THE INFLUENCE OF THE CNN EFFECT ON HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION: A CASE STUDY OF SOUTH SUDAN

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K50/75172/2014

A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN COMMUNICATION STUDIES (DEVELOPMENT COMMUNICATION), UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

NOVEMBER, 2016

DECLARATION

This research proposal is my original work and no copies of this work have been submitted in part or whole to any other university for any other award.

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This research proposal has been submitted to the University of Nairobi with my approval as the University of Nairobi supervisor

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this research project to my parents Isaac and Mary Meroka, siblings Lucy, Fred, Agnes and my wife Phane Boyani for their support and encouragement as I took this academic journey.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to first acknowledge the Lord Jesus Christ for his grace and goodness. Special thanks and appreciation goes to my supervisor Dr. Elias Mokua who has been very committed and helpful in this research from inception to completion. His insights proved invaluable in making the research journey interesting and informative. I would like to acknowledge my fellow classmates in the M.A communication studies class of 2014 for having made the academic life lively through their sharing of academic insights in the course of interacting in and out of class. I also extend gratitude to the school of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Nairobi for its facilitation of the M.A. program.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATION AND ACRONYNMS

CNN - Cable News Network

CPA - Comprehensive Peace Agreement

EAC - East African Community

IGAD - Intergovernmental Authority on Development

NATO - North Atlantic Treaty Organization

UN - United Nations

U.S. - United States

ABSTRACT

This study sought to establish the extent of influence of the CNN effect in South Sudan's humanitarian crisis as its main objective. The study sought to fill a gap in the CNN effect research of how global media through the CNN effect influenced intervention in South Sudan's humanitarian crisis by American policy makers. Previous studies had looked at how the CNN effect phenomenon in the post-Cold War world had influenced intervention in diverse conflicts and crises in Somalia, Bosnia and Kosovo. This further strengthened the need to fill a gap in our understanding of how changed circumstances since those interventions may or may not have caused intervention through the CNN effect. To fill in the gap the following main research question was raised: How has the CNN effect along with the framing of South Sudan's crisis influenced intervention by policy makers in the evolving humanitarian crisis or lack of it? Specific questions raised by the study were: How did the news media frame the South Sudan humanitarian crisis? Did non-media factors play a role in the intervention or non-intervention of South Sudan's humanitarian crisis?

A mixed method methodology involving the use of content analysis and textual analysis of 17 articles in the Washington Post and 24 articles from the New York Times along with 25 press statements from the U.S. State Department and 9 from the White House was employed. The study used Piers Robinson's Policy-Media interaction model as it theoretical basis. The study finds that distance frame key words were used more times compared to empathy frame key words; the study also reveals that moral responsibility framing was used in both Washington Post and the New York Times to influence U.S. Policy makers to intervene in South Sudan's humanitarian crisis. It also finds that U.S Policy makers are increasingly pushing intervention in conflicts and crisis towards regional states and regional organizations including the United Nations (U.N) to take the lead in coming up with interventions to crisis as the case with South Sudan as revealed in the study. The study concludes that CNN effect of the post-Cold War era is no longer effective in explaining media influence in today's conflicts and crises such as South Sudan as it does not capture the dynamics of the changed geostrategic and international relations landscape. The study recommends that policy makers and media practitioners' develop an integrated media-policy framework that brings together the divergent issues that have caused discord between media practitioners' and policy makers which will guide and strengthen humanitarian crisis intervention reporting and intervention response.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Overview

This chapter gives the background of the study along with the problem statement objectives of the study, research questions, scope of the study, and significance of the study.

1.1 Background

Humanitarian intervention is a relatively recent phenomenon which only gained prominence after the cold war and the subsequent decline of a bi polar world (Hehir, 2010; Robinson, 2002) However, Robinson (2015) citing Palmers 1986 notes that there is much research has been done on media and humanitarianism pre dating the post-cold war period. Documented cases indicative of this relationship according to Robinson include aid agency campaigns to raise money for those who were severely affected during the 1960's Nigerian-Biafra war and the pop culture driven Band Aid campaign of the 1980's which targeted the 1984 Ethiopian famine. Robinson adds that during the Biafra war, western media through the 'Life' magazine edition of 12 July 1968 carried a photograph of suffering children which was an early pointer of how crisis and conflicts in distant places would be framed to create audience awareness and empathy for those facing suffering in such crises (Robinson 2015).

Media's influence on intervention in response distant suffering continued to manifest itself in the 1980's during the Ethiopian famine of 1984. According to Harrison and Palmer (1986) cited in Robinson (2015), a BBC news broadcast by journalist Michael Buerk described the famine as captured by cameraman Mohamed Amin as being of 'biblical proportions' for ten minutes during which the famine broadcast aired, people in Britain viewed images of extreme human suffering (Robinson 2015). As a result argues Robinson, by the1980's the 'relationship between news media, humanitarian crisis, aid agencies and other actors was firmly rooted (255:2015). Quoting the 'Times' newspaper of 13 March 1985, Philo (1993) showed that a news report on the Ethiopian famine in October 1984 was covered by 425 broadcasting stations worldwide with a potential audience of 470 million people, the popular press took up the story thereafter. This global reach according to Philo had the effect of galvanising an intervention and aid effort in the form of a Band Aid record that was released

during Christmas in 1984 and a subsequent Live Aid concert that was shown in 120 countries with a combined audience of 1.5 billion people.

1.1.1 Global News Media

The advent of the CNN Effect in the 1990's was the beginning of how media through instant television images could influence policy makers and policy processes Carruthers (2004). This effect according to Shaw (1996) cited in Hawkins (2002) is viewed as one of the factors responsible for influencing US and UK policy in northern Iraq towards intervention to protect Kurdish refugees. According to Gilboa (2002) the CNN Effect emerged due to policy makers' reflections concerning the role of global media and television in particular, more so CNN, in key post-cold war era conflicts. These conflicts Gilboa notes include: Tiananmen Square protests by students and the subsequent government crackdown against the protesters in June 1989, the 1990-1991 Gulf war after Iraq's invasion and occupation of Kuwait, the Russian coup attempt of August 1991; and the civil wars and humanitarian interventions in Northern Iraq (1991), Somalia (1992), Rwanda (1994), Bosnia (1992-1995), and Kosovo (1999).

The media has increasingly become influential in the reporting of humanitarian crisis and response. Globalization of media has narrowed the distance between those experiencing distant suffering and humanitarian crises and audiences Robinson (2015). Studies focusing on how humanitarian crises news stories are covered in the media have been conducted by Bacon & Nash (2004) the study reviewed how the Australian media reported three case studies of countries facing diverse humanitarian crises. In another study, Bacon & Nash (2003) found that the reporting of humanitarian crises stories in the Australian media depended on conflict and violence themes. Gutiérrez &García (2011) did a study on how Spanish media framed humanitarian crisis in the Darfur region of Western Sudan using a humanitarian frame. However the studies did not exclusively look at international news agencies reporting of humanitarian crises stories and the underlying frames that such news agencies use to report such stories.

1.1.2 Humanitarian Intervention

Humanitarian intervention has been defined as forcible and non-forcible actions conducted by state and non-state actors or the United Nations in situations involving extensive human suffering caused by repressive regimes or 'complex political emergencies 'involving state collapse long with the absence of law and order leading to mass murder and anarchy Kabia (2009). Accordingly, Kabia argues that the main aim of the aforementioned intervention is to

safe guard human rights of victims and mitigates the hardship of victims in the short term. In the long and medium term it should address underlying causes of conflict as well as conflict resolution and peace building. Hehir (2008) examines humanitarian intervention from an international relations perspective whereby a number of issues arise such as human rights, sovereignty, order versus justice, and the role of the UN. He further adds that the humanitarian intervention debate involves realists and relativists. Realists view humanitarian intervention as a threat to sovereignty and international order while relativists view it as the powerful forcing their values onto the weak. From a legal perspective, Weiss (1994) critiques the definition of humanitarian intervention as a course of actions and argues that it should involve economic and military enforcement authorized by Chapter VII of the UN Charter. However, Simms et al (2011) asserts that humanitarian intervention lacks conceptual and practical clarity due to the diverse interpretations from scholars of ethics, philosophy, politics, international relations, international law, strategic studies, war studies, peace studies and by policy practitioners and media commentators.

1.1.3 Media Framing

Communication and media scholars have viewed media or news framing as an influential approach in news reporting (Entman, 1993; Camaj, 2010; Scheufele, 2004). Framing determines how an issue is reported in the media through the selection, emphasis, interpretation and moral evaluation and judgment of the issue (Entman 1993). Frames according to Entman (1991) are embedded in the key words, and other devices emphasized in a news narrative. From the foregoing it can be deduced that news frames give identity and meaning to issues and events and subsequently how people interpret such issues and events.

Frames in the news according to Entman (2004) are composed of three object classes' political events, issues and actors. Following from this typology, Entman argues that 'the same set of news stories simultaneously frame more than one object, providing framing information not just about an event… but also about a related issue or actor'(pg. 23). Similarly, Scheufele (1999) asserts that framing effects research should be approached from a metatheoretical perspective which it is assumed by Scheufele can be effective in addressing the conceptual inconsistencies affecting framing as a theory of media effects. This metatheoretical perspective involves categorizing framing research in terms of key inputs, processes and outcomes.

Media framing research studies have been conducted by scholars to study a variety of phenomena. Climate change and its coverage in the media has been analyzed through the framing approach (Good, 2008; Anderson, 2009; Boykoff and Roberts, 2007; Gordon et al, 2010). Other studies have focused on political communication and how media framing has influenced election outcomes (Caliendo & McIIwain, 2006; Entman, 2010; Strömbäck & Aelst 2010).

1.1.4 South Sudan
The process of granting South Sudan the right to self-determination and secession started in 2005 with the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in Nairobi between the Sudan Peoples' Liberation Movement/Army (SPLM/A) and the government of Sudan, the CPA mandated that six years after its signing between the parties, the people in the southern part of Sudan would participate in a referendum to vote on whether to adopt the system of government agreed on in the CPA or vote in favour of secession (Comprehensive Peace Agreement, 2005).

The newest state in the world South Sudan was partitioned from Sudan the largest country on the African continent on July 9 2011 (U.S. Department of State Bureau of African Affairs, 2011) cited in Mario (2015). Mario citing the U.S. Department of Stare report noted that the former unitary state of Sudan had been plagued by internecine conflicts that saw 2.5 million people lose their lives. He further adds citing the same report that before South Sudan broke away from the north, a referendum was conducted in January 2011. The results of the referendum showed that 98% of South Sudanese were in favour of secession from Khartoum.

South Sudan's current political and humanitarian crisis started on December 14 2013 after an attempted coup d' tat by former Vice President Riek Machar who had been dismissed in July 2013 by President Salva Kiir who is hails from the Dinka ethnic community while Riek Machar is from the Neur ethnic community Mario (2014). The coup attempt, President Kiir announced on television, was foiled on December 16. Mutinies were experienced thereafter in Jonglei, Upper Nile and Unity states by Nuer army units Johnson (2014).

1.2 Problem Statement

Media has been predicted to have influence on humanitarian intervention through determining policy decisions of governments. This has been demonstrated in various studies on framing and the CNN effect and its influence on policy decisions to intervene in humanitarian crisis (Livingstone, 1997; Robinson, 2000; Robinson, 2001; Robinson, 2002). Using the policy-media interaction model Robinson (2000) conducted case studies of humanitarian intervention in Bosnia in 1995 to defend the Gorazde 'safe area' and Operation Allied Force in Kosovo; in the Gorazde case study, he found that policy uncertainty among policy makers in the Clinton administration was present and critical empathy framing of the administration's handling of the crisis in Gorazde "helped cause policy makers, uncertain of whether or not to intervene, to move to defend the threatened Gorazde 'safe area' " (Robinson, 2000: 631) thereby supporting a key hypothesis of the policy-media interaction model that policy uncertainty and critical media coverage leads to media influence on policy. In the Operation Allied Force intervention which involved an air bombing campaign against Slobodan Milosevic, Robinson found that despite critical empathetic framing of suffering caused by the ensuing refugee crisis of Albanian Kosovars fleeing the bombing raids, policy certainty in the Clinton administration in favor of the air campaign against Milosevic weakened the media's influence on policy. This outcome reflected a key component of the policy-media interaction model whereby if policy certainty is present then critical and empathy framed coverage will not influence policy outcome in regard to intervention.

