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GENDER MAINSTREAMING IN INTERNATIONAL NEWS: A CASE STUDY OF THE INTER PRESS SERVICE

By Margaretha Geertsema

From 1994 to 1999, the global news agency Inter Press Service (IPS) implemented a gender mainstreaming policy in its newsrooms. This study examined organizational changes and news coverage that IPS advocated, as well as methods employed to bring about these changes. It shows that IPS has not been able to mainstream gender into all aspects of the organization and news coverage, and it considers reasons for the lacking implementation of the policy, while documenting IPS's efforts to improve women's access and representation in international news.

The inclusion of women as news sources along with gender-based analyses of issues and news events in the mainstream news media continue to be lacking. This is especially true in international news. International news most often reports on wars, disasters, and foreign policy, typically without any focus on women or gender issues.[1] With news that is increasingly produced, distributed, and consumed across borders, reporters face the additional challenge of understanding the cultural and social context of gender relations in multiple countries.

Locally and globally, women have challenged their exclusion in the mainstream news media in several ways. One approach has been to withdraw from the mainstream media and to create separate media for women only.[2] However, alternative or feminist media typically reach a small target audience. The other approach, which has grown in recent years, is to organize and advocate for change within the mainstream news media.[3] As a result, women's organizations around the world have increasingly become involved in media activism activities, including media monitoring, to encourage change in the mainstream news media.[4]

During the 1990s, the concept of "gender mainstreaming" emerged as an important strategy for development organizations around the world. At the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995, governments and other groups were urged to "promote an active and visible policy of mainstreaming a gender perspective in poli-

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cies and programmes."[5] What women asked for was to be included in the "mainstream" of organizations instead of remaining at the margins. Gender mainstreaming aimed to ensure women's inclusion in all areas of organizations, including staffing, program planning, and budgeting.[6] However, it is still unclear whether this strategy has been a failure, success, or combination of both.[7]

The Inter Press Service (IPS), a global news agency long associated with the United Nations and the developing world, launched and implemented a gender mainstreaming policy from 1994 to 1999. This article considers the kind of organizational changes and news coverage IPS advocated as well as the methods used to mainstream gender in IPS. This article also evaluates IPS's effort and makes recommendations based on factors that helped and hindered IPS.

This article presents the first and most comprehensive study of any news organization attempting to mainstream gender. IPS presents a unique case study because it is not a mainstream, profit-driven news agency, but it is also not a separate medium for women only. As such, it attempted to mainstream gender into news content about the developing world while targeting both male and female readers. The study concludes that IPS has not been able to mainstream gender into all aspects of the organization and news coverage, but that IPS should be hailed for its work to improve women's access and representation in international news.

Theoretical Approaches

The theoretical background for this article comes from cultural globalization theory; media sociology; and theories of gender, development, and feminism. These theories were used because they consider the particular place of women in the globalization of culture, the impact of various factors on news coverage, and current approaches to feminism in an international context.

Cultural Globalization Theory. Theorists of cultural globalization consider the impact of the growing interconnectedness of the world on cultures and are often concerned about the possible homogenization and standardization of culture.[8] The representation of women in news that crosses national boundaries poses new challenges with regard to beliefs about gender and issues of culture, tradition, and religion. Women are often seen as the "carriers of cultural purity" of particular groups but are typically excluded from globalization debates.[9] In discussions about the global and the local, women are seen as representing the local while men represent the global. However, feminist scholars have criticized the perceived dichotomies between the global and the local, the modern and the traditional, and the universal and the particular.[10]

Media Sociology. Media sociology aims to explain factors that influence the production of news. Some of the earliest newsroom studies on gatekeeping and social control in the newsroom introduced critical questions about processes that other media scholars regarded as natural.[11] Shoemaker and Reese more recently formulated a hierarchy-of-influences model that identifies five levels of analysis for studying the news media, ranging from the individual level to media routines, organizational influ-

ences, extra-media influences, and ideological influences.[12] This study draws on these newsroom studies to understand which factors influence the production of news about women.

Gender, Development, and Feminisms. In the international arena, the progress of women has typically been discussed in terms of development. Early development programs did not specifically include women, but this changed with the introduction of the Women in Development (WID) paradigm in the 1970s. WID focused on the integration of women in development policies and practices.[13] During the 1980s, the Gender and Development (GAD) approach introduced more fundamental questions about gender roles and differences.[14] In the 1990s, women campaigned for the understanding of women's rights as fundamental human rights, an approach that was reflected throughout the Beijing Platform of Action.[15]

Feminist theoretical perspectives are closely related to strategies designed to improve the lives of women. However, when considering feminism in an international context, geographic and ideological differences have often caused divisions among women.[16] Perhaps the biggest disagreement has been on whether women as a group share a "common condition" of gendered oppression.[17] Several non-Western and Third World feminists have disagreed with this notion and critiqued the so-called "global feminism" as Western, hegemonic, homogenizing, and Eurocentric.[18] Some scholars also argue that human rights discourse is Western and homogenizing.[19] Key to contemporary transnational feminism is the belief that women suffer from multiple, overlapping oppressions and that differences in their conditions must be acknowledged.

The IPS gender mainstreaming project should be seen within the context of an existing body of knowledge on women, news, and feminist theories. A review of literature on the news coverage of women reveals three main categories of news coverage.

Non-feminist News Coverage. Most often, the news media ignore women or represent them in negative and stereotypical ways.[20] In an early newsroom study, Tuchman called this trivialization, sexualization, and victimization of women in the news media the "symbolic annihilation" of women.[21] Thirty years later, this problem continues. In its third extensive study of the representation of women, the Global Media Monitoring Project 2005 found in a one-day study of seventy-six countries that women constitute only 21% of news subjects—those interviewed or whom the news is about.[22] It also showed that women are twice as likely as men to be portrayed as victims and that women are mostly shown as celebrities, royalty, or ordinary people. In international news, often distributed through global news agencies, women are even less visible.[23]

Western, Homogenizing Feminism. In news coverage of women in "other" countries, women are often represented as a homogenous group and typically as victims. For example, Narayan wrote about her frustra-

tion when encountering phrases such as "women are being burned to death everyday in India."[24] Even Hosken's work on female genital mutilation has been criticized for a lack of understanding and context.[25] Similarly, Parawesmaran criticized a newspaper article in which the death of a Christian Indian woman in the United States is referred to as a case of a "burning bride."[26] These cases illustrate a lack of cultural context and awareness.

