

Treball de fi de grau

Títol

Autor/a

Tutor/a

Departament

Grau

Tipus de TFG

Data

Facultat de Ciències de la Comunicació

Full resum del TFG

Títol del Treball Fi de Grau:

Català:

Castellà:

Anglès:

Autor/a:

Tutor/a:

Curs:

Grau:

Paraules clau (mínim 3)

Català:

Castellà:

Anglès:

Resum del Treball Fi de Grau (extensió màxima 100 paraules)

Català:

Castellà:

Anglès:

INDEX

Introduction	2
1. Russia and Ukraine: Historical, Political and Social Context	4
2. Theoretical Framework	11
2.1 International Journalism	11
2.2 The Role of the Correspondent	13
2.3 The Agenda Setting	15
3. Methodology	19
3.1 Objectives, Questions and Hypothesis	19
3.2 Subject of Study, Criteria and Methodological Procedure	20
4. The Results of the Analysis	25
4.1 Hierarchy and Context Formal Aspects	25
4.2 Identification of Subjects in the Analysis Unit	29
4.3 Assessment and Valuation	34
Conclusions	41
References	44
Annexs	46

INTRODUCTION

During March 2014, tensions between the Russian and the Ukrainian surged in the media, transforming the topic into a major focus of international attention. This dissertation explores the coverage of the conflict between Russia and Ukraine, taking Crimea's referendum as the main point of the investigation. This international event is considered to be one of the most important events of the last decades. The study focuses on the informational content of six different newspapers: three Spanish papers (*La Vanguardia*, *El País*, and *El Mundo*) and three Russian (*Rosiskaya Gazeta*, *Izvestia*, and *Nezavisimaya*). It analyses a defined number of news units using quantitative analysis. The aim is to determine which are the formal and hierarchical aspects, the identification of the subjects taking part in the action and a general value of the piece according to some key facts.

Ukraine belonged to the Soviet Union for almost fifty years. In 1991, the country declared its independence from the Russian government and its people expressed their will to sovereignty in a referendum. 90% of the votes were in favour of independence. The only province in Ukraine that disagreed with the decision was Crimea. Its belonging to Ukraine was traded for a larger degree of autonomy for itself within the Ukrainian State. Due to the continued unwillingness of Crimea to become a full part of Ukraine, the area has become the epicentre of conflict between the two different countries.

2014 was the most violent year since Ukraine's independence was proclaimed in 1991. Massive demonstrations, protests and the large-scale radicalization of the government led to the increasing confrontation between the country and Russia. Control over the country's borders became the target of an open war. Crimea was the most widely affected territory, since Russian troops settled military bases in Simferopol and Belbek once the Ukrainian government collapsed and its president at the time, Victor Yanukovich, fled. Although it wasn't legally recognized by the European Union, nor by any other international bodies, Crimea held a referendum on March 16, 2014. Its population decided to support (with the 93% of votes) the option

to become part of Russia. Two days later, Vladimir Putin signed the annexation of the peninsula to the Russian Federation. The European Union and the United States expressed their disagreement towards the decision, and blamed Russia for the international unrest. This situation resulted in further riots in both countries, a broader collapse of the Ukrainian economy, sanctions against the Russian government and the cessation of commercial relations between Russia and many other states.

The media is a key factor in forming public opinion. Its role can even be more evident when it comes to international news. Therefore, if we observe different media from several locations, we can get different and sometimes even contradictory versions of the same historical event. Reality can be interpreted differently depending on which geographical area a certain media is based.

On the one hand, we can see if the Russian media gives a national vision of the situation in the country. Must be taken into consideration that Russia is one of the actors in the conflict who lived the referendum ‘in situ’. On the other hand, the Spanish press, which have an entirely different approach. Their ‘modus operandi’ appears to be closer to the Western values. Several facts are analysed from the perspective of the European Union.

The choice of such a topic for my thesis arises from my personal desires to strengthen my knowledge about media systems. My parents are Russian, and I always had curiosity to know more about the Eastern media. I decided that it would be a fantastic opportunity to travel to the city of my family and work with Russian material. My aim is to compare the conflict coverage and as a result, it would provide a comparative approach between two different media systems. Each media system shows the political and social framework of the society. The comparison of two different press models can provide a broader approach to the topic.

1. RUSSIA AND UKRAINE: HISTORICAL, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXT

In order to understand the conflict, it is essential provide some context. Russia or the Russian Federation is “a country unlike any other”, taking the words of the geography professor Mikhail Blinnikov. Considered a sovereign state in northern Eurasia, it embraces 17,075,200km² and it is the largest country in the world. It covers more than one-eighth of the Earth’s inhabited land area and its population is 146 million people (2015). As a consequence of its enormous geographical extension, Russia spans eleven time zones and incorporates a wide range of landforms and different environments. The country extends across Northern Asia and much of Eastern Europe, where it shares borders with countries such as Norway, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Belarus and Ukraine (see map 1).

Map 1: The Geographic Location of Russia



Source: Blogitravel.com

Ukraine is the second leading character in the conflict. It is located in Eastern Europe, bordered by Poland, Slovakia, Belarus, Romania, Hungary, Moldova and, mainly, by Russia to the East and Northeast. Ukraine has an area of 603,628km², making it the largest country in Europe with a population of about 48.7 million.

Demography

The majority of Russian population is ethnic Russian (81%) and it has several sizeable minorities. Russia attracts large numbers of migrants from the countries of the former Soviet Union. These migrants hail from a range of countries, including Ukraine, Moldova, and Georgia, but most are originally from Muslim-majority countries in Central Asia like Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan. Though Russia's population is comparatively large, it has low density due to the huge size of its territory. Its most crowded areas are located in European Russia, near the Ural Mountains and the southwest Siberia. The total census in 2015 was of 146.3 million, according to Russian Federal State Statistic Services. Seventy four per cent of the population lived in urban areas, and 26% in rural ones. Mark Adomanis, an American specialist in Russian economics and demographics, explains that Russia's population was in steep decline throughout the 1990's and well into the early and mid-2000's.

This period was a big disaster in demographic terms and damaged Russia's economics and demographics permanently. The broad-based demographic rebound started about a decade ago. Russia's population stopped shrinking "naturally" (deaths stopped exceeding births) and it began to grow. When immigration started coming, Russia's population grew at even a faster pace. More generally, Russia's demographics are highly contingent on political and economic performance; this is seen as being particularly true when applied to rates of immigration.

Regarding Ukraine, its population in 2015 was 42,929.3, according to the State Statistics Service of Ukraine. 69% of the population lived in urban zones and 30% lived in rural ones, which on average is slightly more than their neighbours in Russia. The most populated regions are the industrial areas in the East and Southeast. Ethnic Ukrainians make up about an 80% of the census. Other significant groups have identified themselves as Russian, Belarusian, Moldovan, Tartar, Bulgarian,

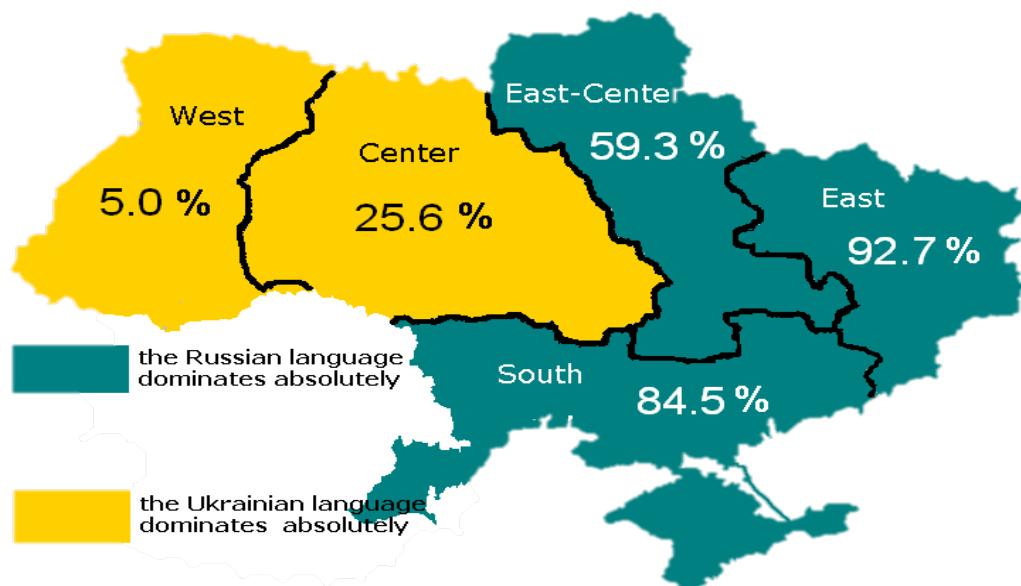
Hungarian, Romanian, Polish, Jewish, and Armenian. According to the latest data from Ukraine's Committee on State Statistics, Ukraine's population declined by more than 250,000 between 2014 and 2015. The demographic decline was mostly the result of natural facts, deaths exceeding births. Unlike Russia, which made up for the decline in native population with new immigrants from nearby regions, Ukraine did not experience comparative replacement rates of immigration. The war, the weak influx of migration and the loss of Crimea affected severely its demographical drop.

Cultural Background

Both countries have a similar cultural background, not only because of their geographical location but also due to their Slavic roots. They share cultural traditions due to common history as belonging to the Soviet Union. Russia has a very broad and long history in many artistic disciplines (literature, painting, music and philosophy). Russia's most thriving artistic and cultural centre is located in the East Slavs, which consists of mostly Russian, Belorussian and Ukrainian people. This explains the similarities in cultural traits between Ukraine and Russia.

Another important factor is language. Russia has almost 200 different ethnic groups. It has over 100 minority languages in the country, but Russian is the most widely spoken throughout the country, and additionally holds the status of being the only official state language. However, the Russian Constitution allows individual republics to establish their own official language in addition to Russian. It has more than 150 million native speakers and an additional 110 million people who speak it as a second language, mostly from former Soviet republics such as Armenia, Azerbaijan, Estonia, Ukraine, and Georgia. In Ukraine, Ukrainian is the predominant language, but Russian still plays a very important role (see map 2).

Map 2: Usage of the Russian Language in Macroregions of Ukraine



Source: Kiev International Institute of Sociology (2003)

Ukrainian is an East Slavic language spoken in Ukraine and some of its neighbouring countries. Russian and Moldovan are also two co-official languages of Ukraine. In lexical terms, the closest language to Ukrainian is Belarussian, but most linguists attribute its roots to Old Russian. According to the Kiev International Institute of Sociology's 2007 census, more than 30 million people speak Ukrainian as their first language, and they are mostly located in the country's centre-west. In Crimea, Russian is the most widely used language, even before its formal annexation to Russia in 2014, when the region belonged to Ukraine.

Economy

According to the World Bank, Russia has a high-income mixed economy. The State participates actively in the economy and has ownership over strategic areas. During the state reforms in the 1990's, much of Russia's agriculture and industry was privatised. The country contains over 30% of the world's total natural resources, its territory becoming very valuable compared to other nations. Russia relies on energy revenues to drive most of its economic growth. Its land is abundant in oil, natural gas,

and precious metals, which make up a significant share of Russia's exports. One of the most remarkable aspects is the military industry, capable of designing and manufacturing high-tech military equipment. The Ukrainian economy is not as compelling as the Russian. The World Bank describes it as "an emerging free market". Its national economy struggled until the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. The country is relatively rich in natural resources, particularly in mineral deposits. Although oil and natural gas reserves in the country are mostly depleted, it has other valuable energy resources which rival that of its neighbouring country, Russia.

History and Politics

Russia and Ukraine were both part of the USSR (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) during almost fifty years. The Soviet Union was a socialist state that existed between 1922 and 1991. The Government and the Economy were centralized, and they had a single party system. Moscow was the capital of the whole state. In 1991, the Union fell and divided into 15 different countries. One of them was Ukraine. On August 24 1991, the Ukrainian Parliament held a referendum and 90% of the votes expressed the desire to become an independent state. The only exception was the region of Crimea. Its membership in the Ukrainian State was negotiated in exchange for a higher degree of autonomy.

In 2013 Ukraine required to join the European Union as a Member State, which created new tensions between it and Russia. Its relationship with Russia was still too firm to allow a deal with the EU and, at the same time, maintain the same conditions with its close neighbour. Ukraine asked for dialogue between the two actors, but this option was immediately rejected. The president at the time in office was Viktor Yanukóvich. Several demonstrations sprouted up around Ukraine and soon became the rule. 2014 didn't turn out calmer for Ukraine. Thousands of people rallied to ask for anticipated elections with the support of an organised group opposed to the Government block "Rada" (the Ukrainian Parliament). The mayor of Kiev was dismissed and the first minister, Nikolai Azarov, decided to resign. Independence Square became a battlefield between police and citizens during the demonstration,

showing high degrees of violence and repression. In the mid-February, as a result of the clashes between civilian demonstrators and the police over a hundred people died in the course of three days. The pressure towards Yanukóvich increased, and he fled Kiev to try to find asylum in Russia. The ex-prime minister, Yulia Timoshenko, emerged in Parliament and took the role of the “political liberator” of the country. Alexandre Turchnikov was invested as president.

The control of the borders became a priority for the newly elected Ukrainian government, and progressively the war with Russia started. The focus of the problem was the region of Crimea, a Ukrainian territory, with a very pro-Russian population. For two months both countries openly displayed their military forces and fought multiple battles in the strategic points between the two forces in areas like Odessa, Luhansk, Sloviansk, Kramatorsk, Enakievo or Krasnyi Lyman (see map 3). The primary objective was to occupy the Crimean peninsula, not only for its land value but also because it is a historical strategic position.

Map 3: The Major Areas of Conflict in Ukraine



Source: Mashable news (2014)

The population and the local Government of Crimea decided to organize a referendum asking people to vote about their national feelings and to which country they wanted to belong. Although it was not a legally recognized procedure by the European Union, nor was it by any other international organisation, the referendum was held on March 16 2014 with the help of the Russian Federation. The population decided to support (with 93% of votes) the option to become part of Russia. Two days after, Vladimir Putin signed the official annexation of the peninsula. This act was seen in the West as a provocation, and Russia was heavily sanctioned for it.

The displays of violence and force did not stop. The battles between Russians and Ukrainians continued even after it had been decided that Crimea was to belong to Russia. Nowadays the diplomatic relations between both countries are tenser than two years ago, when the conflict started.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

International journalism is the branch of journalism that aims to give media coverage to news outside one's own country. The reporters go abroad and report on what is happening on a social, political and economic scale to their home media. Therefore, the audience has the possibility to get some information and understand what is going on worldwide. Nowadays, all the digital tools and the high adoption of the Internet make easier to provide information and give a good coverage of international news.

The boundaries between national and international information has never been so blurred. The importance of providing foreign news is a priority, and journalists have to be aware that this undertaking is as much about the tools and resources as it is about the information conveyed. They have to be able to provide information that facilitates the understanding of very complex and plural realities to members of an audience, who it cannot be assumed has any special familiarity with the region or topic at hand.

2.1 International Journalism

The desire to know what happens outside of our borders is not exclusive to the 21st century. Humans always had curiosity to know more about strange and unfamiliar places. International journalists have never ceased to bridge "home" with all the existing stories beyond its borders. Their function as storytellers brings the citizens of their homelands to see them as adventurous and romantic people who were not scared to leave their warm homes to find out new stories overseas. The first newspapers were the so-called "corantos" that specialized in this type of information. One of the most important "corantos" newspapers was: *The city of Amsterdam*. In the past there was a widespread fear of the unknown, which was reflected in the fact that much of the news coming from abroad was pure gossip. The most advanced communication networks were the ones belonging to entrepreneurs, who wanted to have information about the political, economic and religious aspects of other countries.

The real information revolution came with the agencies. The first major private news agency was *Agence Havas* and the majority of news was financial. Havas gained the monopoly of French press, and, with the invention of the telegraph, the agency consolidated its services across all of Europe. Many of these telegraph services around the world were controlled in one-way or another by governments. The creation of “Brief Bulletins” provided information from media stock markets without the sensationalist prose. Progressively the three most important agencies up until the modern day appeared: Havas, Reuters and WTB of Berlin. These agencies had a key role in defining what foreign news is, as well as influencing the way in which news gatherers process and distribute information. In 1860s, there was a remarkable increase in demand for foreign news and a sophisticated network of correspondents appeared. The correspondents were covering outside the country and they were kind of heroes and deserved the historical name of “Journalists for Empire”.