In a different study Robinson (2001) used the same model to study the influence of news driven media intervention in Operation Restore Hope that was conducted in Somalia between 1992 and1993 he found that media coverage played a minimal role in the decision to intervene in Somalia by the Bush administration as media only began to actively cover the Somalia crisis after the decision to intervene had been announced by president Bush. He further argued that from the foregoing, a strong CNN effect was lacking due to policy certainty on the part of the Bush administration which had already decided to second ground troops to the United Nations to initiate intervention. He concluded by arguing that 'rather than helping cause the Bush administration to intervene in Somalia, media coverage actually turns out to have helped build support for the policy of intervention' (Robinson, 2001: 952) and that theoretically, media's role in the Somalia intervention is best captured through Chomsky's 1988 Manufacturing Consent theory or Bennett's 1990 Indexing hypothesis

These studies however have focused on the government as the main actor at the policy level where the media supposedly has influence when the government lacks a clear policy line and is facing critical empathetic framing from the media to intervene in a humanitarian crisis according to Robinson's policy-media interaction model. Furthermore studies on media influence on humanitarian interventions carried out in the post-cold war era of the 1990s in Somalia, Kosovo and Bosnia by Robinson focused on the media's influence on US foreign policy in humanitarian crisis intervention. In all the case studies, Robinson links policy uncertainty and empathy framing of humanitarian crisis with a strong CNN effect and policy certainty with non-media influence and non-intervention as a result of distance framing with a weak CNN effect. However, Robinson does not show how his argument leads to media influence on policy or as Bahador (2007:31) argues the policy-media interaction model lacks a "systematic mechanism to confirm whether policy actually did change and whether it shifted due to media coverage".

According to Minear et al (1996) crises that have been prominent in the news headlines such as those in Somalia, Rwanda, the former Yugoslavia and Haiti have shown complex relationships among the 'crisis triangle' comprising policy makers, humanitarian agencies and western news media. In this relationship Minear et al posit that the media are identified as causative agents that link a certain crisis and the reaction of the international community that forces the pace as well as in some instances the direction of government policy formation and humanitarian action. He however argues that little is known about how the interaction of the three actors in the 'crisis triangle' works and its implication for effective humanitarian action. Minear et al further adds that the nature and extent of media's influence on policy produces more questions than answers.

South Sudan is yet to be researched in terms of the influence of the CNN Effect on its humanitarian crisis and how this may differ from other cases that have were researched by Robinson. Because of it being the world's newest country, how has the CNN effect along with the framing of South Sudan influenced intervention in its humanitarian crisis or lack of it? Did the framing of the conflict and subsequent humanitarian crisis cause policy makers to intervene or not intervene in the crisis? Arising from this concern is the role that media are perceived to play in information dissemination and hence their perceived importance in determining how issues are understood and debated in society.

South Sudan has attracted the attention and interest of various countries around the world especially the major powers comprising of the United States and China given its large oil reserves. How has this aspect shaped the foreign policies of these powers towards South Sudan and what role has the CNN effect and framing played in shaping these foreign policies?

1.3 Objectives

1.3.1 General Objective
To establish the extent of influence of the CNN Effect on the South Sudan humanitarian crisis

1.3.2 Specific Objectives
I. To assess news media framing of South Sudan's humanitarian crisis
II. To determine whether images depicting suffering of South Sudanese had influence on the type of foreign policy adopted by the United States.
III. To assess whether non-media related factors played a role in the intervention or non-intervention of the South Sudan humanitarian crisis.
IV. To find out the type and nature of CNN Effect in the South Sudan crisis
V. To identify how and why media influence can or cannot lead to humanitarian intervention in the South Sudan crisis.

1.3.3 Research Questions
I. How has the news media framed the South Sudan humanitarian crisis?
II. Have images depicting suffering of South Sudanese had influence on the type of foreign policy adopted by major world powers?
III. Have non media related factors played a role in the intervention or non-intervention of the South Sudan humanitarian crisis?
IV. What is the type and nature of the CNN Effect in the South Sudan crisis?
V. How and why can media influence lead or not lead to humanitarian intervention in the South Sudan crisis?

1.4 Justification

The reporting or coverage of news stories is to a large extent influenced by the type of frames that are adopted by the media to package and convey such stories, media frames through the process of media framing shape audience perceptions and views about an issue (Entman,

1999; Entman, 2004). In the case of humanitarian crises, media plays a key role in how humanitarian crises news stories are conveyed to audiences such as policy makers in government, humanitarian aid agencies and the general public. The globalization of news has enabled the rapid flow of news across borders and international news agencies aid this flow significantly (Boyd-Barrett 2000; Wu 2000). Humanitarian crises greatly disrupt people's way of life through displacement and other hardship which require objective reporting of the real humanitarian situation facing people on the ground. Consequently the media has been accused of promoting sensationalism and using frames which sell the news rather than conveying information and facts that can lead to a quick response in resolving humanitarian crises (Robinson 2015).

South Sudan's humanitarian crisis has brought about large scale suffering since the political conflict involving its political leaders started in December 2013; about 4 million people face hunger due to food insecurity, while another 1.3 million people have been internally displaced from their homes (UNOCHA Report, 2014). Because of this situation it is important to find out how international news agencies have framed the situation through their coverage of the crisis, this may contribute to understanding of how such news agencies frame humanitarian crises and also make a contribution to the media framing theory.

1.5 Significance of the Study

The study will be of significance to the following groups:

1.5.1 Academicians
The study shall be significant to communication scholars as it will shed light on the CNN Effect particularly on its influence on humanitarian interventions in the 21st century. It will also make a theoretical contribution which is relevant to scholarship.

1.5.2 Policy Makers
Decision makers in government involved in policy issues on intervention in conflicts will find the study relevant as it will create better understanding of how the media and government interact and influence each other during humanitarian crisis.

1.5.3 Humanitarian Agencies
These agencies may find the study useful through a better understanding of how media coverage of humanitarian crisis and intervention may affect their policies in relation to government policy on intervention. It may also help such agencies to work better with the

media through influencing informed coverage of humanitarian crisis and intervention by the media as they operate on the ground with affected groups.

1.6 Scope of the Study

This study will focus on the South Sudan humanitarian crisis covering a period two years from December 2013 when the crisis started until July 2016. The scope was selected

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Overview

In this chapter, theoretical, conceptual and empirical literature on media framing and humanitarian intervention is reviewed.

2.1 Theoretical Literature

This section examines the theoretical underpinning of the study. The CNN effect and Media Framing theories are discussed hereunder.

2.1.1 The CNN Effect

The CNN effect has transformed foreign policy and by extension diplomacy from its historic state centric leanings to what he refers to as "public diplomacy" which aims to bypass the more formal foreign policy and diplomatic channels to reach out to audiences or the public Price (2009). He argues that this relationship has been fundamentally transformed courtesy of changing television technology which he claims has implicated the CNN effect. Price (2009) further states that as global broadcasters expand their reach, the CNN effect increases. Robinson (2015) concurs that rapid expansion of global news networks like CNN along with political changes brought about by the end of the cold war had a great influence on foreign policy and subsequently the mediation of what he terms as "distant conflicts". Robinson (1999:301) citing Beschloss (1993) expands the argument of the relationship between technology and foreign policy by claiming that new media technologies have disrupted the decision making process as policy makers have to move in tandem with the speed of real time television and respond to the agenda of journalists.

Gilboa (2002) on the other hand argues that the CNN effect is a claim about how global television plays a dominant role in the conduct of foreign policy in relation to global crises. In this respect Gilboa relates the CNN effect to four types of actors: controlling, constraining, intervening and instrumental. However, in this typology it is the controlling actor that is directly related to the CNN effect. The term controlling also suggests what policy makers and scholars have claimed about global real time news dominating and greatly influencing policy

makers and the policy making process. Livingston (1997), while agreeing with Gilboa concerning the increasing role media plays in the conduct of foreign posits that the CNN effect is divided into three distinct variants as a policy agenda-setting agent, an impediment to the achievement of desired policy goals, and an accelerant to policy decision making. The agenda setting agent is theorised by Livingston (1997) as influencing policy through emotional and compelling coverage of atrocities or humanitarian crisis, as impediment to the achievement of desired policy goals is theorised firstly as emotional, grisly or bloody coverage by the media that undermines morale and secondly global news media as a threat to operational security; lastly as an accelerant media shortens decision making response time reflecting what Livingston calls "television diplomacy".

Television has been viewed as having influence over policy makers and the foreign policy making process. Carey (2001) noted that television has an indirect influence on political agendas involving humanitarian interventions. Carey relates this influence to the news media's strong influence on public perceptions of contemporary political issues along with the news media's capability of giving salience to some issues over others. In support of this claim, Gowing (1994) emphasizes the central role of televisions influence on policy makers and politicians by arguing that real time images have reduced the gap between policy deliberation and response to crisis. The pressure generated by television images urging policy makers to act according to Gowing"'distorts' and 'skews' the work of diplomats, military planners and politicians."(pg 1) Television is however viewed as having a greater constraining effect on American foreign policy.

According to Gilboa (2003) these constraints include shrinking the decision making time available to policy makers necessitating immediate response to crises, exclusion of experts and diplomats, facilitation of diplomatic manipulations, creation of high expectations, broadcasting deficient reports and making instant judgements. In analysis of the stated factors Gilboa seems to suggest media's power and dominance over policy makers in relation to how these factors impact foreign policy makers. Like Robinson (2002) who argues that policy uncertainty increases the media's power over the policy process, Gilboa also notes that media pressure on policy can have severe negative impacts when what needs to be done by policy makers is not obvious. Gilboa finds support for one his key factors of media broadcasting deficient reports. Thussu (2000) posited that the media supplied inaccurate reports and

information during the NATO's bombing of Kosovo along with classifying the war as a humanitarian intervention rather than a brutal bombing campaign.

Stech (1994) using a sociological approach to what he terms as "CNN war" both corroborates and differs with Gowing's argument and says that real time images of the battlefield and conflict televised across the world have changed government decision making and military operations. Through the sociological approach, Stech (1994) suggests that images and how they are framed in relation to foreign policy decisions to engage in military intervention are a significant factor in how such a decision is perceived by the public whether it is related to realpolitik or national interest or is mainly motivated by humane values stirred by emotive coverage. Framing influences perceptions of the public as it has the power to relate to the schemas that guide the public into how to understand and categorise an issue hence making the understanding of how the media through the CNN effect and foreign policy experts compete to use the framing process to influence foreign policy and particularly policy related to humanitarian intervention. Similarly, Feist (2001) has argued in support of the power of media images to influence policy makers.

The efficacy of the CNN effect and its relationship to shaping or determining policy has been debated by various scholars Strobel (1996); Bahador (2007); Price (2009); Robinson (2002).Gowing (1994).Strobel (1996) has raised doubts on the power of the CNN effect to shape policy. He argues that while this effect is credited with changes in governance, reduction in time taken to make decisions and promotion of military-civilian relations, it does not mean it determines policy. To test his claim, Strobel (1996) formulated five myths which dispelled the widely held claim of the perceived strong CNN effect. Similarly and in agreement with Strobel's assessment, Gowing (1994) is dismissive of the claim that television pictures and images can change laid down policy. After analysing evidence from 100 interviews he concluded that 'the conventional wisdom that shocking real time television coverage of the new generation of ethnic and civil conflicts drives the making of foreign policy is something of a self-perpetuating myth' (1994:187). Television argues Gowing (1994) is capable of covering a number of regional wars out of a dozen that may be raging hence putting the wars that television manages to cover on the diplomatic agenda. This he adds causes television to have a powerful influence in terms of problem recognition which then shapes the foreign policy agenda. However, he points out that television does not necessarily dictate policy. He defends his stand by asserting that vivid and horrific real time

coverage has served as merely as a catalyst for humanitarian and financial aid but has not in itself forced crisis prevention.

Robinson (1999) is critical of realists and humanitarians assessment of news media's capability to drive policy. His critique focuses on their unquestioning acceptance that the news media had played a key role in causing recent interventions. This uncritical acceptance has according to Robinson caused the CNN effect to become an 'untested and unsubstantiated fact'. McPhail (2010) differs from the critical view put forth above by scholars who dispute the CNN effects influence on policy and argues that it has the effect of being 'an outside agenda setting voice for US foreign policy' (pg. 156).Mcphail's analysis of the CNN effect contradicts the dismissive view that has been put forth concerning the media's power to influence policy. He for example asserts that without the media and its power to set the agenda on an issue; any statements that policy makers such as the US Secretary of State, the British Foreign Secretary amongst others may make will fail to have the desired impact as the issue will fail to attract the attention of gatekeepers such as editors hence in effect sidestepping diplomats and policy makers not aligned to the media agenda.