Transnational Feminisms. Based on transnational feminist theories, the best news coverage of women would be sensitive to women's particular histories, multiple simultaneous oppressions, and varied locations. Considering the lack of stories about women in the news, it becomes quite a challenge to find representations of women in the news that are neither sexist nor homogenizing. In the United States, *Ms.* magazine and *Women's eNews*, both targeting a female audience, make an effort by recruiting local women, who presumably are more attuned to cultural issues, to contribute materials. But mainstream news organizations sometimes also produce gender-sensitive stories.[27]

Research Questions

This research studied the implementation of the IPS gender mainstreaming project. The following questions were asked:

RQ1: What kind of organizational changes and news coverage of women did IPS advocate, and what methods were used to bring about those changes?

RQ2: How successful was this effort of IPS, and what may have contributed to success or failure?

Method

This study presents a case study or "snapshot of reality" of the IPS gender mainstreaming project.[28] The case was investigated through an institutional analysis, in-depth interviews, and a quantitative and qualitative content analysis.

Institutional Analysis. Materials analyzed as part of the institutional analysis include the *IPS Style Manual*, the *IPS Annual Report*, the *IPS Gender Policy*, the *IPS Gender and Development Glossary*, and all four training manuals developed as part of the project: *Fighting Violence Against Women: A Training Manual for Journalists*; *Culture, Religion and Gender: A Training Manual for Media Practitioners*; *Gender, HIV and Rights: A Training Manual for the Media*; and *Gender and Racism in Africa*.[29]

Content Analysis. A random sample of stories in English produced by IPS in 2004, five years after the end of formal activities as part of the mainstreaming project, was selected from its Internet archives at http://ipsnews.net/. A week of each month, January to December, was randomly constructed and every second story was analyzed. This sample resulted in a total of 486 stories, with each story as a unit of analysis.[30] The qualitative analysis drew upon previous studies to consider language, absences, and inconsistencies within story content.[31]

Results

Interviews. In-depth interviews were conducted with all five IPS employees at the North America and Caribbean regional bureau in New York in February 2005.[32] Interviewees included the regional director, regional editor, two part-time contributors, and the distributor at the Global Information Network (GIN).[33] A follow-up interview was conducted with former IPS Director General Patricia Made in August 2005. Information from interviewees was supplemented through personal correspondence with Miren Gutiérrez, IPS executive editor.

Background to Project: According to the IPS Web site, IPS considers itself "a communication institution with a global news agency at its core." As a non-profit organization, IPS aims to give voice to the South and civil society, and it hopes to tell underlying stories on development and globalization.[34] The IPS World Service covers 120 countries and produces stories in English and Spanish, with selected stories translated into several languages.[35] While the IPS headquarters is in Rome, IPS does not have a national base or affiliation and employs permanent correspondents in twenty-three countries and permanent stringers in seventy-six countries.[36] IPS provides a limited contraflow in the global news arena through stories about the South that reach the North, especially in Scandinavian countries. In the United States, IPS's reach is limited to ethnic and minority communities where small newspapers carry IPS stories.

In the forty-five years of the news agency's existence, it has changed and adapted as the world transitioned from the Cold War to the era of globalization. From the beginning, IPS was committed to diversity pluralism, and social change.[37] IPS wanted to give voice to the aspirations and conditions of those who are marginalized, illiterate, unemployed, and poor. Some of the groups the agency considered to be marginalized included women, young people, peasants, trade union-ists, and church members.[38] However, news subjects or actors in IPS news were mostly political elites while non-elite groups like trade unions, educators, and ethnic groups received little attention.[39]

In the late 1970s, IPS decided to join the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in the creation of five Women's Feature Services (WFS). These services set out to increase the coverage of women by major news agencies and other news organizations.[40] In 1991, WFS became an independent entity based in New Delhi. When long-time IPS researcher Giffard included gender as a variable in his analysis of IPS for the first time in 1992, he found that only 9% of actors in IPS were women and only about 8% of sources were female. Giffard concluded that "the most overlooked actors and sources in IPS reports were women, who appear only one-tenth as frequently as male actors and sources."[41]

IPS's support for the WFS as a separate source of news about women prevented the incorporation of women into its own coverage. With the independence of the WFS, IPS realized that it did not have a gender policy in place. As a result, IPS decided to launch the project,

"Strengthening Gender Perspectives in IPS News Coverage," in 1994.[42] Beryl Leach, deputy editor in chief at the time, started plotting out what the project would look like. According to Made, the gender mainstreaming work in IPS really took off in 1995, the year when the United Nations' Fourth World Conference on Women took place in Beijing.[43] In 1996, Leach approached Made, the IPS regional editor in Africa, to facilitate a policy workshop in the area.[44] When Leach left IPS, Made was appointed in the newly created position of interregional gender coordinator. In 1999, Made acted as interim director general of IPS and one year later became the second IPS director general after Italian-Argentinean founder Roberto Savio.

Changes Advocated. IPS reconsidered both its organizational structure and news content in order to mainstream gender.[45] The agency examined gender roles and responsibilities within the organization through an analysis of the gender, age, position, and salary of employees. Then, a gender-sensitive employment policy was created. IPS set out to increase the number of women working at all organizational levels.[46]

The news coverage advocated by IPS focused on gender mainstreaming and the inclusion of a gender perspective. Made defined gender mainstreaming as "integrating the concepts of gender, equality, and women's rights into all our editorial coverage, and ensuring that these influence our news agenda."[47] The IPS Gender Policy states the following:

IPS accepts that research shows undeniably that no news subject [topic] is gender free and that adequate discussion of any development issue and process must include a gender dimension ... IPS believes that the role of the media is to promote understanding of changes in the social, political, economic and cultural status quo in order to facilitate and support men's and women's equal participation in these processes ... [48]

According to Made and Samhungu, news coverage reflects a gender perspective in the following ways: (1) the analysis of an issue or event through the voices and perspectives of both men and women—women as sources of information for stories rather than the past norm of a dominance of men's voices in the media on all issues; (2) stories highlighting the impact of an event or an issue on men and on women; (3) analysis of women's rights as human rights.[49]

The news coverage advocated by IPS is consistent with the GAD approach as well as the principles of transnational feminism in that it acknowledges women's diverse experiences and multiple, intersecting oppressions. For example, the *Fighting Violence Against Women* manual points out that "the plight of rural, disabled, lesbian and other categories of women whose particular circumstances may lead to even more brutal forms of violence is often forgotten."[50] The *Culture, Religion and Gender* manual urges reporters to include rural women, women with disabilities, and women from marginalized ethnic and social groups. The *Gender and Racism in Africa* document reflects perspectives of women from Africa as

well as their particular and diverse forms of oppression, for example white African women, Asian African women, black African women, and women in interracial relationships. In this manual, South African politician Thenjiwe Mtintso wrote about the impact of Apartheid on the black women of South Africa: "They suffered 'the triple oppression'—exploited as a class, oppressed as 'a national group and dominated as women."[51]