In 1920 there appeared a need for more professional journalists. The agencies were looking for prepared men and women who could focus on hard news and have a more serious approach to reporting. Immediacy gained a crucial role. Only fourteen years later the fall of the old structures was a reality and new formats appeared. The European hegemony of the international news market was effectively over. The audiences started to perceive and understand the events, people and places that existed outside their borders. In 1930, after the II World War, Reuters was the only “imperial” agency to survive. In the years that followed, other options appeared, for example, the Soviet Union agency, TASS, or Chinese agency called Xinhua. The last remarkable period of international news was in the 1990s. It was another stage in the evolution of international news, defined following two characteristics: an increasingly competitive market and a growth of satellite broadcasting. Deadlines dominate the work of many journalists based abroad, and financial aspects affect the nature of international news. Nowadays, these last trends are still present in the media’s way of reporting.

2.2 The Role of the Correspondent

The work of foreign correspondents carries a great responsibility. Unlike conventional media, they have two main difficulties. The first one is the lack of awareness of their local population. The issues that the reporters cover usually do not directly affect the readers. The second one is the difficulty of the physical distance between the journalists and the actual places from which they are reporting. Some examples of possible difficulties could be adaptation problems, linguistic ignorance, the relationship between the correspondent and the main newsroom, or the difficulties that come with finding reliable sources. The role of the foreign correspondent has been one of the most influential ones, not only inside international journalism but also in general discipline, and even to the audience. According to Christopher D.Tulloch (2004, pg.5), a correspondent who “is traditionally respected gives thanks to the tradition that often surrounds him in a mythical aura, but this is an image a bit misleading, as there is a difficult task, disciplined and without the glamour given”.

We can define a correspondent as: a professional journalist who works outside of the newsroom of his or her media (it doesn't matter if abroad or not). In addition to the classical figure of a settled correspondent, there exist three different classes of reporting. Those who report to a news agency, the special envoys, and the “stringers” or “freelance.” They all have different ways of working, but they have a common goal: provide their readers, listeners or viewers with the information about elsewhere. Journalists who give coverage of news for a news agency compose the first group. Their informative product is usually contextualised and wide, the only problem is that sometimes they suffer from the “deadline effect”, the impossibility of diving further into any one topic due to the vast amount of stories they have to give coverage to on the same journey. Most international coverage comes from agencies. UPI, AP, Reuters and AFP have delegations in over a hundred countries with thousands of fixed or settled correspondents. The special envoys shape the second group, defined by the occasional character of their services. The journalist is destined to an area to give coverage to some sporadic or anticipated event. These events are usually the focus of international attention. The journalist Michael Massing refers to them as “globetrotting crisis chasers”. Finally, the “stringers” are those residing in a country

which is different from the media that they work for. “Freelance” journalists are free committed informers who chase appealing information in order to create a product that can be sold to other media.

Unlike other fields such as international journalism or intercultural communication, there are a very limited number of studies which treat in-depth the role of the foreign correspondent. However, we can find four crucial research works on this topic. The two oldest are “Foreign Correspondence” by John Hohenberg (1995) and “The First Casualty” written by Philip Knightly (1975), a historical review of the role of foreign correspondents in major conflicts of the past two centuries. The third work, “The Politics of Crisis Reporting” by the American researcher John Pollock (1981), is particularly complex and combines the analysis of the relationship between the correspondents, official sources as well as other factors. Finally, Stephen Hess’s book “International Journalism & Foreign Correspondents” (1996) analyses the role of the American journalist in contemporary international journalism.

Therefore, there are two predominant areas of research: quantitative work on the presence of a correspondent in the world, as well as other studies on the correspondent as a mediator in the process of communicating the news internationally. The tradition of quantitative research on the role of news correspondents began with Anderson in 1950 but was quickly surpassed five years later by Kruglak Theodore. Theodore’s pioneer study uses a comprehensive questionnaire given to a large number of correspondents complemented with personal interviews. William Donald Maxwell and Lambert published also two studies using the same technique.

The 60s brought three remarkably outstanding works. In 1963, Wilhelm presented an investigation which revealed key points of interest concerning the work of correspondents; more specifically, these dealt with data concerning the number of reporters abroad, insight into the working routines of these reporters, and information specific to their access to reliable information sources. Such topics had never been included in a study before. A year later came a second study written by Luther Yu that changed Wilhelm’s approach by focusing on issues such as the bureaucratization of the trade and professional opinions regarding the quality of their coverage. The third-

star study of the decade was a macro-analysis of American correspondents made by Leo Bogart in 1968. The study discussed journalists' careers prior to them establishing themselves in other countries, the relevance of the destination when carrying out certain types of reporting and the importance of having editorial control over one's own work.

The 1970s saw increased interest on the part of the public to know more about the work of foreign correspondents. This interest is reflected in the work of Hus in 1971. In addition to statistical analysis, the main contribution of the study is the categorization of the biggest obstacles foreign correspondents encounter during the course of their daily routines, along with a prioritization of the qualities they considered essential to the successful accomplishment of their work. In 1975, Professor Ralph Kliesch made what is regarded as the most important census of foreign reporters, a distinction which it holds even today.

During the 1980s and 1990s Morrison, Tumbers and Kilesch wrote the two principal academic works on foreign correspondence. The first is a study published in 1985 and highlighted some aspects of the professional routines of foreign correspondents in London. The second one, by Kliesch in 1991, brought to light some critical conclusions on how reporters had evolved over time, investigating aspects such as the increase in correspondents, their geographical redistribution and women within the profession.

2.3 Agenda Setting

In every society public interest has to deal with a second-hand reality provided by journalists through news and reports. The result of this is that the media's agenda becomes the public agenda of society, since it is perceived that what is in the media is what should be relevant to society. The media, then, is in charge of setting society's agenda. This is not a deliberate and premeditated attempt to cast influence on the population, but rather is an outcome derived from the need that the media has to select and highlight a set amount of news to fill in their news quota, and that happens to be

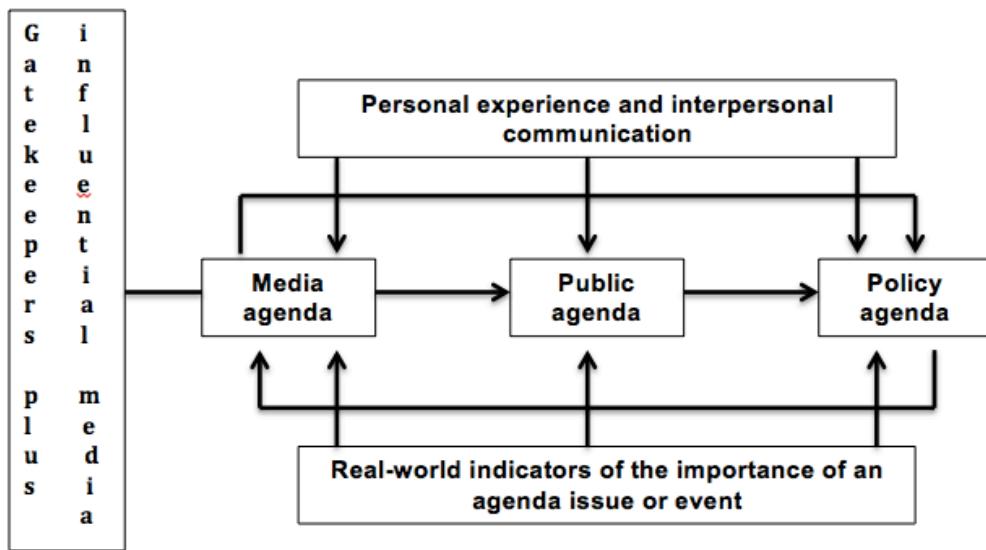
what society considers to be a representation of reality. Walter Lippmann is the father of the "agenda-setting." In his 1922 study called *Public opinion*, Lippmann holds that the media determine cognitive maps of the world that we make. So public opinion responds not to the environment, but to a pseudo-environment constructed by the press.

As Maxwell McComb defined "the establishment of the agenda does not return to the theory of the hypodermic needle, or postulates about all-powerful media effects. Nor does it consider the audience as automatons members. But the "agenda-setting" itself assigns a central role to the press, which has to build a repertoire of the public agenda. The information supplied by the media plays a key role in the construction of our images of reality. And besides, what influences these pictures is the total set of the information they provide to us" (2006).

Many other significant influences can shape individual attitudes and public opinion. The way we feel about a particular topic may find its origin in a personal experience, our society's general culture or our exposure to the media. Maxwell argues that the "agenda-setting" directs our attention to the early formative stages of public opinion when issues appear and connect for the first time to public attention. This condition implies journalists have a considerable ethical responsibility because the items on its agenda must be selected carefully.

Many facts and situations are fighting for the attention of journalists. Due to the impossibility of collecting all the information on these events, and speak about them to the audience, journalists rely on a traditional set of professional standards that guide them in their daily sampling of what's relevant news. The result is that the media present a very limited vision of a broader reality.

Figure 1: The Agenda-Setting Theory



Source: theborderingboy.blogspot.com (McQuail & Windahl, 1993)

The media often exert a substantial influence on the agenda of other media. The sociologist Warren Breed conceptualized the dissemination of news from a key information medium to a host of other media such as a dendritic influence. Journalists validate their sense of communication by observing the work of their colleagues. The result of these continuous observations, with the resulting influence among the media, is a highly redundant media agenda. On the other hand, in the language of research methodology, these high inter-correlations between the programmes of the press can be considered a measure of reliability: the degree of agreement between independent observers who are applying the same rules of observation.

Since the first in 1968, there have been hundreds of empirical research projects which investigate the influence the media have on setting the agenda. The cumulative impact on the general public, in geographical and historical scenarios, covers all informative media and dozens of published studies. The studies on the effects of "agenda-setting" around the world have observed the phenomenon of mass communication from different perspectives. This effect can have significant implications. In the original scope of the "agenda-setting" tradition, the relevance of the topics of public interest,

there is considerable evidence that the changing importance of these topics is often the basis of public opinion on global occurrences.

One of the professional groups that suffer the most from this phenomenon is precisely the correspondents. As nowadays we are living in an époque where the homogenisation of foreign news and the standardization of journalism around the world have become a reality, journalists working abroad have to contend regularly with this situation. Confidence in the information provided by agencies is among the most positive aspects involved in the work of a correspondent, but it is also one of the most contentious issues. As the author, Christopher D.Tulloch states, “The influence of the agenda setting is what bothers more correspondents” (2004). Despite having its correspondents on the ground, newspapers often opt for choosing the first news they receive from large international agencies, leaving their reporters only the task of providing additional background information.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Objectives, Questions and Hypothesis

The research sets three primary objectives. First, analyse the international information published in two different geographic areas (Spain and Russia) about the same international event (The Crimea referendum). Second, compare how the international press deal with the same informational event (The Crimea referendum). Third, assess if the editorial position of the newspaper and the foreign policy from the same country are aligned or not.

According to these three primary objectives, the research questions are:

- Which information provide Spanish and Russian media about the Crimea's conflict?
- What are the differences between the coverage of the same conflict in the two groups of newspapers?
- Is the information about the same conflict influenced accordingly to the editorial position of each paper?

The hypothesis is that the treatment of the topic I have chosen is not the same in the Spanish media when compared with the Russian media. Although derived from the same news event, we draw from two completely different areas. Geographically there has always been a duality of information between East and West, so each point of view and each style of writing will predetermine how the media presents the story. I think Spain will make a more pro-European treatment because of the position it shares with its colleagues of the EU. Russia will defend the issue in a more patriotic way and will always fight for its own hidden interests behind the annexation of the Crimea peninsula in the Russian Federation. The information analysed will be politicized according to the interests and position of every newspaper in this regard. Since objectivity does not exist, every media is politicized in one-way or another. It is important to note that there are also internal differences among the three newspapers

from each country. I hold that there will be definite specific similarities in how the news sources from each country treat the event; in other words, we will be able to see a certain unique element of characteristic national bias in both the Spanish and Russian reporting. So in my opinion, we can speak resolutely about the duality between Spanish and Russian press releases in the treatment of Referendum Crimea.

3.2 Subject of Study, Criteria and Methodological Procedure

The analysis of the dissertation is focused on the information published on March 2014 (14th to 20th), taking the Crimea Referendum as the main event. The referendum was held on March 16, but to have a representative sample, we started from two days before and four days after the event in order to discover the reactions and the consequences of the results, particularly the subsequent annexation of the peninsula to Russia. The sample of analysis is one week. This period of time allows to analyse the conflict from two perspectives. The sample includes the news published in six newspapers. Three are Spanish (*La Vanguardia*, *El País* and *El Mundo*) and three are Russian (*Rosiskaya Gazeta*, *Izvestia* and *Nezavisimaya*). This selection is made for the following reasons.

The Spanish newspapers have long tradition in covering international conflicts. They have their own correspondents who had followed not only the event, but also the conflict during all the preceding years. These reporters are not only in the place of the scene, but also in another countries where the main leaders and International Organizations react to the Crimea's conflict. The other newspapers did the journalistic treatment thanks to international news agencies such as EFE or Reuters, so the information is more homogeneous and cannot provide a wealthy and detailed point of the conflict.

La Vanguardia is a conservative newspaper published in Barcelona. Its daily circulation is 135,824 (OJD, 2015). Family Godó founded the newspaper in 1881. “La Vanguardia” has a wide network of correspondents abroad. Nowadays, the Moscow correspondent is the journalist Gonzalo Aragonés, who has been in Russia since 2002.

The newspaper also have other correspondents around the world like Marc Basset (from Washington), Francesc Peiró (from New York), or Eusebio Pol (from Rome) who also contributed as well to the Ukraine coverage, providing other perspectives.

El País is a centre-left newspaper with the highest spread in Spain. Its circulation is 297.445 (OJD, 2015). *El País* was founded in 1976 and it is distributed in 45 countries. It is considered one of the leading newspapers in the Spanish-speaking world. The correspondent is Pilar Bonet in Moscow since 2001. She is covering Russia issues and the influential region. She is a well-known journalist for her great knowledge on the subject. She has also been in Russia while the Perestroika took place at the 1990s. “*El País*” also provides additional information about Ukraine thought other correspondents such as Silvia Blanco (special correspondent in Kiev), Lucia Abellón (from Brussels), or Enrique Müller (from Berlin).

The Spanish center-right newspaper *El Mundo* is the third choice. It was founded in 1989, and it has a circulation of 200,827 (OJD, 2015). The editor is Unidad General S.L.U, belonging to the Italian Goup RCS MediaGroup. The correspondent covering the area of Russia is Xavier Colás. He has a wide knowledge of the political systems of all the countries surrounding Russia. He is not the only one who writes news about the topic, “*El Mundo*” also has other sources such as Rosalia Sanchez (covering from Berlin), Maria Ramírez (from New York), Sílvia Ramón (from Madrid) or Lourdes Gómez (from London).

As for the Russian press, the three newspapers analysed are *Rossiskaya Gazeta*, *Izvestia*, and *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*. These papers differ greatly from their Spanish counterparts mentioned above. As such, while they also showcase the definite differences of perspective within Russia, their consideration as a unit emphasises the contrast of worldviews which exist between Eastern and Western Europe. Russia's newspaper readers can enjoy a broad range of options, with more than 400 types of papers. Three main reasons explain the media consumption in Russia. The first one is that the newspapers remain a little bit expensive for those living outside the major cities. The main titles are based in the capital, Moscow, so readers sometimes even prefer to take local papers instead. Another reason is the growth of television and the

Internet (lower than in Western Europe, but still powerful). This fact leads to a reduction in the number of copies of newspapers produced and sold. Apropos of this point, another option available to the Russian press is to reduce publishing frequency; for example, not to be a daily newspaper and have instead one or two “free days” (mostly Saturday and Sunday) during which readers access the news only from the online version available on the Internet.

In the 1990s, the so-called oligarchs were the ones who acquired controlling interests in many of the leading titles and finally dominated the newspaper ownership. According to BBC, nowadays, companies have bought several of the most influential publications. Kremlin, or international companies such as Gazprom, are only a few examples. Nevertheless, the Russian newspaper market offers its consumers a more diverse range of views than those same users can sample on the country's leading television channels. Based in Moscow, the National Circulation Service (NCS) is responsible for monitoring and auditing press circulation in Russia. However, only around half of the country's leading papers have signed up to the service.

