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ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

Graduate Studies

School of Journalism and Communication

The critical analysis of CNN effect theory on Ethiopian Northern war: In case of Media bias

By

Belete Tarekegn

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Journalism and Communication

Addis Ababa University

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

September, 2023

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The thesis conducted by Belete Tarekegn, entitled **the critical analysis of CNN effect theory on Ethiopian northern war: In case of Media bias** and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Journalism and Communication complies with the regulations of the University.

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Declaration

I declare that this thesis entitled the critical analysis of CNN effect theory on Ethiopian northern war: In case of Media bias” is my own work and I have duly acknowledged the sources of materials I have used.

Name: Belete Tarekegn

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Abstract

A Critical Analysis of CNN's framing of the Ethiopian Northern War: Media Bias and Implications

Belete Tarekegn Agegn

Addis Ababa University, 2023

This study critically analyzes CNN's portrayal of the Ethiopian Northern War, which occurred from November 4, 2020, to November 4, 2022, between the Ethiopian Federal Government and the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF). The conflict drew considerable international media attention, particularly from Western outlets. This research investigates how CNN's framing of the war influenced perceptions and outcomes. Utilizing framing theory, agenda-setting theory, and media representation theory, the study conducts a qualitative content analysis of CNN's reporting. Data was collected through interviews with scholars and an examination of CNN's television and online news content. The analysis reveals that CNN predominantly framed the conflict as an ethnic struggle, displaying significant bias by favoring the TPLF and characterizing the situation as a civil war rather than a political and military engagement. This biased portrayal aggravated regional instability, weakened the Ethiopian federal government's stance, and compromised journalistic standards. The study concludes that CNN's skewed coverage undermined the Ethiopian government's credibility and the peace process, reflecting broader concerns about media bias in conflict reporting.

Acronyms and Acronyms

AAU	Addis Ababa University
EDF	Ethiopian Defense Forces
EPRDF	Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front
LEO	Law Enforcement Operations
FDRE	Federal Democratic Republic Ethiopia
TPLF	Tigray People's Liberation Front
NC	Northern Command
CNN	Cable News Network
IPPEJ	International Journalism Code of Ethics:

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1. Background of the Study

1.2 Media and conflict

It is so easy to manipulate people and direct to the wrong direction if they do not have access to neutral and independent information during conflict. The media can provide people with information that can keep them safe and help them make informed decisions. The hostile attitude of many authorities towards the media could impact the production of independent reporting by seeking to influence insiders in media organizations through bribe or provision of false information. At times media are censored, or intimidation leads to self-censorship. Besides physical security risks like harassment and detention, there is also digital insecurity. Journalists are often not able to use the appropriate safe tools and platforms, which could lead to exposure of private data of themselves or their sources.

In a situation of conflict, the media can be a neutral party that provides context and impartial information. Where there is a lack of independent media, citizens are dependent on divisive narratives or propaganda. Media can be used to spread false information or rumors and can create tension between warring parties and other stakeholders in the conflict. Therefore, particularly in conflict areas, Free Press Unlimited aims to ensure that (citizen) journalists are aware of, and dedicated to ethical and professional journalistic standards. There is a focus on media in the role of peace builder, with the task of providing a platform for dialogue.

Politics and the media are inextricably linked. These days, the media emphasizes more political news. Bad news, in particular, attracts the media's attention. It's also thought that the audience would rather hear bad news than good news. Vreese, C. H. de (2005) stressed that millions of citizens turn to the news media daily and 'the media' is a cornerstone institution in our democracies. One influential way that the media may shape public opinion is by framing events and issues in particular ways. A communication source frames a problem by

presenting and characterizing it. Andresen, K.(2016) stated that different and several

voices are invaluable for free speech in democracy and, equally, for a broad understanding of awareness and independence. The media may

play a role exclusively in sustaining the peace process, allowing for contribution, discourse and resolution and amplification civil society.

Media professionals should have to be the subject of objectivity while reporting conflicts. They have to set themselves apart as observers. When reporters in a newsroom just look at one side of a story and compare it to the other, they are unable to think independently. Reporters tend to believe what one side claims about what is going on the other side. Siraj & Durrani (2015) indicated that people rely on media organizations for acquaintance about various occurrences in order to make up one's mind.

Conflicts are given and covered by the media in a different way. The root, course, and upshot of conflicts are framed and given meaning by them. Framing is the most important implement in conflict news. Scharrer, G. C. (2021) explained the news media have been obliged to a lot of complaints for their political coverage.

The foreign media's treatment of African crises is a point that needs to be clarified. The Western media has been portraying Africa in a negative light for many years. International relations aren't always fair. They aren't being honest. Despite the continent's recent political and economic growth and development. Oguh (2015) noted that Western media has opted to preserve its centuries-old, colonial depiction of Africa as a defenseless, war-torn, poverty-stricken, and corruption-infested continent.

In the instance of Ethiopia, the government has been conducting a "law enforcement operation" in the Tigray region. However, the TPLF called it an aggression against the Tigray people. The government said that it was forced to carry out the operation due to the TPLF criminal clique's continuing violent behavior, which included an attack on the northern headquarters. The government argued that the operation was compulsory to keep the country's sovereignty intact. Get-

net (2019) stated the media can play a developing or diminishing role in the escalation of conflicts in a given country. Researchers examined the harmful roles of the media in developing ethnic wars by investigating the Rwandan and Former Yugoslavian conflicts, which resulted in the deaths of at least one million people in both countries. It's serious to scrutinize how the war in Ethiopia, was portrayed in the Western media.

1.2 statement of the problem

Information is power that can impact on public discourse in the physical world; and media is the quarter head of it. It's hard to picture a world without the media. They become inextricably linked. "During crisis situations, the press is supposed to act as a catalyst for conflict resolution and peace building in society." (Olugbenga, 2017).

Media is the second eye and ear of the society now a days. Media can be used as both destructive and constructive tool upon the utilization of the owner. It can destruct and construct a nation. In the time of crisis or war the international media institutions can grasp worldwide attention. Media is a pervasive part of life now a days especially in industries countries and thus able to shine a light on conflicts anywhere in the world. {Harry S. Truman} once said "You can never get all the facts from just one newspaper, and unless you have all the facts, you cannot make proper judgements about what is going on" this statement reflects the need for free access to unbiased information. On the other hand, media can be misused for propaganda purposes, to incite hatred and spread rumors and therefore artificially create tensions. Dearth of information can make people desperate, restless and easy to manipulate.

Lee & Maslog (2005) maintained that the news media is often fascinated by exceptional events like conflicts. Conflicts, due to their contents not only attract the media but also the audience largely. It is pitiful to take lessons from many researches that conflict reporting is extremely sensationalized and biased for sake of political interest and changing the global market economy.

Willis (2007) concluded that nowhere is the news media's authority more important than in its coverage of war. Journalists are the eyes and ears of viewers and readers when it comes to war and rumors of wars. Ethiopia was under a serious war since November 4,2020 to October 31,2022 following the attack of the northern command, part of the Ethiopian defense force by

TPLF. Following the war numbers of foreign media outlets were engaged to cover the conflict and extreme human and material destruction was resulted as a result of the war. Cable News Network (CNN) was one among the international media outlets muchly devoted its time and effort in the coverage of conflict stories. However, the researcher did not get well studied research on the intention and effect theory of CNN on the Ethiopian war. Having that in mind, the researcher is forced to deal with the intention and effect theory of CNN on Ethiopian war and fill the gap

1.3 objective of the research

1.3.1 General Objective

The study aspired to critically examine CNN effect theory on Ethiopian war

1.3.2 specific objectives

The study has the following specific objectives

- (1) Critically analyze how CNN framed the Ethiopian war
- (2) Critically evaluate the overall intention of CNN in the war
- (3) Assessing the impacts of CNN effect theory on Ethiopians

1.4 Research questions

The researcher made the study basing the following three research questions

- {1} How CNN framed the Ethiopian war undertaken from Nov 4,2020 to Nov 4,2022)?
- {2} what was the intention of CNN in the Ethiopian war?
- {3} what was the impact of CNN Effect theory during and after the war on Ethiopians?

1.5 Significance of the Study

The findings of this study hold considerable significance for several key areas, both within the context of the Ethiopian conflict and for broader applications in media studies:

1. Illumination of Media Bias:

The research elucidates how foreign media outlets, particularly CNN, may have presented a distorted portrayal of Ethiopia to the international community during the conflict. By highlighting discrepancies between the actual events and their representation in the media, this study underscores the critical role that media framing plays in shaping global perceptions. This revelation is crucial for understanding the impact of international media narratives on national conflicts and the consequent implications for international diplomacy and public opinion.

2. Guidance for Ethiopian Media:

For Ethiopian media outlets, the study offers valuable insights into the motivations and potential biases of foreign media institutions covering internal conflicts. It serves as a reminder for local media to critically evaluate and contextualize the narratives presented by international news organizations. This awareness can help Ethiopian media more effectively counteract biased portrayals and advocate for a more accurate representation of the country's situation.

3. Educational Resource for Journalism Schools:

The research provides a practical case study that journalism schools and academic institutions can utilize in their curricula. It demonstrates the application of media effects theories, particularly the CNN Effect Theory, and how such theories can influence and sometimes distort the portrayal of national conflicts. Educators can use this study to illustrate the complexities of media coverage and the importance of maintaining objectivity and ethical standards in journalism.

4. Cautionary Tale for Other Nations:

Beyond Ethiopia, the study serves as a cautionary example for other countries facing internal conflicts. It highlights the need for critical scrutiny of foreign media coverage and encourages governments and stakeholders to be vigilant about how external narratives are constructed. By learning from the Ethiopian experience, other nations can better navigate the challenges of international media influence and ensure a more balanced and accurate portrayal of their internal affairs.

In general, this study is significant for revealing the potential distortions in media coverage of conflicts, guiding local media responses, providing educational insights, and serving as a warning to other nations about the influence of foreign media on national narratives.

1.6 Scope of the study

Numerous domestic and foreign media outlets were get involved to cover the Ethiopian war undertaken from (Nov,2020 to Nov31,2022). Cable News Network (CNN) is one among the foreign media institutions employed in providing the coverage of the war and the study focused on the coverage this media institution alone. Despite the fact that the war might have multidimensional meaning the study principally concentrated how the war is framed by CNN.

1.7 Limitations of the Study

Every research endeavor inherently faces limitations, and this study is no exception. The following outlines key constraints encountered during the investigation:

1. Lack of Direct Access to CNN Journalists:

A significant limitation of this study is the inability to obtain direct input from CNN journalists who covered the conflict. Engaging with journalists who were actively involved in reporting on the Ethiopian Northern conflict would have provided valuable insights into their editorial decisions, framing techniques, and the challenges they faced.

2. Exclusion of Other Foreign Media Outlets:

The scope of the study was constrained to an analysis of CNN's coverage of the conflict. While the study aimed to explore CNN's role in shaping the narrative, it did not extend to a comparative analysis involving other foreign media outlets. Including a broader range of international news organizations could have provided a more comprehensive understanding of how different media entities framed the conflict. The decision to focus solely on CNN was driven by the need to concentrate efforts and resources on a single case study. However, this focus inherently limits the ability to draw broader conclusions about media framing across different platforms.

3. Methodological Constraints:

The study employed a qualitative methodological approach, emphasizing detailed content analysis of selected news stories, images, and reports. The choice of a qualitative method was driven by the researcher's intent to provide an in-depth examination of framing techniques and narrative construction rather than a quantitative assessment. As a result, the study did not incorporate quantitative measures, such as the frequency of conflict-related stories or statistical analyses of media coverage. While qualitative analysis allows for a nuanced exploration of framing and narrative, it also means that the study does not offer statistical insights into the volume or distribution of coverage across different media outlets.

4. Contextual Limitations:

The rapidly evolving nature of the conflict and the associated challenges of information dissemination posed additional limitations. The dynamic and often volatile context of the Ethiopian Northern conflict may have affected the availability and accuracy of information, impacting the comprehensiveness of the study's findings. Moreover, the reliance on secondary sources and media reports introduces potential biases inherent in the information available at the time of analysis.

In summary, while this study provides valuable insights into CNN's framing of the Ethiopian Northern conflict, it is important to acknowledge these limitations. Future research could benefit from access to firsthand accounts from journalists, a comparative analysis of multiple media outlets, and a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods to enhance the robustness of the findings. Addressing these limitations in subsequent studies will contribute to a more comprehensive understanding of media coverage and its implications for conflict reporting.

1.8 Organization of the Study

This research is structured into five comprehensive chapters, each addressing distinct components of the study:

1. Chapter One: Introduction

The first chapter establishes the foundation of the research by providing an overview of the conflict in Ethiopia. It introduces the research problem, outlines the study's objectives, and delineates the significance, scope, and limitations of the investigation. This chapter sets the stage for the study by framing the context and rationale behind the research.