To achieve the desired coverage of women, IPS said reporters should avoid tokenism, judgmental language, sensationalism, and writing that is generalizing, stereotyping, trivializing, and sexualizing women's experiences.[52] Reporters should not use gender-blind terms such as detainees, farmers, or peasants because they create the impression that a reference is to men only. Yet, and perhaps contradictory, words such as "firemen" and "forefathers" should be replaced by "fire fighters" and "ancestors." Women should not be marginalized as sources for "women's stories" only, and reporters should avoid relying on only one sex for the majority of views and quotes in a story. IPS provided a list of troublesome terms that reporters should avoid as well as better alternatives; for example, instead of abortion mills, reporters should use abortion clinics.[53]

The training manuals give many suggestions of how reporters can include a greater variety of voices and recognize women's local experiences. For example, the *Style Manual* states that reporters should not settle for a quote from one woman "speaking for all women" but should use a wide variety of sources. To include more women as sources, reporters should adapt their interviewing techniques so that women feel more comfortable dealing with the media. Reporters should be proactive in searching for stories related to women and cultivate alternative sources. Especially in discussions of sex, often a taboo topic, reporters were advised to be aware of gender roles in different cultures.[54] Reporters should look for the differential impact of events or issues on women and on men, for example in the case of HIV/AIDS.[55] IPS reporters were reminded that gender mainstreaming requires the use of gender-disaggregated data and that reporters should make an effort to get this kind of information.

IPS used several methods to implement the gender mainstreaming project.[56] Some of the activities included regional editorial policy workshops in Harare, Manila, Kingston, and Washington, D.C.; training workshops; regional content analyses to evaluate regional gender teams; the appointment of a gender coordinator and regional gender teams; the development of a global database of women's NGOs; and the publication of the gender and media training manuals. To ensure that gender is mainstreamed in news content, IPS vowed to improve the reporting skills of its writers, to create materials that would help journalists analyze gender, to develop materials for gender training, to improve communication between regions, and to create materials that could help with monitoring and evaluation.[57]

Evaluation of Project. In the years immediately after the implementation of the mainstreaming project, IPS was able to achieve more

gender balance in employment. By 1998, 39 permanent staffers were female and 64 were male. Five years later, the organization employed 50 permanent female staffers and 53 permanent male staffers.[58] However, these numbers did not reveal information about the rank and salary of individuals, so it remains unclear whether IPS indeed promoted more women. It also remains unclear to what extent stringers contribute to gender balance within the organization, as the *IPS Annual Report* did not provide gender-disaggregated data on the 225 stringers and trainers it employed in 2003.[59]

Despite IPS's reorganization of its organizational structure, implementation seemed to be lacking in at least the North America and Caribbean bureau, which remained male-dominated. In 2005, the regional director, contributors, and interns were all male. Two male reporters staffed the Washington, D.C., bureau. All correspondents in Canada were men, but female stringers from the Caribbean were said to contribute regularly. However, Gutiérrez, the executive editor, pointed out that she was a woman, and that six of the eight main editors who manage the whole service were women.[60]

This analysis showed, indeed, that regardless of some level of gender balance achieved for permanent staffers by 2003, men wrote by far the most stories during 2004. Male reporters wrote 63% of all stories in the sample, with female reporters writing 25% of stories. In 12% of stories, the gender of the reporter was unknown. When comparing story topics covered by female and male reporters, female reporters covered a higher percentage of stories (54%) than male reporters (46%) in only the arts/entertainment category.[61] Arts and entertainment is considered to be "soft" news and is therefore more often reported by women. Male reporters wrote all stories on riots/demonstrations, international crises, national defense, and religion. The first three of these topics are typically considered to be "hard" news stories. However, of the five story topics that IPS covered most frequently (politics/government, economy/business, crime/legal, environment, and war/civil war), male and female reporters covered them almost evenly. This indicates some level of equality with regard to the coverage of story topics between male and female journalists.

The analysis of IPS stories showed that IPS has not been able to incorporate a gender perspective into all stories. A gender perspective was considered to be present in stories when one or more of the following criteria had been met: (1) female sources were included, (2) a story showed the impact of the event or issue on men and/or women, and (3) the story included an analysis of women's rights as human rights.[62]

1. Gender of Sources. An overwhelming majority of news sources in IPS stories continued to be men. From a total of 1,901 sources used in the sample, 70% were male, 21% were female and the gender of 9% was unknown. While both male and female reporters used more male than female sources, female reporters used somewhat more female sources than male reporters. When looking at story topics, the highest percentage of female sources in IPS was used in stories on labor, education/child care, health, human rights, and the catch-all "other" category. However,

more female than male sources were used in only the first two categories of labor and education/child care. These are traditionally considered to be "soft" story topics.

In some cases, women were not included as sources even though the story was about women. For example, a story about violence in schools represented girls as violent toward each other, "generally over boyfriends." However, the girls were not asked to present their opinions or to explain their behavior.[63] Similarly, in a story about the death of twenty-two women in India (referred to as a "sari stampede"), no women were asked to comment on what had happened. The women died in a rush for saris given away by a politician during an election campaign. Four male sources discussed the incident, but no explanation is provided for the women's behavior. The word "stampede" has the connotation of panic-stricken or frenzied animals, thus further degrading women who were caught in this rush.[64]

2. Impact on Men and Women. IPS showed the impact of issues or events on men and/or women in only about one-third of stories.

Gendered Words: In 29% of stories reference was made to boys/men/males, and in 27% of stories reference was made to girls/women/females. The same four story topics included "female" and "male" words most often: crime/legal, politics/government, health, and war/civil war. In 7% of stories the words "sex" or "gender" were mentioned. The words "sex/gender" appeared most in stories on health, crime/legal, politics/government, and education/child care. As such, it appears as if these topics more commonly lend themselves to a gendered analysis.

Several terms that IPS considers to be sexist or that only focus on men appeared in the sample, for example manned, strongman, and fishermen. Examples of gender-blind language, where the impact of events on women and men remains hidden, included tea producers, youngsters, soldiers, sex slaves, and gang members.