Rosiskaya Gazeta is Russia's leading government-owned newspaper based in Moscow. Its readers are "well-balanced adults, inclined to adopt conservative views" according to surveys quoted on the paper's Internet site. It was set up by the Russian government in 1990, before the collapse of the Soviet Union. Nowadays it remains fully government-owned. The newspaper is authorized to publish all new laws in full, at which point the legislation enters into force. According to the data of TNS Gallup Media (2008), the average run of this newspaper is 638,000 copies.

Izvestia is a daily founded in 1917 and based in Moscow. The publication became very popular during the Soviet era. The newspaper continued to enjoy a wide readership in the 1990s while remaining a particular favourite among intellectuals and academics. In June 2005, the media arm of state-controlled energy company Gazprom bought a majority stake. In May 2008, Gazprom sold its majority stake on to the SOGAZ Insurance Company, who is the actual owner of the Russian publication. The newspaper has a circulation of 371,000 copies according to TNS Gallup Media (2008).

Nezavisimaya Gazeta is based in Moscow and was founded in 1990. It occupies a good position among the upmarket Russian press, targeting educated and politically active Russians. According to TNS Gallup Media (2008), it has a circulation of 70,000 copies only in Moscow. Although it has a small distribution, it is regarded as a prestigious platform for politicians, businesspeople, and academics as well. It also publishes some supplements each week on topics such as science, regional news, the economy, and diplomacy. Konstantin Remchukov has owned the newspaper since February 2007.

Due to the resources and the timing available to carry out the investigation, the only method used to study the sample was quantitative. In using this type of analysis we want to achieve the most objective and systematic treatment of information in each unit. As the sociologist Roberto Franzosi explains in his book Quantitative Narrative Analysis (2009), “Quantitative social science analysis requires the input of data, this method allows the data to speak more, and may characterize the approach from an observer’s point of view”. The quantitative analysis must be highly organized and, moreover, must evidence a high degree of objectivity because, like Franzosi stated: “There are invariant characteristics of the narrative behind structural units, which represent a variety of superficial forms”.

The content analysis has three categories. The first one was hierarchy and context of the formal aspect. This part permits us to identify the essential characteristics of the informative pieces, such as, the country of origin, the language of the unit, the authorship, and the genre. There were also some variables exclusively dedicated to formal aspect like the location, the extension, the iconic complement and the position on the cover. There were eleven different indicators in this section.

The second aspect of the profile analysis was the identification of subjects in the analysis unit. The approach of the informative piece to the topic was studied, as well as the positive or negative vision that the newspaper gave to each unit analysed. The subjects were peace and security as well as migrations and the rights of the people. There were five different indicators in this section.

The third aspect concerned assessment and evaluation. This part has seven variables and it is focused on the evaluation of the subjects. It had the possibility of determining whether or not the subjects were institutional or social. It was also possible to study how the analysis unit was presented: as a problem, a solution, a dream... etc. The results were transferred to an excel table, and from there the charts and the results were elaborated using all the data extracted from the study.

4. THE RESULTS OF THE ANALYSIS

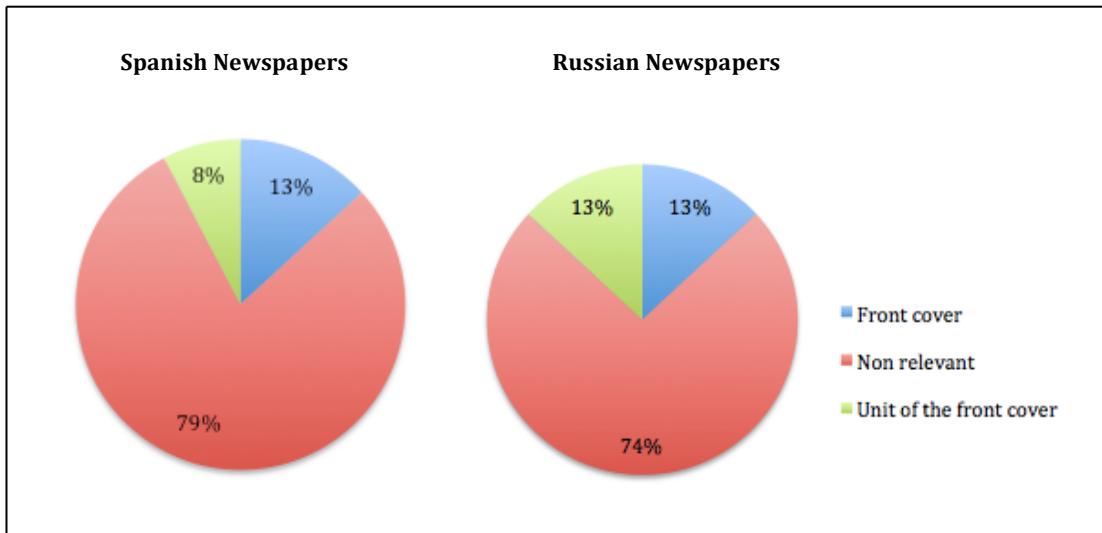
The subject of study of this research project is the information published in the media about the Crimea Referendum and the conflict between Russia and Ukraine at the time when the referendum was issued. The analysis includes all the pieces of news published in the Spanish newspapers *La Vanguardia*, *El País*, and *El Mundo* between 14th and 20th March 2014. The same was done with Russian newspapers *Rosiskaya Gazeta*, *Izvestia* and *Nezavisimaya*. The opinion section wasn't analyzed due to the enormous amount of articles featured and the limited time to elaborate this dissertation. The sample is composed of 91 pieces of Spanish media and another 84 Russian articles. In total, 175 units regarding the Crimean referendum have been treated and analyzed. The study has allowed for the extraction of the following results on three different fronts. Firstly, one section is dedicated to the hierarchy and formal aspects; a second focuses on the identification of individuals involved in each unit; and a third section relates to a general evaluation and assessment.

4.1 Hierarchy and Context of Formal Aspects

The first factor analyses the relevance of each analysis unit. We can determine how relevant one unit is by checking its location within the media: whether the unit is located on the front cover, included as a non-highlighted unit on the front cover, located on the back cover or does not have a significant function within the newspaper. As we can observe in the chart below, **the values of the figures of both mediatic groups are very similar**. Spanish and Russian newspapers both gave the same relevance to their articles during Crimea's referendum.

The only contrast lies within the difference between the units on the front cover. Russian newspapers have a significantly higher number of articles about the topic featured on the front page, it being 13%, whereas Spanish media feature only 8% of the articles on the front page. Both groups give **equal importance** to the position of the units on the front cover.

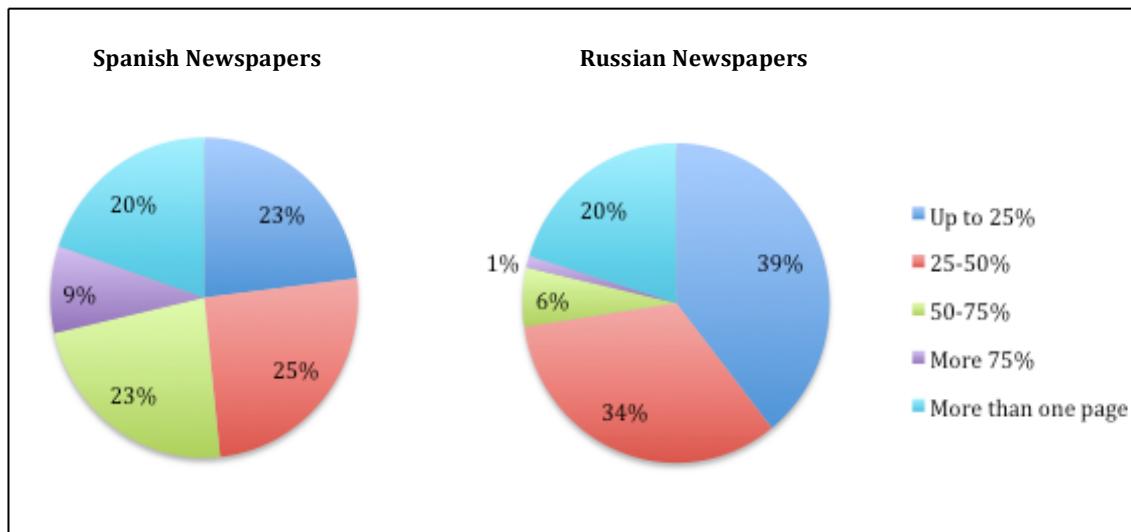
Chart 1: Relevance of the Analysis Unit



Another factor to take into account is the extension of each unit. Chart number 2 shows that there is a **noticeable difference** in the size of the analysed unit in each of the newsgroups. The first variable represented in blue, refers to those pieces that exceed one-quarter of the page. In Spanish tabloids 23% of the total number of units are larger than one quarter of the page; while in Russian newspapers this variable is 39%. The reason behind such difference is the format of the press. **Spanish newspapers have less available physical space for news than their Russian counterparts.**

Eastern European countries use a broadsheet format (typically 22 inches wide, 560 millimeters). This stylistic preference enables more articles to fit in each page. That means, the Russian press can have more units on one page than Spanish press, which can only provide a maximum of four big units per page. If a page features more than four units, they will have a similar format to “informative pills”. The chart also demonstrates the preferences of each group. While the Spanish press works to extend the content of their pieces between 50% and 75%, the Russian press prefers to put more informative pieces smaller in size, taking up between 25% and 50% of the page. The last variable analyzed is the use of more than one page. This option evidences a similarity between the two groups, and accounts for 20% of the total in both.

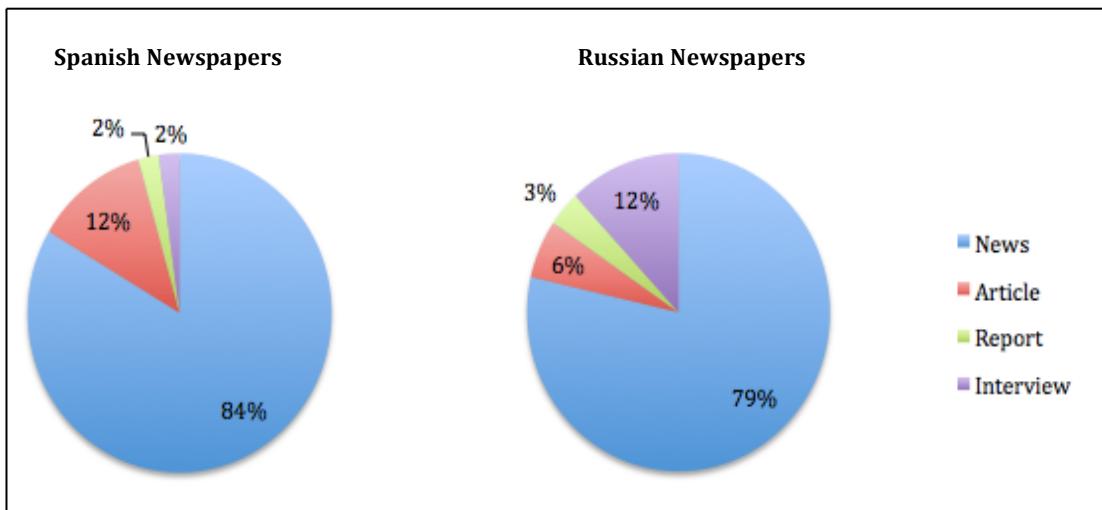
Chart 2: Extension of Analysis Unit



As for the location of the unit on the page, the study was made taking into consideration three possibilities. The analyzed unit could be located on the upper half, on the lower half or in the centre of the page. The results were **mostly equal**, with only one main difference between both. **Central news appears to be more frequent in Spanish newspapers** with 32% in comparison to Russian newspapers where they represent only 19%.

Another important aspect to take into account is the journalistic genre of the analysis unit. In the graphic below, the two groups of media are compared. **News is the predominating genre in both newsgroups**, with 84% of the total units in Spanish tabloids and 79% in Russian media. We can find a few long-form reports in each case, but it balances out with other types of formats. **Spanish press aims to produce more articles, while Russian press prefers using more interviews**. In both cases the number of reports is lower than 5% of the total amount of articles. The explanation for this phenomenon lies in the possibility of every newspaper having weekly supplements. In this study, no supplements were taken into consideration by the sample, despite including great amounts of information about the referendum. In the Spanish press supplements are weekly and are printed and distributed on Sundays. In Russia supplements are also weekly, but they are usually printed and delivered on Fridays.

Chart 3: Journalistic Genre of the Analysis Unit



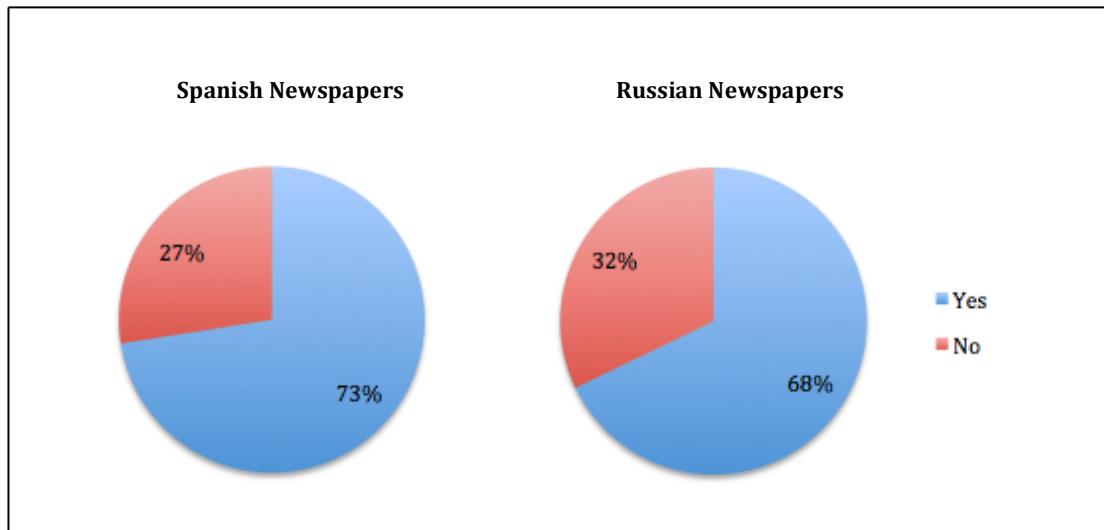
Another aspect of this analysis is the section within the newspaper where the information about the topic can be found. This aspect **was not shared between both countries due to their geographical difference**. While in the Spanish media all the information about the referendum can be found in the International section, in the Russian case referendum information is not limited to only one section. That is so due to the fact that **Russian media does not consider the Crimean referendum as an international topic**, since it is a national issue. The only news regarding the referendum found within the International section of Russian papers is that which speaks about relations between Russia, Ukraine and the rest of the International community. This implies that news about the referendum appears in many different sections such as Politics, Society, Culture, and Economy. Russian newspapers have a significant amount of news about the topic, but in this study we mainly focus on the National, Political and International sections. In some cases, we also took into account news featured on the Society pages if there was some information in common with that found in the Spanish media.

Initially, I also intended to analyze the author behind each of the pieces. However, I deemed it unnecessary as research went on. In all six newspapers, regardless of whether they are based in Spain or Russia, a journalist working in the newsroom or a correspondent covering the information abroad is the one who writes all the information. **All pieces of writing were attributed to a specific author, and there**

was no additional information from any news agency. The only exception was the photography. Some iconic images were sourced from agencies like Reuters, Associated Press or France Press.

The last aspect belonging to hierarchy and context of the formal aspects is the amount of complementary elements (such as photography or infography) in each of the two countries. As we can observe in the chart, **Spanish and Russian newspapers feature a similar amount of infographic content.** Spanish newspaper feature 73%, compared to 68% in the Russian media.