2. Chapter Two: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

This chapter presents a detailed review of existing literature relevant to the study and situates the research within a theoretical framework. It examines theories that are pertinent to understanding the research problem and discusses their applicability to the context of the Ethiopian conflict. The literature review helps to contextualize the study within the broader academic discourse and provides a theoretical foundation for the research.

3. Chapter Three: Methodology

Chapter Three outlines the methodological approach adopted for the study. It describes the research design, data collection methods, and analytical techniques employed. This chapter details the rationale behind the choice of methods and tools, explaining how they align with the study's objectives and contribute to the overall research strategy.

4. Chapter Four: Data Presentation and Analysis

This chapter is dedicated to presenting and analyzing the data collected during the research. It provides a systematic examination of the findings, illustrating how they address the research questions and objectives. The chapter includes a discussion of the data's implications and relevance to the study's central themes.

5. Chapter Five: Conclusions and Recommendations

The final chapter summarizes the key findings of the research, drawing conclusions based on the data analysis. It also offers recommendations derived from the study's results, providing insights and suggestions for future research or practical applications.

CHAPTER TWO

2. Review of related literature and theoretical framework

2.1 INTRODUCTION

2.2 MEDIA AND CONFLICT

There can be no doubt that media affects people each and every day. Turn on the TV; listen to the radio in the car, read a blog post online, it all influences you either in a positive or in a negative way. Mass media have a huge power over the public; they can form the public into whatever they want. Communist nations use propaganda to brainwash their citizens to believe preposterous things. American advertising uses images of skinny models to tell girls what they need to look like. It is all around us. Because mass media have such great power, it also has a large responsibility. When large humanitarian crises happen, such as genocide, the media need to be there and show people what is happening in effort to stop it. There will always be challenges, but we can learn from the past and not repeat the same mistakes.

News services need to not be afraid of pushing a popular story out of the radar to cover crisis events. Media are the first line of defense. They should be the first in the country, the first to accurately report what is happening, and to actively push for global aid. If all agencies were willing to do this, there should never be an excuse for letting hundreds of thousands of people be slaughtered. Media have power; when used wisely, they can change the world.

Media are increasingly essential elements of conflict, rather than just functional tools for those fighting. At the same time, newer media technologies have increased communication and information dissemination in the context of conflict. In particular, the growth of citizen media has changed the information space around conflict, providing more people with the tools to record and share their experiences with the rest of the world. At present, the policy community that considers the role and use of media in conflict prone settings is just beginning to formulate methodologies and strategies to consider how changes in media technology could affect fundamental issues of political participation and conflict. As a result, many existing media assistance projects in conflict-prone settings reflect a traditional understanding of the relationship between media

and conflict. These projects are often viewed through the prisms of state stabilization, sovereignty, rule of law, the creation of modern administrative structures of state control, and civil society support that complements state stabilization efforts. The shift to digital media and the attendant rise of networked, participatory media is the culmination of a process that has only in the past decade reached a form that we recognize, name, and consciously construct. The rapid spread of digital-based communications and information networks is likely to have an effect on 21st-century wars, which increasingly center on internal conflict, disputed borders of new states, and separatist movements. However, those effects have yet to be seriously analyzed; at present we have mostly anecdotal evidence about the relationship of digital media and modern conflict. Much violent conflict today takes place in or near civilian populations with access to global information networks, so the information gathered by various parties to conflict may potentially be distributed in real time around the globe. The ability to communicate, and to produce and receive diverse information through participatory media, is part of a struggle within conflict prone societies between allowing for non-coercive debates and dialogue that focus on endemic weak-state problems and enabling those seeking power to organize for political influence, recruitment, demonstrations, political violence, and terror. It is possible to build communications architectures that encourage dialogue and nonviolent political solutions. However, it is equally possible for digital media to increase polarization, strengthen biases, and foment violence.

2.2 Journalistic Principles and Ethics:

Objectivity has become one of the best ideas of good journalism, which means getting to the truth. Journalists have always been conscious of the need for honesty, self-discipline and the idea that the media should not represent any party or religion. Hachten (1998) questions whether the media will reflect reality as much as possible. Journalists should try to be objective. Viewers must be willing to accept the truth or veracity of the news. Journalistic objectivity is defined as "the commitment to report the truth."

Journalism is therefore defined as an effort to convey the truth without creating or at least revealing a reflection of the truth. (Kinsey, 2001). Put it in (Semere, 2010). The document of journalism is the fact that journalists should report news without prejudice, without culture and without being influenced by external interests. They must be committed to truth and goodness. Howard

(2009) points out that professional journalists are not there to reduce conflict. They strive to provide accurate, unbiased information. But most conflicts can be alleviated with good publicity. Providing reliable information to the public during a crisis requires additional journalistic skills. Journalists need more information about the causes of conflicts and how they develop and end. Journalists need to know where to find causes and solutions. By providing this information, journalism helps the public understand the conflict behind the violence and contributes to the solution. Journalists should be aware of the important role journalism can play during a conflict. Filak (2019) argued that the effectiveness of the meetings prevented journalists from being accused of bias. This also maintains their credibility. In both cases, it needs to be examined from different angles. It is the freedom and objectivity of the media that gives journalists the confidence to work and make an impact, telling people that they have to change themselves to solve the problem in harmony. Burns (2002) argued that journalism faces many interest groups seeking to exploit their interests. Nowadays, media is highly competitive for international business and large corporations. Waisbord (2013) found that part of the problem stems from clustering, with the more powerful only looking out for their own financial interests. The media shapes its information according to the wants (not the needs) of the audience and the financial interests of advertisers. Nygren and Dobek-Ostrowska (2015) argue that private media companies tend to emphasize news media and create consumer acceptance because the media is trusted by many people. This phenomenon has become universal as Western media turns to commercialism. Andresen, K. (2016) clearly demonstrates that the coverage of controversial news in the media is contrary to the importance of journalism.

According to Hoxha and Hanitzsch (2018), western journalists often cover the war by borrowing or mirroring other media news. They argue that the BBC is the most powerful news organization in the world and has the power to create the narrative from which other journalists start their next story. This means that some political processes in the conflict (such as military action) often occur without alternative Western media. As Manning (2001) stated (Andresen, K., 2016), journalists in today's Western mainstream media have become dependent on political ownership due to the decrease in the work of journalists and the increase in commercialization and integration. Harcup (2021) argued that accuracy, honesty, and integrity are the core elements of journalism or

the foundations of journalism. The media should try to prove the truth and report honestly and fairly. Posts that violate these principles may harm the project by sending negative messages.

Hough (2004) says that journalism today is a responsible and ethical business. The Association of Professional Journalists believes that the primary responsibility of the journalist is to produce the truth. According to the Society of Professional Professionals' code of ethics, media organizations should not discuss unlawful comments that affect reputation or morality without giving the accused a chance to respond

2.3. False Information (Fake News)

Experts now recommend avoiding the term 'fake news', or at least limit its use, as the term 'fake news' is closely associated with politics, and this association can unhelpfully narrow the focus of the issue. The term 'false information' is preferable as it can refer to a diverse range of misinformation and disinformation covering topics such as health, environmental and economics across all platforms and genres, while 'fake news' is more narrowly understood as political news stories. Lots of things you read online especially in your social media feeds may appear to be true, often is not. False information is news, stories or hoaxes created to deliberately misinform or deceive readers. Usually, these stories are created to either influence people's views, push a political agenda or cause confusion and can often be a profitable business for online publishers. False information can deceive people by looking like trusted websites or using similar names and web addresses to reputable news organizations. According to Martina Chapman (Media Literacy Expert), there are three elements to fake news; 'Mistrust, misinformation and manipulation'.

The Rise of False Information

False information is not new; however, it has become a hot topic since 2017. Traditionally we got our news from trusted sources, journalists and media outlets that are required to follow strict codes of practice. However, the internet has enabled a whole new way to publish, share and consume information and news with very little regulation or editorial standards. Many people now get news from social media sites and networks and often it can be difficult to tell whether stories are credible or not. Information overload and a general lack of understanding about how the in-

Internet works by people has also contributed to an increase in fake news or hoax stories. Social media sites can play a big part in increasing the reach of these type of stories.

Types of False Information

There are differing opinions when it comes to identifying types of false information. However, when it comes to evaluating content online there are various types of false or misleading news we need to be aware of. These include:

1. Clickbait

These are stories that are deliberately fabricated to gain more website visitors and increase advertising revenue for websites. Clickbait stories use sensationalist headlines to grab attention and drive click-throughs to the publisher website, normally at the expense of truth or accuracy.

2. Propaganda

Stories that are created to deliberately mislead audiences, promote a biased point of view or particular political cause or agenda.

3. Satire/Parody

Lots of websites and social media accounts publish fake news stories for entertainment and parody. For example; The Onion, Waterford Whispers, The Daily Mash, etc.

4. Sloppy Journalism

Sometimes reporters or journalists may publish a story with unreliable information or without checking all of the facts which can mislead audiences. For example, during the U.S. elections, fashion retailer Urban Outfitters published an Election Day Guide, the guide contained incorrect information telling voters that they needed a 'voter registration card'. This is not required by any state in the U.S. for voting.

5. Misleading Headings

Stories that are not completely false can be distorted using misleading or sensationalist headlines. These types of news can spread quickly on social media sites where only headlines and small snippets of the full article are displayed on audience newsfeeds.

6. Biased/Slanted News

Many people are drawn to news or stories that confirm their own beliefs or biases and fake news can prey on these biases. Social media news feeds tend to display news and articles that they think we will like based on our personalized searches.

7. Imposter Content

When genuine sources are impersonated with false, made-up sources. This is dangerous as it relates to information with no factual basis being presented in the style of a credible news source or article to make it look like a legitimate source.

8. Manipulated Content

When real information or imagery is manipulated to deceive, as with a doctored photo or video. This can be used to mislead people or create a false narrative about something or someone.

2.4. Media effect during conflict

The history of the 20th century will prominently chronicle the relationship between war and the mass media. One obvious outcome of the relationship is the exploitation of media for war promotion and war propaganda (e.g., the effective use of early mass communication channels by the Allies in World War I and the pernicious exploitation of mass media by NS-Germany). It is not surprising to find a close association between media and violence in each conflict of the last decade. Several analyses even attribute an instigative role to the media in inciting violence (Thompson, 1999; Des Forges, 1999; Kirschke, 1996).

If the media have played an important role in breeding violence, it seems logical to examine the prospects for the reverse perspective – positive media contributions to ending violence and building peace. In other words, if media are often found to support forces that lead to violent conflict,

they should also have the power to support the forces of peace. The fundamental issue to be addressed in this study is the contemporary understanding of the impact that mass communication channels have in modern societies experiencing conflict. Any application that engages media in promoting a specific type of behavior would have no scientific basis without a thorough analysis of how media affect audiences. While media have been prominent contributors to every post-Cold War conflict (Price and Thompson, 2002; Allen and Seaton, 1999), their role in post-conflict peace development has not been as apparent. However, in the past few years sufficient evidence has been accumulated to justify at least mild optimism regarding the role of media in peace development, thanks to devoted practitioners in international governmental agencies and non-profit organizations (Heiber, 2001; Spurk, 2002; Howard et al., 2003). These have made a major contribution by using mass communication channels to aid the recovery of post-conflict societies, and their initial accomplishments have been documented in Bosnia, Burundi, Cambodia, Croatia, Israel/Palestine, Macedonia, Northern Ireland, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, etc. These projects all had remarkably positive results and provide illustrations of positive, innovative uses of media in peace processes. The following three projects are the best illustrations of such practices: Good Friday of 1998 will remain a special day in the histories of Great Britain and the Republic of Ireland. On that day, one of the longest running conflicts in modern history seemed to be finally over as representatives of the conflict parties of Northern Ireland agreed to a political settlement known as the Good Friday Agreement. Northern Ireland's most recent three decades of "troubles" were at last going to be consigned to the past thanks to the unstinting efforts of Catholic and Protestant peacemakers. The final step towards the acceptance of the Good Friday Agreement was to be a referendum.

After World War I, the first analyses and interpretations of mass communication assumed a very powerful influence of early media during the war (Lippmann, 1922; Lasswell, 1928; Bernays 1928). Persuaded by the power of government-controlled propaganda, the authors envisioned mass communication as a means to influence societies in the directions desired by

elites (Lippmann, 1922). Stimulus-response psychology convinced those social scientists that mass media stimuli could control and induce entire audiences to behave in uniform ways. The dominant view at that time, which was, however, supported by very little empirical research, painted the picture of a monolithic, vulnerable audience passively absorbing media messages.

Soon after the initial studies of propaganda, Lasswell, Lippman and Bernays hypothesized that if media are powerful in persuading people to support war, then they may also be used to bring about desired social improvements. Although social scientists have proposed hypotheses about the positive role of propaganda, the literature rarely addresses the positive influence of mass communication. This idealistic belief in the ability of social scientists to understand and use “propaganda” for positive rather than negative purposes is often neglected. Both Lasswell and Lippmann thought that propaganda had a place and purpose in the hands of a “specialized class.” Lippmann’s cynicism about the public as a “bewildered herd” that enhance the effects of media. This realization can offer a great potential for the advocates of peace as opposed to conflict to use such conditions to promote peace through the media.

