

THE IMAGES OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA IN  
TELEVISION: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF CNN  
NEWS PROGRAMMING FROM 1992 TO 1996

BY

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All praise and glory be to Him, Most Gracious, Most Merciful.

The following is a case study using content analysis as the research design. The aim of the study was to find out how CNN represented Bosnia and Herzegovina from April 1992 to April 1996.

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## PRONUNCIATION

of letters specific for Bosnian and some other Slavic language  
that will occasionally be used in this study

č = like English “ch” in chastity.

ć = pronounced almost like č (“ch”) but little softer; comes at the end of the most Bosnian  
last names.

š = like English “sh” in she.

ž = no equivalent in English language, but example for pronunciation can be personal  
name Zsa Zsa as in Zsa Zsa Gabor; could be spelled as “zsh.”

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

*"We live in the borderland between two worlds,  
on the border between nations, within  
everyone's reach, always someone's scapegoat.  
Against us the waves of history break, as if  
against a cliff."*

Meša Selimović, *Dervish and Death*

#### General

Today the flow of capital, goods, humans, and cultural objects is on its way to link every part of the world. Within this process, any country or society will hardly remain an island. Globalization is the phenomenon that requires the adequate and the reliable flow of information. The mass media have been intensively involved in the world's changing order especially after the end of the Cold War, when crises and warfare have been the main events of the media. These have been the prevailing content of news programming on the leading TV networks, newspapers, and magazines. In regard to the "global village" that we live in, as Marshall McLuhan called the world, being on the scene is not only professional, but also natural for journalists and their TV crews. It is not feasible to see or re-tell everything that is happening. However, the picture is sent to inform the rest of the world.

The collapse of the Soviet Union and changes in Central-Eastern Europe brought the world to the "new order." In Yugoslavia, these changes were rather perceived and experienced as a disorder. In the countries of Central-Eastern Europe, there were much



talk about the market economy, liberation and democracy, a united Europe and globalization. Nevertheless, countries of the region that have been in transition were going through different processes. The processes of transition were alike in, for instance, Poland, Hungary and Yugoslavia at the very beginning, but soon those started differing as politics and power were becoming more important than the economy in Yugoslavia. Theoretically and in practice, “ethnic nationalism” endangered the dream of united Europe. Actually, rising nationalism in Yugoslavia and Bosnia and Herzegovina doubted the well-promoted United Europe and the efficacy of the potential European Union. “Some of the momentum of European integration has been lost, and traditional exponents of nationalist and ethnic/religious particularist rhetoric have found a new lease of life” (Jenkins & Sofos, 1996, p. 10). The optimistic expectations of an easy, fast and painless transition to democracy in ex-communist countries of Central-Eastern Europe ran into an early climax. The “evil ghost” was released where else than in the Balkans.

### The Balkans settings

As the world was entering a period of the positive change and becoming smaller due to the terrestrial interconnections, the ethnic self-definition and tendency to isolate became a phenomenon. In the early 1990s, all republics of former Yugoslavia but Serbia and Montenegro decided to declare their independence and go their own way. Serbia, meanwhile, provided dominance in the People’s Army of Yugoslavia and tried with force to shut down those new ambitions of detachment from the country that, basically, could not exist as a different system, but still communistic. Having the People’s Army in hand

meant the power, since it was one of the leading forces in Europe. In particular, it was trained to protect the country from an external enemy perceived according to the model of Nazi forces. The world found itself at the edge of a happy “global village” and the deadly clashes within this village. Technology has been growing rapidly, accelerating the traffic on the information highway. In the Balkans, on the other hand, mythology and legends, based on the instinct of death, came to the surface. Someone had to tame the new conflicts of ideologies, cultures and interests. An insight of Chomsky (1994) into the philosophy of the Cold War world order and the New World Order has shown that

the rich men of the rich societies are to rule the world, competing among themselves for a greater share of wealth and power and mercilessly suppressing those who stand in their way, assisted by the rich men of the hungry nations who do their bidding. The others serve, and suffer. (p. 5)

Such derivation of guidelines of the world order comes from Churchill’s perception and prescription, outlined after World War II, which determines that the government of the world must be on trust of satisfied nations rather than hungry ones. Atrocities in Bosnia and Herzegovina became obvious in 1992, but the *genocide* and *aggression* in Bosnia were avoided in the reluctant public agenda for long time. It had mostly remained *war* and *civil war* in media and the speeches of politicians. Namely, any war with the element of civil conflict does not oblige the world’s decision-makers as much to intervene.