Chart 4: Iconic Complement

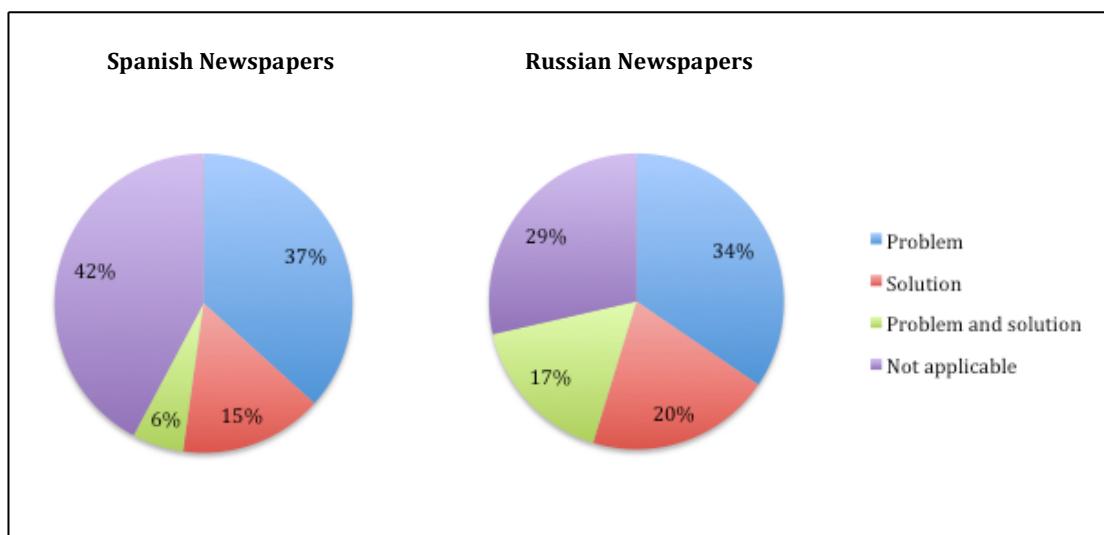


4.2 Identification of Subjects in the Analysis Unit

The approach taken toward presenting the topic is a very important variable. In the profile analysis there were four different approaches toward presenting news events taken into consideration: presenting the event as a problem, presenting it as a solution, presenting it as a combination of a problem and a solution, and the last option which designates it a non-applicable status. The most predominant in Spanish newspapers is the non-applicable one. As the graphic below shows, this amount represents 42% of cases. In Russian media, the number of non-applicable units remains at 29%.

A significant amount of units in both groups of newspapers present the situation as a problem. While in the Russian press, 20% of cases are considered to be a solution, in the Spanish press the number stays at 15%. Regarding the combination of problem and solution approach, the results remain on the same line, which in the Spanish case represent 6% of the total, and, as we can observe in the chart, represent 17% in the Russian case. This variable reflects very meaningful information, as the results show a clear polarization of each group of media. Presenting a situation as a problem or a solution can affect the reader's approach toward understanding it, and depending on the newspaper read, they can have one opinion or another. In Spanish media, they try to report the referendum as a problem using arguments like illegality or international instability. In the Russian media, they want to convince the population that war with Ukraine is the problem, and the referendum is the only possible solution.

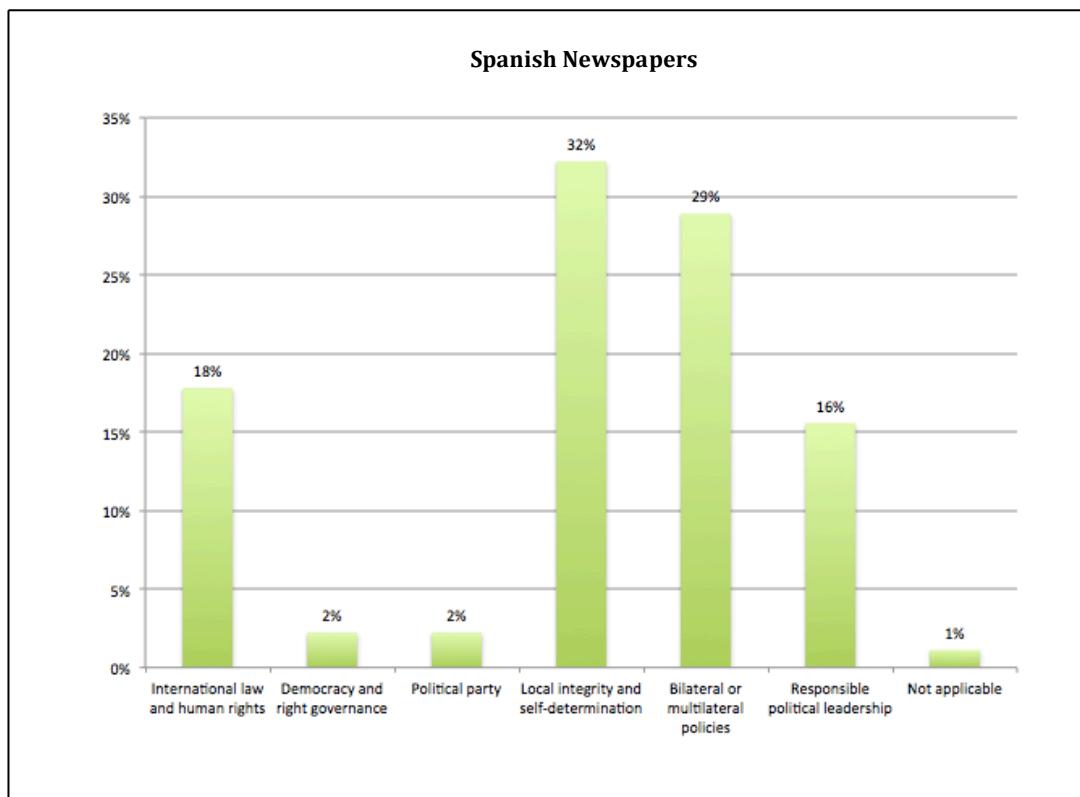
Chart 5: Approach to the Topic



Another relevant point related to the identification of a subject in the analysis unit is the comparison of politics and legislation. A significant number of pieces refer directly to this type of issue. In chart number 6, we can see that **in Spanish newspapers, the topic most broadly used is the one that refers to local integrity and self-determination**. The subjects related to international law and human rights represent almost 20% of the total. Another key point is responsible political leadership, which records a 16% in Spanish press. The important primary values are

the ones that refer to territorial integrity and self-determination with more than a 30%, followed by bilateral and multilateral policies representing 29%. Democracy and right governance, as well as political party value have only a 2%. The remaining 1% represents non-applicable cases.

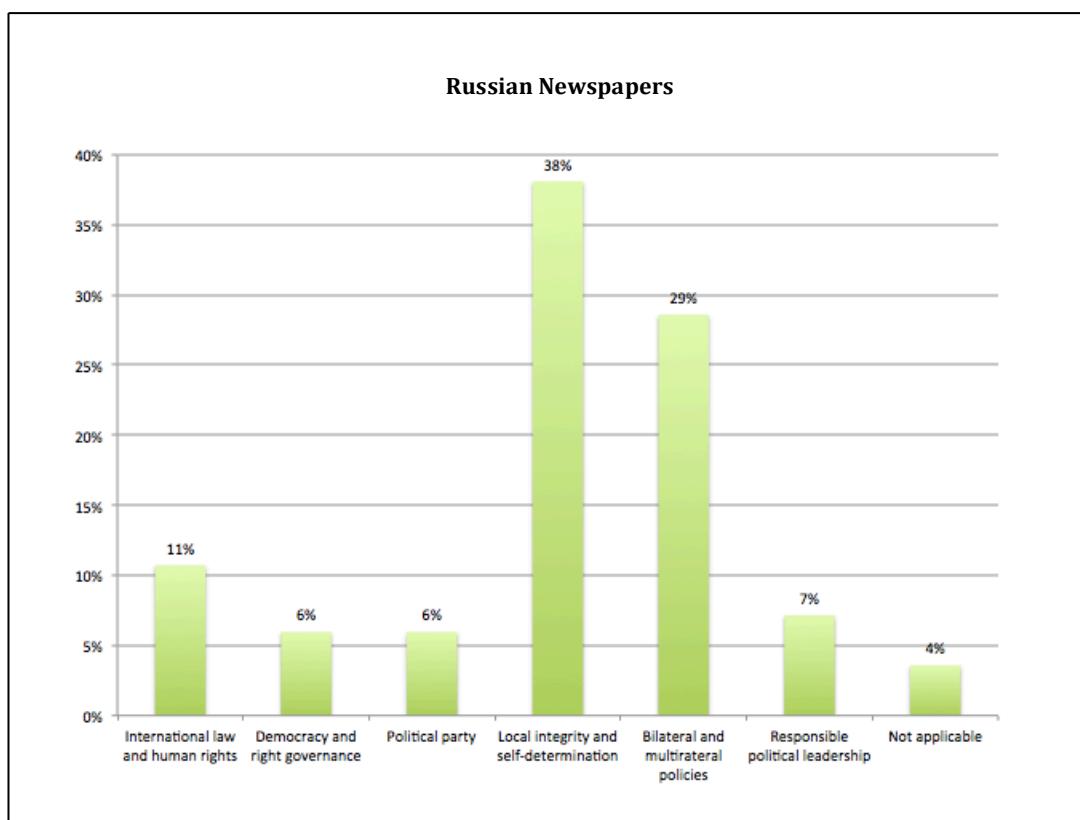
Chart 6: Politics and Legislation



In the graphic below we can compare the same results, in this case, referring to the Russian newspapers. Chart number 7 shows that **the most significant value in Russian newspapers is also that of territorial integrity and self-determination**, with almost a 40% of the total. Followed by bilateral and multilateral policies with a 29%, these two options represent the most remarkable ones. International law and human rights register an 11% and responsible political leadership only 7%. The values that represent democracy, proper governance and political party have the same percentage, 6%. In the results of the Russian press, there is also some news that did not fit in any field. This news represented a 4% of the total, and was catalogued as non-applicable.

Now, taking into consideration both charts (numbers 6 and 7), we see that there is a singularity shared between them. The Spanish group has registered a considerable amount of pieces that refer to international law and human rights, an 18% in contrast to the Russian 11%. The same happens when we compare responsible political leadership value. The Spanish press represents this case as 16% and in the Russian case, only 7%. Russian media tend to balance these results with the increasing number of cases related to territorial integrity and self-determination. In Russian press we can observe 38% of the total refers to this field, in contrast with 32% in the Spanish media.

Chart 7: Politics and Legislation



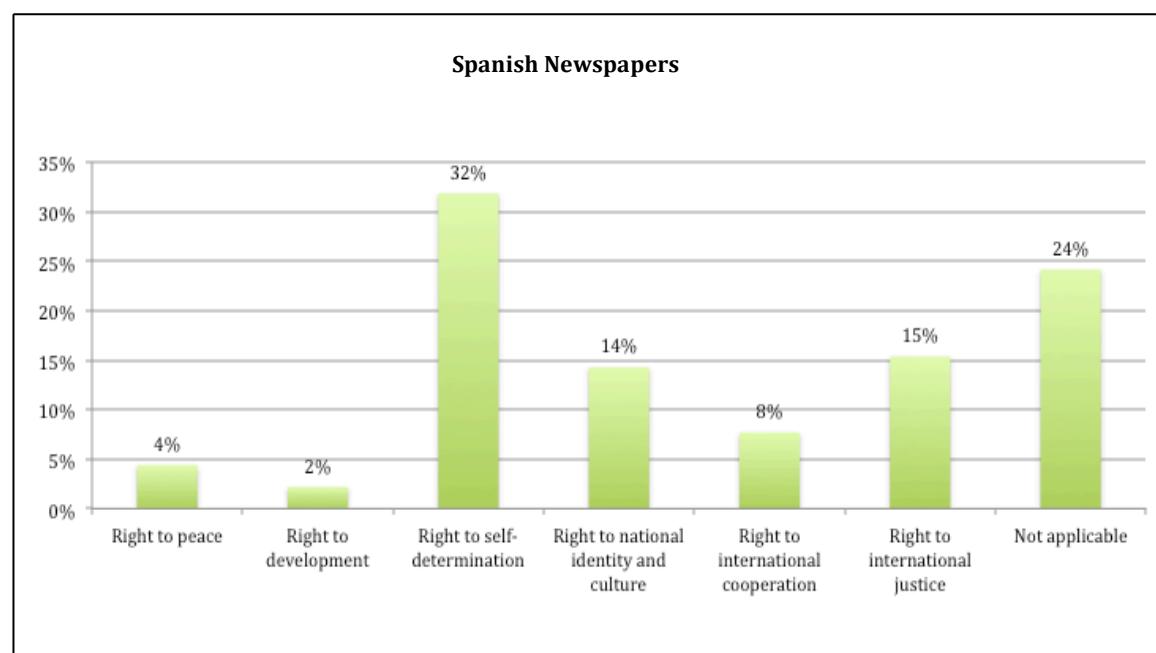
Another variable analyzed was peace and security. In this case, the subjects of the groups were **noticeably different in most of the cases**. The first one is the issue identified as a diplomatic conflict. The Spanish press registered 51%, more than half of the total. The Russian press stays at 33%. Regarding promotion of peace, Russia scores 19% in comparison with 9% of Spanish media, which balances out the

difference in treating diplomatic issues. Significant differences can also be found in the variable labelled “non-applicable”, which refers to all pieces that do not fit in any other category. 24% of the units in Russian press fall within this group, while in Spain only 9% of news didn't belong to any of the other groups. .

Regarding migration, **in the majority of cases the variable was non-applicable**. In Spanish newspapers this represented 87% and in Russian ones 71% of the total. The rest is distributed among similar topics in the two media groups: repatriation, integration of migrants in their host countries or the relations between migrants and their country of origin. In the Russian press the themes were more diverse than in Spanish press.

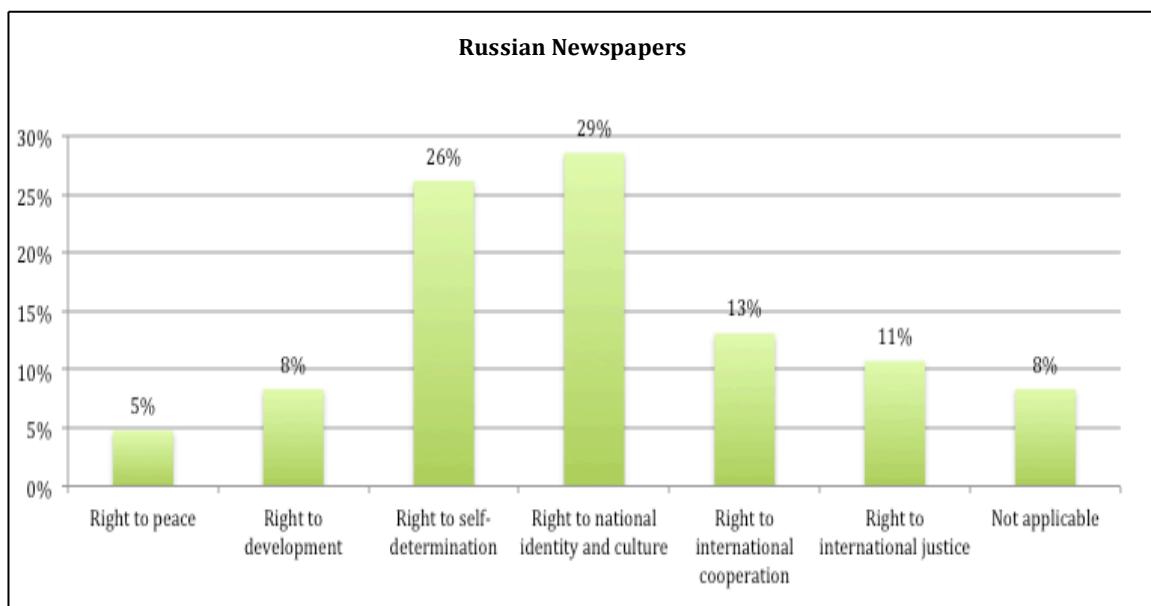
The last variable belonging to this section refers to the Rights of the people. In the chart below we can see the results of the Spanish media where **the remarkable option is the right to self-determination** with 32%. The right to national identity and culture represents 14%, and the right to international justice achieves 15% of the total. A large quantity of news, almost one quarter, is defined as non-applicable.

Chart 8: Reference to the Rights of the People



In the Russian case, the results are more diverse. **The Eastern press emphasizes all the topics related to human rights more.** We can observe this difference in chart number 9. The only variable that represents a significantly lower value is the right to self-determination with 26% in Russian tabloids, compared with 32% in the Spanish press. Despite that small oddity, the other values are noticeably higher: the right to international cooperation, the right to development, the right to peace, and the most remarkable one, the right to national identity and culture. In Russian newspapers, this option achieves almost 30% of the overall sample, becoming the most commonly shared theme in this group of media. The number of non-applicable cases also differs in comparison with the Spanish chart and stays below 10%.