Men and/or Women Affected: In 12% of stories the impact on men and/or women was the central focus of the story, while in 16% the impact on men and/or women was included in only a few lines, and the impact on men and/or women was not shown at all in 72% of stories. This means, however, that about 28% of stories showed at least some kind of a gender impact. When comparing story topics, gender impact was most often the central focus in the categories of education/child care, labor, health, religion, and crime/legal.

The qualitative analysis confirmed a continuing focus on the concerns of men only. Examples of stories that dealt with the concerns of men only included those focusing on men's participation in culture in Zimbabwe, the actions of tuna fishermen, condom usage by men, men who work in the charcoal mines, homeless men, and the impact of AIDS on men in prisons. When included, women were sometimes described only in their roles as mothers or grandmothers, contrary to the IPS style guidelines. In contrast, in only one case was a man identified as a father. Women were also identified as housewives, homemakers, and maids, even as a "spokesman" in reference to Condoleezza Rice. Reporters at

times provided physical descriptions of women, whereas the physical appearance of men was almost never included.[65] In some cases, degrading language was used in connection to women.[66] Stories in which women were absent or degraded are considered to be examples of non-feminist news coverage.

The sample included several stories in which gender stereotypes were reinforced and which could as a result be considered homogenizing. In stories that indicated some impact on men and/or women, women were often represented as victims of male violence without an acknowledgment of their specific circumstances. Women were said to be sobbing, crying, powerless, murdered, burned, assaulted, crushed, trampled, raped, beaten, strangled, shot, stabbed, mutilated, and slain. They had to work 16 to 18 hours a day, were forced to have sex with men, and were trafficked. While men were occasionally also shown as victims, the great majority of men were represented as violent actors. For example, men were said to rape girls, displace villagers, humiliate women, taunt their wives, and wage campaigns of ethnic cleansing. They were gang members, right-wing paramilitaries, fighters, militias known as "janjaweed" or men on horseback, soldiers, gunmen, henchmen, security forces, guerilla insurgents, mercenaries, warlords, and members of death squads. It is interesting to note that men are not shown as victims of this violence but rather as perpetrators or "actors." Men were portrayed as actively committing violent acts, whereas women were assaulted, presumably by men.

Of stories that included some gender impact, several challenged stereotypes of women and acknowledged women's multiple intersecting oppressions. IPS represented women as engaging in activism, opposing sexual violence, working against discriminatory laws against women, participating in political processes, and fighting domestic violence. The sample included stories that specifically focused on the experiences of women, in their own words. Some examples included stories about female Burmese migrant workers in Thailand, wealthy Sri Lankan women who can travel abroad to have abortions while poor women cannot, female domestic workers in the United Arab Emirates, lesbian women in Canada, and poor single mothers in Bolivia. A story about foreign brides in Taiwan highlighted the difficulties that these brides face as women, immigrants, and people with a low economic status. All five sources were women who immigrated to Taiwan as foreign brides. The story gave voice to women, acknowledged their local positions, and provided context.[67]

3. Analysis of Women's Rights as Human Rights.

The specific phrase "women's rights" was used in only 4% of stories. However, in stories that mentioned "women," 36% also referred to "human rights," and in stories that mentioned "men," 22% also referred to "human rights." All stories that mentioned "sex/gender" also referred to "human rights." Stories that dealt with health issues such as abortion or AIDS most often mentioned "women's rights," followed by stories dealing with human rights, crime/legal matters, and politics/government. In 67% of stories that showed the impact on men and/or women as the central focus, "human rights" were mentioned. Clearly sex/gender and human rights were com-

monly used together, illustrating the use of a human rights approach to gender issues.[68]

In some cases women's rights and human rights were considered, but the reporter failed to include female news sources. For example, in a story about the new Afghan constitution, the ability of the country to have free and fair elections was questioned while the inclusion of women's rights was praised. Yet, the only people quoted in the story were two male representatives, one from Human Rights Watch in New York and the other from the Washington-based Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Nobody from within Afghanistan was quoted and no women were included in the story.[69]

Factors that Helped or Hindered. Despite the limited implementation of the gender mainstreaming project, it is quite remarkable that any news organization, and in particular a global news agency, would make this attempt. Several factors helped IPS in implementing the project. First, the initiative to mainstream gender appears to have been a logical next step for an organization that aims to give voice to the voiceless. Second, IPS's non-profit status allows the agency to focus on citizens rather than consumers. This means IPS can focus on issues that are not typically covered in the mainstream news media without concerns about profit as the main goal. Third, the personal commitment of reporters to a different kind of journalism made the project possible. One interviewee commented that a lack of commitment from mainstream reporters often presented an obstacle to the coverage of gender issues, as these reporters were more interested in their own well-being and financial security than in promoting gender equality.[70]

This study also revealed some factors that hindered the mainstreaming project. First is the vacuum left after the departure of Made as director general of IPS in 2002. Made was succeeded by the Italian-Uruguayan journalist Mario Lubetkin in September that year, and it seems unclear what happened to the gender mainstreaming work after Made's departure. According to Made, the understanding at the end of the implementation phase was that the gender work would continue. But as far as Made knew, IPS was not continuing the project in a systematic way. She does, however, believe that current leadership remains committed to the gender project.[71] Indeed, Gutiérrez said that gender was still a priority and that IPS has undertaken initiatives to deepen the coverage of gender issues and intends to continue to search for ways to support such initiatives.[72]

Second, some writers remained unaware or uncertain about the gender policy, and inconsistencies appeared as a result. For example, writers said they were not sure exactly how they would cover a story in which there is a conflict between women's rights and local culture.[73] Another inconsistency appeared, to be the extent to which gender should be included in stories. The regional editor said reporters could merely "incorporate a few paragraphs" about gender in their reports to attain a gender perspective. This seems to be inconsistent with the gender policy, which asks for a more in-depth investigation of gender differences.[74]

Third, the application of the gender policy might be hindered by an assumption that reporters have an implicit understanding of the gender policy. The regional director said reporters at IPS have a "general understanding" about the coverage of gender issues.[75] Made also said there is "some inherent understanding" of women as actors and sources. However, she argued that the whole point of gender mainstreaming is to make it a part of everyday journalistic practice: "So that might mean that you are not always waving it as a priority, it actually becomes the norm ... If you keep waving it as priority, it means that there is something still within that culture that is resisting that."[76] It seems unclear, though, what happens when there is an assumption that gender work is being done, but it is not a priority in the everyday activities of the newsroom.[77]

Fourth, women remained underrepresented as sources because reporters did not consider gender to be the most important factor in their selection of sources. Instead, specialized knowledge of a topic, involvement in relevant non-governmental organizations, and geographic diversity carried more weight in decisions about sources. But interviewees also said they often had trouble finding female sources who would talk about sensitive topics such as female genital mutilation.[78]

Fifth, financial limitations appear to hinder IPS in its news coverage as well as the quantity and quality of reporters the agency can hire. The distributor said funding is the main factor limiting IPS's news coverage of gender issues in the developing world. The regional director also pointed out that IPS journalists are not very well trained in comparison to their colleagues at The Associated Press or Reuters, and that IPS cannot afford to hire well-trained ex-Reuters or ex-New York Times reporters to improve the quality of its news coverage.[79] Financial constraints are also one of the reasons why IPS relies heavily on a network of stringers, who might not always be as informed or aware of editorial policies.