Sells (1996), son of a Serbian American, wrote that he knew Serbs suffered in Bosnia, but genocide has occurred

with the acquiescence of Western governments, in violation of the United Nations Charter and the Geneva Convention on Genocide of 1948. It has been motivated and justified in large part by religious nationalism, fueled financially and militarily from Serbia and Croatia, and grounded in

religious symbols. And the primary victims have been Bosnian Muslims, selected for destruction because of their religion. (p. xiii)

Since Yugoslavia, as a non-aligned communist country, had an important role in the history of the Cold War, the secession of Yugoslav republics became the world's affair. However, the European Community limited the intervention to diplomatic and humanitarian actions, and the U.S. had regarded it as a European affair.

In ex-Yugoslavia there was no aim of undoing Serbian occupation of large parts of Croatia and Bosnia (or Croatian occupation of Bosnia). On the contrary, UN forces had strictly limited mandates; the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in Bosnia was established to protect UN personnel, not the civilian population. (Shaw, 1996, p. 162)

In such circumstances, the media faced an unfamiliar concept of armed conflict that was not directly related to the interests of their countries. In truth, while thousands of people were slaughtered and forced from their homes, women systematically raped, and people tortured in death camps, the Bosnian Government expected some outside help. However, it certainly did not only wait for the world's forces to defend the sovereignty of Bosnia and Herzegovina during the aggression. The demand was the opportunity for self-defense. However, humanitarian aid supplies were coming but the lifting of the arms embargo never came. It made it harder especially for Bosniaks (Bosnian Muslims), the main target in the Serb aggression, who were unable to defend themselves properly.

Resisting strongly with their territorial defense forces, they continued to believe that, if they could hold out long enough, they would receive, if not foreign military support, at least a lifting of the embargo which prevented them from obtaining arms for their own defense. (Hudson & Stanier. 1998, p.277)

In his book In a Harm's Way, Bell of BBC (1996) expressed an inconsistency between his war reporting experience and the reporting from Bosnia in particular:

Usually you can pull the levers of experience and they point you one way or another, they show you paths round immovable obstacle – but not this time. Twenty-five years of reporting other wars weren't helping me with this one. Sinister tales were seeping into the capital, especially from Eastern Bosnia along the Drina valley, of genocide on a scale unknown in Europe for fifty years. The second hardest part was to separate truth from rumor. The hardest part was to get to the valley to do so in the first place. (p. 19)

Since media agenda, public agenda and policy agenda act as an intuitive loop, coverage of Bosnia in media was extensive. The following observation of Schechter (1997) outlines several essential concerns about media, such as how inconsistent frames of reality are available to the audience, why media cannot be taken for granted and how learning from TV news programming is not necessarily effective.

In the West, there was a virtual media cleansing of the forces behind ethnic cleansing. It took the years before the news networks shifted the way they framed the story of the former Yugoslavia from a case of ethnic and religious hatred in which all sides were equally to blame, to a story about premeditated Serbian nationalist aggression. By then it was too late. The horrific images of the war had already overwhelmed interpretive coverage. I am convicted that because so few viewers understood the conflict, few spoken out, including antiwar activists. You can determine if I am on target by asking yourself (and your friends) if you know, after all these years of watching news from Bosnia, how the war started and who was behind it. (p. 28)

In relation to similarities in media messages, Schechter (1997) stated that most items are approached and repeated in a same way.

The lineup of stories and the language used to deliver them are virtually identical. So are the pictures and the punditry, when there is any commentary at all. Pack journalism prevails. Regular followup, nuanced explanation or context is mostly missing. No wonder it's hard to make sense of complicated stories. (p. 43)

Somalia, Bosnia, Rwanda, and Haiti were usually mentioned as a similar set of political and humanitarian problems. However, the nature of the crisis in each country

was not the same. Different from the starvation in Somalia and the pressure in Haiti, the conflict in Bosnia in its nature was the aggression against a country that was pursuing its own independence in accordance with the trend of the crumbling Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. Recognizing the independence and sovereignty of the Bosnia and Herzegovina State on April 1992, the international community and the U.S. were involved in the Bosnian problem from the very beginning. Regardless of the involvement of power, this country was presented for the first time to the rest of the world as independent of Yugoslavia through its bleeding victims. "Bushbaker's crude power realism and the general pusillanimity of the western Europeans led to a policy towards Yugoslavia that was, in truth, not a policy but rather a comprehensive abdication of responsibility" (Chomsky, 1996, p. 164).