Chart 9: Reference to the Rights of the People

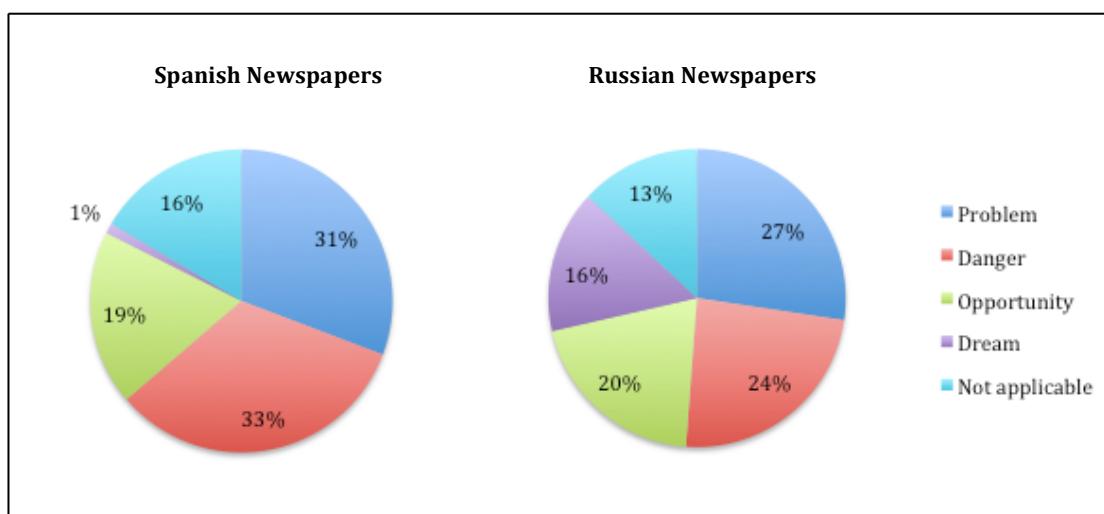


4.3 Assessment and Valuation

The last feature analyzed is the assessment and valuation of the informative units. The first variable shows how the unit is presented, with either positive or negative connotations. In some cases, the characteristic was denominated as non-applicable, which happened in 16% of the Spanish articles and 13% of the Russian ones. As we can see in the chart, it is a shared characteristic between both groups. While **Spanish media have a more problematic view of the conflict, a large amount of Russian**

units describe the situation as a possibility or even a dream. 31% of Spanish units present the group as a problem and another 33% consider the situation to be dangerous. In 19% of the cases it is seen as an opportunity, and just in 1% of the cases it is defined as a dream. In the Russian case, the combination of problem and danger doesn't exceed 50%. This result is due to the highly positive view of the conflict. Results show that 20% of the informative pieces see the situation as a possibility and 16% as more of a dream. The latter is a highly positive connotation that clearly differs from one group of newspapers to the other and shows a distinct approach to the situation between the two countries.

Chart 10: How the Analysis Unit is Presented

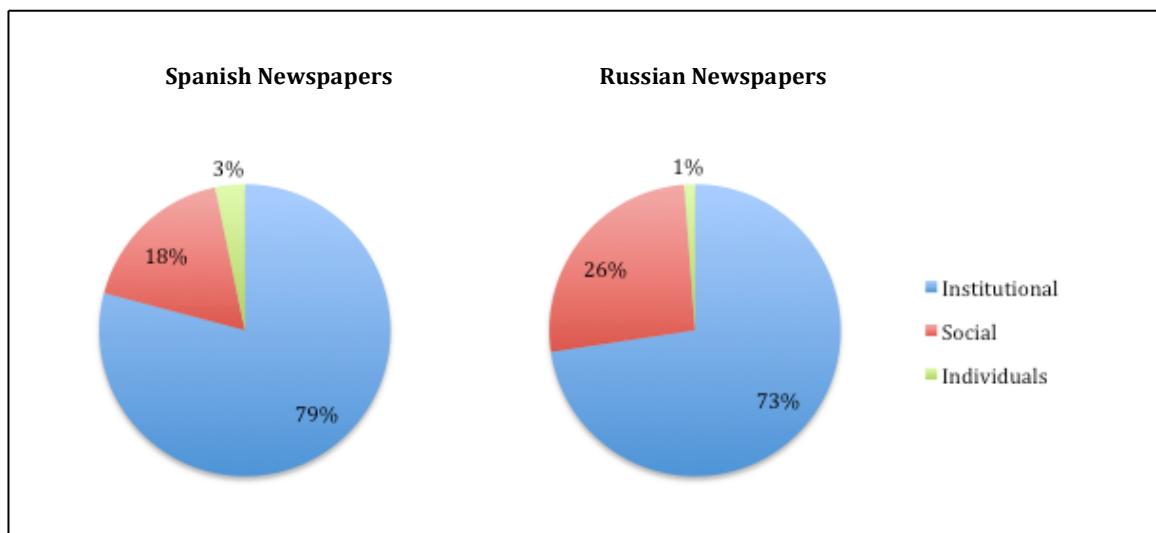


The second and third variables are related and they refer to a situation viewed as a violent conflict. In most of the units, that variable did not work and was not applicable. The study registered 65% of the articles in the Spanish media identified a situation as violent, which was correspondingly 70% in Russian media.

The rest was distributed between some different options, for example, social movement, armed action or armed conflict. Only 1% of the total, in both cases, refers to the conflict as a war. The subjects of the unit were directly related to the next question: how are the subjects of the unit identified. Most of the actors involved in the articles were members of the armed security or enforcement authority, as well as members of an organized armed group. In the rest of the results the variable was non-applicable.

One of the most significant results of the study is the representation of highlighted subjects in the analysis unit. The first noteworthy point is that **all the news had a highlighted subject**, so in no case was the option ‘non-applicable’ needed. In the chart below we can notice that **the results are quite similar in both groups**. Institutional subjects are predominant with a clear leadership in Spanish newspapers (79%). They represent 73% in Russian ones. Social subjects have more representation in the Russian media, they account for 26% in comparison to 18% in the Spanish media. The representation of individuals is less significant as a variable. It is slightly higher in Spain at 3% and is insignificant in the Russian case at only 1%.

Chart 11: Highlighted Subjects in the Analysis Unit



Regarding institutional subjects, chart number 12 shows that in Spain **the predominant institutional subject is the Government**, representing 50%. Parliament, Political parties, the Legal System and the Taxation system all show similar results, of around 5%. The Armed forces score 16%, followed by Supranational Institutions with almost 10% of the total. There is also some news that was not classified and was labeled as non-applicable. Chart number 13 shows the same results for Russian newspapers.

Like in the Spanish media, **the primary institutional subject mentioned in Russian newspapers was the Government**, present in 46% of the articles. The variable equivalent to the Armed forces, one of the most present institutions in the Spanish

media, accounts for less than 10% in the Russian case. There are also other variables such as Political parties, the Legal system and the Taxation System present. The Russian results for these variables are to a great degree quite similar to those of Spain. The presence of the Parliament in the units of Russian newspapers represents 13%. The most interesting feature in the Russian newspapers is lack of non-applicable items, since all the articles can be classified in one of the other several groups.

Chart 12: Highlighted Institutional Subjects

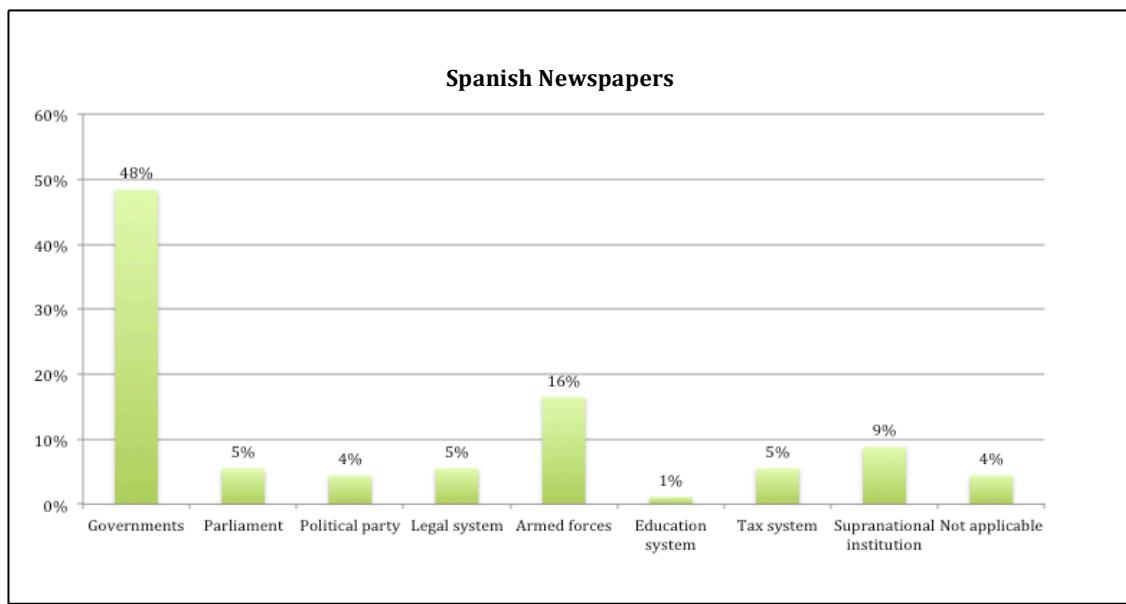
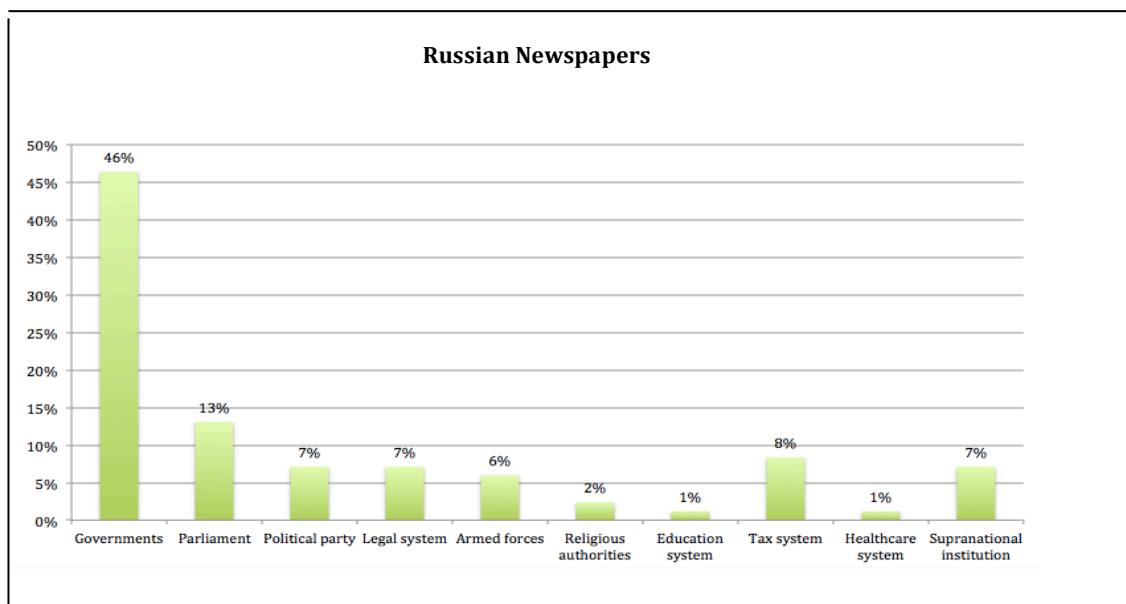


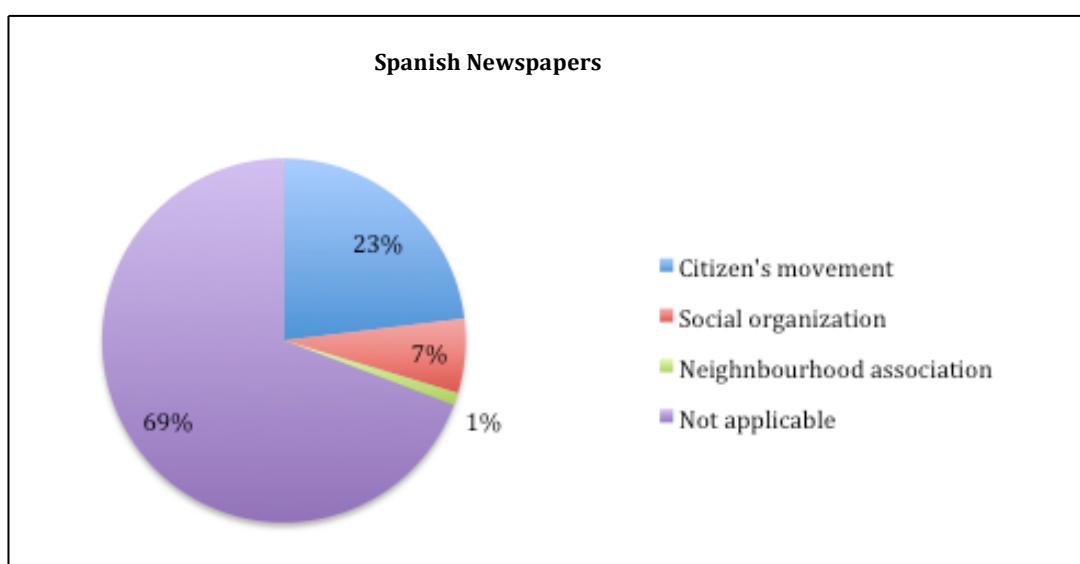
Chart 13: Highlighted Institutional Subjects



Not only are the institutional subjects relevant, but so are the social ones. The following chart refers to all highlighted social subjects presented in the different units.

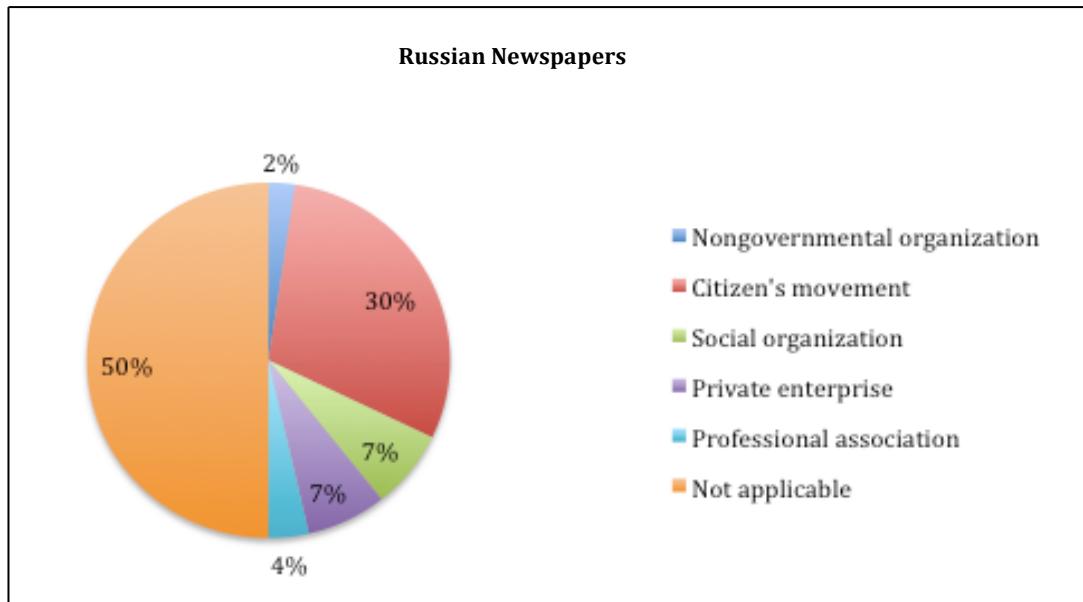
In Spanish newspapers we can appreciate an important presence of the citizens' movement, present in 23% of the total amount of informative pieces. This is followed by the option of social organization which accounts for both 7% and 1% and pertains to the neighborhood association variable. The rest, which makes up 69% of the total, remains in the category of "non-applicable" because it didn't suit any of the other options considered.