Price (2009) takes a different view from both Strobel and Gowing his key concern is whether modern technological developments cause foreign policy to be increasingly affected by media concerns and whether there exists an interest by one state or states in the international community concerning the mode by which media developed through an interdependent set of nations. However the interest of this study is more in line with the first concern raised by Price (2009) and to answer it, he looked at the transformation of television technological systems and their influence on foreign policy and diplomacy in the Cold War and post-Cold War periods. While he associates the Cold War period with stringent gate-keeping on foreign policy and diplomacy, the post-Cold War period is shaped by a technological advancements in television resulting in the CNN effect which with its twenty-four hour news reporting has enabled leaders to conduct diplomacy in real time hence by passing the old bureaucratic gate keeping processes that shaped and determined foreign policy decision making. Price (2009) makes a further observation that the CNN phenomenon designated the broadcaster as the independent variable and leaders, governments and publics as the dependent variables. He however qualifies this assessment by arguing that there is greater interaction between leaders, governments and publics that the CNN effect did not adequately capture. The main argument that Price is putting forward is that television has limited the ability of the state to "control the agenda for making war, convening peace, and otherwise exercising its foreign policy

options" (2009:204). Price however does not look at how advancement of television technology and real time news coverage has impacted humanitarian intervention policy decisions; he focuses more on how general foreign policy has been transformed by television technological changes.

The CNN effect is only one of the major factors that influence humanitarian intervention this is according to Jakobsen (1996) the other factors are a clear humanitarian and/or legal case, national interest, chance of success, and domestic support. By using this frame of analysis that measures the relative strength of the media via the CNN effect alongside other non-media related factors as outlined; Jakobsen makes a good attempt to account for the specific factors that could have influenced humanitarian intervention in conflicts rather than assigning broad generalisations about the power of the CNN effect in causing intervention.

Images in media of people in the midst of suffering have been claimed to cause policy makers to alter foreign policy in response to the perceived push to do something to halt such suffering. Carruthers (2011) succinctly captured this argument by stating that some commentators viewed the CNN effect as the ability of images depicting human suffering shown in real time to cause global condemnation that forces national governments and international agencies to intervene so as to put an end to the humanitarian suffering or engage in military intervention to the protect weak and powerless. Following from this discussion, Carruthers (2011) citing Keane (1996) acknowledges there are key underlying issues pertaining to the CNN effect. These issues according to her involve agenda setting and agency and their relation to when and how media influence policy formation. Citing Keane further, Carruthers notes that to consider real time television's impact is also to "'contemplate the motive force of moving images and the constitution of the public...or global civil society connected via technologies which enable individuals who are widely dispersed 'to appreciate their shared humanity: an epiphany effected by witnessing bodies in pain and deepened when such images are relayed simultaneously'" (2011:145)

Carruthers (2011) has attempted to identify the link between media coverage, framing and policy actions or outcomes. She argues that western media outlets preference for the ethnic hatreds frame in reporting conflicts, war and humanitarian crises in Africa has had negative impacts on the urgency to intervene in such crises. Factors contributing to this state of affairs she notes include a reduction in foreign correspondents and journalists to cover crises, parachute journalism which involves journalists superficially covering humanitarian crises

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and journalists covering more important news worthy events which focus their attention at the expense of humanitarian crises.

The CNN effect has been found to have weaknesses which have put its credibility and validity in doubt. Spencer (2005) has argued that the claim of media images causing policy makers to intervene has been counterbalanced by the failure of images depicting suffering to move policy makers to intervene in a humanitarian crisis. He cites Rwanda as a prominent case where the CNN effect thesis was severely tested and found wanting after policy makers failed to intervene despite empathy framing and images of the dire humanitarian situation being aired in major television networks and newspapers. Spencer further argues that pressure from media coverage works in certain intervention situations and not in others and this is because of political conviction rather than media coverage. However, the criticism of the failure of the CNN effect in Rwanda fails to mention that one of the key ingredients relating to identifying a CNN effect in relation to intervention policy uncertainty was lacking because the Clinton administration had passed legislation limiting the role of its military in foreign interventions that were not strategic to U.S. geopolitical interests.

2.1.2 Agenda Setting

This theory according to Dearing and Rogers (1996) focuses on why some information related to some issues gains prominence and is widely available to the public, while other issues are seemingly ignored and the information related to them is unavailable to the public in a democracy. It is also concerned with how public opinion is shaped as well as why certain issues get resolved by policy while others are not; consequently Dearing and Rodgers (1996) argue that agenda setting is the study of social transformation and continuity Dearing and Rodgers (1996). According to Dearing and Rodgers (1988), agenda setting is divided into two main traditions; agenda setting and agenda building. The agenda setting tradition posit Dearing and Rodgers (1988) is how the media agenda influences the public agenda. Agenda building is whereby the political agendas of the elite are influenced by various factors which include public agendas and media agendas. They theorise through their model that the three components of media agenda, public agenda, and policy agenda have a linear relationship while the media agenda and the policy agenda components have a cyclical relationship. In the same model Dearing and Rodgers (1988) show that gatekeepers, influential media and spectacular events determine the media agenda while external influences along with empirical indicators determine the importance or salience of a situation moderate the influence of the media, public and policy agendas respectively.

2.1.3 Audience Reception Theory

This is a theory that is audience centred and is concerned with how various audience members make sense of specific forms of content Baran and Davis (2010). Audience reception according to Baran and Davis is derived from the work of Stuart Hall who argued that there are two parts to the analysis of content; encoding which involves analysing content in its political and social context and decoding which is the consumption of the content. Hall's view arose mainly as a critique of the Marxist school of thought which viewed media productions as a perpetuation of the dominant view of the elite. In view of this critique, Hall argued that texts have a polysemic meaning, the preferred or dominant reading, which mainly reinforces the message of the status quo, the alternative or negotiated meaning and oppositional decoding. Audience reception argues Baran and Davies (2010) is a theory which has mainly focused on the micro issues relating to how individuals interact with media and media content. This however is changing as studies begin to explore macro issues concerning content. How audiences and policy makers react to humanitarian intervention issues in the media can have a decisive influence on whether intervention takes place or not. Audience reception theory is therefore relevant to the issues that this study is focusing on.

2.2 Empirical Studies on the CNN Effect and Humanitarian intervention

The influence of the news media on intervention policy decisions has attracted much scholarly and academic interest. In this section the influence of news media on humanitarian crisis in Somalia, Kosovo Iraq, and Bosnia and will be examined.

The influence of news media and in particular the CNN effect on the Somalia humanitarian crisis has been debated by several scholars Robinson (2001);Mermin (1997);Robinson (1999); Spencer (2005). In his study of Operation Restore Hope conducted in Somalia by the Bush administration in 1992 Robinson (2001) found that news media followed rather than influenced the Bush administration's policy to intervene in Somalia. From the study he concluded that media influence on the decision to intervene in Somalia was minimal because media coverage increased significantly in the wake of the Bush's announcement to deploy ground troops to assist the United Nations in Somalia which is also an indicator of policy certainty. However, Robinson's study does not explicitly reveal the presence or absence of a CNN effect and instead calls for more research to ascertain media influence during periods of policy uncertainty. The study also uses short time periods in assessing media influence on the decision to intervene in Somalia a weakness which has also been noted by Bahador (2007).

In his study of television news and its influence on American intervention in Somalia Mermin (1997) correlated major policy pronouncements in the media with the time allocated to stories on the Somalia crisis. He found that media coverage was highest when major policy announcements were made suggesting that media coverage and television in particular followed rather than influenced policy. In the same study Mermin observed that media attempts to influence policy without reference to official sources is bound to be ineffective compared to when media worked in concert with policy makers. He concluded that journalists and policy makers jointly shape the news agenda rather than working independently of each other. Mermin's conclusion seems to rule out media as an independent actor in determining policy decisions as it relegates media to an instrument for policy makers. However, Strobel (2001) takes an opposite view to that held by Mermin; he argues that no conclusion can be reached concerning television's and other media media's impact on the decision to intervene in Somalia by the Bush administration before examining the broader context surrounding Bush's decision to intervene. Key decision makers he suggests did not rely only on television to acquire information on foreign crises; ambassadors played a key role through sending of diplomatic cables detailing the situation on the ground in the countries they served as ambassadors. He for example notes that America's ambassador to Kenya during the Somalia intervention by the U.S. Smith Hempstone had sent a diplomatic cable which described the dire humanitarian situation in Somalia. This cable then reached President Bush in the White House who upon its receipt opted to act and subsequently order for intervention to take place so as to reduce the suffering.

A study conducted by Jakobsen (1996) to find out what triggers UN peace enforcement in the post-Cold War period Jakobsen used a frame work of analysis comprising five key factors; a clear humanitarian and or legal case, national interest, chance of success, domestic support and the CNN effect. In relation to Somalia he found that the CNN effect had effectively put the case for intervention on the agenda of policy makers. However, Jakobsen moderated this effect by arguing intervention only took place if it was perceived by policy makers to have good chances of success meaning the absence of vitiating factors that could negatively affect the intervention itself.

Non media related factors have been cited as influencing policy makers to intervene in Somalia, these factors emanated from the realist school of international relations that views

policy decisions concerning humanitarian intervention as primarily driven by national interest rather than news media images depicting suffering. Scholars that advocated for this view such as Gibbs (2000) found that an American oil company Conoco had been attracted to Somalia by its petroleum reserve potential. The United States using the legitimacy offered humanitarian intervention advanced the interests of Conoco; he however qualifies this by stating that Conoco's interests might not have been the primary reason for the intervention in Somalia, but then adds that his main argument is that sympathy for Conoco caused US forces to act as they did once deployed on the ground during the Somalia intervention. Gibbs farther claims that Conoco's connection to Aideed's militia enabled American forces to establish close relations to deposed president Aideed. To his credit, Gibbs is not dismissive of humanitarian intervention motives in Operation Restore Hope in Somalia such as ending famine and war; instead he makes a fairly credible case in linking realpolitik or national interest consideration to humanitarian intervention considerations.

Media influence in the decision to intervene in Kosovo and Bosnia has been studied by Robinson (2000) and Bahador (2007). Robinson used the media-policy interaction model to measure media power in humanitarian crisis. He found that during the US intervention in 1995 to defend the Gorazde 'safe area' against aggression by Saddam forces critical empathising media coverage along with policy uncertainty on the part of policy makers greatly influenced the intervention decision while in the Operation Allied Force intervention in Kosovo the media despite critical newspaper coverage failed to influence the Clinton administration to change its policy from that of conducting air strikes on targets to deployment of ground troops as had been demanded by media coverage of the intervention. From these findings, Robinson argues that the Kosovo case was an easy one for his policy-media interaction model due to the policy certainty that was in place as indicated above hence displaying as predicted by the model a weak CNN effect in whereby the US executive resisted critical media coverage of its bombing policy and a push towards a change of policy in favour of ground troops deployment into Kosovo. Robinson found that in the Bosnia case policy was uncertain while in the Kosovo case policy certainty was dominant, but there was no variation in the framing variable as in both cases media coverage was critical and empathy framed. He concluded that the findings of the study concluded that of the two variables policy certainty and media framing policy certainty is the stronger of the two.

A study of the Kosovo conflict conducted by Freedman (2000) reviewed the CNN effect, the body bag effect and the bullying effect. The CNN effect uses images of large scale suffering to push governments into humanitarian intervention, while the body bags effect where images of casualties causes governments to pull out of humanitarian interventions, and the bullying effect which refers to the superior air power employed by NATO and America to bomb strategic targets while leaving out civilian targets. Freedman then argues that both the CNN effect and the body bags effect share a similarity whereby both are prominent when policy uncertainty is evident in government. However, he critiques the way both media and politicians believe these effects to be relevant despite the lack of credible empirical evidence of their existence. These three effects according to Freedman (2000) were present in Kosovo case and were used in the promotion of a victimhood strategy by belligerents in the conflict. His argument that when governments are caught off guard due to lack of a solid policy line, then the media through what he terms as 'striking images' and the resulting public opinion generated by those images shape responses by policy makers is similar to Robinson's policy uncertainty argument whereby media influence on policy makers and the policy process is profound when the government lacks a defined policy to guide action in humanitarian crisis intervention. However, both arguments remain unconvincing in the face of limited empirical evidence to fully validate the position that they advocate.

Carey (2001) differs from both Robinson and Freedman who conducted single case studies of media influence on humanitarian intervention policy. He conducted a study of humanitarian intervention policy in Haiti, Bosnia, and Kosovo. In the case of Haiti, he found that the refugee crisis there achieved prominence among policy makers due to unending television coverage of Haitians crammed in boats as they fled to the US along with stories of atrocities and the negative framing by the media of the Haitian military junta. He concluded that the coverage caused the public to support a policy of invasion which before media coverage it was opposed to. To validate these findings, Carey linked a poll that was published during the period of the invasion that showed 54 percent of the American public preferred the deployment of troops against 43 percent who were opposed. However, Carey does not explain how opinion poll results are linked to media coverage and the public's support for or against humanitarian intervention policy.

On the other hand, Carey (2001) found a strong CNN effect to be present in the Bosnia case because intervention in its humanitarian crisis was preceded by three years of television

coverage of the violations that were being committed there. He suggested that media coverage was of the Sarajevo market attack by Serb artillery fire was made possible due to geographical proximity of the attacks to a luxury hotel in which press corps assigned to cover the conflict were staying. What Carey does not account for in his findings concerning this case is how length of media coverage affects the decision to intervene or not to intervene in any given humanitarian crisis by policy makers.