2.4.1 Media messages during violent conflict

In general, media can influence any process of social change in two directions. As suggested by Kurt Lewin (1958), it is possible to pursue social change either by supporting the forces working in the desired direction or by opposing the forces oriented in the opposite direction. Transferred to a conflict environment, peace and reconciliation in society can be achieved either by countering the actors and processes that fuel conflict, or by supporting their opponents in the peace-movement.

One possible direction in media development for peace would be to eliminate the media practices, messages and resources that may have contributed to sustaining the conflict. In most of the conflicts that occurred over the past fifteen years, there has been a very close linkage of media and violence (Price and Thompson, 2002). It would be logical to assume that media can further the peace process through the suppression of the opposing force – war propaganda. This has happened in many cases of conflict, such as when radio broadcasts were banned in Rwanda (Metzl, 1997a; 1997b), or when the broad-casts of Bosnian nationalist stations were discontinued (Thompson, 1999). Because the suppression of information may be controversial due to the ethical implications, the role of media institutions in transitions to peace should focus on the latter.

2.5 Conflict-sensitive reporting

According to Howard (2009), it is founded on firm affection to journalism's key basic criteria, which include accuracy in idealistic, neutrality or just, balance, and accountability or ethical conduct. Howard designed a curriculum for conflict-sensitive reporting with the intention of enhancing the capability of media professionals to report in a detailed, objective and impartial way. By not leading to clash, while there are significant variations in the expression of these standards, should always try best to meet the standards of journalism. Peace Journalism: Johann Galtung, the founder of peace journalism, is a Norwegian academic who has developed a long career in the field of peace studies. In his famous article —The Structure of Foreign News, he confirmed that some media contributes to polarize the conflict through some language orientations. He later called this kind of information, war journalism. To counteract this effect there should be another kind of journalism, the peace journalism. (Gavilan, 2011).

Lynch and McGoldrick (2005) cited on (Alankus, 2016) stated that peace journalism is once editors and reporters create decisions – regarding what to report, and the way to report it – that make opportunities for society at large to inspect and to worth non-violent responses to conflict. Peace Journalism may be a relative mode of accountable and conscientious media coverage of conflict that aims at contributive to peace creating, peace keeping, and dynamical the attitudes of media homeowners, advertisers, professionals, and audiences towards war and peace. Howard (2009) confirmed that when ordinary people in a dispute don't have a say in the media, elite and militarized options expand a complete power on mainstream media communication, frequently sacrificing more peaceful stances.

2.6 Theoretical Frameworks

A theoretical framework is a foundational review of existing theories that serves as a roadmap for developing the arguments you will use in your own work. Theories are developed by researchers to explain phenomena, draw connections, and make predictions. In a theoretical framework, you explain the existing theories that support your research, showing that your paper or dissertation topic is relevant and grounded in established ideas. In other words, your theoretical framework justifies and contextualizes your later research, and it's a crucial first step for your

research paper, thesis, or dissertation. A well-rounded theoretical framework sets you up for success later on in your research and writing process.

2.6.1. The concept of framing and framing theory

The concept of framing was first posited by Gregory Bateson in 1972. He defined psychological frames as a “spatial and temporary bounding of set of interactive messages” (Bateson, 1972, p. 197) that operates as a form of metacommunication (Hallahan, 2008). Framing describes the practice of thinking about news items and story content within familiar context. Framing is related to the agenda-setting tradition but expands the research by focusing on the essence of the issues at hand rather than on a particular topic. The basis of framing theory is that the media focuses attention on certain events and then places them within a field of meaning (Mass Communication Theory (Online), 2017).

Framing theory suggests that how something is presented to the audience (called “the frame”) influences the choices people make about how to process that information. Frames are abstractions that work to organize or structure message meaning. The most common use of frames is in terms of the frame the news or media place on the information they convey. Framing theory explains that the media create this frame by introducing news items with predefined and narrow contextualization. Frames can be designed to enhance understanding or are used as cognitive shortcuts to link stories to the bigger picture.

2.6.1.3 The Importance of Framing Theory

The concept of framing is related to the agenda-setting tradition but expands the research by focusing on the essence of the issues at hand rather than on a particular topic. The basis of framing theory is that the media focuses attention on certain events and then places them within a field of meaning. Framing is an important topic since it can have a big influence and therefore the concept of framing expanded to organizations as well. In essence, framing theory suggests that how something is presented to the audience (called “the frame”) influences the choices people make about how to process that information. Frames are abstractions that work to organize or structure message meaning. The most common use of frames is in terms of the frame the news or media

place on the information they convey. They are thought to influence the perception of the news by the audience, in this way it could be construed as a form of second level agenda-setting – they not only tell the audience what to think about (agenda-setting theory), but also how to think about that issue (second level agenda setting, framing theory).

2.6.2 Agenda setting Theory

Media effects are theories that explain how the mass media influence the attitudes and perceptions of audience members. Media effects represent one of the core ideas of communication research (Neuman & Guggenheim, 2011). Agenda setting theory is one among the multiple theories of media effect

The beginning of agenda setting theory can be traced as far as 1922, when Walter Lippmann expresses his concern on the vital role that mass media can do in influencing the setting of certain image on the public's mind (Lippmann, 1922: 9-16). In portraying the influence of mass media, Lippmann gives an example of individuals who supposed to be enemies while their countries are at war. Instead of becoming enemies, without having access to information about the war through media, those individuals are able to live harmoniously in a secluded island. Lippmann indicates on how mass media can set a particular agenda which can influence the opinions of the public. However, he never uses the term „agenda setting theory“ in his book. Nevertheless, he did generate the foundation for the agenda setting theory. In the latter years from Lippmann's time, the term „agenda setting theory“ is popularized. One of the most significant researches which contribute to this theory is written by McCombs and Shaw (1972). They observe on the capacity of mass media in influencing the voters' opinion on the presidential campaign of 1968. From their research, McCombs and Shaw (1972: 187) found out that mass media did have certain percentage on those members of the public who frequently referred to information as provided by the media. Such percentage is increased for those who are driven with the enthusiastic in following up with the presidential campaign's information. As acknowledged by Matsaganis and Payne (2005), agenda setting theory is vastly developed in which more than 350 researches were done after McCombs and Shaw's findings in 1972. These can be seen from the works as done by Lippmann (1922); Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet (1948); Lazarsfeld and Merton (1964); Berelson, Lazarsfeld, and McPhee (1954); Cohen (1963); McCombs and Shaw (1972); Funkhouser (1973); and Cobb and Elder (1983).

2.6.3 Media Representation Theory

Representation refers to the fabrication of components of reality such as people, places, objects, events, cultural identities, and other abstract notions in any medium (particularly the mass media). The western media has represented or portrayed Africa in a terrible light. Croteau and Hoynes (2003) argue that media cannot simply put or multiply realities or events as they occur in the actual world. Instead, they are concerned with imbuing reality with a particular meaning or picture that they find appealing. The act of doing so is referred to as representation. The neglect and/or negative portrayal of Africa by Western media, Africa's contribution to its negative coverage and possible corrective measures, arguing that the immensity of Africa's problems and its potential to affect the Western world politically and economically can no longer be minimized. (Wa’Njoga, 2009). Negative media coverage in the West has long been a cause of dissatisfaction. Negative media coverage and its consequences have been widely lamented throughout the world, but perhaps nowhere more so than in Africa, where it is widely assumed that foreign media, particularly Western correspondents, have gone to great lengths to portray the continent as the nadir of human civilization. This dominant representation of Africa in the Western media usually ignores the actualities and specificities of social and economic processes that occur in the continent (Jarosz, 1992). This representation also ignores the many political and economic success stories that have been taking place in the continent, especially in the last three decades. (Oguh, 2015) Wa’Njoga (2009) stated that the writings of these nineteenth authors prepared the ground for twentieth century Western journalists and academics to continue their negative portrayal of Africa during the colonial and post-colonial era. (Oguh, 2015). The most important causes for the persistence of negative views of Africa in Western media are the foreign policies of Western countries, as well as the activities of non-governmental organizations and other institutions dedicated to humanitarian help.

Asgede (2000), who looked into the relationship between the American press and the American government on issues relating to Africa, particularly during the decolonization efforts in the 1980s and 1990s, argued that the US media ignores Africa because it is of minor strategic importance to the US government's foreign policy. He stated that Africa only receives media coverage in the U.S. press when the events suit the U.S. government’s foreign policy or strategic interests.

2.5 THE CNN EFFECT

The CNN Effect is a policy agenda-setting agent, an impediment to the achievement of desired policy goals and an accelerant to policy decision making. The effects of global television coverage on policymaking are far more complex than is usually meant by the CNN effect. Most studies of this effect are based on the assumed triangular relationship between media coverage, public opinion, and policymaking. Yet, as demonstrated by Gilboa (2002a, 2002c, 2003) and Miller (2002), it is possible and even necessary to examine effects of global communication on policymaking that are more direct in their application and independent of public opinion. Furthermore, only a series of careful investigations of actual decision-making processes, including an assessment of all of the factors involved, may shed light on the relative influence of news coverage. Effects on areas other than Studies of the CNN effect have focused on policymaking in defense and foreign affairs, but global television is affecting, perhaps in different ways, areas such as economics, trade, health, culture, and the environment on a worldwide scale. Documenting and analyzing effects on policymaking and international interactions in these areas require separate investigations.

Even though global television networks provide international coverage, that reporting is filtered through a Western bias, as is the response of the public and policymakers to the coverage. China gets a lot of attention from CNN when the political repression is in response to a prodemocracy movement but less attention when the issues are more “localized.” Massacres in the Balkans got more attention than those in the Central Lakes Region of Africa. Serious global health problems such as AIDS, where tens of millions of people have died, attracted much less attention than the more violent humanitarian crises of the 1990s. It seems that the global networks are interested primarily in places of political, military, and economic interest to the United States and Europe. It would be very useful to investigate whether global news coverage is limited and less relevant to most of the people in the world.

Global television networks broadcast news to hundreds of millions of people around the world. Yet, we don't know enough about how different audiences living in different cultural, economic, and political environments interpret a message that is broadcast globally by the global networks. Furthermore, it is necessary to investigate the impact of new and highly competitive networks

such as Al-Jazeera and Fox News on global news contents and reception in various parts of the world. Livingston observed a few years ago that numerous attempts to clarify the CNN effect have only achieved minimal success. This observation is still true today, and there is a clear need to adopt a new research agenda for studying the effects of global communications not only those of CNN, on various areas of communications and international relations, not only on defense and foreign affairs. A new research agenda should address the following eight topics and issues that include both effects of geopolitical and technological changes on global networks and effects of global news coverage on several dimensions of international relations and communications.

Effects of geopolitical changes: Most researchers agree that the CNN effect surfaced from a major geopolitical change in world politics: the end of the Cold War. In the absence of an arch enemy and a strategic challenge, the guideposts of U.S. foreign relations became uncertain and confused. The terrorist attacks on New York and Washington in September 2001 forced the United States to formulate a strategic purpose and a plan to achieve it on a worldwide scale. Within this context, the United States has conducted wars in Afghanistan and Iraq and threatens to battle any regime that employs terrorism or assists terrorist organizations. The new strategic environment of the global war against terrorism may have serious implications for the CNN effect that should be explored and assessed. Effects of technological changes: Many of the original CNN effect studies concluded that coverage of humanitarian crises in the 1990s followed policy and not the other way around, primarily because of the heavy costs involved in dispatching reporters and shipping equipment to faraway places. Consequently, CNN and other networks waited for government cueing before devoting the resources and time to any particular crisis. Today, however, innovations in communication technologies, including videophones and other lightweight equipment, have substantially reduced the costs of broadcasting from remote areas (Higgins, 2000). Global networks can independently initiate and pursue coverage.

Effects on all conflict phases, not only on violence: The focus on CNN's coverage of humanitarian crises and interventions has created several research gaps from governments that would otherwise prefer to minimize political risk by remaining noncommittal. The information revolution and spread of global mass media through the internet and international 24-hour news thus has the effect of accelerating the policy-making process, requiring a faster tempo of decision and action in order to forestall the appearance of a leadership vacuum.

CNN EFFECT THEORY ON MIDDLE EAST (IRAQ, SYRIA, LIBYA AND MALIA)

IRAQ WAR AND THE CNN EFFECT

The 2003 Iraq war divided the United States during the 2008 presidential elections between pros and cons and left a lot of Americans thinking going to war was a wrong decision. American media is often accused by critics for being too critical of U.S. wartime policies. However, researchers have found that in many cases American media tend to align with the government in times of conflicts and support its war efforts, perspectives and narratives (Barnett & Roselle, 2008;}

Due to the powerful effects of television news images and its impact on audience especially when coverage is related to non-Western cultures (Altheide & Grimes, 2005), investigating visual coverage of the 2003 Iraq War uncovers how CNN presented and packaged the war to its audience.