Chart 14: Highlighted Social Subjects



In the Russian case, **the results are notably different**. As we can see in chart number 15, **the Eastern European newspapers have more highlighted social subjects than those found in the Spanish media**. Nongovernmental organizations represent 2% of the total. Citizen's movement, like in chart 13, is the predominant factor, accounting for 30%. Social organization and private enterprise have the same percentage, 7%, and professional association remains with less than 5%. In half of the cases, the variable was not applicable, but remained lower than what we analysed in the Spanish newspapers.

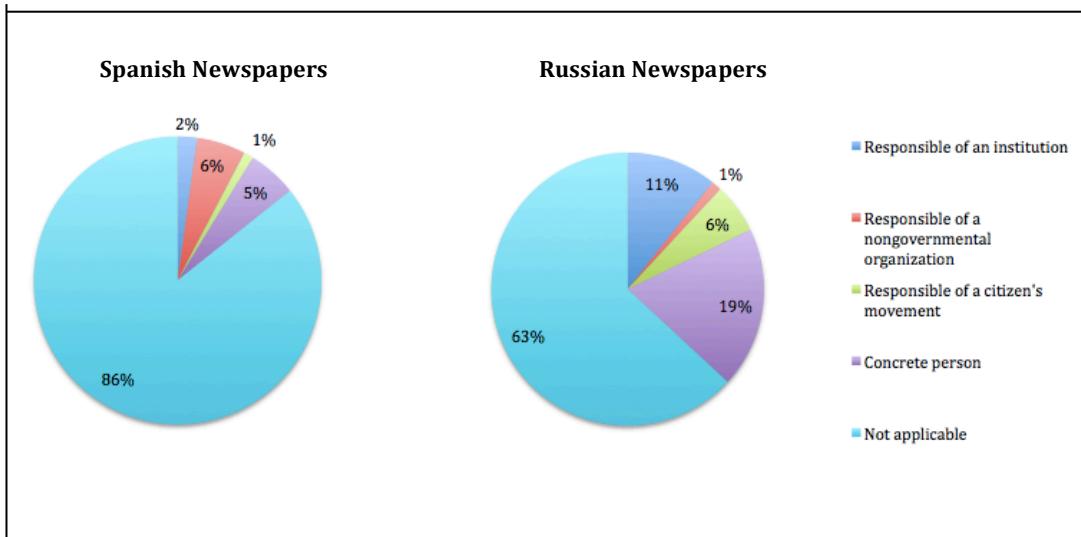
Chart 15: Highlighted Social Subjects



The last variable we consider in this section is that of highlighted individual subjects in analysis units. As we can appreciate in chart number 16, **there is a significant difference between one group of media and another**. In Spanish newspapers the most important values are Responsible for a nongovernmental organization with 6% and Concrete person, with 5%. Responsible for a citizen's movement and Responsible for an institution remain between 1% and 2%.

It is fascinating to observe that in the Russian case, **the results seem to be the complete opposite**. The Responsible for a nongovernmental organization option accounts only for 1% of the total, while Responsible for a citizen's movement scores a solid 6%. The main factors involved in articles published in Russian newspapers are: Responsible for an institution with more than 10%, and, even more importantly, with almost 20% is the option of Concrete person. In both groups, we can notice that the not-applicable variable has a large representation. As the chart shows a 86% in Spanish newspapers and 63% in Russian ones.

Chart 16: Highlighted Individual Subjects



Greater diversity in the results of Russian media can be understood as a result of the possibility of articles about the referendum featured in more distinct sections, since it is not only limited to the International section. Another explanation could be traced to the existence of a bigger physical space in the newspaper due to format factors.

Moreover, in the international section of the Spanish newspapers they cannot afford to provide such a wide range of informative pieces, since the section features articles about several other countries and is less diverse in terms of genres. This reality affects the content that Spanish media provides, inasmuch as only the most important and noticeable events get reported. If they have to choose between institutional or social subjects, they choose the first.

CONCLUSIONS

The conclusions would provide some facts about our analysis referring to the coverage of the Crimea conflict. The procedure will follow the further steps: the coverage of each event, the comparison between the Russian and Spanish press and the political position of the newspaper.

The first hypothesis can be confirmed, since the information we receive through the Spanish media is not the same that we find in the Russian media. International information about the Crimean referendum presented in the Spanish media (*La Vanguardia*, *El País*, and *El Mundo*) follows a similar pattern. During the analysed week, from the 14th to the 20th of March 2014, information about the Crimean crisis can be found on all the front covers of the three newspapers. Inside each Spanish paper the information about the referendum is found within the international section and is usually compressed to 3 to 4 pages depending on the day. Focusing on the format, the most broadly used format was news, in all cases written by foreign correspondents of each Spanish media agency in Russia, Ukraine or Crimea. In some instances, the information was presented as an article which aimed to highlight the social factors of the conflict, and on other occasions as an interview. All of the information in the article was presented as the work of one sole author, unless otherwise noted, with the exception of the photographs which accompanied the text. The Spanish media presented the referendum as a conflict or a problem. In a few instances in the same paragraph a solution or a positive approach could be found. In many cases, the most usual subject was institutional. Social subjects were presented through personal life stories or experiences of the inhabitants of the area during the referendum process.

In the case of the three Russian newspapers analyzed (*Rosiskaya Gazeta*, *Izvestia*, and *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*) the sample size was substantially increased compared to the Spanish media. Although the Russian press does not have newspapers on the weekend, the amount of news on the subject was practically equivalent to the Spanish press. The presence of news about the referendum on the cover was generalized, with

more than one unit in each case. Unlike the Spanish media, information about the referendum was not found in the international section since it was considered a national issue for Russia. Usually it was placed in the national section or even within the society one. Regarding the format, similarly to Spanish sources, the majority was news. There were a higher number of reports and interviews. Slavic reporters were not provided by any foreign agency, including the pictures accompanying the text. The Russian media also presented the referendum as a problem, but not in the same way as Spanish media. In some cases, it was also seen as an opportunity, a solution or even a dream. The subjects of the informative pieces were mostly institutional, though the presence of social subjects was higher than in the Spanish newspapers.

The second hypothesis refers to the differences between one system of press and the other. After finishing the quantitative study, it is clear that the two groups treat information differently. The formal aspects don't resemble each other either because each country has its own unique media formats. The content of the newspapers can usually be adapted to the differences in format and style. One example of this is the amount of pages. Another important aspect is the geographical distribution that influences the point of view each newspaper adopts while reporting the event. The difference between Eastern and Western press is mainly due to their contrasting lifestyles and surrounding influences. As stems from this, the Spanish press presents a particular sort of information when it comes to expressing an opinion about the conflict.

The Russian press seems to possess a particular advantage. In my opinion, Slavic news is more contextualized, even if the Government exercises some degree of censorship and factual manipulation over the media. Their point of view can be considered more patriotic, but its context and background sticks to the facts on the ground. I think a combination of both approaches would be the most desirable outcome to provide the reader with a completely rounded vision of reality, and, therefore, provide them with the tools to appreciate the pros and cons of every piece of the story.

The last of the hypotheses proposed at the beginning of the work refers to the editorial position of each media group. After analyzing the 175 pieces that compose the

sample, we can observe how the editorial stances of the two countries do not match. We can once again see how the information of each newspaper matches that of the others from the same country but differs from the information found in those of the different country. So, naturally, the information found in the Spanish press conveyed a message of alarm to both the European community and the Spanish readership.

On the other hand, the Russian press presents the information very differently. It presents a more optimistic vision of the facts, transforming the problem into a solution. In some cases concepts such as 'celebration' or 'democratic party' are used in the article, representing a very different reality to that shown by the Spanish tabloids. Strangely, both visions of reality are founded in the same facts. We can therefore consider that despite media being politicized, the reader can still access the core factual information that comprises the foundation of every article so as to distinguish reality from fiction. The readership has to be critical and assume that bias is an inherent feature of information, and as readers they have the tedious task of distinguishing between facts on the ground and castles in the air.

My personal opinion on the work carried out is extremely positive. Writing this thesis allowed me to immerse myself deeply into the subject and study it thoroughly. Travelling to another country and analyzing journalistic documentation in another language was a very intense experience too. I think as communicators we must do everything in our power to answer the questions we have from the best approach available, and all the while providing the most suitable response. In the case of international journalism, for geographical reasons, it is not always possible to obtain good coverage with complete and truthful information. I think being able to work on such a project has been a very useful experience. I am so grateful for the availability of the Spanish press obtained from the archive of the Autonomous University of Barcelona, as well as the possibility to analyse archived newspapers in the library "*Oblasnaya Universalnaya Nauixnaya Biblioteka*" of Samara. In regard to timing, I believe that nine months are insufficient to produce a more extensive work. As I mentioned before in this work, there may be some factors standing outside of the analysis, for example the qualitative assessment of the news or even the analysis discourse itself.

REFERENCES

Books and articles

BLINNIKOV, M.S. (2010). *A Geography of Russia and Its Neighbors*. New York, The Guilford Press.

BROMLEY, M. CLARKE, J. (2014). *News in the digital age: West perception of a new world order*. Oxford, Routledge.

FRANZOSI, R. (2009). *Quantitative Applications in the Social Sciences (Book 162)*. London, SAGE Publications.

GONZÁLEZ ALDA, P. (2014). *El periodismo en la era digital*. Madrid, Ediciones Idea.

GOLAN, J JOHNSON.T, WANTA, W. (2009). *International media communication in a global age*. Oxford, Routledge.

MCCOMBS, M. (2006). *Estableciendo la agenda: El impacto de los medios en la opinión pública y en el conocimiento*. Barcelona, Grupo Planeta (GBS).

SOLÉ, J. (2015). *Cinc mirades del periodisme internacional: Marc Marginedas, Martí Anglada, Toni Cruanyes, Jordi Pérez i Sergi Vicente*. Barcelona, Librooks.

TULLOCH, D.C. (2004). *Corresponsales en el extranjero: mito y realidad*. Navarra, Ediciones Universidad de Navarra S.A.

WILLIAMS, K. (2011). *International Journalism*. Los Angeles, SAGE Publications Ltd.

Web pages

BBC News. Europe. *The press in Russia*. Retrieved 10th May 2016

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/4315129.stm>

Cester University. Modern Languages. *Russian*. Retrieved on 16th May 2016

<http://www2.le.ac.uk/departments/modernlanguages/lal/LANGUAGEScourses/russia>

Forbes. International. *Russia's demographic recovery might have peaked*. Retrieved 4th of April 2016 <http://www.forbes.com/sites/markadomanis/2016/01/26/russias-demographic-recovery-might-have-peaked/#69a4344e4e61>

Forbes. International. *Ukraine's Economy Is A Disaster. Its Demography Is Even Worse*. Retrieved 4th of April 2016

<http://www.forbes.com/sites/markadomanis/2015/05/30/ukraines-economy-is-a-disaster-its-demography-is-even-worse/#6a7f755d1496>

Kiev International Institute of Sociology. Retrieved on 16th May 2016.

<http://www.kiis.com.ua/?lang=eng>

Nations Encyclopedia. Country Overview. *Russia*. Retrieved 18th of March 2016

<http://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/economies/Europe/Russia.html>

Nations Encyclopedia. Country Overview. *Ukraine*. Retrieved 18th of March 2016

<http://www.nationsencyclopedia.com/economies/Europe/Ukraine.html>

World Bank. *Country and Lending Groups*. Retrieved on 19th of May 2016

http://data.worldbank.org/about/country-and-lending-groups#High_income

ANNEXS

Annex 1: The questionnaire for analysis

Hierarchy and context formal aspects

V1 Country of origin

- 1) Spain
- 2) Russia

5) Other

V2 Newspaper

- 1) La Vanguardia
- 2) El País
- 3) El Mundo
- 4) Rosiskaya Gazeta
- 5) Izvestia
- 6) Nezavisimaya

V8 Section

- 1) Local
- 2) National
- 3) International
- 4) Society
- 5) Economy
- 6) Culture
- 7) Leisure
- 8) Sport
- 9) Education
- 10) Science / Technology
- 11) Other

V3 Language

- 1) Spanish
- 2) Russian

V9 Iconic complement

- 1) Yes
- 2) No

V4 Relevance of analysis unit

- 1) Front cover
- 2) Back cover
- 3) Non relevant
- 4) Unit of the front cover

V10 Authorship of the analysis unit

- 1) Own content
- 2) News agency
- 3) Unidentified
- 4) Other

V5 Extension of the analysis unit

- 1) Up to 25% of the page
- 2) Between 25% and 50% of the page
- 3) Between 50% and 75% of the page
- 4) More than 75%, of the whole page
- 5) More than one page

V11 News agency

- 1) EFE
- 2) Europa Press
- 3) France Press
- 4) Reuters
- 5) Associated Press
- 6) WAM (Emirates News Agency)
- 7) IPS (Inter Press Service)
- 8) Rossiya Segodnya
- 9) Sputnik
- 10) Other
- 11) Not applicable

V6 Location of the unit in the page

- 1) Upper half
- 2) Lower half
- 3) Centered

Identification of subjects in the analysis unit

V7 Journalistic genre of the analysis unit

- 1) News
- 2) Article
- 3) Report
- 4) Interview

V12 Approach to the topic

- 1) Problem
- 2) Solution
- 3) Problem and solution
- 4) Not applicable

V13 Politics and legislation

- 1) International law and human rights
- 2) Democracy and right governance
- 3) Political party
- 4) Local integrity and self-determination
- 5) Bilateral or multilateral policies
- 6) Responsible political leadership
- 7) Other
- 8) Not applicable

V14 Peace and security

- 1) Armed conflict
- 2) Diplomatic conflict
- 3) Other type of conflict
- 4) Self-determination or nationalist terrorism
- 5) International terrorism
- 6) Other terrorism
- 7) Organized crime
- 8) Irregular migration
- 9) Military or police cooperation
- 10) Promotion of peace and coexistence
- 11) Humanitarian aid
- 12) Other
- 13) Not applicable

V15 Migrations

- 1) Arrival of migrants
- 2) Departure of migrants
- 3) Reception of migrants or refugees
- 4) Measures against irregular migration
- 5) Readmission of migrants
- 6) Repatriation
- 7) Integration of migrants in the host countries
- 8) Causes of the migration
- 9) Relation between migrants and the country of origin
- 10) Migration and delinquency
- 11) Other
- 12) Not applicable

V16 It refers explicitly or implicitly to the Rights of the people

- 1) Right to peace
- 2) Right to environment
- 3) Right to development
- 4) Right to self-determination
- 5) Right to national identity and culture
- 6) Right to international cooperation
- 7) Right to international justice
- 9) Not applicable

Assessment and valuation**V17 How the analysis unit is presented**

- 1) As a problem
- 2) As a danger
- 3) As an opportunity
- 4) As a dream
- 5) Other
- 6) Not applicable

V18 If it refers to an violence conflict, how is identified

- 1) Terrorism or attack
- 2) Protest
- 3) Social movement (associated with self-determination, religion, migration...etc)
- 4) Armed action
- 5) Liberation
- 6) Uprising
- 7) Armed conflict
- 8) War
- 9) Other
- 10) Not applicable

V19 If it refers to an violence conflict, how is identified the subject

- 1) Terrorist
- 2) Member of the armed security or enforcement authority
- 3) Member of an organized armed group
- 4) Member of a non-active group
- 5) Member of an isolated group
- 6) Liberator

- 7) Insurgent
- 8) Martyr
- 9) Other
- 10) Not applicable

V20 Highlighted subjects in the analysis unit

- 1) Institutional
- 2) Social
- 3) Individuals
- 4) Other
- 5) Not applicable

- 4) Responsible or member of a social or citizen's movement
- 5) Responsible or member of an organization depending on institutions
- 6) Responsible or member of an neighbourhood
- 7) Concrete person
- 8) Other
- 9) Not applicable

V21 If there are highlighted institutional subjects

- 1) Governments
- 2) Parliament
- 3) Political party
- 4) Legal system
- 5) Armed forces
- 6) Religious authorities
- 7) Education system
- 8) Tax system
- 9) Healthcare system
- 10) Supranational institution (ONU, UNESCO; FAO...)
- 11) Financial institution (BM, FMI...)
- 12) Other
- 13) Not applicable