Sixth, changes in priorities of the development community were also reflected in IPS's work. While gender mainstreaming was the main focus of the development community in the 1990s, the emphasis shifted in the 2000s to the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals by 2015. As a result, IPS apparently changed its emphasis accordingly, and by 2005 it appeared as if gender was no longer the main priority for IPS.[80]

Discussion and Conclusion

This study shows that IPS has not been able to mainstream gender into all aspects of the organization or news coverage. It shows that despite good intentions, gender mainstreaming is quite difficult to achieve in a news organization. Yet IPS has made an important contribution to principles of news coverage that involve women in different cultures and places, and it provided future direction for those working in the news media and in media and gender activism.

IPS advocated comprehensive organizational changes as well as innovative approaches to bring women and gender issues into the mainstream of the agency. The policy addressed several levels of influence on the news making process: the training of individual reporters, the attempt to make gender part of the day-to-day newsroom activities, the creation of a gender-sensitive policy for employment and news content, and the commitment of the organization to the project.

The project resulted in the employment of more women as permanent staffers, and women were promoted to senior levels in the organization. But gender-disaggregated data on women and stringers were still not available, and at least one bureau remained male-dominated. In 2004, men wrote most stories and were used most often as news sources, and the majority of articles did not include a gender perspective.

IPS's most remarkable accomplishment is those stories that included female sources, showed the impact of events on men and/or women, and provided an analysis of women's rights as human rights. These stories typically showed multiple intersecting oppressions and local context, as advocated by transnational feminisms. They provide a bridge between the local and the global, and offer a glimpse of hope against the homogenizing forces of globalization. These kinds of stories very rarely appear in the news media, especially in international news.

Organizations that want to make changes in the coverage of women can learn some lessons from the IPS experience. First, senior staff members must make a commitment to change. It seems to be especially important that the top person in the organization not only buys into the project but actively supports it. In case this person leaves, a succession plan should be in place for somebody to take over and continue the project. Second, the project needs to be approached in a systematic way through research, policy work, training, and continued monitoring and evaluation. It is not enough to assume that reporters are aware of an existing policy, especially if an organization has a high turnover of staff or depends on stringers. Third, an organization might have more success if its project corresponds to trends in international discourse. When the international emphasis shifted from gender mainstreaming to the Millennium Development Goals, apparently so did IPS. Fourth, an organization needs to be committed to serving citizens and not consumers, even though gender mainstreaming may increase the number of female readers. Finally, wider gender equality around the world could improve news coverage of women, as news organizations to some extent reflect existing conditions, for example the continuing gender inequality in positions of power.

NOTES

1. Fran Hosken, "Women and International Communication: The Story of WIN News," in Women Transforming Communications: Global Intersections, ed. Donna Allen, Ramona Rush, and Susan Kaufman (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1996), 208-17.

2. Linda Steiner, "The History and Structure of Women's Alternative Media," in Women Making Meaning: New Feminist Directions in Communication, ed. Lana Rakow (New York: Routledge, 1992), 121-43.

3. Margaret Gallagher, Gender Setting: New Agendas for Media Monitoring and Advocacy (London: Zed Books, 2001).

4. For example, the Global Media Monitoring Project (GMMP) ini-

tiated by the World Association for Christian Communication (WACC) in 1995, for the first time attempted to quantify the representation of women in news media around the world. The GMMP relies on volunteers in more than seventy countries to monitor the media for one day only and then produces a snapshot of media representations of women around the world. This project has been successfully repeated in 2000 and again in 2005. World Association for Christian Communication (WACC), Margaret Gallagher and Media Monitoring Project (MMP), South Africa, *Who Makes the News? Global Media Monitoring Project 2005*, available online at www.whomakesthenews.org.

5. *Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action*, Fourth World Conference on Women, 2005, available online at http://www.unesco.org/education/information/nfsunesco/pdf/BEIJIN_E.PDF 96.

6. Also see *Gender Mainstreaming: An Overview* (New York: Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, United Nations, 2002); Joan Ross Frankson, *Gender Mainstreaming in Information and Communications: A Reference Manual for Governments and Other Stakeholders* (London: Commonwealth Secretariat, 2000); Rebecca Tiessen, *Everywhere and Nowhere: Gender Mainstreaming in Development Agencies* (Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press, 2007).

7. Tiessen, *Everywhere and Nowhere*.

8. Marwan Kraidy, *Hybridity, or the Cultural Logic of Globalization* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2005); Jan Nederveen Pieterse, *Globalization and Culture: Global Melange* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004); John Tomlinson, *Globalization and Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

9. Charlotte Bunch, "Women's Human Rights: The Challenges of Global Feminism and Diversity," in *Feminist Locations: Global and Local, Theory and Practice*, ed. Marianne Dekoven (Piscataway, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2001), 134; Carla Freeman, "Is Local: Global as Feminism: Masculine? Rethinking the Gender of Globalization," *Signs* 26 (4, 2001): 1007-37; J.K. Gibson-Graham, *The End of Capitalism (As We Knew It): A Feminist Critique of Political Economy* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1996); Annabelle Sreberny, "Gender, Globalization and Communications: Women and the Transnational," *Feminist Media Studies* 1 (1, 2001): 61-65.

10. Feminist scholars have challenged this local/global dichotomy as well as other binary pairs. See Gloria Anzaldua, *Borderlands/La Frontera*, 2d ed. (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1999); Amrita Basu, "Globalization of the Local/Localization of the Global: Mapping Transnational Women's Movements," in *Feminist Theory Reader: Local and Global Perspectives*, ed. Carole McCann and Seung-Kyung Kim (New York: Routledge, 2003), 68-79; Marianne Dekoven, "Introduction," in *Feminist Locations: Global and Local, Theory and Practice*, ed. Marianne Dekoven (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2001), 1-12; Freeman, "Is Local: Global as Feminine: Masculine?"; Angharad Valdivia, "Feminist Media Studies in a Global Setting: Beyond Binary Contradictions and into Multicultural Spectrums," in *Feminism, Multiculturalism and the Media: Global Diversities*, ed. Angharad Valdivia (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1995), 7-29.