In contrast to the above studies, Balabanova (2010) conducted a study of the influence of the CNN effect on humanitarian intervention in two geographically and culturally different countries; Britain and Bulgaria. Balabanova using Robinson's policy-media interaction model sought to find out how Eastern Europe differed from Western Europe in terms of the print Media's influence on policy makers in both countries. After analysing articles in the key newspapers in each country, he found that the Kosovo conflict had been covered extensively prior to NATO's bombing campaign in the Bulgarian print media while in the case of Britain such coverage was limited and only took off after the bombing campaign by NATO had begun. Further to this the British press had both supportive and empathy framed coverage of Kosovo while Bulgarian press coverage was dominated by neutral empathy framed coverage of the bombing campaign. Policy certainty was found to be present in both countries hence leading to a conclusion of limited media influence on policy makers and the policy process in both countries. However, the neutral stand that was adopted by the Bulgarian press posed a challenge to Robinson's model which Balabanova found contradicted the key tenets underlying the model.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Overview

This chapter will cover the following sections the research design, population, sample and sampling design, data collection techniques and data analysis. In each section, a detailed explanation and justification for the choice of decisions to be taken shall be given. The choice of methodology to guide the study shall also be justified within the aforementioned sections.

3.1 Research Design

A research design is a detailed plan of how data collection will be conducted in an empirical research project Bhattacherjee (2012). According to Bhattacherjee a research design should specify three key processes; the data collection process, the instrument development process and the sampling process. However Kothari's (2004) definition of research design as the conceptual structure within which research is conducted; it constitutes the blue print for the collection, measurement and analysis of data (31:2004) is more exhaustive.

The study will adopt a mixed method research design, which allows for the triangulation of quantitative and qualitative data Creswell & Clark (2011). Hesse-Biber (2010) goes further and argues that combining qualitative data comprising words, pictures, and, narrative can be combined with quantitative numerical data from a large scale study from the same issue which enables research results to be generalised to other research studies. In the context of this study several researches have been conducted using diverse methods and designs by communication scholars and journalists. Bahador (2007) identified four main methods that have been used to design research on the influence of the CNN effect on foreign policy. These methods include interview based approaches that he notes were dominant in the work of journalist Nik Gowing who conducted 100 interviews with key policymakers. Media based approaches focus on how framing of events by journalists' pressure governments to pursue a particular foreign policy option concerning an issue. Quantitative approaches are the third method that Bahador looked at. This approach involves comparing the quantity of media coverage on a particular issue with the timing of policy decision concerning that issue in order to determine potential media impact. The fourth approach under Bahador's method

typology is the policy-media interaction model. This model Bahador argues is a more systematic account of the CNN effect than previous efforts as it incorporates a number of variables.

Mixed method research design was selected for this research firstly due to its capability to facilitate triangulation of qualitative and quantitative data. Secondly, it enables complimentarity which enables a researcher to gain a better understanding of the research problem Hesse-Biber (2010). Following from this, to test the policy-media interaction model by Robinson, the mixed method research design will be useful. Robinson (2002) has validated this claim in relation to his model. He has argued that case study results are only able to facilitate a limited test of the policy-media interaction model because each study uses additional research strategies that do not necessarily measure the two key variables in the model; framing and policy certainty, evidence for news media influence will not be entirely dependent on the model.

3.2 Data Collection

This study will adopt Piers Robinson's policy-media interaction model which he used to review presidential documents and State Department press releases in relation to the humanitarian crisis in Bosnia. In the case of South Sudan US State Department press releases covering the period of 30th December 2013 to 10th June 2016 along with a time line of the International community's response to the South Sudan conflict and crisis will be analysed along with newspaper articles from key US newspapers the New York Times and The Washington Post which will be accessed through the internet. Content analysis and textual analysis of news articles in both the New York Times and Washington Post will be conducted to ascertain the influence of media stories on South Sudan on policy makers in the US concerning intervention in South Sudan's humanitarian crisis.

3.3 Data Analysis

Data obtained from the newspaper articles will be analysed to identify distance frames and empathy frames. Content analysis is according to Krippendorff (2004) a research technique for making 'replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the context of their use' (2004:18). To identify the distance and empathy frames, one of two approaches developed by Robinson (2000) will be used; the first which involves reading a sample of news reports to identify their subject matter and understand their overall tone, this first approach to media framing analysis Robinson argues is unsystematic and interpretive

and lacks validity and hence will be avoided. To overcome the weakness of the first approach, Robinson suggested a second approach which predicting a set of descriptors one would expect to be associated both with the frame the researcher would be trying to identify and along with its opposite. This he argued would avoid selection bias whereby the researcher is only keen to select those frames which support their research. The obtained data will then be displayed through statistical tables and graphs, rich descriptions will be analysed qualitatively to identify the meanings that can be derived.

Table II. A Selection of Descriptors Used in Relation to the People of Srebrenica and
Western Policy

Empathy Descriptors	*Critical Descriptors*
Human tragedy	Talking so nice and doing nothing
Bedraggled	Sickly
Hungry	Lack of authority
Scared	Viability at issue
Little food, water or medicine	Spinelessness
Rousted from their homes	Presence at risk
Trail of tears/tears, sobbing	Doing too little too late
Frantic	Lacks the military means
Desperately	Inaction
Prayed for their missing	Absence of will
Dazed	Muddle-through strategy
Weeping	Doing nothing
Hysterical	Caught by surprise
Carrying only the clothes on their backs	Impotence
Trudged Feckless	
Without shelter	collapsing
Huddling One humiliation after another	
Driven out Ineffectual	
Human suffering Reluctance to use force	
Rape At an end	
Mass killing Unless strengthened . . . it is doomed	
Murder Feuding	
Throats cut	
About to give birth	
Mass of wailing humanity	

'West' includes US, UN, NATO, UNPROFOR, EU. Source: *New York Times* and *Washington Post*. *Washington Post*
available online at http://www.washingtonpost.com. *New York Times* search available via Lexis (Adopted from Piers Robinson 2000)

Interpretive Framework

Table 1: Media Framing Framework

	Theory/Model	Method	Indicators/Descriptors	Effectiveness/Gap
1	Framing: Piers Robinson (2000), (2001) Livingston (1997)Gowing (1994)	Identification of frames from a sample of news reports. Quantification of descriptors used in news reports. Assessing subject of reports Assessing tone of media reports. Application of systematic tests and analyzing media texts for key words Counting of key words in a text is context based. They should be related to the subject of enquiry to avoid unnecessary contamination of results.	Empathy frames Distance frames Support frames Ancient ethnic hatreds frame	Framing is effective in highlighting the gravity of a crisis It assumes media coverage is mainly responsible in causing intervention while excluding other potential factors that may lead to intervention Bahador (2007) Most studies have focused on the type of frames used in news media reports on humanitarian crises. However a gap of the influence such frames have had has yet to be explored.

Source: Researcher 2016

As indicated in table 1 above, framing theory has been used by the researchers listed within the table to study how news frames of humanitarian crisis are constructed and their influence on policy makers to intervene in a crisis. The typical frames used here include empathy, distance, support and ancient hatreds. Research conducted to gauge framing theory's and frames influence on policy makers has relied on anecdotal evidence from interviews with top policy makersGowing (1994), the amount of coverage devoted to news stories on crisis using the above listed frames and the influence of such news stories on intervention by policy makers in a crisis Robinson (2000; 2001). However, a gap of framing's influence on policy makers and the policy process in regards to intervention in humanitarian crisis and conflict needs further research.

Table 2: Quantitative Approaches Framework

	Theory/Model	Method	Indicators/Descriptors	Effectiveness/Gap
2	Quantitative Approaches: Livingston (2000)	Measurement of the number of news stories that preceded intervention in a humanitarian crisis. Measuring the number of news articles in relation to key policy decisions. Extensive use of statistical frequencies, tables and charts to show relationship between media news reports and policy outcomes	Quantity of news stories in newspapers and television appearing in the pre intervention phase of a crisis	Quantitative approaches are effective in generating statistical data that attempts to relate the volume of news stories to influence on policy makers and policy processes. These approaches assume that a CNN effect is present

Source: Researcher 2016

Table 2 above represents a quantitative approach toward establishing a relationship between the amount of reporting allocated to an issue in the media and its influence on policy making and policy makers. Media scholars study the number of times an issue appears in the media and then attempt to link that amount of coverage to policy actions. As noted in the table above, this framework uses statistical approaches to measure or correlate media influence and policy outcomes. This approach however has a gap as it does not address how amount of coverage in terms of newsprint space or television minutes leads to influence on policy makers and the policy process in terms of humanitarian crisis intervention. It therefore assumes that a CNN Effect is present due to high number of stories such that the more the number of stories the more it is presumed there is media influence on policy.

Table 3: Policy-Media Interaction Model Framework

	Theory/Model	Method	Indicators/Descriptors	Effectiveness/Gap
3	Policy-media interaction model: Piers Robinson (2000) (2002)	To test for policy certainty between government sub-systems, primary and secondary data were used involving interviews with policy makers and press statements to ascertain the level of congruence between executive sub-systems	Strong CNN effect-→Policy uncertainty Weak CNN effect→Policy certainty	The analysis of sub systems involved in the policy process makes the model more reliable compared to other methodological approaches. Use of different research strategies to test the model might validate the model, however the use of these additional strategies might find evidence of news media influence who's findings challenge the validity of the policy-media interaction model

Source: Researcher 2016

In table 3 above the policy-media interaction model developed by Robinson (2000; 2002) borrows from indexing theory, manufacturing consent and incorporates framing and the variables of policy certainty and policy uncertainty in an attempt to understand how and why policy makers respond to or are influenced to intervene in a crisis. As shown in the indicators column, a strong CNN effect where the media it is presumed is powerful is present when policy makers are uncertain on what to do while a weak CNN effect is present when policy makers are certain on what policy action to take while ignoring media pressure to intervene.

Table 4: Interview based Approaches

	Theory/Model	Method	Indicators/Descriptors	Effectiveness/Gap
4	Interview based approaches: Nik Gowing (1994)	Conducted 100 interviews with relevant policy makers. Interview data was compared to actual events as perceived by researchers own analysis	Opinions of policy makers based on their experience in crisis intervention.	Interview based approaches according to Bahador (2007) provide interesting anecdotal insights These approaches he argues struggle for intellectual clarity. The merits of the methodology are questionable on two grounds: They heavily rely on opinions of policy makers hence limiting the range of perspectives and eliminating the position of other valid candidates A precondition of policy uncertainty must exist before The CNN effect can occur. However, what constitutes an uncertain policy is not made explicit. There are no clear criteria for determining what constitutes an uncertain policy. The gap in this methodology is lack of triangulation of interviewee opinions with other data sources such as policy documents news articles and press releases by key government officials

Source: Researcher 2016

As shown in table 4 above, interview data collected from key policy makers who were involved in humanitarian crisis intervention were interviewed to obtain their perception of media influence on their decision to intervene in various crises of the 1990's. However while interviews are good in obtaining in-depth data, their dependence on opinions of policy makers tend to weaken the conclusions arising from such data. This can be addressed through triangulating interview data with other data sources

Table 5: Mixed method Research Design

	Theory/Model	Method	Indicators/Descriptors	Effectiveness/Gap
5	Mixed method research design	Content analysis and textual analysisof news articles published in the New York Times and the Washington Post from December 2013-June 2016. These articles will be accessed via the websites of those newspapers. Review press releases by the US State Department and the White House. Descriptors of news frames as used by Piers Robinson will be adopted for this study.	The indicators for the mixed method research design involve identification of frames as used by Robinson (2000; 2001)	This methodology's effectiveness is in the use of triangulation of various data sources which will yield findings that might bring much clarity to the workings of the CNN effect in the context of humanitarian intervention.

Source: Researcher 2016

As shown in table 5 a mixed method research design through the use of content analysis and textual analysis enables the triangulation of qualitative and quantitative data from the content to be examined. Key words related to distance frames and empathy frames are counted and texts are then read to get the latent meanings underlying such texts.

3.4 Ethical consideration

This research passed through stringent quality checks at the School of Journalism and Mass communication, University of Nairobi. Proposal defense was conducted before a panel of academic staff at SOJMAC after which the research was cleared to facilitate data collection. Secondary data were used in the research and all the reference and data sources used were appropriately referenced as indicated in the plagiarism report in (See Appendix I) which shows a 14% plagiarism level. This work was wholly conducted by the researcher in constant consultation with the supervisor, also a second defense to defend the project was carried out before a defense panel of highly knowledgeable scholars in communication studies. The researcher passed the defense as the work was found to be original and belonging to the researcher as shown by the Declaration of Originality in (See Appendix II).