V22 If there are highlighted social subjects

- 1) Nongovernmental organization
- 2) Citizen's movement
- 3) Social organization
- 4) Neighbourhood association
- 5) Private enterprise
- 6) Trade union
- 7) Professional association
- 8) Other
- 9) Not applicable

V23 If there are highlighted individual subjects

- 1) Responsible or member of an institution
- 2) Responsible or member of a nongovernmental organization
- 3) Responsible or member of a supranational organization

Annex 2: Classification of the news with Spanish newspapers

LV1	Ucrania crea una Guardia Nacional para paliar sus carencias militares
LV2	Una votación vigilada
LV3	Rusia no da un paso atrás
LV4	EE.UU se resiste a entregar ayuda militar a Ucrania ante el acoso ruso
LV5	Más soviética que rusa
LV6	Crimea va a las urnas en un clima de alta tensión
LV7	Crimea pone Ucrania al rojo vivo
LV8	Hombres de verde camino de la escuela
LV9	El miedo de la minoría italiana
LV10	Rusia se queda sola en la defensa del referéndum
LV11	Crimea ratifica la secesión ante el rechazo internacional
LV12	Crimea pide la anexión a Rusia
LV13	“Si no se para a Putin, se impondrá la ley del más fuerte”
LV14	La Unión Europea prepara represalias contra Putin
LV15	EE.UU avisa a Rusia del peligro de ir más allá de Crimea
LV16	Primera sanción a Rusia des de la Guerra Fría
LV17	Replica sin precedentes
LV18	Putin reconoce la República de Crimea como un país independiente
LV19	Timoshenko pide mano dura si “la agresión rusa continua en el este”
LV20	Veintitrés años sin corazón
LV21	La tristeza de la diáspora tártara
LV22	Putin se anexiona Crimea
LV23	Putin hace rusa a Crimea
LV24	Alemania teme que las sanciones a Moscú se vuelvan contra su economía
LV25	Biden promete en Varsovia ayuda militar y fortalecer la OTAN
LV26	Ucrania prepara su salida de Crimea por el acoso ruso
LV27	Los ucranianos se van de Crimea
LV28	El mapa de Gromiko
EP29	La consulta de Crimea desata una escalada militar en la región
EP30	Rusia exhibe su fuerza ante Ucrania
EP31	Kiev crea una guardia nacional militarizada para responder a la amenaza
EP32	Occidente entra en estado de alerta
EP33	La diplomacia fracasa en vísperas del referéndum de Crimea
EP34	La tensión se extiende al este de Ucrania
EP35	“Kosovo es especial, Crimea también”
EP36	El voto de los duros del Maidán
EP37	Crimea vota su vuelta a Rusia mientras crece la tensión militar
EP38	Crimea vota bajo el control militar ruso
EP39	Voluntarios para proteger Ucrania
EP40	La oposición rusa saca a la calle a decenas de miles de personas contra la política de Putin
EP41	La UE i EEUU temen una escalada rusa tras la independencia de Crimea
EP42	Crimea se abraza a la Rusia de Putin
EP43	El referéndum es un plebiscito
EP44	Yatseniuk “La tierra arderá bajo los pies de los separatistas de Crimea”

EP45	Un coste alto, pero una flota segura
EP46	Dos observadores españoles en la consulta
EP47	La UE avisa a Rusia de que habrá consecuencias para la consulta “ilegal”
EP48	EEUU responderá con sanciones inminentes a Rusia
EP49	Putin desafía a Occidente e inicia la anexión de Crimea por decreto
EP50	Crimea acelera su anexión a Rusia
EP51	Abrumador respaldo de los rusos a Putin
EP52	La UE i EEUU forman un frente común para castigar a Rusia
EP53	Crimea no es (exactamente) Kosovo
EP54	Crimea vuelve a la patria
EP55	Rusia sella la anexión a Crimea
EP56	Un oficial ucraniano muere en un asalto a un cuartel por fuerzas pro rusas
EP57	El ejecutor del Kremlin en Crimea
EP58	Europa ensaya un difícil alejamiento de Rusia
EP59	Ucrania prepara la retirada de sus tropas en Crimea
EP60	Kiev plantea arriar su bandera en Crimea
EP61	Alemania bloquea la venta de material militar a Rusia
EP62	La anexión requiere un puente
EP63	Una superpotencia (con el PIB de Italia)
EM64	Juegos de guerra en la frontera ucraniana
EM65	Ucrania: Karl Marx se queda sin dinero
EM66	Merkel amenaza con “daño masivo”
EM67	Diplomacia de hielo
EM68	Rusia envuelve Crimea con sus tropas
EM69	Kerry amenaza con sanciones
EM70	Putin veta la resolución en la ONU contra el referéndum de Crimea
EM71	Putin blinda el referéndum en la ONU
EM72	“Crimea es el polvorín del Mar Negro”
EM73	“Volviendo a Rusia habremos llegado a casa”
EM74	Crimea vota por abrumadora mayoría su anexión a Rusia
EM75	Crimea se envuelve en la bandera rusa
EM76	Una pausa en el asedio
EM77	Zona de riesgo en plena Europa
EM78	Obama advierte a Putin que “nunca” reconocerá el resultado
EM79	Un referéndum “ilegal” y sanciones
EM80	Putin reconoce a Crimea como “país independiente y soberano”
EM81	Putin bendice la independencia
EM82	Obama sanciona al Kremlin de forma histórica
EM83	La UE opta por una respuesta tibia ante la falta de consenso
EM84	El alma del “zar” del siglo XXI
EM85	Putin se anexiona Crimea ante la débil respuesta de Occidente
EM86	Putin se anexiona Crimea
EM87	EE.UU denuncia que es una “amenaza para la paz”
EM88	Rusia fuerza la retirada de tropas ucranianas en Crimea
EM89	Rusia fuerza a Kiev a iniciar el repliegue
EM90	Boicot a las armas rusas
EM91	La UE se resiste a más sanciones

Classification of the news with Russian newspapers

RO1	Pasado mañana
RO2	¿Quién lo hizo y des de donde?
RO3	No será la fin del mundo
RO4	Maidán lo apuesta todo
RO5	Sin miedo a por la seguridad social
RO6	¿Quién atravesó la línea roja?
RO7	Los cohete no entienden de legitimidad
RO8	En el país de los “Máuser”
RO9	Aguanta Crimea
RO10	Respuestas transparentes
RO11	El vals de Sebastopol
RO12	Los suyos no se abandonan
RO13	Nueva York- Moscú- Kiev
RO14	Aguante económico
RO15	“Donbas” pide un referéndum
RO16	La gira de Maidán en la Avenida Sajarov
RO17	La canciller no encuentra respuestas
RO18	Hacia Rusia
RO19	Se hace llamar república
RO20	El este: un gran tema
RO21	Abierto y legitimado
RO22	Voluntad incondicional
RO23	Han parado los tanques
RO24	El baile de Sebastopol
RO25	Apretar el cinturón de Kiev
RO26	Anexión
RO27	Han vuelto a casa
RO28	Los “mistrales” bajo presión
RO29	Clases de ucraniano
RO30	Nosotros, juntos
RO31	Odessa ya no es una madre
RO32	Kiev no es el héroe
RO33	Llega la “libertad” a Ucrania
RO34	“Des de Crimea a Enissea”
RO35	Dos por dos: cuatro
RO36	Se han ido de la base
RO37	¿Devolverá Merkel el favor?
RO38	Al borde de la primera guerra económica
RO39	Hola Crimea
RO40	Eso paso en Robno
RO41	Fuerza y soluciones
RO42	Primero de todo: las pensiones
RO43	Alerta máxima
IZ44	Hasta el 25 de mayo facilitaran a los ucranianos el refugio político
IZ45	La diócesis de Crimea será registrada en Rusia

IZ46	La PACE ignora la propuesta de crear una comisión sobre Ucrania
IZ47	Washington no escucha a Yanukovich ni a su propia ley
IZ48	“Los altos cargos del mandato ucraniano no son adecuados”
IZ49	“El oeste debe recordar los bombardeos de Yugoslavia y Libia”
IZ50	Los rusos se salvan de una guerra civil en Ucrania
IZ51	“A alguien puede no gustarle pero estamos contentos”
IZ52	Rusia no cumplirá las recomendaciones del Parlamento Europeo
IZ53	El Banco Central arreglará las operaciones del Parlamento Europeo
IZ54	Se debe investigar el incumplimiento de los derechos humanos
IZ55	El gobierno propondrá a Crimea dos opciones para anexarse
IZ56	Los sociólogos determinan una alentadora fe
IZ57	Tarvia pasará a ser de la RSF
IZ58	Los bancos del archipiélago se preparan para entrar en el sistema del rublo
IZ59	“He defensado y defensaré los intereses nacionales de mi patria”
IZ60	Signatura histórica
IZ61	“Nosotros juntos”
IZ62	Moscú y alrededores darán trabajo a los refugiados de Ucrania
IZ63	Moscú invita a los administrativos a trabajar para Crimea
IZ64	Se tendrán que cambiar los permisos de conducir
IZ65	Me gustaría comprar una colmena en Crimea
NE66	Kiev asusta Crimea con un “ huracán ”
NE67	Invitan a los euroescépticos a Crimea
NE68	Las intervenciones contra Crimea no se descartan
NE69	Crimea calienta las protestas internas
NE70	Kiev pierde Crimea
NE71	Escenario para Ucrania
NE72	La primavera de Crimea ante la gélida posición internacional
NE73	La crisis de Crimea en un contexto internacional fuera de peligro
NE74	Guerra fría, pero en Rusia
NE75	Ucrania enviará más tropas a la frontera con Rusia
NE76	Crimea quiere la independencia
NE77	Rusia y Ucrania harán las paces tarde o temprano
NE78	El discurso fultonico de Putin
NE79	A Kiev esperan refugiados
NE80	En Crimea “ hace frio para el yihad ”
NE81	Los servicios de inteligencia rusa defienden Ucrania
NE82	Un día histórico
NE83	En Kiev vuelven a arder los neumáticos
NE84	Las relaciones entre Rusia y el Oeste se vuelven a enfriar

Annex 3: Analysis sheet samples

LA VANGUARDIA (14th – 20th March 2016)

	V1	V2	V3	V4	V5	V6	V7	V8	V9	V10	V11	V12	V13	V14	V15	V16	V17	V18	V19	V20	V21	V22	V23
LV1	1	1	1	3	4	3	1	3	1	1	11	1	4	1	12	5	2	8	10	1	2	9	9
LV2	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	11	1	2	4	4	4	9	12	4	6	10	10	1	5	9	9
LV3	1	1	1	1	3	5	3	1	3	1	11	4	5	2	12	5	2	3	10	1	1	2	9
LV4	1	1	1	3	5	1	1	3	1	1	11	1	1	2	12	9	1	10	10	1	1	9	9
LV5	1	1	1	3	2	1	2	3	2	1	11	4	4	10	12	4	3	10	10	2	13	2	9
LV6	1	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	11	1	2	3	1	4	1	12	9	2	3	10	2	13	2
LV7	1	1	1	3	4	3	2	3	1	1	11	1	4	3	12	4	1	2	2	4	2	1	
LV8	1	1	1	3	3	1	2	3	1	1	11	1	4	9	12	1	2	8	2	2	1	9	6
LV9	1	1	1	3	2	2	1	3	2	1	11	4	1	8	7	5	2	3	10	2	4	4	9
LV10	1	1	1	3	2	1	1	3	2	1	11	4	5	2	12	4	6	10	10	1	10	9	9
LV11	1	1	1	1	2	3	1	11	1	2	10	2	4	13	12	4	5	10	10	2	4	2	9
LV12	1	1	1	3	5	3	1	3	1	1	11	2	4	10	12	3	10	10	2	2	4	2	9
LV13	1	1	1	1	3	3	2	4	3	1	1	11	3	1	2	12	7	1	7	2	1	1	3
LV14	1	1	1	3	2	1	1	3	1	1	11	4	1	2	12	9	1	10	10	1	10	9	9
LV15	1	1	1	3	2	1	1	3	2	1	11	4	6	2	12	5	2	10	10	1	1	9	9
LV16	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	11	1	2	3	4	1	3	12	9	6	10	10	1	1	9	9
LV17	1	1	1	1	3	5	3	1	3	1	1	11	1	6	2	12	9	1	10	10	1	1	9
LV18	1	1	1	3	2	1	1	3	1	1	11	4	4	2	12	4	1	10	10	1	1	9	9
LV19	1	1	1	3	1	2	1	3	2	1	11	4	2	2	12	9	2	10	10	1	1	9	9
LV20	1	1	1	3	3	1	2	3	1	1	11	2	4	10	12	4	3	10	10	2	2	2	7
LV21	1	1	1	3	2	2	1	3	2	1	11	1	1	2	7	5	1	7	2	1	1	3	1
LV22	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	11	1	2	5	4	6	12	12	9	6	4	2	1	1	9	9
LV23	1	1	1	3	5	3	1	3	1	1	11	4	6	1	12	4	6	4	2	1	1	9	9
LV24	1	1	1	3	5	3	2	3	1	1	11	1	5	13	12	6	2	10	10	1	8	9	9
LV25	1	1	1	3	1	2	1	3	1	1	11	2	5	13	12	6	3	10	10	1	3	9	9
LV26	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	11	1	1	11	4	4	9	6	9	6	10	10	1	5	9	9
LV27	1	1	1	3	5	1	3	1	1	1	11	2	5	9	6	4	3	10	10	1	1	9	9
LV28	1	1	1	3	1	3	1	1	1	1	11	4	6	13	12	9	2	10	10	1	1	9	9

EL PAÍS (14th – 20th March 2016)

	V1	V2	V3	V4	V5	V6	V7	V8	V9	V10	V11	V12	V13	V14	V15	V16	V17	V18	V19	V20	V21	V22	V23	
EP1	1	2	1	1	2	3	1	11	1	1	11	1	5	1	12	9	1	7	2	1	5	9	9	
EP2	1	2	1	3	5	1	1	3	1	1	11	4	6	9	12	9	6	7	2	1	5	9	9	
EP3	1	2	1	3	1	2	1	3	2	1	11	4	4	9	12	9	2	2	1	5	9	9	9	
EP4	1	2	1	3	3	1	1	3	1	1	11	1	5	1	12	6	2	7	10	1	10	9	9	
EP5	1	2	1	4	1	1	1	1	11	2	1	11	1	5	2	12	9	1	10	10	1	1	9	9
EP6	1	2	1	3	5	1	1	1	1	1	11	1	1	1	12	5	1	7	2	1	1	2	9	
EP7	1	2	1	3	3	1	1	3	1	1	11	1	5	2	12	1	1	10	10	1	1	9	9	
EP8	1	2	1	3	2	1	2	3	1	1	11	4	3	1	12	5	6	3	3	2	3	4	4	
EP9	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	11	2	1	11	1	4	2	12	4	2	7	10	1	1	2	9	
EP10	1	2	1	3	5	3	1	3	1	1	11	4	4	9	12	5	2	3	10	2	1	2	9	
EP11	1	2	1	3	3	1	2	3	1	1	11	1	5	9	12	5	2	7	3	1	5	3	4	
EP12	1	2	1	3	1	2	1	3	2	1	11	4	1	10	12	7	6	10	10	2	13	2	9	
EP13	1	2	1	3	3	1	1	3	1	1	11	1	1	2	12	7	2	10	10	1	10	9	9	
EP14	1	2	1	1	3	3	1	11	1	1	11	2	4	2	12	4	3	10	10	1	1	9	9	
EP15	1	2	1	3	5	3	1	3	1	1	11	2	4	2	12	4	3	3	3	2	2	2	9	
EP16	1	2	1	3	3	1	1	3	1	1	11	4	5	1	12	5	6	3	3	2	5	3	7	
EP17	1	2	1	3	2	1	1	3	2	1	11	4	1	2	12	4	3	10	10	1	1	9	9	
EP18	1	2	1	3	3	2	1	3	1	1	11	4	4	2	12	4	3	10	10	3	13	2	7	
EP19	1	2	1	3	3	1	1	3	1	1	11	1	6	2	12	7	2	10	10	1	10	9	9	
EP20	1	2	1	3	3	1	1	3	1	1	11	1	6	2	12	7	1	10	10	1	1	9	9	
EP21	1	2	1	3	3	1	11	1	1	11	1	5	2	12	9	1	10	10	1	4	9	9	9	
EP22	1	2	1	3	5	1	1	3	1	1	11	2	4	10	6	4	3	10	10	1	2	2	9	
EP23	1	2	1	3	2	2	1	3	2	1	11	4	2	10	12	4	3	10	10	1	1	9	9	
EP24	1	2	1	3	3	1	1	3	1	1	11	2	5	2	12	7	1	10	10	1	1	9	9	
EP25	1	2	1	3	3	1	2	3	1	1	11	4	1	2	6	4	6	10	10	3	7	9	9	
EP26	1	2	1	1	3	1	11	2	1	11	3	4	2	12	4	1	4	4	1	1	3	4	4	
EP27	1	2	1	3	5	3	1	3	1	1	11	2	6	10	12	4	3	10	10	1	1	9	9	
EP28	1	2	1	3	2	1	1	3	1	1	11	1	4	1	6	9	2	4	3	1	5	9	9	
EP29	1	2	1	3	4	1	1	3	1	1	11	4	3	13	12	9	6	10	10	3	3	9	9	
EP30	1	2	1	3	4	1	1	3	1	1	11	1	5	2	12	6	1	10	10	1	1	9	9	
EP31	1	2	1	4	2	1	1	11	1	1	11	4	5	1	12	9	2	7	10	1	5	9	9	
EP32	1	2	1	3	5	1	1	3	1	1	11	2	5	1	6	1	2	3	10	2	5	2	9	
EP33	1	2	1	3	2	1	1	3	1	1	11	4	5	2	12	9	2	10	10	1	8	9	9	
EP34	1	2	1	3	1	1	1	11	4	6	13	12	9	3	10	10	1	1	9	9	9	9	9	
EP35	1	2	1	3	1	2	1	11	6	13	12	9	3	1	10	10	1	1	8	9	9	9	9	