11. Warren Breed, "Social Control in the Newsroom: A Functional Analysis," *Social Forces* 33 (1955): 326-55; and David Manning White, "The 'Gate Keeper,'" *Journalism Quarterly* 27 (1950): 383-96. Especially in the 1970s, several scholars from outside the academic field of journalism conducted studies of newsmaking to show influences on the production of news and the ensuing construction of reality. Mark Fishman, *Manufacturing the News* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1980); Herbert Gans, *Deciding What's News* (New York: Pantheon, 1979); Todd Gitlin, *The Whole World is Watching: Mass Media and the Making and Unmaking of the New Left* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1980); Gaye Tuchman, *Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality* (New York: The Free Press, 1978).

12. Pamela J. Shoemaker and Stephen D. Reese, *Mediating the Message: Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content*, 2d ed. (White Plains, NY: Longman, 1996).

13. WID is often associated with a U.S.-based liberal feminism that demands the social, political, and economic equality of the sexes. Nalini Visvanathan, Lynn Duggan, Laurie Nisonoff, and Nan Wiegersma, eds., *The Women, Gender and Development Reader* (New Jersey: Zed Books, 1997).

14. Visvanathan et al., *The Women, Gender and Development Reader*.

15. Charlotte Bunch and Susana Fried, "Beijing '95: Moving Women's Human Rights from Margin to Center," *Signs* (1996): 200-04.

16. Basu, "Globalization of the Local/Localization of the Global."

17. Robin Morgan, ed., *Sisterhood is Global: The International Women's Movement Anthology* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1984).

18. Amrita Basu, ed., *The Challenge of Local Feminisms: Women's Movements in Global Perspective* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1995); Inderpal Grewal, "On the New Global Feminism and the Family of Nations: Dilemmas of Transnational Feminist Practice," in *Talking Visions: Multicultural Feminism in a Transnational Age*, ed. Ella Shohat (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998), 501-32; Inderpal Grewal and Caren Kaplan, *Scattered Hegemonies: Postmodernity and Transnational Feminist Practice* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1994); Chandra Mohanty, *Feminism Without Borders: Decolonizing Theory, Practicing Solidarity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2003a); Chandra Mohanty, "Feminist Encounters: Locating the Politics of Experience," in *Feminist Theory Reader: Local and Global Perspectives*, ed. Carole McCann and Seung-Kyung Kim (New York: Routledge, 2003b), 460-71; Uma Narayan, *Dislocating Cultures: Identities, Traditions, and Third-World Feminism* (New York: Routledge, 1997); and Hannah Pandian, "Engendering Communication Policy: Key Issues in the International Women-and-Media Arena and Obstacles to Forging and Enforcing Policy," *Media, Culture & Society* 21 (1999): 459-80.

19. Bunch, "Women's Human Rights"; Bunch and Fried, "Beijing '95"; Eva Brems, "Enemies or Allies? Feminism and Cultural Relativism as Dissident Voices in Human Rights Discourse," *Human Rights Quarterly* 19 (1997): 136-64; Inderpal Grewal, "Women's Rights as Human Rights: Feminist Practices, Global Feminism, and Human Rights Regimes in Transnationality," *Citizenship Studies* 3 (3, 1999): 337-54; Grewal, "On the New Global Feminism"; and Kamala Visweswaran,

"Gendered States: Rethinking Culture as a Site of South Asian Human Rights Work," *Human Rights Quarterly* 26 (2004): 483-511.

20. The stereotypical treatment of women in the news media has been well documented. Some references include Mieke Ceulemans and Guido Fauconnier, *Mass Media: The Image, Role, and Social Conditions of Women* (Unesco, Paris, 1979); Margaret Gallagher, *Unequal Opportunities: The Case of Women and the Media* (Unesco, Paris, 1981); Hosken, "Women and International Communication"; Rashmi Luthra, "The 'Abortion Clause' in U.S. Foreign Population Policy: The Debate Viewed Through a Postcolonial Feminist Lens," in *Feminist Media Studies in a Global Setting*, ed. Angharad Valdivia (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1995), 197-216.

21. Gaye Tuchman, Daniels Kaplan, and James Benet, eds., *Hearth and Home: Images of Women in the Mass Media* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978).

22. WACC, Gallagher, and MMP, *Who Makes the News?*

23. Carolyn Byerly, *The Women's Feature Service and the Making of World News* (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, Seattle, 1990); Gallagher, *Unequal Opportunities*; Hosken, "Women and International Communication"; Ramona Rush and Christine Ogan, "Communication and Development: The Female Connection," in *Communication at the Crossroads: The Gender Gap Connection*, ed. Ramona Rush and Donna Allen (Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1989), 264-78.

24. Narayan, *Dislocating Cultures*.

25. Mohanty, *Feminism Without Borders*.

26. Radhika Parameswaran, "Coverage of 'Bride Burning' in the *Dallas Observer*: A Cultural Analysis of the 'Other,' *Frontiers* 16 (2/3, 1996): 69-100.

27. CNN and Channel 4 in the United Kingdom produced an hour-long documentary about the lives of women and girls in Afghanistan. The program provided an insider's perspective seldom seen in the media, with interviews of a variety of Afghan women, old and young, urban and rural, and educated and uneducated. *Lifting the Veil/Afghanistan Unveiled*, prod. by Sharmeen Obaid-Chinoy for CNN and Channel 4, dir. Hugh Thomson, 50 minutes, 2006. In another example, a story in the *New York Times* reported a speech made by Karen Hughes, then undersecretary of state for public diplomacy, in front of a group of women at a Saudi university. In the story, an audience member challenges Hughes when she says she hopes Saudi women would be able to drive and "fully participate in society" as women do in the United States: "Many in this region say they resent the American assumption that, given the chance, everyone would live like Americans." The reporter also points out that this group of women at the meeting does not represent all Saudi women; instead, they are members of a privileged elite in one of the more liberal areas of the country. Steven Weisman, "Saudi Women Have Message for U.N. Envoy," the *New York Times*, September 28, 2005, sec. A, P. 1.

28. Egon G. Guba and Yvonna S. Lincoln, *Effective Evaluation* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1981), 370-71.