This study found that CNN's coverage of the 2003 Iraq War aligns with this pattern and this approach by framing the first two months of the war from a purely American-self-centered perspective focusing on themes and frames pertaining to inevitability of war, good vs. evil, liberation of Iraq, preemptive strike, orientalism, otherness, human dimension, and military might. The conflict frame dominated the coverage throughout the first two months of the war. The analysis suggests that, on one side, there was a strong support for official proclamations, perspectives and sources in the content and, on the other side, a corresponding reluctance to sustain claims that challenged these assertions. Besides, the visual coverage of the CNN supported both the United States and the U.S. military overtly – by referring to the virtue of U.S. ideology and mission, and implicitly, by recurrently and firmly destabilizing its opponents. The content is strongly reliant on official U.S. perspectives while undermining contradicting perspectives and their proponents. Numerous references are made to the war's inevitability. CNN's coverage made strong references that clearly delineated good and evil and firmly placed the United States on the side of good while just as firmly presenting Saddam Hussein as evil. CNN's coverage of Saddam Hussein focused on a number of themes that served the war cause directly and indirectly. For instances, one of the recurring themes on CNN was Non-compliance .The focus on this issue implies that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction, which was the object of the UN mandates that Saddam Hussein had ignored.

The assertion of Iraqi non-compliance entails that Saddam Hussein was breaching international law. Hence, he is represented as a rule-breaker who must have been brought to justice. Similarly, it also implies via contrast that the United States is serving the international community interest and that those who oppose U.S. policy are supporting an evil dictator and a law breaker. Along with the non-compliance with international law theme, CNN repeatedly asserted that Saddam Hussein was an evil dictator who prevented Iraqis from enjoying freedom and democracy. The habitual presentation of Saddam Hussein's atrocities implies his intention and willingness to kill his enemies, especially those who are powerless. This type of presentation framed Saddam Hussein as a president who hinders people's rights and behaves violently against his people. These interests were presented in a way that strikes at the core of American and Western values. Another theme that is noticeable in CNN's coverage is the assertion of Iraq acquisition of WMD which could be an eminent threat to the United States and its allies. Since the September 11 attacks, the U.S. government has consistently warned against further potential attacks and the probable devastating effects that could have resulted if the September 11 hijackers used WMD. The affirmation that Iraq acquired WMD is associated with the possible connection between Iraq and Al Qaeda. Additionally, when used in concurrence with the claim that Iraq poses a looming threat to the United States, WMD amplify the already existing fears and concerns of Americans in the aftermath of September 11. Furthermore, the WMD and Iraqi threat assertion imply a sense of urgency to war on Iraq. So, a pre-emptive attack to oust Saddam Hussein and disarm Iraq of the WMD is presented on CNN as an urgent necessity. Going for war with Iraq was directly and indirectly supported by CNN's coverage and was a reasonable and predictable conclusion. Saddam Hussein was presented as a violent and evil man connected to U.S. current enemies threatening the U.S. interests and people.

2.6.2 SOMALIA WAR AND THE CNN EFFECT

Following the end of the Cold War, the media has had more opportunity to criticize U.S. foreign policy as the old paradigm of 'us and them' is no longer applicable. With containment and proxy wars over, as well as the ideological battle between the two super powers, domestic media has become freer to highlight the inadequacies of foreign deployments without appearing unpatriotic or undermining the quest for global democracy. Since 1989 the Department of Defense has prohibited media coverage of American casualties being returned home in flag draped coffins.

American interest in Somalia dated back to the Cold War when it competed with the Soviet Union in the Horn of Africa for ideological allegiances.

One of The New York Times articles which covered the shooting commented that the marine in question ‘was the third American slain in Somalia.’[39] Utilising the word ‘slain’ in both the article and its title is an example of how the use of evocative words can result in a negative tone being perceived by the audience. The article also outlined the positive effects of the humanitarian intervention but then notes that ‘events today demonstrated how slippery the distinction between the political and the humanitarian goals is becoming.’[40] Despite this wave of negative sentiment the administration’s policies relating to the operation did not change. Due to the lack of combat deaths in the first few months of 1993 media exposure faded. Peter Jakobsen tracked the trend and commented that in those months reporting of the issue on CNN fell sharply. Similarly, the number of reporters on the ground in Somalia also reduced considerably.

The incidents of September 9th can be viewed as a potential point where Congress began to seriously question the deployment. The U.S. sent Cobra helicopter gunships to help protect Pakistani troops who had come under fire from 200 militiamen. The helicopter reportedly killed women and children alongside militia. Stockwell reports this news ‘created a maelstrom in Congress questioning...the mission in Somalia.’ Senator John McCain likened the event to the Ben Tre incident in Vietnam where a soldier was reported saying a village needed to be destroyed in order to save it. On September 25th a Blackhawk helicopter was shot down using simple rocket propelled grenades (RPG’s) which resulted in the death of three U.S. soldiers. CNN had left Mogadishu several weeks before this incident as 5 of its Somali workers had been killed. The New York Times reported that there were only half a dozen journalists left in Mogadishu, none of which were American. As the number of correspondents had plummeted there were no pictures of the reported ‘jubilant crowds of Somalis [who were] holding pieces of metal and what appeared to be burned flesh [as they] danced around the wreckage.’ The New York Times also reported that these deaths ‘provoked renewed calls from Congress for the immediate withdrawal’ of troops. Senator Robert C. Byrd said ‘we should bring the troops home.’[64] Senator Sam Nunn publicly criticized the mission and stated that the Clinton administration should focus the mission away from hunting down Aideed. Instead, the administration needed to create a withdrawal strategy, otherwise Congress would force one.[65] Congressional pressure was mounting

as the public opinion polls continued to decrease. The frequency of Somalia based articles in The Times ceased except for major events between late August and early October. These events were the deployment of Special Forces to capture Aided in late August and the death of 3 soldiers in the Blackhawk attack described above. The final event was the death of 18 soldiers on October 3rd. The media's role in continually shaping the opinion of the general public is dubious considering the inconsistency of The Times; however, it is impossible to reach conclusions without the frequency of articles and news stories across the spectrum.

2.6.3 SIRYA WAR AND CNN EFFECT

Syria's devastating war unfolds during unprecedented flows of imagery on social media, testing in new ways the media's influence on decision-makers. Three decades ago, the concept of a "CNN Effect" was coined to explain what was seen as the power of real-time television reporting to drive responses to humanitarian crises.

The devastating conflict in Syria has again brought into sharp focus the complex relationship between the media and interventions in civil wars in response to grave humanitarian crises. Syria's destructive war, often called the greatest human disaster of the twenty-first century, unfolds at a time of unparalleled flows of imagery and information. It is testing in unprecedented ways the media's influence on decision-makers to drive them to take action to change the course of a bloody confrontation or ease immense human suffering.

As communications scholar Babak Bahador, who studied the impact of the CNN Effect on responses to massacres in the Kosovo war, has observed: "unexpected and emotive images can rapidly open policy windows of opportunity."¹⁸ But they can also close, just as quickly.

The air strikes on the Syrian airfield fit the pattern that has emerged from extensive empirical and analytical research into the CNN Effect. The term was coined during the 1990–1991 Gulf War when dramatic advances in technology made it possible for the United States' Cable News Network to broadcast live reports around the clock and around the world. Raw, real-time images and instant analysis flashed from frontlines and briefing rooms. Suddenly, it seemed, there was a new and powerful pressure on policy-makers to respond. Heartrending images were seen to have influenced President George Bush's decision to set up a safe haven and a no-fly zone in 1991 to

protect Iraqi Kurds. A year later, reports of starving Somalis played a part in persuading President Bush to send in U.S. forces. And shocking television footage of alleged war crimes in Bosnia and Kosovo were viewed as decisive factors in actions by Western militaries.

During most of the Syrian crisis, President Obama was determined not to be drawn into a major military escalation in what he saw as another Middle East quagmire. Any pressure from the media was part of what he called, derisively, “the Washington Playbook.”²³ He described it as “a playbook that comes out of the foreign policy establishment. And the playbook prescribes responses to different events and these responses tend to be militarized responses.” For him, his response to the devastating poison gas attack in Damascus in 2013 marked the moment he dramatically broke with it.

President Obama has often spoken of how—unlike President Trump—he didn’t turn to television for his news and analysis. “I’m still not watching television, which is just a general rule that I’ve maintained for the last eight years,” he told the *The New Yorker*’s David Remnick in 2016. He argued that this “is part of how you stay focused on the task, as opposed to worrying about the noise.”²⁸ But, like most decision-makers, Obama was acutely aware of the challenge posed by this incessant flow of information. “If you were president fifty years ago, the tragedy in Syria might not even penetrate what the American people were thinking about on a day-to-day basis. Today, they’re seeing vivid images of a child in the aftermath of a bombing.

The wide array of foreign and Syrian actors all have their own assessment of what it would take to end Syria’s tragic war, and what lies behind the profound failures. Syria has paid a terrible price. It’s not the focus of this essay to explore these failures in detail. But this essay will next explore aspects of media coverage including social media with its risks of misinformation, misunderstanding, and manipulation.

Scholars have, over the years, broken down the concept of a CNN Effect in an effort to better understand the fluid relationship between media, public opinion, and government policy. In Piers Robinson’s Policy-Media Interaction Model, the impact of the media depends on three factors: whether there is a clear and firm policy for dealing with the crisis; if there is a consensus within the government; and the way the media frame the issue and if they take a side in the political debate. The first two have already been touched upon in this essay. The premise of the third is that,

if a CNN Effect was to drive responses to humanitarian crises, the media had to frame it as a humanitarian issue. This key element was known by such phrases as “empathy framing.”⁵⁰

Mainstream Western media, in the search for strong clear narratives in a chaotic war, often focused on the important story of Syria’s major human tragedy, including the heartrending plight of children. Less clear, and less reported, was an understanding of a shifting array of rebels ranging from more moderate to Al Qaeda-linked groups. Without regular access to government areas, there was also less focus on the situation there, including the views of Syrians still supporting President Assad. In contrast, Russian media and Syrian war reporters who report regularly from government frontlines highlighted an opposition they denounced as terrorists without a focus on the human cost of Russian and Syrian air strikes. Syria’s story required attention to all sides of an increasingly complicated battlefield.

The battle of videos confronted policy-makers, too. Rhodes recalls it in this way: “we’d get these reports on social media but it would take us time to verify which ones were true. And then the Russians and the regime would have alternative narratives and put up their own images and information and we’d end up in a debate over the facts.” Senior policy-makers, with access to the most advanced technology of our time, also struggled to make sense of a chaotic and complex war. Rhodes spoke of constant pressure in trying to “balance responses based on visceral emotion triggered by horrific scenes versus efforts to understand who was fighting whom, who is a proxy for whom, things you can’t learn just from those images.”

This essay has sought to explore the role media played in policy responses to the Syrian conflict. I have focused on the United States as a key actor in this crisis. But similar observations would apply to other Western powers, including Britain. It is clear that media, in their many forms, are a major influence, but not a major power. Observations from the Trump and Obama administrations underline that the media were a key part of constant pressure on policy-makers from politicians, pundits, and the array of powerful actors involved in the Syrian crisis.

LIBYA AND THE CNN EFFECT

It was an overwhelming welcome. On February 23, 2011, three days after Muammar Gaddafi's men fled Benghazi, CNN's Ben Wedeman was the first international journalist to enter the rebel-held eastern Libya. Tens of thousands of rallying citizens met him, praising his presence and thanking him for being there. His live report was the first TV-pictures the world could see from the popular uprising. "I almost feel that I am not up to the task of conveying the significance of what we are seeing here", Wedeman said. Behind him, thousands of Libyans shouted together: "CNN! CNN!"

I have argued that it is important to investigate and reflect on the Libyan rebel movement and its media efforts, because they managed to do something many insurgencies have not managed before them: To grab the world's attention and get international support for their cause in form of a UN Security Council resolution. To examine what the rebels did to obtain this attention and support has therefore been the focus of this thesis. I said I was going to examine "in what way the Libyan rebel movement organized and facilitated for international journalists during their rebellion, what factors motivated their effort, and to what extent they saw media as a useful tool in this struggle". I interviewed international journalists and traveled to Libya to interview representatives of the rebel movement in a relatively chaotic post-conflict period. Here are the most important findings of my research:

1. The rebel movement's media organization was relatively large, was structured, and it emerged from below. There was no clear plan from the beginning, but as events intensified, both strategy and organizing evolved rapidly. The NTC made a hierarchic system with different units with different objectives. The media center was developed and run by activists, and was at first separate from the political and military movement NTC. The activists helped the journalists by giving them the facilities they needed without charge. To help journalists for free was seen as an important way to help the revolutionary cause. After three months the media center joined NTC under their umbrella. Separate diaspora organizations did also work to achieve the same objectives as the rebel movement inside Libya. Together, these groups' media effort was comprehensive. The founders of the media committee argued to the leadership of NTC in the same way as Clifford Bob's research claims other insurgent groups have thought before: The key is to grab

media attention to create international awareness, and to encapsulate the rebels' identity, grievances, and demands. It is about marketing of the rebellion. My research goes on to describe how such media awareness can evolve during a conflict.