EL MUNDO (14th – 20th March 2016)

	V1	V2	V3	V4	V5	V6	V7	V8	V9	V10	V11	V12	V13	V14	V15	V16	V17	V18	V19	V20	V21	V22	V23
EM1	1	3	1	3	4	3	1	3	1	11	1	4	1	12	9	2	7	2	1	5	2	4	
EM2	1	3	1	3	1	2	2	3	1	11	3	8	13	12	9	2	10	2	8	9	7	7	
EM3	1	3	1	3	2	1	1	3	2	1	11	1	6	2	12	6	1	10	1	1	9	9	
EM4	1	3	1	4	1	3	1	11	1	3	11	4	5	2	12	6	1	10	1	1	9	9	
EM5	1	3	1	3	5	1	1	3	1	1	11	1	5	1	12	4	2	10	1	5	9	9	
EM6	1	3	1	3	3	2	1	3	1	1	11	1	1	2	12	7	1	10	1	1	9	9	
EM7	1	3	1	4	1	3	1	11	2	1	11	4	1	2	12	4	1	10	1	10	9	9	
EM8	1	3	1	3	4	3	1	3	1	1	11	1	1	2	12	4	1	10	1	10	2	9	
EM9	1	3	1	3	1	1	4	3	2	1	11	1	4	2	12	5	1	10	1	3	9	9	
EM10	1	3	1	3	4	3	2	3	1	1	11	4	4	4	10	12	5	3	10	10	2	7	
EM11	1	3	1	1	2	3	1	11	1	1	11	2	4	2	12	4	3	10	10	1	1	2	
EM12	1	3	1	3	4	3	1	3	1	1	11	2	4	2	12	4	3	10	10	1	1	2	
EM13	1	3	1	3	2	1	1	3	1	1	11	3	5	1	12	7	2	4	3	1	5	9	
EM14	1	3	1	3	2	1	3	3	2	1	11	1	5	2	6	5	2	10	1	8	9	9	
EM15	1	3	1	3	3	1	1	3	1	1	11	1	6	2	12	7	1	10	1	1	9	9	
EM16	1	3	1	3	1	2	1	3	2	1	11	2	5	2	12	7	1	10	1	1	9	9	
EM17	1	3	1	4	1	3	1	11	2	3	11	4	4	4	13	12	4	3	10	1	1	9	
EM18	1	3	1	3	5	3	1	3	1	1	11	3	4	2	6	4	3	10	1	2	9	9	
EM19	1	3	1	3	2	1	1	3	2	1	11	4	6	2	12	7	6	10	1	1	9	9	
EM20	1	3	1	3	2	1	1	3	1	1	11	4	5	2	12	7	6	10	1	1	9	9	
EM21	1	3	1	3	3	1	3	3	1	1	11	1	6	2	12	9	2	10	1	1	9	9	
EM22	1	3	1	4	1	1	1	11	2	1	11	4	4	2	12	4	2	4	3	1	1	9	
EM23	1	3	1	3	5	3	1	3	1	1	11	4	4	2	12	4	2	4	3	1	1	9	
EM24	1	3	1	3	3	1	1	3	1	1	11	4	1	2	12	6	1	7	10	1	1	9	
EM25	1	3	1	4	1	1	1	11	1	1	11	4	5	1	6	1	2	7	10	1	5	9	
EM26	1	3	1	3	5	3	1	3	1	1	11	1	5	1	6	4	2	3	1	5	2	9	
EM27	1	3	1	3	1	2	1	3	2	1	11	1	1	2	12	7	1	10	10	1	10	9	
EM28	1	3	1	2	1	1	1	11	1	1	11	1	5	2	12	7	1	10	1	1	9	9	

ROSISKAYA GAZETA (14th – 20th March 2016)

	v1	v2	v3	v4	v5	v6	v7	v8	v9	v10	v11	v12	v13	v14	v15	v16	v17	v18	v19	v20	v21	v22	v23	
RO1	2	4	2	1	5	1	2	11	1	1	11	2	4	13	7	4	3	3	2	1	9	7	7	
RO2	2	4	2	3	1	1	1	2	2	1	11	1	3	1	12	9	2	4	3	1	5	9	9	
RO3	2	4	2	3	1	1	1	2	2	1	11	1	3	8	13	12	9	6	3	5	2	1	7	
RO4	2	4	2	3	2	2	1	2	1	1	11	1	3	7	12	9	2	4	3	3	8	5	9	
RO5	2	4	2	3	1	1	2	2	1	1	11	2	8	13	12	3	3	10	10	1	1	7	1	
RO6	2	4	2	3	3	1	1	4	4	1	1	11	4	6	2	12	6	6	10	10	1	1	9	7
RO7	2	4	2	3	2	2	4	4	1	1	11	4	6	9	6	2	10	10	1	10	9	9	9	
RO8	2	4	2	3	4	3	4	4	1	1	11	1	2	10	5	1	10	10	1	2	9	9	9	
RO9	2	4	2	3	1	1	1	4	2	1	11	4	1	10	12	1	1	10	10	2	1	2	4	
RO10	2	4	2	1	5	3	2	11	1	1	11	2	4	10	12	4	4	10	10	2	1	2	7	
RO11	2	4	2	3	2	2	2	2	1	1	11	2	4	10	12	4	4	10	10	2	1	2	7	
RO12	2	4	2	3	1	1	1	2	1	1	11	4	4	10	12	4	3	10	10	2	1	2	7	
RO13	2	4	2	3	3	2	1	2	1	1	11	4	6	1	12	3	6	10	10	1	5	9	9	
RO14	2	4	2	3	1	1	1	2	2	1	11	4	5	2	12	6	6	10	10	1	1	9	9	
RO15	2	4	2	3	2	1	2	1	1	1	11	4	4	2	12	4	6	3	10	2	2	2	9	
RO16	2	4	2	3	2	1	1	4	1	1	11	4	5	13	12	4	6	10	10	1	1	2	4	
RO17	2	4	2	3	1	1	1	4	2	1	11	1	2	12	6	1	10	10	1	1	9	9	9	
RO18	2	4	2	1	5	3	2	11	1	1	11	3	1	13	12	4	4	10	10	2	1	2	7	
RO19	2	4	2	3	1	2	1	2	2	1	11	4	4	13	12	4	6	10	10	1	2	9	9	
RO20	2	4	2	3	1	3	1	2	2	1	11	1	3	2	12	5	1	10	10	1	3	9	9	
RO21	2	4	2	3	1	1	1	2	2	1	11	4	4	13	12	4	3	10	1	2	1	2	4	
RO22	2	4	2	3	1	3	1	2	2	1	11	2	4	13	12	5	3	10	1	2	9	9	9	
RO23	2	4	2	3	2	1	1	2	1	1	11	1	4	10	5	2	4	3	2	3	2	4		
RO24	2	4	2	3	1	2	1	4	1	1	11	3	5	13	12	5	1	10	10	1	7	9	9	
RO25	2	4	2	3	1	1	1	4	2	1	11	3	5	13	12	9	1	10	10	1	8	9	9	
RO26	2	4	2	4	2	1	1	11	1	1	11	2	4	13	12	5	4	10	10	1	1	9	9	
RO27	2	4	2	3	2	1	1	2	1	1	11	2	4	13	12	5	4	10	10	1	2	9	9	
RO28	2	4	2	3	2	1	1	2	1	1	11	1	5	2	12	6	1	10	10	1	1	9	9	
RO29	2	4	2	3	1	1	4	2	1	1	11	4	6	2	12	4	2	10	10	1	1	9	9	
RO30	2	4	2	3	2	1	1	2	1	3	11	2	4	10	12	4	4	10	10	2	1	2	7	
RO31	2	4	2	3	1	1	1	2	2	1	11	1	5	2	12	5	1	3	10	2	3	2	7	
RO32	2	4	2	3	1	3	1	2	2	1	11	4	3	1	10	7	1	10	10	1	1	4	9	
RO33	2	4	2	1	3	1	1	11	1	1	11	2	4	12	4	1	3	2	1	3	5	1		
RO34	2	4	2	3	2	1	1	2	1	1	11	2	4	10	12	5	4	10	10	1	1	2	7	
RO35	2	4	2	3	1	2	2	1	1	11	3	5	13	12	9	1	10	10	1	4	9	9		
RO36	2	4	2	3	2	1	2	1	1	11	1	4	1	12	9	2	4	3	2	3	2	7		
RO37	2	4	2	3	2	1	3	2	1	1	11	4	6	2	12	6	6	3	10	1	1	2	9	
RO38	2	4	2	3	2	4	1	1	11	4	5	2	12	7	6	10	10	1	8	9	9	9		
RO39	2	4	2	3	2	1	4	1	1	11	4	8	13	12	5	4	10	10	2	8	5	1		
RO40	2	4	2	3	2	1	4	1	1	11	1	7	7	1	2	3	3	2	3	9	7	7		
RO41	2	4	2	3	1	1	4	1	1	11	1	5	2	6	6	1	10	10	1	2	9	9	9	
RO42	2	4	2	3	1	1	4	1	1	11	3	5	11	6	5	1	10	10	1	9	9	7	7	
RO43	2	4	2	3	1	1	4	1	1	11	4	5	1	12	9	2	10	10	1	5	9	9	9	

IZVESTIA (14th – 20th March 2016)

	V1	V2	V3	V4	V5	V6	V7	V8	V9	V10	V11	V12	V13	V14	V15	V16	V17	V18	V19	V20	V21	V22	V23	
I21	2	5	2	3	1	2	1	2	2	1	11	3	1	11	9	1	2	10	10	1	1	9	9	
I22	2	5	2	3	1	1	1	2	2	1	11	3	4	2	6	5	3	10	10	1	6	3	1	
I23	2	5	2	3	2	1	1	1	2	1	11	1	5	2	12	7	1	10	10	1	10	9	9	
I24	2	5	2	3	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	11	4	5	2	12	6	6	10	10	1	1	9	9
I25	2	5	2	3	1	3	4	3	1	1	11	4	4	10	12	4	3	10	10	1	1	2	9	
I26	2	5	2	4	5	1	4	11	1	1	11	4	5	2	6	7	2	10	10	1	1	2	9	
I27	2	5	2	3	1	2	1	2	2	1	11	1	4	2	7	5	2	8	2	2	1	3	4	
I28	2	5	2	1	5	3	1	2	1	1	11	2	4	10	12	4	4	3	10	2	4	2	7	
I29	2	5	2	3	2	2	1	2	2	1	11	1	1	2	12	7	1	10	10	1	10	9	9	
I30	2	5	2	3	1	3	1	2	2	1	11	3	5	13	12	3	2	10	10	1	8	5	1	
I31	2	5	2	3	2	1	1	2	1	1	11	1	1	1	9	7	2	3	2	1	10	3	7	
I32	2	5	2	1	5	1	1	2	1	1	11	2	4	13	12	4	3	10	10	1	2	9	9	
I33	2	5	2	3	1	2	1	2	2	1	11	2	4	13	6	4	4	10	10	2	4	1	1	
I34	2	5	2	3	1	2	1	2	2	1	11	3	4	13	12	5	4	10	10	1	1	3	1	
I35	2	5	2	4	5	1	1	2	1	1	11	3	5	13	6	3	3	10	10	2	8	5	7	
I36	2	5	2	4	5	2	4	2	1	1	11	4	4	2	12	5	6	10	10	1	2	2	9	
I37	2	5	2	1	5	1	1	2	1	1	11	2	4	13	12	4	4	10	10	1	1	9	9	
I38	2	5	2	4	2	1	1	2	1	1	11	2	4	10	12	5	4	10	10	1	1	9	9	
I39	2	5	2	3	1	2	1	2	1	1	11	3	5	10	1	1	3	10	10	1	4	9	9	
I40	2	5	2	4	5	1	1	2	1	1	11	3	5	12	3	1	1	10	10	1	4	7	1	
I41	2	5	2	3	2	1	4	2	1	1	11	4	4	10	12	3	3	10	10	1	1	9	9	
I42	2	5	2	3	2	1	4	2	1	1	11	4	4	10	12	3	3	10	10	1	1	9	9	

NEZAVISIMAYA (14th – 20th March 2016)

	V1	V2	V3	V4	V5	V6	V7	V8	V9	V10	V11	V12	V13	V14	V15	V16	V17	V18	V19	V20	V21	V22	V23
NE1	2	6	2	1	5	3	1	2	1	1	11	1	5	1	12	5	2	4	2	1	2	9	9
NE2	2	6	2	3	1	2	1	3	2	1	11	4	2	2	12	4	3	10	10	1	1	2	9
NE3	2	6	2	4	5	2	1	2	2	1	11	1	4	1	12	4	2	4	2	1	5	9	9
NE4	2	6	2	3	2	1	1	2	1	1	11	1	4	10	12	5	1	3	10	2	2	7	7
NE5	2	6	2	1	2	1	1	1	2	1	11	4	4	2	7	7	2	4	3	2	1	2	9
NE6	2	6	2	3	2	1	3	2	1	1	11	1	5	9	8	6	2	7	10	1	10	9	9
NE7	2	6	2	3	1	1	3	1	1	1	11	1	1	2	12	7	1	10	10	1	10	2	9
NE8	2	6	2	3	3	1	3	3	1	1	11	1	4	2	12	7	1	3	10	1	1	2	9
NE9	2	6	2	1	2	3	1	2	1	1	11	1	2	2	12	5	1	3	10	1	1	9	9
NE10	2	6	2	4	5	1	1	2	2	1	11	1	5	1	12	5	2	4	2	1	5	9	9
NE11	2	6	2	4	5	3	1	2	1	1	11	4	4	2	12	4	3	10	10	1	1	9	9
NE12	2	6	2	3	1	2	4	3	1	1	11	3	1	2	12	6	3	10	10	1	1	9	9
NE13	2	6	2	1	5	3	1	2	1	1	11	2	4	10	6	4	3	10	10	1	1	2	9
NE14	2	6	2	4	5	3	1	3	1	1	11	1	5	8	3	5	1	3	10	2	1	2	9
NE15	2	6	2	3	2	3	1	3	1	1	11	1	5	2	7	5	2	10	10	1	6	3	4
NE16	2	6	2	3	1	2	1	2	1	1	11	1	2	10	12	5	1	10	10	1	1	3	7
NE17	2	6	2	3	2	3	1	2	1	1	11	2	4	10	12	4	3	10	10	1	1	2	9
NE18	2	6	2	4	5	1	1	3	1	1	11	1	3	1	6	5	2	4	10	1	3	9	9
NE19	2	6	2	3	2	1	1	3	2	1	11	1	6	2	12	6	1	10	10	1	1	9	9