Corrections that were suggested by the defense   panel were carried out as shown by the signed Certificate of Corrections (See Appendix III). A certificate of field work authorising the researcher to proceed to the data collection stage after a rigorous proposal defense to further strengthen the research to meet the ethical considerations (See Appendix IV).

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, INTERPRETATION AND ANALYSIS

4.0 Overview

This chapter will focus on analysing data obtained both qualitatively and quantitatively. Qualitative data will be analysed to convey the latent meanings underlying the data. Quantitative data from the content analysis on the other hand will yield descriptive statistical data.

4.1 Media Framing of South Sudan's Crisis

On analysing the data from 17 articles in the Washington Post and 24 from the New York Times, descriptors associated with empathy frames appeared 99 times while descriptors indicative of distance framing appeared 153 times. These results imply that distance frames were slightly dominant and informed how both WP and NYT framed the crisis in South Sudan. The appearance of a greater number of distance frames compared to empathy frames is indicative of how Western media prefer to report conflicts in Africa in terms of tribal or ethnic conflicts.

Table 6: Empathy Frames of South Sudan's Crisis in WP and NYT

	Empathy Frames	
	Descriptor	**Frequency**
Washington Post	People	17
	Refugees	3
	Children	11
	Women	9
	Total	**40**
New York Times	People	23
	Refugees	12
	Children	14
	Women	10
	Total	**59**

Source: Researcher 2016

Figure 1: Empathy frames in the Washington Post
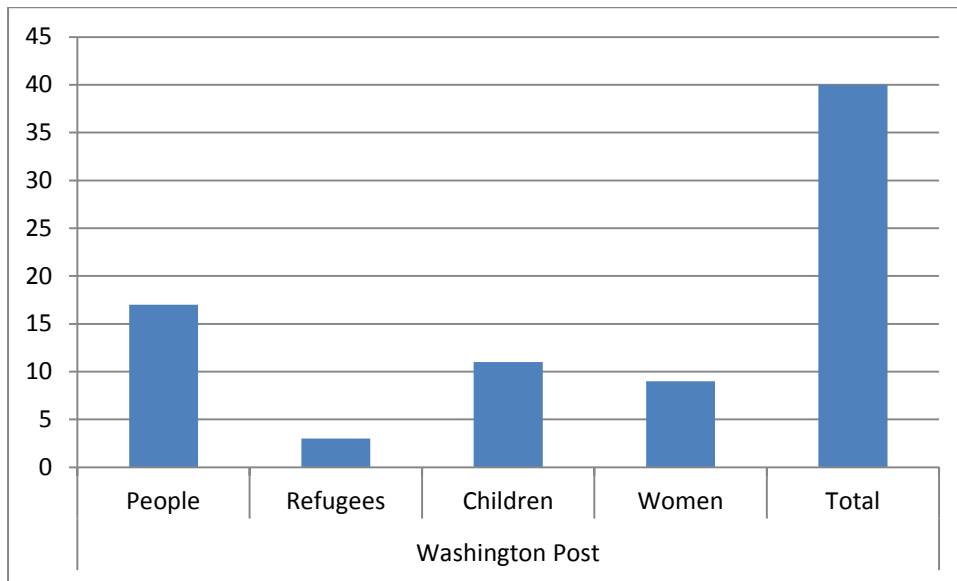
Source: Researcher 2016

Table 6 and figure 1 above show the breakdown of key words that that were used to report and frame the South Sudan conflict and humanitarian crisis. The Washington Post used far fewer empathy frames in news articles and editorials which added to 40 while in the New York Times, empathy frames appeared 59 times. The breakdown of empathy frames distribution is indicated in table.1 above and figure 1and 2 below

The key word people that is indicative of empathy framing was used more than other empathy related key words in the Washington Post as indicated in figure 1 above appearing 15 times in the articles that were analysed.

Overall, the Washington Post used less empathy frames to report the South Sudan crisis which numbered 40. This is far less than the 128 times that empathy frames were used in media coverage of the Somali population in Robinson's (2001) research of the media's coverage of Operation Restore Hope.

Figure 2: Empathy frames in the New York Times
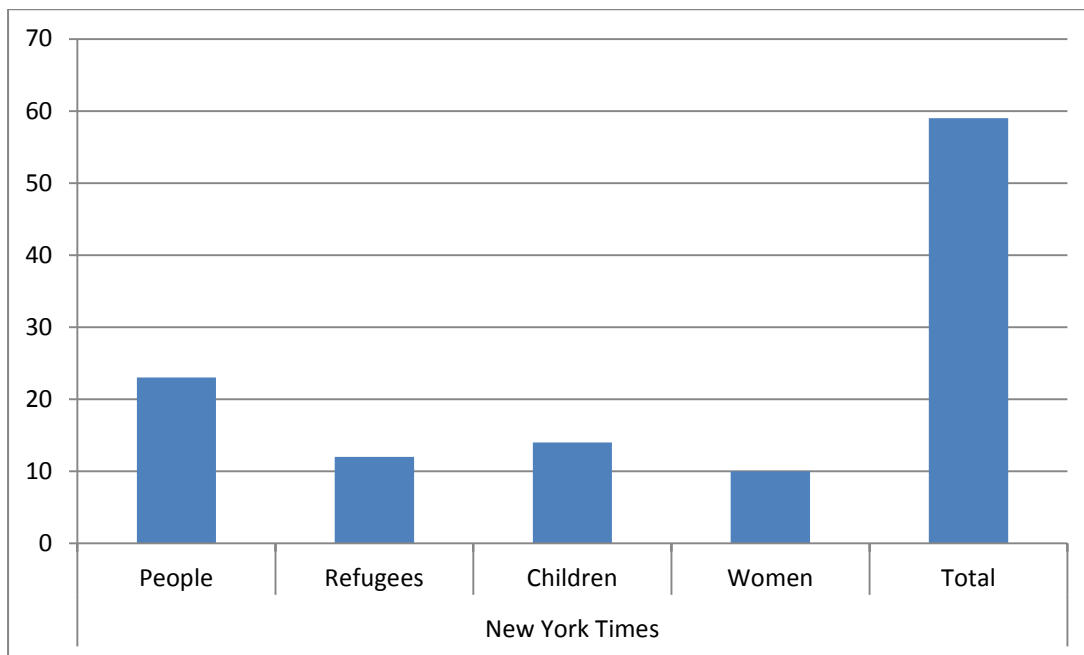
Source: Researcher 2016

In table 1 and figure 2 above, the New York Times used empathy descriptors 59 times; these descriptors represent empathy frames. This is more than the 40 that were deployed by the Washington Post. This shows that empathy framing dominated the news coverage of the South Sudan crisis by the New York Times. The key word people appeared 24 times, refugees 12 times, children 14 times and women 10 times. Overall, the use of more empathy frame key words by the New York Times suggests that it is concerned with bringing out the human story of the pain and suffering caused by the crisis in order to get humanitarian aid delivered to these vulnerable segments of the population. The way journalists frame their stories could also account for the greater use of empathy framed key words in news stories of South Sudan's unfolding crisis.

Table 7: Distance Frames of South Sudan's Crisis in WP and NYT

	Distance Frames	
	Descriptor	**Frequency**
Washington Post	Ethnic/Tribal	24
	Fighting	16
	Dinka	29
	Nuer	23
	Total	**92**
New York Times	Ethnic/Tribal	13
	Fighting	10
	Dinka	19
	Nuer	19
	Total	**61**

Source: Researcher 2016

From table 7 above, the Washington Post had more distance frame descriptors which totalled to 92. The New York Times on the other hand had 61 distance frame descriptors in total. The results suggest the Washington Times portrays the crisis more as an ethnic conflict between leaders of two of the most dominant tribes in South Sudan due to its use of more distance frame descriptors compared to NYT which used more empathy frame descriptors of South Sudan which empathize with the peoples suffering as suggested by the CNN effect.

Figure 3: Distance Frames of South Sudan's Crisis in WP
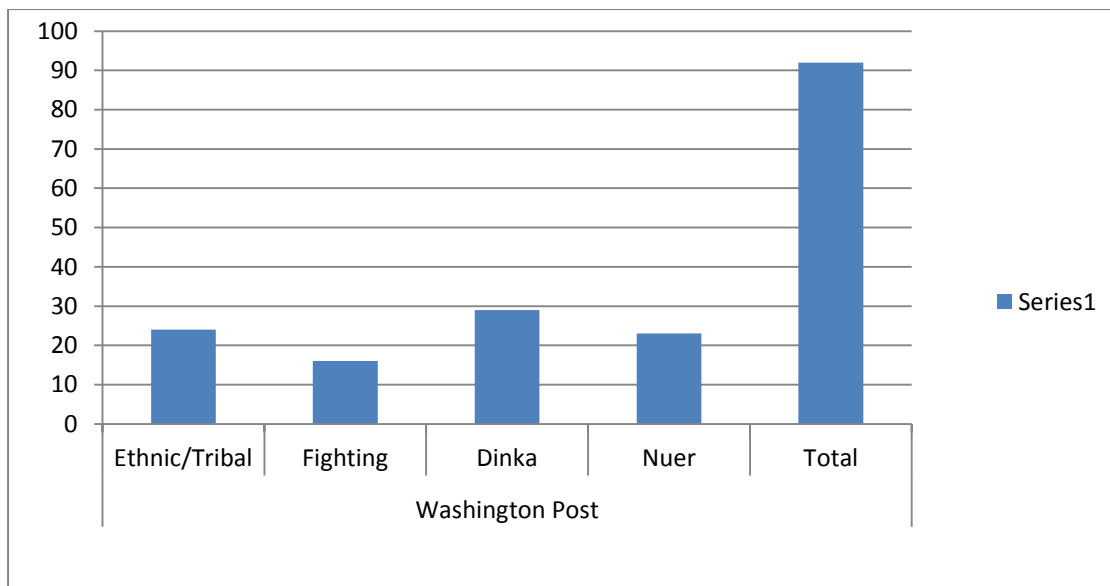
Source: Researcher 2016

Figure 3 above indicates that overall distance frames and their associated descriptors appeared 92 times in the articles of WP that were analysed during both the interpretive and systematic analysis of the framing process. The word Dinka which is indicative of South Sudan's largest and dominant ethnic group occurred the most times appearing 29 times among the key words that were used for distance frames. The results suggest that WPs preference for distance frames dominated by the tribal framing of conflicts follows from a long tradition as argued by Carruthers (2011) of western countries tendency to report conflicts and crises in Africa in a simplistic manner devoid of context which can enrich policy makers and audience understanding of conflicts and crisis such as South Sudan.

Figure 4: Distance Frames of South Sudan's Crisis in the New York Times
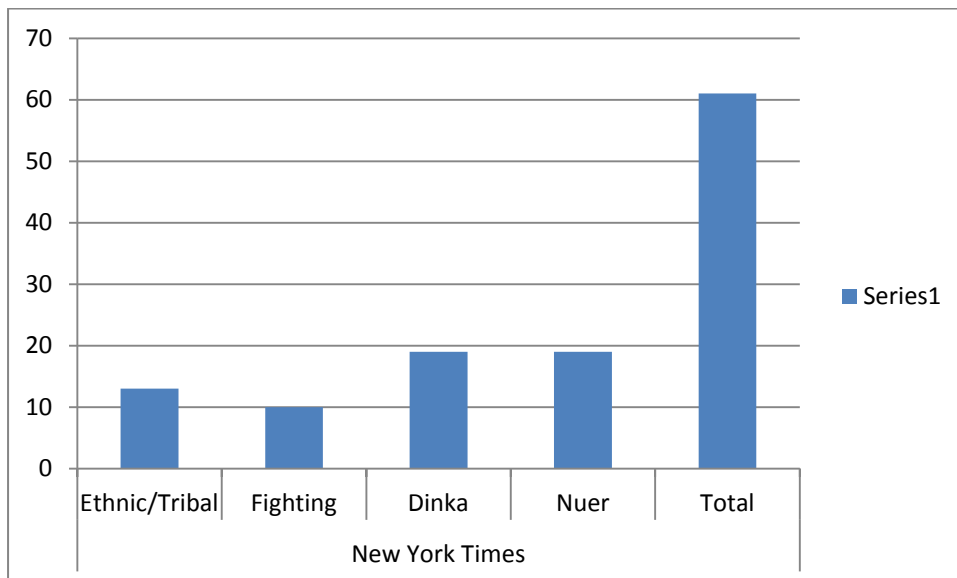
Source: Researcher 2016

In table 7 and figure 4 above, the New York Times used distance frames in relation to the South Sudan crisis 61 times in total with Dinka and Nuer frame descriptors appearing 19 times each. An almost similar number of distance and empathy frames were used by the New York Times to report the South Sudan crisis.

The mention of Dinka and Nuer tribes was used to label the leaders involved in South Sudan's conflict alongside their followers or supporters. This may have been an attempt to attract audiences or a form of compassion fatigue Moeller (1999) whereby the media seems to tire of reporting unending crisis and conflicts and the weakening of audience interest in agitating for intervention.