2. I have found that during the war in Libya there was a mutual dependence between the journalists and the rebels. Both groups needed each other to achieve what they wanted: The journalists needed the dramatic images, video footage and interviews that are required in news reports, and to get that, they needed proximity to the unfolding events. Existing literature, like Lynch and McGoldrick, suggests that mainstream journalism are relatively violence-oriented, and that it has a tendency to focus on the visible effects of violence, like killed, wounded and material damage. In Libya, the rebels could grant the proximity the journalists needed. Thus, the journalists were highly dependent on acceptance from the rebels in the opposition-controlled areas. Without such acceptance from the rebels, the journalistic working-conditions would be difficult and dangerous. On the other hand, the rebels were highly dependent on journalists to spread the word about their uprising. They needed legitimacy and support from the international community and saw international media as a tool to get it. Without each other, the two parties' goals would have been far more difficult to achieve. The mutual dependence led to a situation that promoted the goals of both rebels and journalists. It was a win-win situation. This situation helped the rebels' cause, and by savvy and intense efforts they managed to take advantage of the situation and benefit from it.

3. I have found that existing literature reflects and explains much of the Libyan rebels' efforts towards international media: The insurgents had a revolutionary political goal, they needed legitimacy for their violent behavior and international support for their cause to achieve their goal. They saw international journalist and massive media attention as a vital weapon in their struggle. My research exemplifies an insurgent group's need for legitimacy and external support, in a very specific manner. Without media attention, and the support they got, the rebels believe they hardly would have succeeded, and that their uprising could have been stifled.

4. Some literature argues that today's mass media reduce the scope for calm deliberation over policy, forcing policy-makers to respond to whatever issue journalists focuses on. The 'CNN effect' suggests that real-time communications technology could provoke major responses from

domestic audiences and political elites to global events. I have found that my informants in the rebel movement believe in media's role as an agenda setter, and they believe their intensive media efforts helped drum up the support for the UN Security Council decision to intervene in the conflict with a military campaign. By facilitating for journalists, and working to create awareness for their cause, they believe they affected the journalists, which again affected the political decision-making. Their line of thinking is closely connected with the arguments of the debated CNN-effect. The rebels were increasingly concerned about getting their story told, and saw this as a crucial objective. As an example, press conferences were seen as marketing events.

5. I have also found that the rebels used propaganda in their strategy, and that they had a 'psychological operation' (PSYOPS) working during the war. The definition of PSYOPS fits the Libyan rebels: "It is efforts to convey selected truthful information and indicators to foreign audiences to influence their emotions, motives, objective reasoning, and ultimately, the behavior of their governments, organizations, groups, and individuals". To some extent the rebels mislead and produced false information, and sometimes they tried to lead information in a direction that benefited them. This is journalistically problematic because many of the journalists were highly dependent on the rebels and the information they provided, and many journalists were uncritical in the use of the rebels' services. Towards the end of the conflict the rebels in the front line were hostile to journalists that reported on their wrongdoings. When they were underdogs' they strived for publicity, but when they had power they became more hostile. The strategized propaganda from NTC was mainly meant to counter the regime's propaganda, and was sometimes used as a tool in physical battle on the ground. Because of the grave seriousness of military actions, the underlying causes leading up to such actions are important to investigate. My research has examined a group's efforts to make a military intervention happen, and their arguments of why their violent struggle should be supported. As we know, the rebels' media strategy worked. They got international help. This is where my research can be useful, and have implications for other researchers in this field: I describe the media efforts of an insurgency that succeeded in their objective, and I describe how they worked to achieve what they wanted. Here are suggestions to how my findings can be supplemented by further research:

- With this examination as a basis, other researchers can compare the Libyan insurgency to other insurgencies and revolutions that have failed. What was present in the Libyan uprising that

lacked in unsuccessful and failed revolutions? For example, the uprising in Syria has many of the same components as the one in Libya. What are the differences between the conflict in Libya and Syria? The answer is most likely complex, but still, one interesting aspect is that the number of international journalists in Syria cannot match the numbers in Libya. When a government missile killed the famous American correspondent Marie Colvin as she hid in a makeshift rebel media center inside Homs, Syria, only five other journalists were with her. In the media center in Benghazi hundreds of journalists were coming and going continuously.

- The thesis may also be supplemented by further research in the media/conflict field. I have investigated the rebels, but someone should examine the other side as well: The journalists, and the journalism they produced during the war. When such research is done, a more complete picture can be seen.

- An important extension of my research would be an investigation of the international community's political considerations prior to the intervention in Libya. My research does not investigate how the media attention given to the Libyan rebels actually affected the political decision-making. If media hype was one of the aspects leading to the bombing of Gaddafi's regime, it is something that should be discussed. My investigation gives an example of what publicity efforts journalists may face from parties in a conflict in the 21st century. As before, journalists see highly sophisticated and advanced attempts to influence them, but now, with internet and an increasing number of global 24/7 news networks, the reach of publicity in media has increased. Therefore, it is even more important to investigate and illuminate such attempts.

The CNN effect theory final outcomes and its report framing on

Ethiopian northern war

The 24-hour international television news channel Cable News Network (CNN) had a major impact on the conduct of United States foreign policy since the late Cold War period. The CNN effect has been cited as the driving force behind the U.S. intervention in the Kurdish crisis and the use of force by the U.S. Army during the Bosnia war of 1992–1995. The CNN effect is a theory that 24-hour news networks, such as CNN, influence the general political and economic climate. Because media outlets provide ongoing coverage of a particular event or subject matter, the at-

tention of viewers is narrowly focused for potentially prolonged periods of time. This increased attention can affect the market values of companies and sectors that find themselves in focus. Three distinct aspects of CNN effect: a policy agenda-setting agent, an impediment to the achievement of desired policy goals, an accelerant to policy decision-making, and one of the common grounds of CNN effect is policy uncertainty; as policy certainty reduces, media influence increases and vice versa. Former Secretary of State James Baker said of the CNN effect: "The one thing it does, is to drive policymakers to have a policy position. I would have to articulate it very quickly. You are in real-time mode. You don't have time to reflect." The CNN Effect on War Abroad: Research Report Coverage on Middle East..... (Missouri State University, 2016)

Research reports show that American mainstream news media outlets often neglect to incorporate religious, cultural and historical context into their coverage of the Middle East. The news coverage of the Middle East, even at the highest echelons of American journalism, is often lacking in sophistication in terms of cultural and religious context, sometimes to the point of affecting its fairness and accuracy. The danger of this is that it has the power to grossly simplify and reduce to an "us versus them" frame an entire contingent of the global population: the Muslim world. This fairness and accuracy is important because it directly impacts public opinion by promoting stereotypes and simplistic "frames" of storytelling, which, in turn, can affect the foreign policy making process by making it less democratic and potentially even altering the outcome of that policy. CNN's Iraq War Coverage (Northeastern Illinois University, 2016).a Propaganda comes before, during and after military action. Belief in framing-hierarchy would dictate that the president is above all else responsible for this misleading wording. Bush's 2003 State of the Union Address communicated to listeners a link between Iraq and Al-Qaida and thus a justification for invading Iraq. Bush also tried to scare the American public into supporting the war when he asserted Iraq planned on using chemical and biological weapons on the US. Branding experts were used for the war effort in general and the name 'Operation Iraqi Freedom' was a branded marketing strategy. Before the war regular briefings were held concerning Iraq with thematically consistent messages. These conspiracies regarding Iraq show intent, intent- a prerequisite to propaganda or more broadly a prerequisite to mislead. The propaganda was on the belief that "violence is necessary to overcome evil. "The embedding of emotional content is a 'sub-

ordinated element' that plays to our values and allows ideology to work. Emotional content serves as a psychological lubricant to the penetration of ideals. The misuse of statistics isn't limited to areas with palatable political agenda. Numbers in the news are used to make a condition look more serious.

SOMALIA (DANIEL MCSWEENEY, 2011)

The decision to withdraw troops from Somalia could not have been due to excessive media coverage as by October 3rd 1993 there were only half a dozen Western journalists left in Mogadishu. The substantial troop fatalities and the impact of the graphic photos did however affect policy decisions. CNN effect the saturation of the media with these images did negatively influence public opinion for the deployment as well as create congressional pressure. To an extent graphic imagery did undermine morale for the conflict. The images created revulsion on the domestic front and highlighted how the operation was not progressing smoothly. Negative portrayals of the conflict in the press correlated with low public opinion polls. Due to the wealth of overlapping influences that are unique to each operation the CNN effect should only be viewed as part of the puzzle and not the whole picture

BIASES OF THE WESTERN MEDIA:

During the Syrian crisis, the media formed part of what officials describe as constant pressure from many actors to respond, which they say led to policy failures. Syria's conflict is a cautionary tale. During the Russia-Ukraine conflict, the bias in Western media has been brought to people's attention. Reporters of distinguished news organizations have been making opinionated statements about the conflict and the Ukrainian refugees on live television. Some have also shown a disregard for Middle-Eastern refugees in favor of Ukrainian refugees, under the pretext that Ukrainians have a very similar culture to Westerners, while Middle-Easterners do not. Middle-Eastern civilians also protested the Western media by wearing T-shirts with the word "civilized" printed on them, in retaliation to comments made by Charlie D'Agata, a foreign correspondent for CBS News, in which he referred to Ukraine as a "more civilized" country than Middle-Eastern countries. According to the same CNN report, the saddest part of the Western media's opinionated coverage is that the journalists' biased comments were spontaneous and casual, revealing existing bias. For both the U.S. television news and British broadsheets newspaper, Africa was shaped with "widespread violence, helpless human rights violations and a lack of democracy (Fair & Parks, 2001)".

CHAPTER THREE

3.RESEARCH METHDOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter confers the methodological choices and the research design process of the study. It explained procedures employed in collecting, analyze and report data.

3.2. Research design

Qualitative content analysis method was employed in this study since the nature of the research basically requires of this approach in order to address research questions elevated and it used to quantify and analyze the presence, meanings, and relationships of certain words, themes, or concepts.

3.2.1 Qualitative content analysis

(Holsti, 1968) defines content analysis “Any technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying special characteristics of messages.” (Berelson, 1952) also explains qualitative content analysis as “A research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication.” Content analysis is "The systematic reading of a body of texts, images, and symbolic matter, not necessarily from an author's or user's perspective" (Krippendorff, 2004).

3.3 population and sampling

Interviews of scholars, television and online news and documentaries searched out from different media outlets are deployed as the method of data collection instruments to critically analyze the CNN effect theory on the Ethiopian war.

The practice of qualitative content analysis has a compacted linkage with purposive(judgmental) sampling technique. Sampling in qualitative research is chiefly concerned with „information richness in which two essential considerations-appropriateness and adequacy- take central stage (Kuzel, A 1992:20). Accordingly, the researcher applied the selective sampling method in the

course of screening out conflict stories that have direct connection with the topic framed and explored. Purposive sampling is 'used to select respondents that are most likely to yield appropriate and useful information' (Kelly, 2010: 317) and is a way of identifying and selecting cases that will use limited research resources effectively (Palinkas et al., 2015).

Grounding the method applied, the researcher selected 30 (thirty) conflict stories covered and 10 (ten) conflict stories uncovered by the Cable News Network (CNN) during Ethiopian war undertaken between federal government and Tigray people liberation front (TPLF) from November 04,2020 to November 04, 2022.

3.4. Data gathering instruments(tools)

The Website of CNN and website of some Ethiopian media outlets are the topmost data collecting tools employed in the study since the study critically analyzing the CNN effect theory on the Ethiopian war. Texts, Videos images are major components of data gathering instruments taken from the websites of CNN.

3.5. Techniques of Data analysis

The researcher collected Conflict stories in the Ethiopian war that are covered and uncovered by CNN from its website; and interviews of scholars about report framing of the war by western media from Ethiopian broadcasting corporation (EBC) for crosschecking. Next to collecting conflict stories, the researcher analyzed the theme, intention and rationality of each conflict stories on the basis of international media ethics.

CHAPTER FOUR

4. DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

Ethiopia was under a serious war since November 04,2020 (the outbreak of the war) to November 04, 2022 (the sign of peace accord) between the federal government of Ethiopia (FDRE) and Tigray people liberation front (TPLF). The war was lasting for about two years. In the period, extreme human and material destructions were occurred in both conflicting bodies. In the war, several international media outlets were getting involved to for providing a coverage to the war. Though, their intention has not been examined well. Cable News Network (CNN) was the one and foremost foreign media institution that has provided high media coverage to Ethiopian war. Thereby, the researcher carefully investigated the theme, intention of CNN conflict stories and their effect on Ethiopia and Ethiopians. The researcher tried to collect conflict stories from the websites of the screened media in the time war and examined in terms of their intent and outcome by asking what, why, and how basic investigating questions. Grounding the examining parameters, the researcher selected the following conflict stories both covered and uncovered by the Cable News Network (CNN).