#### Who is and where is that Bosnia?

Centuries ago Bosnia and Herzegovina became a soil where different civilizations met and settled. In the life of Europe, it has been a crossroad of different political, religious and territorial divisions, such as Byzantium and Rome and later the Austro-Hungarian Empire and the Ottoman Empire. Ever since the Ottomans withdrew from the Balkan area, Serb and Croat nationalist claims were competing for Bosnia. Bringa (1995) notes that "these claims were part of wider Serbian or Croatian hegemonic aspirations in Bosnia and Herzegovina: making the Bosnian Muslims into Serbs or Croats – in other words, assimilating them – would strengthen one of two contestants considerably" (p. 13). At times, the pressure on the Muslim population to identify with Serbs or Croats was

very strong and even had assimilation aspirations. Through centuries, Bosnian Muslims have been denied as a nation, which spawned an impression of their historical discontinuity. The Islamization in the Balkans is usually taken as an appropriate fact to bolster the thesis of the historical discontinuity of ethnicity of Muslims in Bosnia. According to Bringa (1995), there are three dominant arguments in debates among Balkan scholars on this. The first argument says that the Bosnian aristocracy converted to Islam in the 15<sup>th</sup> century to retain its properties and privileges. Second, the converts were forced or coerced to do so and, finally, the converts were the members of medieval Bosnian church, whom the Roman Catholic Church and other established churches persecuted for heresy (p. 14). According to some authors, as the Christians different from Catholics and Orthodox, Bosnian Bogomils embraced Islam because of strong similarities between the two religions (Duraković, 1993, p. 23).

During the Islamic acculturation, the majority of Bosnian Bogomil Christian population became known as Bosniaks. There is a note about Bosnia as a separate territorial, political and state integrity in the writings of Byzantine emperor of the tenth century De administrando imperio. In addition, the writing of the Byzantine emperor of the mid-twelfth century about the conduct and procedures of the first Bosnian sovereign (ban) documents that medieval Bosnia was explicitly described as a country of distinct people, lifestyle and government. However, Kulin-ban (1180 – 1204) became an important sovereign in Bosnia for his independent rule. Some documents of trade connections with groups outside of Bosnia, undeniably give evidence of government in the country, existence of a state office, incomes and cultural life in Bosnia. According to the historical sources, during the rule of Kulin-ban, Bosnia experienced strong openness of its market, territorial

expansion, economic stabilization and cultural development. In 1377, the country was even proclaimed a kingdom. The authority of the medieval state consisted of a sovereign (ban) with an eminent role in the feudal hierarchy and a state council, which represented a limitation to the absolute will of sovereign. The Turkish influence developed as dominant in Bosnia in 1415. The Bosnian Kingdom ended, but it can be said that statehood has rather experienced discontinuity since the Ottomans, who were implementing their own rule, respected some societal and governmental traditions as they found them in Bosnia. Cigar (1995) found that the Orthodox community was “a protected millet, or autonomous religious and juridical entity within the Ottoman state” (p. 15)

When the Ottoman Empire started losing its power, some countries were taking advantage of it. Aspirations for an expansion of state borders that appeared in the Principality of Serbia were summarized in secret outline “Načertanije” of 1844. The Serb national project aimed to connect Bosnia and Herzegovina to Serbia.

Although autonomy was assigned to Bosnia and Herzegovina within Turkey in 1878 after the Russo-Turkish war, Austro-Hungary was supported at the Berlin Congress to occupy and govern Bosnia and Herzegovina. Thus, the National Committee was formed in Sarajevo to resist the occupation. As noted by historians, after seventy-six battles and eighty days of war, the Bosnian forces were defeated (Halilović, 1996, pp. 10-17).

Regrettably, some authors and analysts have tended to present conflicts the Balkan as historical continuity. Such portrayal of the “crossroad between the East and West,” as it is often called, would be oversimplified. It is true that ethnical and religious differences were sometimes deeply perceived, but the region was more the ground for

building the nations, state apparatus and societal regulations than a pure battleground. Thus, even if it seems overwhelming, the historical background and facts about the region that go far into the past are crucial for understanding the events and tendencies that happened during the past ten years that pushed Bosnia and Herzegovina back into the past of national self-definition. The aim of the historical overview is not only to show what and why something happened, but also to show what should not ever happen again.

Friedman (1996) noted that Bosnia and Herzegovina

reflects its pluralistic and tolerant nature, long inhabited as it was by members of many religions and later of various national groups. For many Bosnians, in such a mixed area neither national nor religious identification was important, particularly during the secularizing years of post-World War II Yugoslavia. (p. 245.)