29. *IPS Style Manual* (Rome, Italy: IPS, 2003); *IPS Annual Report* (Rome, Italy: IPS, 2003); *Gender Policy of the Inter Press Service* (Rome, Italy: IPS, 1998); Beryl Leach, *IPS Gender and Development Glossary: Revised* (Rome,

Italy: IPS, 2000); Colleen Lowe-Morna, ed., *Fighting Violence against Women: A Training Manual for Journalists* (Johannesburg: IPS and Gender Links, 2000); Colleen Lowe-Morna, Chloe Hardy, Zohra Khan, Shireen Motara, Patricia Made, and Tafadzwa Mumba, *Gender, Culture, Religion and Gender: A Training Manual for Media Practitioners* (Harare, Zimbabwe: IPS, 2002); Patricia Made, *Gender, HIV/AIDS and Rights: A Training Manual for the Media* (Rome, Italy: IPS, 2002); *Gender and Racism in Africa* (IPS, No Date), available online at http://www.ipsnews.net/racism_gend/racism_gen.pdf.

30. The researcher completed all coding but determined intercoder reliability through percentage agreement with two additional coders before formal coding started. Additional coders each coded 23 stories for a total of 46 stories (10% of the total sample of 486 stories). In problematic areas, the researcher corrected and clarified coding procedures. Reliability figures for the main variables were as follows: 100 (date of story), 100 (number of story), 100 (region of story), 80 (number of sources), 50 (number of male sources), 74 (number of unknown sources), 100 (whether article contains words female/girl/girls/woman/women), 63 (whether article contains words male/boy/boys/man/men), 100 (whether the article contains the word sex/gender), 65 (whether article shows the impact of an event or issue on men and/or on women), 100 (whether the article contains the words "human rights"), 61 (main topic of story), and 74 (reporter gender). In cases where it was unclear whether a name was male or female, the Web site www.behindthename.com was used. If it was still unclear whether a name was male or female, the researcher looked for pronouns such as he or she in the story. If the gender of the person still couldn't be determined, the source gender was coded as unknown.

31. The analysis was informed by the qualitative analysis in the *Southern African Gender and Media Baseline Study* that presents examples of stories that show blatant stereotypes, subtle stereotypes, gender blind reporting, and effective gender mainstreaming. Patricia Made, Colleen Lowe-Morna, and Alice Kwaramba, *Gender and Media Baseline Study: Southern African Regional Overview* (Johannesburg, South Africa: Gender Links, 2003). Also see Oliver Boyd-Barrett and Terhi Rantanen, eds., *The Globalization of News* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1998); Johan Galtung and Richard C. Vincent, *Global Glasnost: Toward a New World Information and Communication Order?* (Cresskill, NJ: Hampton, 1992); Zhongdang Pan and Gerald M. Kosicki, "Framing Analysis: An Approach to News Discourse," *Political Communication* 10 (1993): 55-75; Jennifer Rauch, "Rooted in Nations, Blossoming in Globalization? A Cultural Perspective on the Content of a 'Northern' Mainstream and a 'Southern' Alternative News Agency," *Journal of Communication Inquiry* 27 (January 2003): 87-103; and Teun A. Van Dijk, *News as Discourse* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1988).

32. The decision to interview staffers at the IPS North America and Caribbean bureau was made for several reasons. First, it appeared as if the North America and Caribbean office remained male-dominated despite the presence of a female regional editor. This aspect could provide

further insights in the gender dynamics within IPS. Second, it was expected that because of its physical and geographic location, this office would produce many stories covering matters related to the United Nations, including gender issues. At the United Nations bureau, IPS particularly looks for stories concerning development. The United Nations plays a key role with regard to women's issues across the world and as such offers a valuable site for investigation. Third, the North America and Caribbean office is situated in a position of power in relation to its offices in developing countries. As set out on the IPS Web site, the North America and Caribbean office strives to "strengthen global flows of information by making news about other regions of the world available in North America." As such, this office is working toward increasing contraflow in global news.

33. The names of these five interviewees were withheld to protect their identities but job titles are provided.

34. IPS Web site, available online at www.ips.org.

35. Stories are translated into French, German, Dutch, Swedish, Japanese, Portuguese, Thai, Mandarin, Nepali, and Kiswahili.

36. IPS Web site, IPS Annual Report.

37. C. Anthony Giffard, Inter Press Service: News from the Third World (Seattle, WA: International Association for Mass Communications Research and School of Communications, 1983); Al Hester, "Inter Press Service: News for and About the Third World," in Third World Mass Media: Issues, Theory and Research, ed. J.A. Lent (Williamsburg, VA: College of William and Mary, Dept. of Anthropology, 1979), 83-101.

38. Giffard, Inter Press Service; Hester, "Inter Press Service."

39. While the early research studies on IPS did not take gender into account as a variable, the agency's focus on social and economic issues often related directly to women's concerns. Giffard, Inter Press Service.

40. According to Byerly, these services for the first time introduced a systematic approach to covering women's issues in international news. In particular, IPS participated in the creation of services in Latin America and Africa. After Unesco funding for the feature services was cut in 1983, these two services were combined into one IPS Women's Feature Service in 1986 under the leadership of Anita Anand in Rome. See Byerly, The Women's Feature Service and the Making of World News; Carolyn Byerly, "News, Consciousness, and Social Participation: The Role of Women's Features Services in World News," in Feminism, Multiculturalism, and the Media: Global Diversities, ed. Angharad Valdivia (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1995), 105-22.

41. C. Anthony Giffard and Catherine Van Horn, "Inter Press Service and the MacBride Report: Heeding the Call?" Gazette 50 (1992): 167.

42. Funding came from the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Swedish International Development Co-operation and the United Nations Development Fund for Women. C. Anthony Giffard, The World of Inter Press Service, 2000. Beijing plus Five: News Agency Coverage of U.N. Special Session on Women 2000, and Women 2000, and Women as Leaders: An IPS/Umfjem Project. (Seattle, WA: Department of Communication, University of Washington); Leach, IPS Gender and Development Glossary.

43. IPS Director General Patricia Made, personal interview (August 11, 2005).

44. Made was born in the United States but moved to Africa after getting married to a Zimbabwean. She started working at IPS in 1986 and served as Southern Africa editor and Africa editor from 1986-1992. Made then left IPS for four years but returned as regional editor in 1996.

45. Patricia Made, "Globalisation and Gender Training for the Media: Challenges and Lessons Learned," Gender and Development 8 (March 2000): 29-34; Patricia Made and Faria Samhungu, "Strengthening Gender Perspectives in IPS News Coverage," in Whose News? Whose Views? Southern Africa: Gender in Media Handbook, ed. Colleen Lowe-Morna (Johannesburg: Gender Links, 2001), 136-42.