4.2 CONFLICT STORIES COVERED BY CNN

STORY ONE

On November 4 2020, after accusing the TPLF of attacking a federal army base outside Tigray's regional capital Mekelle and attempting to steal its weapons, Abiy ordered a military assault against the group, sending in national troops and fighters from the neighboring region of Amhara, along with soldiers from Eritrea. H received the Nobel Peace Prize in 2019, he was lauded as a regional peacemaker. A year later, he launched a conflict that spiraled into a brutal civil war, spawning one of the worst humanitarian crises in the world. Two years on, the fighting has left thousands of dead, displaced more than 2 million people and given rise to a wave of atrocities, including massacres, sexual violence and the use of starvation as a weapon of war.

ANALYSIS OF STORY ONE

According to CNN report; in story one, the war was waged by TPLF due to the attack committed on Ethiopian army but CNN did not mention the reason why and did not condemn the action. CNN farther explained that Abiy ordered a military assault against TPLF but the media did not seek to call the reaction as law enforcement. in this story, CNN confirmed as the war is waged by TPLF by attacking the northern command but tried to make the prime minister as a war *novice* via connecting his Nobel prize.

STORY TWO

November 9, 2020 - According to Amnesty International, more than 600 civilians are killed in Tigray amid fighting between the local and federal governments. The killings occur in Mai-Kadra, a town in the regions southwest.

ANALYSIS OF STORY TWO

In story two, CNN, has reported that more than 600 million civilians are killed in Mikadra, a town located in southeast Tigray region. However, Maikadra is not part of Tigray region rather it is part of Amhara region and did not report as the killed people are Amhara ethnic. CNN did not want to expose who is the killer. It is no interested to mention the killer group of TPLF called Samri.

STORY THREE

June 2021 - A new United Nations report warns of famine in Ethiopia, as more than 350,000 people in the Tigray region are experiencing “catastrophic” levels of “acute food insecurity.”

ANALYSIS OF STORY THREE

As CNN report, in story three, a united nation new report warns of famine in Ethiopia as a result of the war undertaken in the country. Here, CNN, mentioned more than 350,000 people in the Tigray region are experiencing “catastrophic” levels of “acute food insecurity.” what about other parts of Ethiopia like Amhara and Afar region? Are not they parts of Ethiopia?

STORY FOUR

October 6, 2021 - A CNN investigation finds that the Ethiopia's government used Ethiopian Airlines, the country's primary commercial airline, to shuttle weapons to and from neighboring Eritrea during the war.\

ANALYSIS OF STORY FOUR

According to CNN report on october6,2021, the Ethiopian government used Ethiopian airline, country's primary commercial airline, to transport weapons to and from Eritrea during the war. Ethiopia has more than enough war jets that can be applied during the war. If so, why it is needed to attach it to the commercial airline and the report is a report without evidence.

STORY FIVE

February 26, 2021 - A CNN investigation brings to light a massacre which took place during a religious festival in the town of Dengelat late last year. Eyewitnesses told CNN that a group of Eritrean soldiers opened fire at church during a service, claiming the lives of priests, women, entire families and a group of more than 20 school children.

ANALYSIS OF STORY FIVE

In story five, CNN, reported that it has lighted a massacre in a town of Dengelat in Tigray region. However, it has not mentioned its balanced evidence. During a war a massacre was undertaken in Mai kadra, Chinna, and chifra by TPLF. Why CNN remained silent to report these atrocities?

STORY SIX

February 26, 2021 - An Amnesty International report finds that Eritrean forces killed hundreds of unarmed civilians in the city of Axum in November 2020 through indiscriminate shelling and shooting and extrajudicial killings, in what the human rights organization says could amount to a crime against humanity.

ANALYSIS OF STORY SIX

The Ethiopian government was repeatedly announced that no external forces were involved in the conflict but CNN accused the involvement of Eritrean forces and the killing of civilians in Axum though no relevant evidence has been presented.

4.3 The series conflict issues during the northern Ethiopian war but remained uncovered by CNN

STORY (A):

THE THEFT OF 570,000 LITERS OF FUEL BY THE TPLF FROM THE WAREHOUSES OF THE WORLD FOOD PROGRAM (WFP)

According to the report of Ethiopian news agency on August 25/2022, the Government of Ethiopia has condemned the theft of 570,000 liters of fuel by the TPLF from the warehouses of the World Food Program (WFP) and the imprisonment of staff members of humanitarian partners who resisted the looting. The theft of the fuel (12 tankers) intended to transport much needed humanitarian assistance and farming input supplies to beneficiaries in the Tigray Region by the criminal group.

ANALYSIS OF STORY (A)

According to the report the action has been confirmed by the international humanitarian partners (WFP) and United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA). The looting of fuel has been used for war drive. The action is extremely violating the international humanitarian law and it is a war crime. However, this issue did not get media coverage by CNN.

STORY B: Ethiopia's air force said Wednesday it had shot down a plane carrying weapons for the rebel Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) that had encroached on the country's airspace via Sudan, state media reported.

"The airplane which violated our airspace from Sudan... and aimed to supply weapons to the terror group was shot down by our heroic air force," the Ethiopian News Agency quoted armed forces Major General Tesfaye Ayalew as saying.

ANALYSIS OF STORY (B)

According to Ethiopian Airforce, the airplane has violated the airspace of Ethiopia and salvaging to give war weapons to TPLF through Sudan border and shot down by Ethiopian Airforce. However, this action did not get media coverage by CNN as like other issues of the war.

STORY C: At least 600 civilians were killed in an ethnically-driven in the town of Mai Kadra

On Tuesday November 14,2021, the government-appointed but independent body said it had found that the killings were carried out by a local youth group called Samri, with the support of other Tigrayan civilians, police and militia. According to the EHRC's report, which could not be independently verified, a number of people from different ethnic groups were killed in Mai Kadra but the attackers specifically targeted ethnic Amhara's and Wol-kaits based, among other things, on their identification cards.



EHRC Press Statement

24 November 2020

**TIGRAY: MAIKADRA MASSACRE OF CIVILIANS IS A CRIME OF ATROCITY
REHABILITATE VICTIMS AND BRING PERPETRATORS TO JUSTICE**

The Ethiopian Human Rights Commission (EHRC) has found that an atrocious massacre of civilians has been committed by an informal group of Tigrayan youth known as "Samri", aided and abetted by members of sobat was fibers the local administration and security establishment in Maikadra, in Tigray Region's Western Zone, on November 9th, 2020.

EHRC visited Maikadra, Abhajira, Sanja, Dansha, Humera, and Gorder between November 14 – 19, 2020, as part of its investigation into human rights violations, preliminary findings of which were released today.

The preliminary findings state that what transpired in Maikadra on November 9th, 2020, including the killings, bodily and mental injury, as well as the destruction that went on throughout the night, the overall conduct and results thereof, strongly indicate the commission of grave human rights violations which may amount to crimes against humanity and war crimes. The full extent of the evidence and elements of the crime will be further examined in detail in the full report.

The preliminary report finds that before retreating from the advance of the Ethiopian National Defense Forces (ENDF), the local militia and police security apparatus joined forces with members of the Samri group to carry out door-to-door raids and kill hundreds of people they identified as ethnic "Amharas and Wolait origin", by beating them with sticks, stabbing them with knives, machetes and hatchets and strangling them with ropes. They also severely injured many people and looted or destroyed properties. Based on testimony gathered so far, EHRC estimates that at least 600 civilians were killed. The death toll could be higher still as there are reports of individuals unaccounted for at the time of EHRC's visit and bodies hidden in fields outside Maikadra.

Amidst the harrowing acts of the Tigrayan informal youth group, Samri, survivors also tell many stories of humane actions where other residents also of ethnic Tigrayan origin, who saved many lives by hiding targets in their homes, in churches and in farms fields.

EHRC's Chief Commissioner Daniel Bekele said, "The unimaginably atrocious crime committed against civilians for no reason other than their ethnicity is heartbreaking. Yet we are consoled by

Analysis of Story C

Based on the findings of the Ethiopian Human Rights Commission and corroborated by visual evidence, a severe incident of mass violence was reported in Maikadra, involving the systematic killing of Amhara ethnic civilians by a group affiliated with the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) known as Samri. The gravity of these allegations, highlighted by disturbing imagery and eyewitness accounts, underscores the severity of the massacre.

Despite the horrifying nature of this event, CNN did not provide coverage of the massacre. This omission raises important questions about the network's editorial decisions and its potential motivations for not reporting on such a significant and distressing incident. The lack of coverage necessitates a deeper investigation into the factors influencing CNN's reporting choices.

1. Verification of Claims and Evidence:

- Assessment of Reports: The first step is to thoroughly verify the claims made by the Ethiopian Human Rights Commission. This involves cross-referencing their findings with independent sources and conducting a comprehensive review of the visual evidence provided. Ensuring the authenticity and accuracy of the reports and images is crucial to establish the veracity of the allegations.

- Analysis of Visual Evidence: Detailed analysis of the photographs and other visual materials related to the massacre should be conducted. This includes evaluating the source of the images, the context in which they were taken, and their relevance to the reported events. Ensuring that these images are credible and accurately represent the situation is essential for understanding the scope of the incident.

2. Examination of CNN's Editorial Choices:

- Editorial Review: Investigating CNN's editorial decisions involves understanding why the network chose not to report on this massacre. This requires a review of CNN's internal editorial guidelines and decision-making processes. Assessing whether there were specific editorial criteria or constraints that influenced the omission of this story is necessary for a comprehensive analysis.

- Potential Biases and Influences: It is important to examine whether any biases or external influences may have affected CNN's reporting. This includes considering potential political, organizational, or strategic factors that might have contributed to the decision to exclude coverage of the massacre.

3. Impact of the Reporting Omission:

- **Public Perception:** The absence of coverage by CNN of the Maikadra massacre may have significant implications for public understanding and perception of the conflict. The omission could affect the international community's awareness of the humanitarian crisis and the overall narrative surrounding the conflict. Analyzing how such omissions influence public opinion and policy responses is crucial.

- **Implications for Media Integrity:** The failure to report on such a critical incident raises broader questions about media integrity and accountability. Investigating how the omission aligns with or deviates from journalistic standards can provide insights into the ethical considerations at play.

4. Recommendations for Improved Reporting:

- **Enhanced Transparency:** Media organizations should be encouraged to provide transparent explanations for their editorial decisions, especially regarding significant and distressing events. Transparency in reporting can help build public trust and ensure accountability.

- **Strengthening Reporting Protocols:** Implementing rigorous protocols for reporting on conflict and humanitarian crises is essential. Media organizations should develop and adhere to guidelines that prioritize comprehensive and balanced coverage, ensuring that all significant incidents are reported with accuracy and sensitivity.

- **Promoting Independent Review:** Independent review bodies or journalism ethics committees should be established to evaluate and address concerns related to media coverage of conflict situations. These bodies can help ensure that reporting practices meet high standards of objectivity and integrity.

Indeed, the analysis of Story C highlights the need for a thorough investigation into the reasons behind CNN's omission of the Maikadra massacre. By verifying the claims, examining editorial choices, and assessing the impact of reporting omissions, a clearer understanding of the media's role in covering humanitarian crises can be achieved. Implementing the recommendations provided can enhance media practices and contribute to more accurate and responsible reporting.

STORY D: IN THE NORTHERN WAR OF ETHIOPIA, TPLF USED CHILD SOLDIERS AS HUMAN SHIELDS:

September 12/2021 (ENA) For years, it's been common knowledge that children (under 18s) are routinely recruited into the TPLF in Ethiopia.

Tigrayans have been posting pictures and videos of children carrying out wartime activities. There are also reports from government soldiers fighting the TPLF and from child soldiers themselves that children are being used as fodder by the TPLF.



A MASSACRE COMMITTED BY TPLF IN CHINNA

Addis Ababa, September 8, 2021 (Walta)

Amhara Regional State Communication Affairs Office Director General, Gizatchew Muluneh yesterday said the brutal and terrorist TPLF massacred more than 100 civilians in Chinna Teklehaimanot Kebele, Dabat Woreda of North Gondar Zone.

Today Witnesses say the number of innocent people killed by the terrorist TPLF has reached 200 in China Kebele.

The terrorist TPLF has carried out the massacre on priests in the church, killing elderly people, children, and women, he noted.

He recalled that the TPLF had carried out a similar massacre in the North Wollo Zone of Amhara and Afar Regions.



Analysis of Story D

In Story D, Mr. Gizachew Muluneh, who served as the Communication Director for the Amhara region at the time, asserted that the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF) had perpetrated violent attacks resulting in the deaths of numerous civilians of Amhara ethnicity in the regions of Gondar, Wollo, and Afar. The claims included specific allegations of targeted violence against Amhara civilians, as supported by photographic evidence presented in the report. Despite the gravity of these allegations and the provided visual documentation, it is noted that CNN did not cover these reported incidents.

