-Constitution*  
*The Augusta Chronicle*  
*The Berkshire Eagle*  
*The Blade*  
*The Columbian*  
*The Daily Globe*  
*The Daily Independent*  
*The Daily News of Los Angeles*  
*The Dallas Morning News*  
*The Evening Sun*  
*The Fayetteville Observer*  
*The Free Lance-Star*  
*The Free Press*  
*The Guardian*  
*The Herald (Glasgow)*  
*The Houston Chronicle*

*The Independent*  
*The International Herald Tribune*  
*The Journal (Newcastle, UK)*  
*The Journal Record*  
*The Knoxville News-Sentinel*  
*The Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*  
*The Mirror*  
*The New York Sun*  
*The New York Times*  
*The News & Observer*  
*The News Tribune*  
*The Oklahoman*  
*The Othello Outlook*  
*The Pantagraph*  
*The Patriot Ledger*  
*The Providence Journal*  
*The Record*  
*The Roanoke Times*  
*The Santa Fe New Mexican*  
*The Scotsman*  
*The Seattle Post-Intelligencer*  
*The State Journal-Register*  
*The Sunday Telegraph*  
*The Times Union*  
*The Union Leader*  
*The Virginian-Pilot*  
*The Washington Post*  
*The Washington Times*  
*The Wenatchee World*  
*The West Briton*  
*Topeka Capital-Journal*  
*Tri-City Herald*  
*Tribune-Review*  
*Tulsa World*  
*Turtle Mountain Star*  
*USA Today*  
*Vallejo Times-Herald*  
*Valley News & Views*  
*Waterloo Courier*  
*Western Morning News*  
*Wilkes Barre Times Leader*  
*Wisconsin State Journal*

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