46. Made and Samhungu, "Strengthening Gender Perspectives."

47. Made, "Globalisation and Gender Training for the Media," 31. For more on gender mainstreaming in the media, also see Gender Policy of the IPS; IPS Style Manual; Ammu Joseph, "Gender, Media and Tsunamis," Indiatogether, February 2, 2005, available online at www.indiatogether.org/2005/feb/ajo-genmedia.htm; Leach, IPS Gender and Development Glossary; Made, Gender, HIV/AIDS, and Rights.

48. Gender Policy of the IPS, 1.

49. Made and Samhungu, "Strengthening Gender Perspectives," 142. For more on using a gender perspective, also see Gender Policy of the IPS; Made, Gender, HIV/AIDS, and Rights.

50. Lowe-Morna, ed., Fighting Violence against Women, O14.

51. Gender and Racism in Africa, 8

52. IPS Style Manual; Leach, IPS Gender and Development Glossary; Colleen Lowe-Morna et al, Culture, Religion and Gender.

53. Other examples include avoiding "dyke" and using "lesbian," and avoiding "early Man" and using "early peoples." Leach, IPS Gender and Development Glossary, 82-84.

54. Made, Gender, HIV/AIDS and Rights.

55. IPS says the media often report statistics, cures, and studies, but the impact on women remains hidden. Made, Gender, HIV/AIDS and Rights.

56. Made and Samhungu, "Strengthening Gender Perspectives"; Made, "Globalisation and Gender Training for the Media."

57. Gender Policy of the IPS.

58. IPS Annual Report.

59. IPS Annual Report.

60. Personal correspondence.

61. The arts/entertainment category had a total of thirteen stories. A female reporter wrote the only story in the category for celebrity news and one male and female reporter each wrote a story on sports. However, the low number of celebrity and sports stories makes them negligible.

62. The only media monitoring study that has considered whether a gender perspective was present in news stories at the time of this study was the Gender and Media Baseline Study in Southern Africa. However, the GMBS only considered this issue from a qualitative perspective. As such, an original way to operationalize "gender perspective" was created for this study. Three aspects were considered: the inclusion of female sources,

gender impact in a story, and an analysis of women's rights as human rights. "Gender impact" was operationalized the following way: First, noting the usage of gendered words such as girls/women/females, boys/men/males, and sex/gender in stories. Second, whether the article explicitly explains how men and/or women would be affected by an issue or event. This was further analyzed by whether the impact on men and/or women was shown as the central focus, somewhat, or not at all. To study the analysis of women's rights as human rights, inclusion of the words "women's rights" and "human rights" were considered. One or more of these three elements would indicate that a gender perspective was present in story content.

63. Mario Osava, "Violence in Schools—'Most Fights Are between Girls,'" IPS, 3 May 2004, retrieved from http://www.ipsnews.net.

64. Ranjit Devraj, "Sari Stampede Shrouds 'Shining India' Slogan," IPS, April 20, 2004, retrieved from http://www.ipsnews.net.

65. Physical descriptions included a petite and pretty Thai women, a short and stocky Burmese woman, a woman brightly dressed in yellow, a frail-looking woman, a cheery woman, a woman dressed fashionably in tight jeans, and a school girl in pigtails.

66. For example, women were referred to as "salesgirls," a sex worker was called a "girl," and drink servers were called "barmaids."

67. Antoaneta Bezlova, "Foreign Brides Reflect Changing Demographics," IPS, April 14, 2004, retrieved from http://www.ipsnews.net.

68. This variable could probably be detected more successfully through qualitative analysis, but the mere presence of the words "women's rights" or "women" and "human rights" gave some quantitative indication of an analysis of women's rights as human rights.

69. Jim Lobe, "Experts warn of muscle-flexing behind Afghan constitution," IPS, January 8, 2004, retrieved from http://www.ipsnews.net.

70. Personal interview (February 2, 2005).

71. Personal interview (August 11, 2005).

72. Personal correspondence.

73. Reporters said they would follow a human rights approach, include opposing opinions, and remain sensitive to cultural differences in their stories. Yet, they said they did not often encounter stories in the United States in which women's rights conflict with local tradition, culture, or religion.

74. Telephone interview (February 21, 2005).

75. Personal interview (February 2, 2005).

76. Personal interview (February 2, 2005).

77. This point was also made by Tiessen in her study of gender mainstreaming in development agencies. Tiessen, Everywhere and Nowhere.

78. The regional director mentioned the lack of female ambassadors at the United Nations as an obstacle. He estimated that there were only six or seven female ambassadors out of 191 member states. Personal interview (February 2, 2005).

79. Personal interview (February 2, 2005).

80. Susan Alexander, "The Role of the Media in Attaining the MDGs," Development 48 (2005): 129-31.

WHAT IS THE WAR ON TERROR? FRAMING THROUGH THE EYES OF JOURNALISTS

By Seth C. Lewis and Stephen D. Reese

This study explored the War on Terror framing process through interviews with journalists at USA Today, testing the presumption that, because frames are organizing principles whose manifestations extend beyond the level of content alone, journalists' personal discourse will reflect and reinforce frames found in the text. Results show that reporters "transmitted" the War on Terror as shorthand for policy, "reified" the frame as concrete and uncontested, and "naturalized" it as a taken-for-granted condition. These findings suggest broader lessons for the U.S. press in becoming more aware of the words and catchphrases that signify the prevailing wisdom of public officials.

In response to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, the Bush administration advanced a War on Terror to justify security policies at home and military intervention abroad, exemplified by continuing conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan. As a rhetorical device for marshaling resources and defining the terms of debate, the War on Terror has emerged as a powerful ideological frame. Whether called the *war on terror,* the *war on terrorism,* or the *war against terrorism,*[1] the frame put forth by the Bush administration, beginning the day after 9/11, was the same: The tragedy required an immediate war-like response against the perpetrators and states that protected them.[2] This "loaded and elastic frame"[3] was used to "justify and fast-track the new unilateralist foreign policy."[3] More broadly, this frame took on ideological dimensions, not only providing linguistic cover for widespread political change in the name of national security, but also offering an institutionalized way of seeing the world—a frame as influential as it was subtle.[4]

As a central facet of political communication, frames define the terms of debate, shape public opinion through the persuasive use of symbols; and, when most effective, lead to public policy change. They serve as the primary vehicle through which public officials, the news media, and other elites exercise political influence over one another and the public at large.[5] As such, frames do not arise organically; they are

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