4.2 Qualitative Analysis of Media Frames on South Sudan's Crisis in New York Times and Washington Post

In this section, statements that were quoted from policy makers and victims in both NYT and WP shall be analysed qualitatively to bring out latent meanings in the messages that are not apparent.

An example of empathy framed coverage from the New York Times edition of 2nd August 2016 is captured below from a UNHCR spokesperson on the situation in South Sudan:

"Armed groups operating across different parts of South Sudan are looting villages, murdering civilians and forcibly recruiting young men and boys into their ranks...we are very concerned about having the capacity to treat the increasing numbers of malnourished children who are coming across"

The following empathy framed passage is found in the NYT of May 19th 2014:

"Ajob Duath is a boy of four, but looks a fraction of his age. Incredibly thin and obviously and obviously weak, he sat on the dirt ground, in red shorts, almost still as a statue, other than the slow movements of his left hand to ward off flies from his face"

Washington Post on the other hand reported about the plight and suffering of a young mother and her child using an empathy frame that graphically captured the poor health and environment in which they and thousands of other South Sudanese resided in as the fighting around them escalated. An example of this type of framing is found in August 24th 2014 Washington Post:

'By the time Nyarony's family made it to the U.N. base, the 3-year old was emaciated and suffering from acute malnutrition. Her feet had swollen twice their normal size...her muscles had all but wasted away.' (McCormick, 2014)

Such statements point to how officials involved in the crisis have chosen to focus on the suffering witnessed in the South Sudan crisis. The media focus on the empathy frame seems to also suggest that the concentration that the media had on reporting such crisis in the ethnic hatreds tone has shifted.

The above empathy framing is accompanied by mixed framing that is both supportive and critical of American policy intervention policy in the South Sudan conflict. A paragraph in the Washington Post's July 14th 2016 editorial contains an example of supportive framing encouraging the U.S. to do something about the escalation of the South Sudan's crisis:

'No other country played a bigger role in the creation of South Sudan than the United States. The new nation was one of Hillary Clinton's signature projects as secretary of state. Last August, President Obama helped pressure the two warring leaders to sign a peace agreement. Now is the time for Mr. Obama to speak up for the people of South Sudan and let them know that the United States will not stand by as the infant state drowns in its own blood.'

In contrast to the above supportive framing, a June 27th 2015 New York Times editorial uses critical framing of the U.S.'s policy in South Sudan:

'Though President Obama never invested as much personal attention in South Sudan as Mr. Bush had, his administration has made considerable efforts to bring the sides to the negotiating table. But the war has swirled out of Washington's control and continues maddeningly to defy all efforts by the United States, the United Nations or the African Union to bring it to an end.'

The same editorial further adds that: 'The collapse of South Sudan, despite billions in American aid, offers a stark lesson on the limits of American state-building powers'

4.3 Analysis of objective one: Assessment of news media framing of South Sudan's humanitarian crisis

From analysis of the data, predominance of distance frames is indicative of media that is supportive of non-intervention in a crisis by policy makers as suggested by the CNN effect by Robinson (1999);(2000); (2001). However what the data reveals about empathy framing alongside the use of supportive non-critical framing of U.S. government intervention policy in South Sudan goes contrary to what the literature says concerning empathy framing of the victims of a crisis by the media while being critical of a government's policy towards a crisis as argued by Robinson (1999) ;(2000); (2001); Price (2009). In the case of South Sudan, both the Washington Post and the New York Times have used moral obligation to frame the need for U.S. intervention in the crisis as well as to influence policy toward America's greater involvement in ending the crisis. Further as Mermin (1997) notes much of the coverage that he analysed in his study of television news and American intervention in Somalia framed what was happening in Somalia as a 'crisis the United States could do something about' (pg. 388) he further argues that it would be useful to know how this frame emerged as it could help in gaining a better understanding of televisions impact on American policy. This challenge may have been answered as noted from the data interpretation and analysis of objective one whereby it was found that strong ties between countries and the moral obligation to intervene whereby the media uses a moral obligation frame to nudge policy

makers towards intervention as is apparent in the U.S.-South Sudan relations whereby South Sudan is described as 'America's baby'

4.4 Influence of images depicting suffering of South Sudanese people on the foreign policy intervention adopted by the United States.

To determine whether news media images of the suffering of South Sudan people in any way influenced U.S. foreign policy, all 17 Washington Post and 24 New York Times articles were read alongside U.S. State Department press statements to gauge the extent of news media influence on policy.

To gauge the level of policy certainty where the media has little or no influence on policy or policy makers or policy uncertainty whereby the media through the CNN effect has influence on policy due to a lack of policy on the part of policy makers; Press statements from the U.S. State Department from January 2014 to July 2016 and the White House were analysed to determine the nature of suggested interventions in the press briefings or lack of any intervention or any inconsistency on any stated intervention by policy makers. The following was the result of the analysis as indicated in table 3 below:

Table 8: Suggested South Sudan Interventions in U.S. State Department Press Statements

Policy Intervention	Frequency
Implementation of peace agreement	5
Humanitarian assistance	10
Condemnation of atrocities in South Sudan crisis	5
U.N. , regional states and organizations intervention	4
Sanctions	1
Total	**25**

Source: Researcher 2016

Figure 5: Suggested South Sudan Interventions in U.S. State Department Press Statements
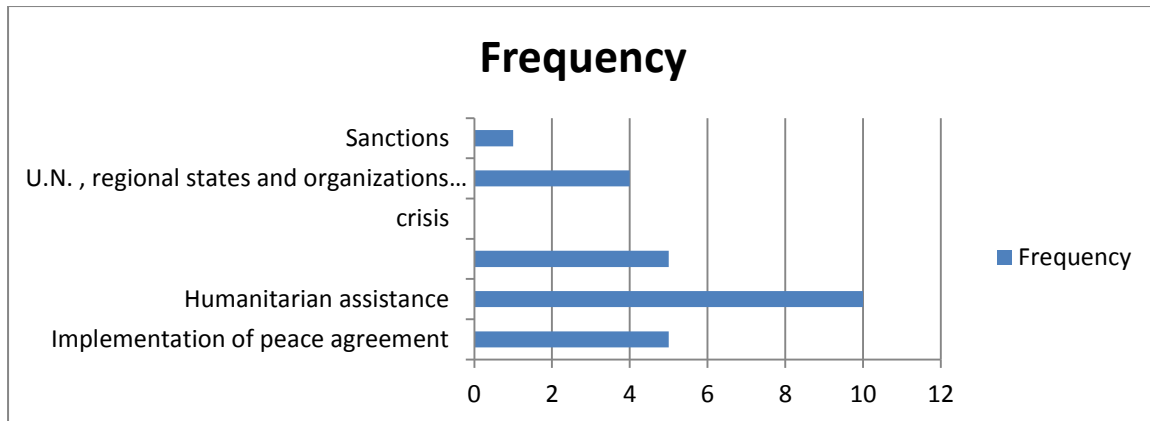
Source: Researcher 2016

From table 8 and figure 5 above, humanitarian assistance policy intervention was dominant appearing 10 times in the State Department press statements that were scrutinized, followed by implementation of the peace agreement that was signed in Addis Ababa by President Kiir and Mr. Machar and condemning of atrocities in the South Sudan crisis appearing 5 times each, Intervention by the United Nations, regional states and organizations such as IGAD appeared 4 times while sanctions as an intervention appeared once. Humanitarian assistance was seemingly mentioned more times during press briefings for the media on the dire situation in South Sudan suggesting that the administration was keen on a tactical response rather than a political imperative to act in relation to the conflict as argued by Robinson (2000) Carruthers (2004)

The domination of humanitarian assistance policy intervention as shown in figure 5 above suggests that the Obama administration was keen on alleviating the human suffering resulting from the atrocities committed by combatants from both sides of the conflict in South Sudan. It is also indicative of policy certainty due to the U.S. State Department being a major source for news on the government's agenda. This also shows an unwavering policy line which further strengthens the policy certainty argument.

Table 9: Suggested South Sudan Interventions in White House Press Statements

Policy Intervention	Frequency
Implementation of peace agreement	2
Humanitarian assistance	1
Condemnation of atrocities in South Sudan crisis	1
U.N. , regional states and organizations intervention	4
Sanctions	1
Total	**9**

Source: Researcher 2016

Figure 6: Suggested South Sudan Interventions in White House Press Statements
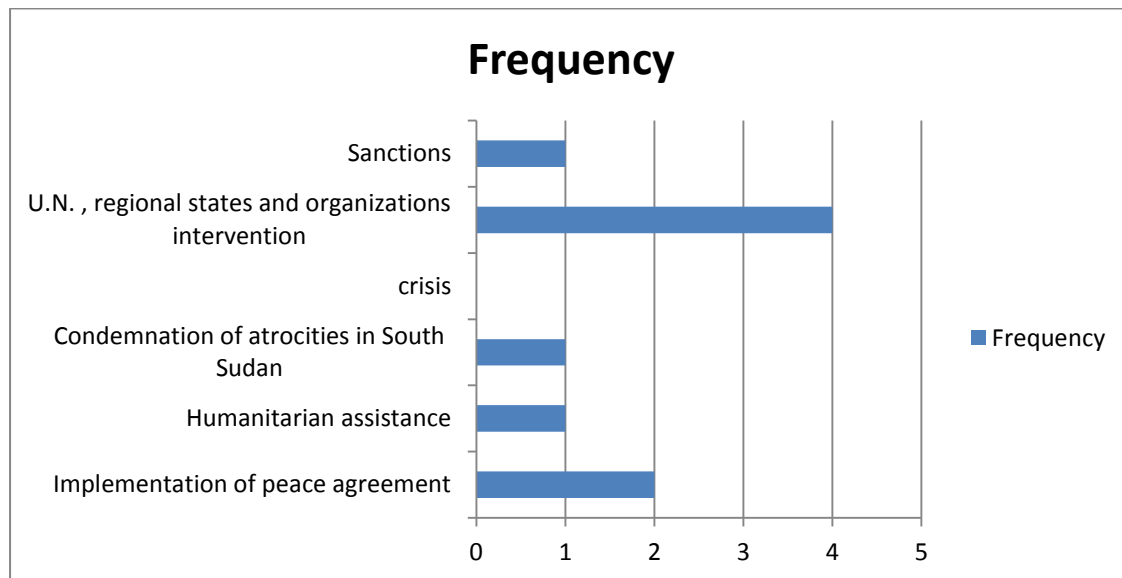
Source: Researcher 2016

Table 9 and figure 6 above shows the breakdown of policy interventions in White House press statements: implementation of peace agreement appeared 2 times, humanitarian assistance and condemnation of atrocities in South Sudan appeared once, U.N. , regional states and organizations intervention appeared 4 times while sanctions appeared only once in the WH press statements.

Data in table 4 and figure 6 suggest that both the U.S. State Department and the White House had executive consensus and hence policy certainty on the interventions in the South Sudan crisis as argued in the literature by Robinson (1999; 2000; 2001). This suggests that the media through reports accompanied by images of suffering in both the WP and NYT had minimal to no influence in determining the type of policy pursued by policy makers. The discrepancy between U.S. State Department and White House press statements in terms of number of press statements analysed arose due to the White House issuing far fewer statements in relation to South Sudan's crisis compared to the state department which issued such press statements on a regular basis. This therefore guards against the perception of lack of executive consensus among policy makers

4.4.1 Qualitative Analysis of Objective Two

Of the White House press statements that were analysed, one was found to contain a statement from the White House press secretary on images and reports of the dire situation in South Sudan. The press statement dated April 22nd 2014 quoted the press secretary as saying: "We are horrified by reports out of South Sudan that fighters aligned to Riek Machar massacred hundreds of civilians last week in Bentiu. Images and accounts of the attacks shock the conscience: stacks of bodies found dead inside a mosque, patients murdered at a hospital, and dozens more shot and killed at a church"

Of the newspaper articles that were analysed, only one made direct reference to reports of atrocities in the conflict leading to an intervention. The New York Times article of January 3rd 2014 quoted a senior administration official saying that the United States is receiving ''a lot of very disturbing reports about targeted killings of Dinka.''' This quote was followed by a short paragraph suggesting that the policy makers were reacting to the 'disturbing reports' quoted above. It noted thus, 'The specter of mass atrocities has rattled the administration, which on Friday pledged an additional $49.8 million in humanitarian aid for the roughly 180,000 people driven from their homes by the fighting.' The concern with the suffering and resulting atrocities to civilians caused by the fighting suggest that humanitarian assistance aimed at reducing such suffering is the main concern of policy makers.