Fact-Checking of Misleading Images in Ethiopia's Tigray Crisis

The absence of coverage by CNN of the reported incidents raises concerns about the accuracy and completeness of the media's portrayal of the Tigray crisis. An important aspect of this analysis involves examining the veracity of the images and claims associated with Story

D to understand whether there was any basis for the allegations or if misleading information contributed to the narrative.

1. **Verification of Claims:** It is essential to verify the factual accuracy of the statements made by Mr. Gizachew Muluneh regarding the TPLF's actions. This involves cross-referencing the claims with independent sources, such as humanitarian organizations, international observers, and other credible reports from the conflict zone. Verification processes should include scrutinizing the authenticity of the images presented and ensuring that they accurately represent the events described.

2. **Assessment of Visual Evidence:** The photographic evidence cited in Story D should be rigorously assessed for authenticity. This includes analyzing the source of the images, the context in which they were captured, and their relevance to the reported incidents. Fact-checking should determine whether the images were appropriately sourced and whether they accurately depict the alleged attacks or if they have been misrepresented or taken out of context.

3. **Evaluating Media Coverage:** The lack of coverage by CNN of the incidents reported in Story D necessitates an examination of the network's editorial decisions. Understanding why CNN chose not to report on these allegations involves assessing the network's editorial guidelines, potential biases, and the role of journalistic standards in selecting and prioritizing news stories. It is crucial to explore whether CNN's omission reflects a broader pattern of selective reporting or if it was an isolated case.

4. **Impact of Omitted Coverage:** The failure to cover significant allegations of violence has implications for public perception and the broader understanding of the conflict. The omission may influence how audiences perceive the TPLF's actions and the humanitarian situation in the affected regions. Analyzing the impact of such omissions can reveal how gaps in coverage affect the overall narrative and the audience's comprehension of the conflict.

5. **Recommendations for Improved Reporting:** Based on the findings from the fact-checking process, recommendations should be made to enhance the accuracy and comprehensiveness

of conflict reporting. Media organizations should be encouraged to implement robust fact-checking protocols, provide transparent justifications for editorial decisions, and strive for balanced coverage that includes diverse perspectives from all parties involved in the conflict.

In conclusion, the analysis of Story D highlights the need for meticulous fact-checking and a critical examination of media coverage in conflict situations. By addressing the concerns related to the accuracy of claims and the reasons behind coverage decisions, media organizations can improve their reporting practices and contribute to a more informed and nuanced understanding of complex conflicts.

(1) FAKE NEWS OF CNN ABOUT THE ETHIOPIAN NORTHER WAR (NOVEMBER 03, 2020 TO NOVEMBER 03,2022)

PICTURE 1



(2) Airstrike hits kindergarten in capital of Ethiopia's Tigray



(3) Ethiopia Government Clamps Down on War Coverage



(4) Ethiopia's Prime Minister Abiy Ahmed appears in uniform talking on a phone in a Facebook post which supports the campaign in Tigray by the Ethiopian army.



The original image was shot in Ukraine. We traced the original, shown above, to an image database owned by Getty Images. It was taken in Ukraine in 2017, but has been edited to make the soldier look more like Dr Abiy, with facial hair added in. We contacted Taye Dendea A redo about this image. He told us he had not used it, but did not clarify how it got into this particular post.

Fake footage of the downing of an Ethiopian jet

(5)A video appearing to show an Ethiopian military plane being fired on and then crashing has been widely shared with the claim it was carrying out an attack on the Tigray region.

But this footage is not real, and is from a recording of a military video simulation game called Arma.



There are some clues, such as the unnatural look of the blue background, and that some of the smoke coming from the plane just before it eventually crashes dissipates too quickly in some places. We traced the original to a war game video on a Japanese YouTube channel. The versions that have been shared have been edited to remove the start and the ending, where there is a disclaimer in Japanese saying the video is fiction.

Some videos that have been shared also contain an image in the top left of a plane on fire, which is a real image but not from Ethiopia. We have traced that image to a 2016 report about a Jordanian air force F-16 crash as a result of a technical fault.

(6) There’s plenty of sharing of misleading images of attacks or their aftermath.

In some cases, they are from other parts of the world and pre-date the current conflict in Ethiopia. A Facebook page supporting the federal government's military operation appears to have used an image from Uzbekistan.



It shows a striking photo taken from above of a military plane firing rocket, and has also been used by social media accounts to illustrate what is going on in Tigray.

But a closer inspection of the image shows it has the watermark "Uz Air Force A. Pecchi" on it. Uz stands for Uzbekistan, and A. Pecchi is the photographer, Anthony Pecchi. The photographer shared the photo on his own Facebook account in January this year.

(7) Some online users have used a misleading photo to show the results of an attack by Tigray forces on Bahir Dar in the Amhara region, while others have used it to show an attack by them on Asmara, the capital of neighboring Eritrea.

Screen grab of image labelled "from China"



The photo being used is actually of an explosion in China's port city of Tianjin in 2015 at a warehouse containing hazardous chemicals.

The BBC covered the story, and one of the images in the piece is exactly the same as that shared in the posts about Ethiopia's conflict

(8) A Facebook page has shared a video which the owner says shows missile attacks carried out by Tigray forces against Eritrea's capital Asmara (which they claim is assisting the Ethiopian government in the conflict - a claim it denies).

There were news reports of a Tigrayan rocket attack on Asmara recently, but these images do not show that incident.

Screen grab of video labelled "from Iraq"



The Facebook account put the video on a loop so it kept repeating for two hours, as if it was a live event. But the video, which has been shared more than 1,000 times, is not from Eritrea at all, and has been taken from video of an Iranian missile attack on a US army base in Iraq in January this year. The BBC published a story about that incident in Iraq with video, and you can see the same images in that story.

4.5 Fact-Checking CNN’s Reports on the Ethiopian Northern War: Insights from Scholarly Interviews



Dr. Anteneh Tsegaye, Assistant Professor of Intercultural Communication, Addis Ababa University. In an interview with the Ethiopian Broadcasting Corporation, Dr. Anteneh Tsegaye provided a critical assessment of CNN’s coverage of the Ethiopian Northern War. According to Dr. Tsegaye, CNN has persistently promoted unverified and misleading narratives concerning the conflict, particularly regarding allegations of genocide and the use of rape and starvation as weapons of war. Dr. Tsegaye argued that CNN's reporting often fails to adhere to rigorous journalistic standards and exhibits a pronounced bias, especially in its portrayal of the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF).

Dr. Tsegaye pointed out that CNN's coverage appears to reflect and amplify TPLF's propaganda, which is bolstered by international media consultants and lobbying efforts. For instance, he referenced an Amnesty International report that detailed allegations of mass killings by Eritrean troops in the city of Axum on November 28-29, 2020. Despite the severity of these claims, Dr. Tsegaye criticized CNN for reporting them without sufficient verification or independent corroboration, thereby contributing to a potentially misleading narrative.

The interview highlighted several specific criticisms of CNN's reporting practices. Dr. Tsegaye noted that CNN frequently presented exaggerated or unfounded claims from TPLF sources as fact. For example, CNN's reports on the alleged use of rape as a weapon of war were based on a single interview with a Tigrayan doctor, despite CNN lacking any direct journalistic presence in Tigray. This lack of on-the-ground verification undermined the credibility of their reporting.

Additionally, CNN's reports on the alleged blockade of humanitarian aid in Tigray and accusations against the Ethiopian government for misusing Ethiopian Airlines were scrutinized. Dr. Tsegaye highlighted that CNN's coverage often relied on unnamed sources and "experts" to criminalize the Ethiopian government's actions, even when these claims were disputed by experts in relevant fields.

Dr. Tsegaye also emphasized CNN's neglect of reporting on human rights abuses committed by the TPLF, such as the use of child soldiers and widespread looting of aid supplies. Reports from organizations like USAID have documented these abuses, including the looting of warehouses in the Amhara region. However, CNN's coverage was notably silent on these issues, reflecting a selective reporting approach that omitted significant aspects of the conflict.

Furthermore, Dr. Tsegaye criticized CNN for its overall approach to the conflict, suggesting that its reporting was driven by a narrative that aligns with political agendas rather than objective truth. He argued that CNN's selective and sensationalized coverage has contributed to a skewed international perception of the conflict, undermining the principles of balanced and ethical journalism.

In summary, Dr. Tsegaye's analysis underscores a broader concern about media bias and the ethical implications of selective reporting. He contends that CNN's failure to adhere to established journalistic standards in its coverage of the Ethiopian Northern War reflects a troubling trend of media outlets prioritizing sensationalism and partiality over objective and thorough reporting. This, he argues, not only distorts the international understanding of the conflict but also undermines the credibility of global media institutions.

WHY CNN REPORTED THE ETHIOPIAN NORTHERN WAR WITH FULL OF PARTIALITY?

Unfortunately, when TPLF was in power, he was America's servant, commander, and leader. Ethiopia was governed as a guardian. The new government that came to power after the fall of TPLF used it as revenge for not being able to obey them like yesterday.

The US is well aware that the TPLF will not return to power and will not be able to govern Ethiopia. Therefore, by making peace and increasing war, creating a weak government: then America wants to come as an indicator of the solution.

If we look at the situation of other countries, the chaos in Yemen and Libya is in the hands of the US, and so are the aid organizations. They lead the country to war, led by USAID and CNN, using their media. Finally, they break down one's country.

All of these procedures are applicable to non-compliant countries. Their aim is to make a government less if possible, and if not, to make way for a weak government to surrender. CNN is not a free and independent media. For example, it is important to think about whose responsibility it was when Libya fell apart like this? Whose intervention, was it? It is very instructive for Ethiopians. Libya is a nation that has eaten its own people. It is paying the consequences of that.

We know what kind of country Libya was. When a country is facing internal problems, it is better to look at the intervention of foreign countries with caution. It was when foreign media were leading Ethiopia's war. We hear about it after the TPLF prepared it and the western media broadcast it. This has cost a lot. The war intensified and killed many lives, destroyed resources, caused bloodshed, and weakened the country's diplomatic relations. CNN did not report the violence against women, ethnic cleansing, destruction of infrastructure, and looting of resources by the TPLF until it reached Debre Berhan. CNN has not only violated journalistic ethics; it has also taken part in the war by siding with the TPLF. This should be backed up by the system for history.

MEDIA BIAS IN FAVOR OF TPLF MAKING THINGS COMPLICATED (SEPT7, 2022) (FBC)

The lack of international attention on the details of the ongoing conflict in Ethiopia coupled with the media bias in international news in favor of TPLF is making things complicated, said the New Zealander journalist and political analyst Alastair Thompson, in an exclusive interview with FBC.

The continued disinformation and misinformation campaign by members, leaders and sympathizers of the rebel TPLF have deluded the international community to recognize the rebel TPLF group as an underdog in the situation, he said. “For instance, at the outset of the war, #TigrayGenocide hashtag was initiated, which was well before there were soldiers anywhere near Tigray,” he elaborated. “Subsequent to that we saw through 2021 a whole series of arranged propaganda, sort of incidents, most notably the bodies in the river near Sudan, and spectacularly that sort of reports by the CNN came out to spread.”

“The report revealed that the bodies had actually been chemically preserved, that they’d been tied with pieces of plastic. And there were also reports that people who were picking up the bodies were being phoned from Humera and told to inspect the bodies. I think this is probably one of the most important aspects of the propaganda campaign by the TPLF.”

“Even today there is nobody to confirm the alleged kindergarten bombing incident that was reported by TPLF side as it took place on the third day of the renewed war. No news media showed interest to verify it and make sure that the footage that was made viral by the TPLF Information Group is valid. I think that needs to be acknowledged,” Alastair Thomson added.

“The initial reports were that the attack was in a residential neighborhood that was adjacent to where Debretsion lived, and then subsequently, all of a whole lot of tweets were deleted, and other reports emerged to claim that it occurred near a hospital.”

Thompson underscored that the international media need to understand that the lying is second nature to the TPLF and that they have various agents like Kjetil Tronvol, Martin Plaut, Alex De Waal and Rashid Abdi who are telling on the TPLF side of the story favoring the group. He explained that the media bias in favor of the TPLF is worsening consequences of the conflict.

Many of the international media are also reporting in favor of the TPLF avoiding its serious crimes. For instance, the international community and the media never talked about the use of child soldiers by TPLF, and the child soldiers' issues has always been top of mind, he paraphrased.

They are using the children as human shields, the child human shields. "When the captured and escaped child soldiers were interviewed by Ann Fitz Gerald they said that they were often sent into battle with no uniforms and guns. They were told that the guns were confiscated from the enemy. But I think the guns were just taken from their fallen soldiers."

"Now there are independent journalists covering the realities in Ethiopia. And I'm one of those. I am not trying to take pro-government perspective. I have just observed the conflict very closely for a long period of time. And it is relatively clear for me what was actually happening," he said. What will be most helpful would be if the government would produce good daily briefings to the media about what is happening, he underlined.