4.5 Assessment of whether non-media related factors played a role in the intervention or non-intervention of the South Sudan humanitarian crisis

News reports in the Washington Post and the New York Times that were assessed indicate that one of the key factors that led to intervention in the South Sudan crisis was oil and the violation of human rights by both sides in the conflict as captured in various U.S. State Department and White House press statements. A report in the Washington Post dated January 20th 2014 headlined 'With oil at stake, South Sudan's crisis matters to its customers' captured one of the key non-media related reasons for intervention. The report noted that ... 'oil is motivating efforts to save it (South Sudan). The precious commodity is pushing South Sudan's neighbours and biggest foreign backers to help end a month-old conflict between the government and rebels'.

The long involvement by the United States in South Sudan's peace process, its secession referendum, independence from Sudan and the need for President Obama along with senior officials in his administration to leave a legacy of diplomatic triumph in the birth and subsequent success of South Sudan is yet another non-media related factor that may have influenced the decision to carry out an array of interventions as captured elsewhere in this chapter. News articles in both the New York Times and the Washington Post bore out these concerns. For example a report in a New York Times editorial of July 29th 2015 opined that

'The country, (South Sudan) after all, is America's foster child: President George W. Bush played a key role in the peace agreement that led to independence from Sudan, and Mr. Obama's first United Nations ambassador and now national security adviser, Susan Rice, was deeply involved when the people there voted to establish a new state four years ago.' The editorial goes on to add that; 'Today, South Sudan is among the most tragic stories in Africa, caught up in a brutal and ever growing power struggle between the president and the former vice president that has left thousands dead, millions displaced and half the population in danger of starvation. This was not a crisis Mr Obama could sidestep, however small the chances of a diplomatic success.'

The need to observe international laws relating to upholding human rights and to maintain peace security and stability in South Sudan through the United Nations was captured in a U.S. State Department press statement of 30th July 2016 where Mark C. Toner the deputy department spokesperson stated that 'Those taking actions threatening the peace, security, or stability of South Sudan, and those responsible for attacks on civilians or UN premises, may be subject to sanctions under UN Security Council Resolution 2206 (2015).' In another

instance, John Kirby the assistant secretary and department spokesperson Bureau of Public Affairs in a July 10th 2016 press statement takes a similar position as Toner above and states that 'The United States is determined to ensure appropriate measures are taken to hold accountable those responsible for continuing fighting and violation of international law, including attacks on the UN Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) and targeting of civilians...We have asked for an emergency session of the UN Security Council to address the situation.'

4.5.1 Analysis of Objective Three

The non-media related factors identified from the data and their role mirror some of the other factors that may influence 'enforcement operations' as argued by Jakobsen (1996). Humanitarian and legal concerns and enforcement of a peace deal signed between both parties in the South Sudan crisis seem to be the preferred policy interventions to tackle the crisis. National interest is not as prominent for the U.S. although it is raised in one of the Washington Post's news articles in terms of a lot of aid money that the U.S. has lent to South Sudan to help in the development of the young nation. National interest considerations or realpolitik as argued by Gibbs (2000) in his study of America's intervention Somalia does not seem to fit well in the intervention by America in South Sudan's crisis this could be because South Sudan lacks strategic U.S. interests although this may change in order to counter China's interests in South Sudan's oil . However, the greatest non-media related reason for America's intervention in South Sudan is moral compulsion or a sense of moral responsibility as the country more than any other that played a major role in the formation of the South Sudan state. This moral responsibility placed America in an awkward situation whereby it had to do something to stop the crisis in South Sudan which was a threat to its continued existence. The need for a befitting political and diplomatic legacy by the Obama administration in how it handled the crisis as captured in the data was also a key non-media factor is supported by the work of Carey (2001) who analysed U.S. politics and humanitarian intervention in Haiti, Bosnia and Kosovo

4.6 The Type and Nature of CNN Effect in the South Sudan Crisis

After carefully studying news reports in the New York Times and the Washington post, it was found an agenda setting effect dominated the news stories on the South Sudan crisis. This agenda setting agency, one of the CNN effects, according to Livingstone (1997:2) is 'emotional, compelling coverage of atrocities or humanitarian crises reorder foreign policy priorities.'

Firstly, the various news reports were sorted out according to the type of article. The articles in each category were then counted to find the number in each category as indicated below:

Table 10: Articles in Washington Post by category on South Sudan

Article Type	Frequency
Editorial	6
News articles	10
Opinion articles	1
Other	0
Total	**17**

Source: Researcher 2016

Figure 7: Articles in Washington Post by category on South Sudan
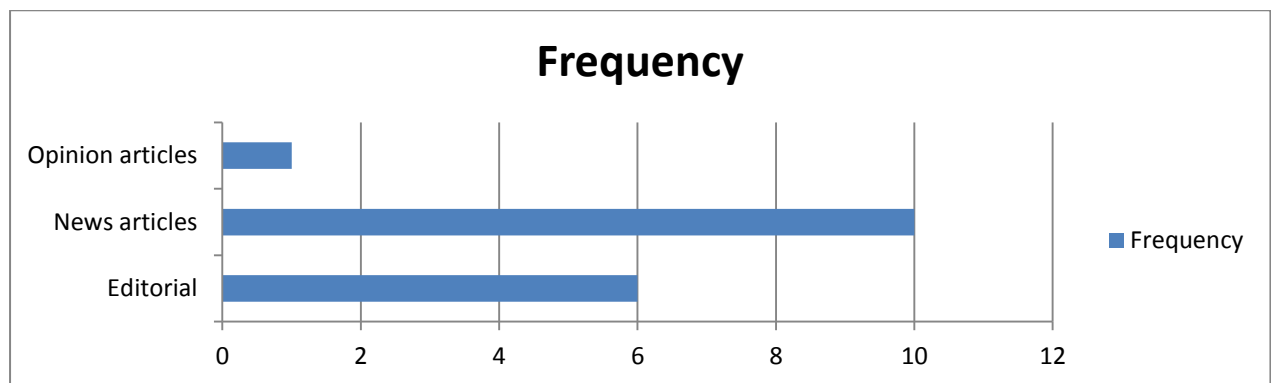
Source: Researcher 2016

As table 10 and figure 7 above indicate, editorial pieces on South Sudan accounted for 6 articles, news articles were slightly more at 10 pieces while there was only 1 opinion piece. While news articles accounted for a greater share of articles in the Washington Post on South Sudan's crisis as shown above, editorial pieces although slightly fewer in number tend to have more influence in terms of setting the agenda for policy makers on diverse issues

Table 11: Articles in New York Times by category on South Sudan

Article Type	Frequency
Editorial	3
News articles	15
Opinion articles	1
Other	5
Total	**24**

Source: New York Times

Figure 8: **Articles in New York Times by category on South Sudan**
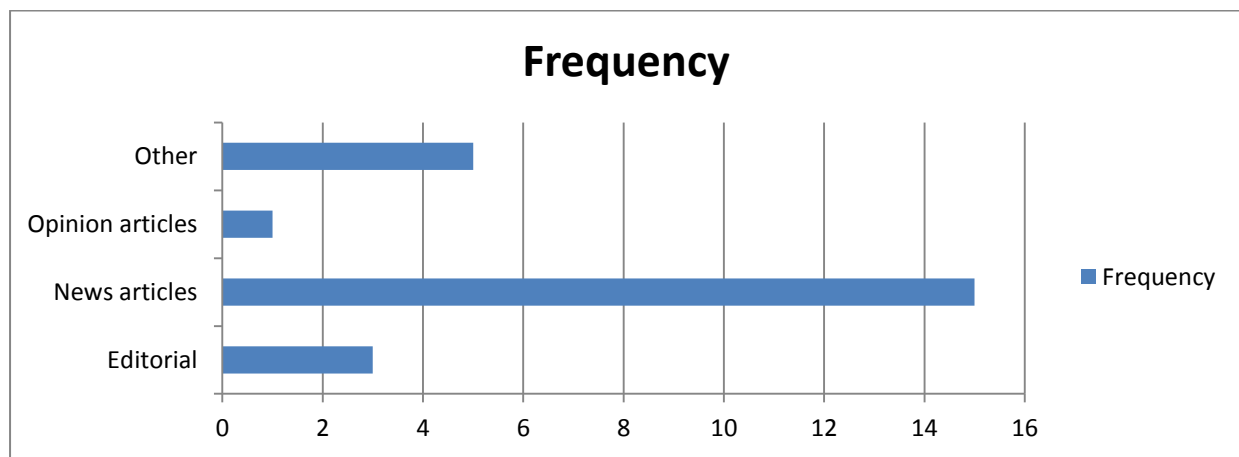
Source: New York Times

As shown in table 11 and figure 8, the New York Times had 15 news articles, 3 editorial pieces; other category had 5 articles and 1 opinion article on the South Sudan crisis. The New York Times however has fewer editorial articles and more news articles dedicated to the South Sudan crisis, suggesting that a greater emphasis for the NYT is to bring out or tell the stories of the crisis by journalists as a policy which it is assumed will stimulate debate by policy makers on solutions or interventions which may be implemented toward the crisis compared to editorial pieces.

4.6.1 Qualitative Analysis of Objective Four

An agenda setting type of CNN effect in both Washington Post and New York Times news reports along with the use of extensive use of empathy framing in reporting the crisis is captured below in a number of excerpts from both newspapers. These are analysed

qualitatively to bring out the latent meanings underlying the manifest meanings in the excerpts.

A New York Times article dated February 26th 2014 quotes a woman caught up in the South Sudan crisis, where she told the reporter that

 "The rebels would come into homes, kill men, boys, take mobile phones, money, and now they are killing women...even inside the church."

The emphasis on the use of empathy framing to bring out the suffering of victims as shown in the above excerpt from the New York Times reflects how media uses framing to report stories in ways that are meant to attract audiences and set the agenda for policy makers.

4.7 How and why media influence can or cannot lead to humanitarian influence in the South Sudan crisis

Media influence in the South Sudan crisis it was found potentially caused by the use of empathy and supportive/critical frames in both the New York Times. It had support/critical frames of the U.S. government's interventions in the South Sudan crisis; the media reports reflected the suggested interventions in both the U.S. State department and the White House press statements.

An example of supportive framing toward U.S. intervention policy in South Sudan is captured in an excerpt shown below from an editorial in the New York Times:

'The United States recently pledged an additional $ 133 million in humanitarian assistance. Beyond that, the administration must continue to actively push the warring sides to the table, whether through direct diplomacy, by supporting the mediating efforts of the Intergovernmental Authority on Development, the East African regional grouping, or through the imposition of progressively tighter travel bans and asset freezes on those most responsible for the atrocities. Carrying the major responsibility for the creation of South Sudan, the United States must also bear a special responsibility to help end the country's agony.' (New York Times June 27 2015).

The New York Times excerpt above is indicative of language in the news media that is supportive of the U.S. government's intervention in the crisis in South Sudan, it also brings out the element of moral responsibility on the part of the U.S. to intervene and halt the atrocities and suffering brought about by the crisis. Moral responsibility along with empathy

framing and support frames can be assumed to have caused policy makers to intervene in South Sudan's crisis.

In another editorial similar supportive frames along with a critical frame are used to illustrate how the media may influence policy with regards to the South Sudan conflict:

'Though Mr. Obama's personal intervention will probably not bring a quick end to the conflict, it was important to demonstrate that the United States is not abandoning its responsibility for the young country.' (New York Times July 29 2015).

In terms of the policy-media interaction model, the use of both support/critical frames as shown in the two excerpts from the New York Times seems to support the prediction by the model that extensive use of support frames reflect support the intervention policy that is being undertaken by the Obama administration in relation to the South Sudan crisis Robinson (2001) (2000).

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Overview

This chapter presents a summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations of the research which sought to examine the influence of the CNN effect on humanitarian intervention with South Sudan as a case study for the study. The chapter is structured as follows: Summary of findings, conclusions in relation to each objective of the study, and the main conclusion from the study.

5.1 Summary of findings

The study sought to answer the following research questions: i) How did the news media framed the South Sudan crisis? ii) Did images depicting suffering of South Sudanese have influence on the type of foreign policy adopted by the United States? iii) Did non media factors play a role in the intervention or non-intervention of the South Sudan humanitarian crisis? iv) What is type and nature of the CNN effect in the South Sudan crisis? v) How and why can media influence lead or not lead to intervention in the South Sudan crisis?

The study found the following in relation to each of the above listed objectives:

In relation to news media framing of the South Sudan crisis, the findings show that both the Washington Post and the New York Times used distance frames more times than empathy frames in their news reports on the South Sudan crisis, however despite this being the case empathy frames are used more forcefully to convey the suffering of the South Sudan people, the use of distance frames in this case refers to the people in terms of the two dominant ethnic groups involved in the conflict in South Sudan the Nuer and the Dinka.

Media images had a weak influence on the type of foreign policy adopted with regards to South Sudan's crisis. Policy certainty in terms of which intervention policy to adopt was noted from the press statements that were issued by both the U.S. State Department and the White House.