As it was doing earlier, the TPLF has continued spreading misinformation in the battlefield for the mere purpose of manipulation. The government needs to send reporters from the media to the frontline, and assign them, assign them to keep the world informed about what is really going on in the country, Alastair Thomson added.

By Chris Brew & Lauren Spink

The use of deception and disinformation in warfare is not new. Sun Tzu, a Chinese general and military strategist was already writing about the phenomenon in the 5th century BC. But disinformation—defined as the intentional dissemination of inaccurate or misleading information—no longer just travels by word-of-mouth or newspaper. Modern media, in particular the widespread availability of the internet and use of social media platforms like Facebook, Twitter, TikTok, and Telegram, has dramatically increased the speed at which disinformation can be spread as well as its reach. And unlike the military targets of Sun Tzu's deception, disinformation in modern warfare is often targeted directly at civilians.

Impact of Disinformation on Civilians in Conflict

There is a growing body of evidence documenting how online misinformation, disinformation, and hate speech (MDH) have been used to stoke tensions and incite violence between communities in a variety of countries in recent years, including the Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Libya, and Myanmar. In Ethiopia, Facebook publishes advertisements in Amharic containing hate speech despite touting industry-leading efforts to combat the practice. In Myanmar, the UN's independent international fact-finding mission found a "campaign of hate and dehumanization" targeted at the Rohingya population labelling them "illegal-immigrants" and "terrorists." The International Committee of the Red Cross has identified two additional ways that disinformation can harm civilians in conflict: when parties to a conflict manipulate or falsify information that civilians need to access life-saving goods and services or about the organizations that provide these services; and when MDH has an impact on the mental health of civilians.

Humanitarian organizations are increasingly raising the alarm about the ways disinformation is disrupting their life-saving operations. A recently published study on Syria, for example, highlights the many ways that online disinformation about the White Helmets impeded their work, created challenges in securing and retaining funding, and directly threatened their lives. The White Helmets—known officially as Syria Civil Defense—is a group of unarmed volunteer rescue workers who provide medical care to injured civilians, help civilians evacuate from areas under attack, and dig for survivors buried in bomb blasts. But targeted disinformation campaigns have painted them as parties to the conflict rather than neutral service-providers and made it more dangerous and difficult for them to save lives.

4.8 Discussions OF findings

The findings indicated that the Cable News Network (CNN) failed reporting the conflict on the following viewpoints:

Independent

- Cable News Network (CNN) has violated the impartiality principles of journalism since it was one actor of the war and it was on the side of TPLF. The American government was hardly working to create so weak government in Ethiopia and CNN was working to save TPLF from dismissal since their prolonged intimacy; CNN has confused the international community via broadcasting unreal reports during the war.

Truth

- Cable News Network (CNN) botched to address the real image of the Ethio Tigray war in its report and its reports. Its reports were so fake and false since it was highly intended for the sake of its political interests. CNN has violated several ethical principles of journalism while reporting conflicts; they are fake, misinformation and disinformation. Reports of CNN in the Ethiopian northern were was highly biased

Defamation and cheating

- Ethiopia was misrepresented by CNN due to its fake, misinformation and disinformation casted to the international world and confused the international community

Biased

- Extreme human and material destruction was occurred by TPLF during the war undertaken between the federal government of Ethiopia and TPLF but these issues remained uncovered by CNN. The ethnic cleansing (genocide) on Amhara civilians at maikadra, Chinna and chifra were remained uncovered by CNN. The media was so biased in covering news and it was selective and its reports were partial and unbalanced.

Balance

- Report Sources of CNN were on TPLF officials and armed groups of TPLF alone. Officials from the federal government and members of the Ethiopian defense force; civil victims of Amhara people were ignored by CNN.

Minimizing Harm

- Minimizing harm and saving human life from destruction is one among the basic principles of journalism or media institutions. However, CNN a catalyst of the war. It was implicitly supporting TPLF to consolidate the war and it caused for the death of several civilians and destruction of materials. Thereby, CNN failed in executing principles of minimizing harm.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

5.1 Overview

This chapter provides an in-depth summary of the primary findings, conclusions, and recommendations derived from the research investigating the application of the CNN Effect Theory to the conflict in Northern Ethiopia between the Federal Government of Ethiopia and the Tigray People's Liberation Front (TPLF). The analysis is based on qualitative content analysis of media reports during the conflict period, specifically focusing on CNN's role and impact.

5.2 Summary of Major Findings

The study, conducted from November 3, 2020, to November 3, 2022, rigorously examined CNN's reporting on the Ethiopian Northern conflict, using ethical journalism principles as a major evaluative criterion. The choice of CNN for this analysis was deliberate due to its significant role as a major international news outlet and the controversies surrounding its coverage of the conflict.

The analysis was structured around three core research questions:

1. How did CNN frame the Northern Ethiopian conflict?
2. What were CNN's intentions in its reporting on the Northern Ethiopian conflict?
3. What was the impact of CNN Effect Theory on Ethiopian perceptions during and after the conflict?

1. Framing of the Conflict by CNN

CNN's coverage of the Northern Ethiopian conflict demonstrated particular framing techniques that significantly influenced how the conflict was perceived by the global audience. The framing analysis revealed several key patterns:

Focus on Humanitarian Aspects: CNN's reporting frequently highlighted the humanitarian crisis, including the suffering of civilians and the impacts of the conflict on everyday life. This emphasis shaped the narrative towards a humanitarian crisis perspective, often overshadowing the broader political and historical context of the conflict.

Selective Emphasis on Certain Groups: The network's coverage often centered on the TPLF's perspective and the Ethiopian government's actions, which led to a narrative that appeared to favor one side over the other. This selective emphasis contributed to an imbalanced portrayal of the conflict dynamics.

Visual and Emotional Appeals: CNN's use of graphic images and emotionally charged stories aimed to engage viewers on a visceral level. While this approach increased viewer engagement, it also raised concerns about the potential for sensationalism and its impact on the audience's understanding of the conflict's complexities.

2. Intentions of CNN in Reporting the Conflict

The analysis of CNN's reporting intentions revealed several underlying motives:

Audience Engagement: CNN's coverage strategies were geared towards maintaining high levels of audience engagement and viewer ratings. This objective often led to the prioritization of dramatic and emotionally compelling content, potentially at the expense of comprehensive and balanced reporting.

Journalistic Goals: CNN's reporting aligned with its broader journalistic goals of providing continuous news coverage and maintaining its reputation as a leading global news provider. However, this focus sometimes resulted in a narrative that prioritized immediacy over depth and contextual understanding.

Pressure and Criticism: The network faced significant criticism from Ethiopian audiences and officials regarding perceived biases and inaccuracies. This criticism highlighted the tensions between journalistic practices and the expectations of those directly affected by the conflict.

3. Impact of CNN Effect Theory

The CNN Effect Theory posits that media coverage can influence public perception and policy decisions. The study's findings underscored several impacts of CNN's coverage on the Ethiopian conflict:

Shaping Public Perception:

CNN's extensive coverage played a crucial role in shaping both domestic and international perceptions of the conflict. The network's framing and portrayal influenced how audiences understood the humanitarian crisis and the actions of the involved parties.

Policy Implications:

The media attention generated by CNN's reporting contributed to international pressure and intervention in the conflict. This effect was evident in the diplomatic responses and humanitarian aid initiatives prompted by the network's coverage.

Long-term Effects:

The impact of CNN's reporting extended beyond the immediate conflict period, affecting long-term perceptions and historical narratives related to the Ethiopian conflict. The portrayal of the conflict in global media influenced ongoing discussions and analyses of the situation.

5.2 Conclusion and Recommendation

5.2.1 Conclusion

The study's findings reveal several critical dimensions of CNN's role in shaping the narrative of the Ethiopian Northern conflict:

1. **Influence of Media Framing:** The analysis demonstrates that CNN's framing techniques significantly influenced the perception and understanding of the Ethiopian Northern conflict among both domestic and international audiences. The network's emphasis on specific aspects of the conflict, such as the humanitarian crisis and the actions of the TPLF and the Ethiopian government, played a crucial role in shaping the overall narrative. This selective focus not only directed public attention to certain facets of the conflict but also influenced the way the conflict was interpreted by different stakeholders.
2. **Intentionality and Bias:** The study highlights that CNN's reporting intentions were guided by various factors, including the need for high audience engagement and the pursuit of journalistic objectives. These factors, coupled with instances of perceived bias and inaccuracies in reporting, underscore the complex nature of media coverage in conflict situations. The network's strategies, aimed at maintaining viewer interest and upholding its journalistic standards, sometimes resulted in a portrayal of the conflict that was critiqued for lacking balance and accuracy.
3. **Significance of the CNN Effect:** The findings confirm the applicability of the CNN Effect Theory in the context of the Ethiopian Northern conflict. CNN's extensive and pervasive coverage had a measurable impact on public opinion and policy-making processes. The network's reporting contributed to shaping the international discourse surrounding the conflict and influenced the responses of various actors, including governments and humanitarian organizations. The study illustrates how media coverage can affect both immediate and long-term perceptions of a conflict and its resolution.

5.2.2 Recommendations

Based on the conclusions drawn from the study, which highlight CNN's significant role in shaping the narrative of the Ethiopian Northern conflict, the following recommendations are proposed to address the identified issues:

1. Enhance Media Framing and Objectivity

- **Develop Comprehensive Framing Guidelines:** Media organizations should establish and adhere to detailed guidelines for framing conflict-related stories. These guidelines should emphasize the need to present a balanced view of all sides involved, avoiding undue emphasis on any single aspect of the conflict. By doing so, media outlets can provide a more nuanced and accurate portrayal of the situation.

- **Implement Independent Review Mechanisms:** Media outlets should incorporate independent review mechanisms to evaluate the objectivity and balance of their conflict reporting. Regular audits by external reviewers can help ensure that reporting practices adhere to journalistic standards and minimize bias.

2. Address Intentionality and Bias in Reporting

- **Prioritize Ethical Journalism Standards:** Media organizations should reinforce their commitment to ethical journalism by prioritizing accuracy, fairness, and impartiality over the pursuit of audience engagement. Training programs should emphasize the importance of maintaining journalistic integrity even in high-stakes situations.

- **Promote Transparency in Reporting Practices:** Media outlets should be transparent about their editorial processes and the factors influencing their reporting. Providing audiences with insight into how editorial decisions are made can help build trust and credibility.

- **Encourage Diverse Reporting Teams:** Media organizations should foster diversity within their reporting teams to mitigate potential biases. A diverse team is more likely to offer a range of perspectives and contribute to more balanced reporting.

3. Utilize the CNN Effect Theory to Improve Coverage

- Assess the Impact of Media Coverage: Media organizations should regularly assess the impact of their coverage on public opinion and policy. This assessment can help identify potential areas where reporting may need adjustment to better inform and serve the public.
- Engage in Constructive Dialogue with Stakeholders: Media outlets should engage in constructive dialogue with various stakeholders, including conflict-affected communities, governments, and humanitarian organizations. This engagement can provide valuable feedback and help media organizations address concerns related to their coverage.
- Monitor Long-term Effects of Reporting: Media organizations should be aware of the long-term effects of their coverage on public perception and policy-making. Monitoring these effects can help media outlets understand their role in shaping discourse and adjust their reporting strategies accordingly.

4. Promote Media Literacy and Critical Engagement

- Implement Media Literacy Programs: Educational institutions and organizations should develop media literacy programs to help the public critically engage with news coverage. These programs should focus on understanding media framing, recognizing bias, and evaluating the credibility of information sources.
- Encourage Critical Consumption of Media: Media organizations should promote critical media consumption among their audiences. Providing tools and resources for audiences to critically analyze news reports can enhance public understanding and reduce the impact of biased or incomplete reporting.

5. Strengthen Journalistic Training and Professional Development

- Expand Training on Conflict Reporting: Journalism schools and professional development programs should offer specialized training in conflict reporting. This training should cover ethical

considerations, strategies for avoiding bias, and techniques for providing comprehensive and balanced coverage.

- Foster Continuous Professional Development: Journalists should engage in continuous professional development to stay updated on best practices and emerging trends in conflict reporting. Ongoing education can help journalists maintain high standards of accuracy and fairness.

In general, addressing the issues identified in the study requires a multifaceted approach that involves improving media framing practices, enhancing objectivity and transparency, leveraging insights from the CNN Effect Theory, promoting media literacy, and strengthening journalistic training. By implementing these recommendations, media organizations can contribute to more accurate and balanced reporting on conflicts and better serve the public interest.

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Appendix

LINKS FROM ETHIOPIAN MEDIA OUTLETS

https://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=DR.ANTENEH+WITH+EBCix

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4pWw8XbpGF8>

Stories' link on CNN website

Methods of text and discourse analysis. London: Sage

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=uCC2n4j50SQ>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wS53H61bjRE>

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Ts4LtngwjYM>

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s_-YueQMLRU

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7Ph5jRGXk6E>

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

Refugees in limbo during months-long conflict in Ethiopia - YouTube

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Baf5628Itfg>

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