Non-media related factors had a minimal role in causing the U.S. to intervene in the South Sudan crisis. The main interest for the U.S. in intervening in South Sudan was related mainly

to its role in the formation of South Sudan and the feeling by policy makers in Washington that the collapse of South Sudan would amount to diplomatic failure given the amount of diplomacy and aid that had gone in the creation of South Sudan. However another possible reason for intervention emanating from non-media related factors is the oil wealth of South Sudan which the U.S. was keen to keep away from the Chinese given the interest of the Chinese to involve themselves in finding a solution to the crisis.

An agenda setting effect is found to be dominant in how the media reports the South Sudan humanitarian crisis. This is aimed at gaining the attention of policy makers and to get them to act urgently on the deteriorating crisis before it gets out of hand. Editorial pieces are used by both the Washington Post and the New York Times due to the influence that such pieces it is assumed have on key policy makers in the Washington bureaucracy.

On how and why the media can or cannot cause intervention in the South Sudan crisis, it is found that a mixture of support/critical frames in relation to policy interventions by policy makers along with empathy frames in the news media had the potential to cause intervention.

5.2 Conclusions

It can be concluded from the summary of findings although the media can cause intervention its influence is limited and not as strong as argued by some scholars who view media as having a strong CNN effect which can cause policy makers to intervene in a crisis. Media is not the only factor that can lead to intervention by policy makers. Other factors also have an influence in the policy making process and policy makers keen to intervene in crisis.

5.2.1 News Media Framing of South Sudan's Humanitarian Crisis

In terms of news media framing of the South Sudan humanitarian crisis, more distance frames than empathy frames are used in the reporting of the humanitarian crisis especially by the Washington Post which had 92 key words associated with distance frames and to a lesser extent the New York Times which used 61 key words related to distance frames indicates a long tradition of the Western media outlets which prefer the use of the ethnic hatreds frame in reporting crises in Africa as argued by Carruthers (2011) The use of more distance descriptors could also be interpreted to mean that audiences are encouraged to maintain an emotional distance as argued by Robinson (2000). Empathy frames whose key words appeared 99 times were juxtaposed with a moral responsibility frame which attempted to influence the Obama administration and U.S. policy makers to intervene because of

America's long involvement in South Sudan's formation from Sudan. This moral imperative is not captured in Robinson's policy-media interaction model which captures two key variables in linking media influence and the policy process namely policy certainty or uncertainty and the framing by media whereby media influence is strong when a government's policy line is uncertain and the media frames this uncertainty critically and lack of media influence where a government's policy line is certain and the media's agenda is indexed to the official agenda through supportive framing of the government's policy line Robinson (2000)Bahador (2007). In the qualitative analysis of news reports in both the Washington Post and the New York Times it was found that empathy frames were used in manner meant to shock the audiences and more specifically policy makers in order to cause them to use America's influence to bring to account those responsible for the crisis and to help the victims of the crisis who it was noted in the news reports were enduring great suffering ranging from hunger to being killed by the combatants in both sides of the conflict.

5.2.2 Depiction of images of suffering South Sudanese and their influence on the type of foreign policy adopted by the United States

To answer the above study objective, press statements from the U.S. State Department and the White House were assessed to find out whether policy certainty or uncertainty were existent in the press statements in relation to the South Sudan crisis which would help in determining the level of media influence on policy makers. After assessing the press statements it is found that humanitarian assistance is appearing more times than any other policy intervention in U.S. State department press statements it appeared 15 times compared to 5 times each for implementation of the peace agreement between the two warring sides of President Kiir and former vice president Riek Machar and condemnation of atrocities in the conflict while U.N. regional states and organizations intervention appeared 4 times. This suggests that there is policy certainty on the part of the Obama administration as it can be inferred from the findings that humanitarian assistance to ease the suffering of the South Sudanese people was top on the administration's agenda; it also suggests that images and reports may have influenced the focus that the administration has on getting humanitarian aid and assistance to the victims of the crisis. This finding of images having a likely influence on policy makers is supported by Carey (2001) who found that humanitarian intervention in Haiti during its refugee crisis gained policy makers attention due to unending television coverage of Haitians crammed in boats as they fled to the U.S. The push by the U.S. for regional countries and the United Nations to get involved in faraway conflicts also suggests

that the U.S. is not prepared to involve itself directly through deployment of military forces in distant conflicts as is the case with South Sudan.

5.2.3 The role of non-media related factors in intervention or non-intervention of the South Sudan humanitarian crisis

On the role played by non-media related factors in the intervention or non-intervention of South Sudan's humanitarian crisis the findings show that oil plays a minimal role in determining intervention by the United States in the crisis. The U.S. was caused to intervene because of its long association with South Sudan as captured in the various news reports in both the New York Times and the Washington Post which call for the U.S. to act as it has a moral obligation as South Sudan's biggest supporter from its days as part of Sudan until the time of referendum to secede from Sudan and its subsequent formation as the youngest nation in the world in 2011. Other considerations unrelated to the media include the violation of international law resulting from the atrocities committed by the warring sides against civilians in South Sudan. A clear legal/humanitarian case as argued by Jakobsen (1996) which is one among five key factors that he analyzed in relation to UN peace enforcement in the post-Cold War period supports the findings of the U.S. intervention through the UN in South Sudan as it presents a clear legal and humanitarian case which as illustrated in one of the press statements issued by the State Department where it is suggested that those in violation or in breach of the peace in South Sudan could be subject to sanctions through UN Security Council Resolution 2206 of 2015. Clearly then legal and humanitarian factors along with the moral responsibility and authority of the U.S. due to its long association with South Sudan its people and leaders are non-media related factors in the decision to intervene to end the crisis in South Sudan.

5.2.4 The type and nature of CNN effect in the South Sudan crisis

The study sought to identify the type and nature of CNN effect present in the South Sudan crisis, it was found that an agenda setting agency-one of three CNN effects identified by Livingstone (1997)- whereby the media reports atrocities in an emotionally compelling manner is dominant in news reports in both the Washington Post and the New York Times. The reports were categorized into news articles, editorials, opinion articles and other category. News articles numbered 10 in the WP and 15 in the NYT, editorials which it is assumed are more influential than news articles in terms of agenda setting for policy makers by the media were 6 in the WP and 3 in the NYT. The agenda setting effect by the media as found in this study may be related to the choice of humanitarian assistance as one of the top

policy interventions seemingly preferred by the Obama administration in objective two. The other two effects advanced by Livingstone (1997) namely the impediment effect and the accelerant to policy decision making are not found suggesting that the media is supportive of the intervention efforts by policy makers in South Sudan and that the media also had the support of the government to report on the crisis in South Sudan thereby ruling out an impediment effect. The accelerant effect on the other hand can only be said to be present when the policy intervention by policy makers is already underway, this was not identified in the media reports that were analyzed in the Washington Post and the New York Times.

5.2.5 How and why media influence can or cannot lead to humanitarian intervention in the South Sudan crisis

Media influence in humanitarian intervention in the South Sudan crisis is caused by a mixture of supportive/critical frames and empathy frames. Statements that were critical of U.S. policy in South Sudan which was blamed for ignoring key factors in South Sudan's crisis were identified during the interpretive stage of reading media reports from the Washington Post and the New York Times. Supportive statements were also identified which call on the Obama administration to continue in its efforts to bring both President Kiir and his former vice president Riek Machar to the negotiating table empathy frames appeared together with frames that were both supportive and critical of U.S. policy in the media reports that were read in the Washington Post and the New York Times. Overall, the findings here support the policy-media interaction model on the question of how and why media influence can cause intervention as outlined by Robinson (2000; 2001).

5.5 Main Conclusion

What the study has revealed is that the CNN effect is less effective than proposed by a section of scholars who have argued in support of a strong CNN effect that can influence policy makers, the policy process and policy outcomes in relation to responding to humanitarian crisis. Specifically, the study used Robinson's policy-media interaction model to test the efficacy of the CNN effect in relation to the South Sudan crisis.

The case studies of media influence in relation to humanitarian intervention analyzed in the literature review relate to intervention by the United States during the 1990's when the CNN effect transformed foreign policy decision making. During this formative stage of the CNN effect phenomenon, the United States was intervening in various crises through its military notably in Somalia, Kosovo and Bosnia Robinson (2000; 2001; 2002) Mermin (1997)

Gowing (1994) which were among the key conflict and humanitarian hot spots then. However, due to changing geopolitics and international relations which are distinctly different in the present time than during the 1990's the study concludes the United States has shifted its policy from direct intervention in humanitarian crisis and conflicts and is instead engaging various state and non-state actors such the United Nations, regional countries that border states facing humanitarian crisis and regional organizations to take the lead in seeking solutions towards the peaceful settlement of such crises. In the case of South Sudan the United States as revealed by the data for this study has actively engaged regional leaders namely from Kenya, Uganda and Ethiopia along with regional organizations such as the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), the African Union (AU) and the East African Community (EAC) to intervene and drive the peace process between the warring factions in the South Sudan crisis. The United Nations has also been brought aboard to mitigate in the crisis through proposals to send a peacekeeping force to South Sudan along with the drafting of UN Security Council Resolutions to sanction leaders responsible for the breach of the peace in South Sudan and the violation of human rights through atrocities committed against unarmed civilians.

Moral responsibility and the long involvement of the United States in South Sudan can be concluded to have had a part in intervention to ease the humanitarian crisis and diplomatic efforts to drive the peace process among the two sides involved in the fighting in South Sudan. That moral responsibility and good long standing relations can have an influence on policy makers to intervene goes against the grain of realist thought whereby intervention in humanitarian crisis is pegged on the strength of the national interest that is at stake for the intervening state as argued by Gibbs (2000). Liberal international relations theory seems to be the dominant force guiding U.S. and other western state actors' foreign policy to intervene in conflicts where the violation of human rights and international law are a key concern.

What does this conclusion portend for the CNN effect in today's conflicts and humanitarian crisis such as that of South Sudan that was the focus of this study? The CNN effect needs to be relooked and reworked to capture the dynamics of changing geopolitics, international relations along with moral responsibility to act and longstanding relations through the deep involvement of friendly states in seeking for solutions to conflicts and crises through appropriate interventions. Possibly a new media influence model on humanitarian intervention may be required which incorporates the identified dynamics and which can

better help in understanding how media influence functions in relation to policy makers and the policy process with respect to intervention in today's humanitarian crisis.

In terms of communication studies and media theory, moral responsibility framing needs to be incorporated into the media framing theory apart from the current distance framing and empathy framing that form the bed rock of studies relating to the influence of media on humanitarian intervention (Robinson 2000; 2001; 2002).

5.6 Recommendations

This section will discuss the recommendations of the study and their relevance to various stakeholders involved in the humanitarian intervention enterprise.

5.6.1 Scholars

Scholars engaged in research on media and humanitarian intervention and conflict will find this study useful to their research endeavours as it captures new theoretical insights of the media's workings in relation to influencing policy makers and the policy process to intervene in conflicts and humanitarian crises. Studies can be done by scholars on how moral responsibility frames, increased involvement of regional states and regional organizations and friendly long standing relations between states fused with media influence cause intervention in today's conflicts which are vastly different from the 1990's scenario of when geopolitics and international relations had not been impacted by changes such as the war on terror by the United States after the 2001 terrorist attacks.

Media framing theory of communication may also need to be reassessed by communication scholars as they conduct their studies on the role or influence of framing in humanitarian intervention. A third frame, the moral responsibility frame may need further study in relation to the current frames-distance and empathy frames- used by scholars to study how framing by news media influences intervention decisions by policy makers. This will enrich our understanding and fill the gap that is hereby proposed.

5.6.2 Governments Involved in Conflict and Humanitarian Intervention

Governments involved in conflict intervention should use the study findings to enhance their understanding of how media and policy makers can work jointly in improving intervention in a crisis. Governments are important actors in humanitarian intervention and policy; therefore it becomes necessary for them to understand issues of media influence on policy to avoid

situations where the media and government fail to work in concert but instead work in opposition to each other thus reducing the effectiveness of either party in effectively addressing intervention in humanitarian crisis and conflict.

5.6.3 Media Practitioners

Media practitioners will be able to use the study to fuse their practical work based understanding of media in humanitarian crisis situations with theoretical perspectives of media-state relations. Specifically, media practitioners will be able to understand how their work shapes policy makers responses to humanitarian crises and guide them in implementing editorial policies that will improve on the reporting of humanitarian crises in the news media especially conflicts such as the one in South Sudan where the ancient ethnic hatreds frame was used to define and emphasise the cause of the conflict. This study can be used to frame such conflicts in other ways that take into account relevant contextual factors in conflict and humanitarian crisis therefore improving reporting by journalists in the field.

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APPENDIX I: PLAGIARISM REPORT

Turnitin Originality Report

THE INFLUENCE OF THE CNN EFFECT ON HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION: A CASE STUDY OF SOUTH SUDAN   by George Oruta Meroka

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Intervention: A Case Study of South Sudan

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