#### Statement of purpose

The purpose of this research is to examine the TV news stories in CNN news programming to get closer to a general understanding of how the media in the U.S. frame distant conflicts. In particular, the researcher has examined TV portrayals of the key events in Bosnia from 1992 to 1996.

#### Theoretical framework

The frame analysis is the main theoretical framework in this study. This approach discusses frames of reality.

Frames select and call attention to particular aspects of the reality described, which logically means that frames simultaneously direct attention away from other aspects. Most frames are defined by what they



omit as well as include, and the omissions of potential problem definitions, explanations, evaluations, and recommendations may be as critical as the inclusions in guiding the audience. (Entman, 1993, p.54)

Closely related to framing is agenda setting, a theory that explains how the issues gain access to the media agenda, and how the media agenda influence the views about issues and the decision-making processes as well. According to DeFleur and Ball-Rokeach (1989), agenda setting “explores the power of the press to help shape public thinking about the political process and the problems it addresses” (p. 265).

The analysis of the four cultural indicators brings us closer to understanding stereotypes. The cultural indicators are “representative abstractions from the collectively experienced total texture of messages” and they provide the “boundary conditions and overall patterns within which the processes of personal and group-mediated selection, interpretation, and interaction go on” (Gerbner, 1985, pp. 13 - 14).

From the viewpoint of the Construction of Meaning Theory, the research into verbal and visual clichés in the media content certainly helps answer such questions as how we learn reality from media and how media interpret reality for us. “The depictions of the ‘world outside’ presented by the press are consequences of antecedent conditions, such as the limited resources that journalists have at their disposal to study firsthand any particular event” (DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach, 1989, p. 260).

### Methodology

The study is a content analysis of CNN news reports about Bosnia produced for *Prime News* at 7:00 p.m. CST from April 1992 to October 1995. The *Prime News* show

was renamed *World View* in 1995 at 5:00 p.m. CST. Thus, from October 1995 to April 1996 the sample was drawn from *World View* news show. The sample of news items was selected from the TV News Archive at Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee. The selection of news stories was based on the crucial events that happened in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 to 1996. The four periods were examined: April to August 1992 (26 stories); January to May 1993 (29 stories); February to May 1994 (20 stories); August 1995 to April 1996 (25 stories).

This study will attempt to answer the following research:

1. What type of coverage was most frequent in reporting about the aggression against Bosnia and Herzegovina 1992 to 1996?
2. How has the coverage of topical categories changed in CNN news programming during the periods under the study?
3. Was there a difference in the placement and the length of TV stories during the periods under the study?
4. Which terms were used to describe the nature of conflict in Bosnia?
5. How were different ethnicities in Bosnia portrayed as actors in the aggression in Bosnia and Herzegovina?
6. Which photographic clichés were used to depict the warfare in Bosnia?
7. Did CNN rely more on government or non-government sources in the stories done from 1992 until 1996?
8. What was the relationship between the opinion of the source and the opinion of the reporter about U.S. troop involvement in Bosnia and Herzegovina?

Hypotheses in this study were:

1. H<sub>1</sub>: The topical categories have changed from wartime topics to peacetime topics during the period 1992 to 1996.
2. H<sub>2</sub>: The verbal clichés clearly stated the nature of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina was aggression and genocide.
3. H<sub>3</sub>: There was a strong relationship between the opinion of the source and the opinion of the reporter about U.S. troop involvement in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

### Significance

Through the analysis of CNN news reports on Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 to 1996, the study will demonstrate what American TV media have represented in the news programming, in what frames and verbal phraseology.

The results of the study show that media appeal was not sufficient to move the Western countries to an early condemnation of genocide and aggression in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

### Limitations

The study is limited to CNN news programming. Thus, the results of study cannot be generalized to other networks in the United States.

### Thesis Plan

Chapter II of the thesis represents a review of literature about the disintegration of Yugoslavia, nationalism, the coverage of international news and coverage of Bosnia,

CNN effect, and studies of the frame analysis, the agenda-setting theory and the construction of reality theory.

Chapter III outlines the methodology employed in analysis of CNN news stories. Research design, sampling and data analysis, operational and conceptual definitions are explained in this chapter.

Chapter IV will represent the findings from the content analysis which contain statistical analysis of those findings.

Chapter V will contain a summary of the findings along with conclusions and discussion. The recommendations for future research will be outlined.

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## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF LITERATURE

*"It was said that there was no political will in Western Europe to impose a settlement in Yugoslavia. But isn't it one of the functions of political leadership to forge the necessary political will within a democratic citizenry when a moral and strategic crisis presents itself? Instead of leading on a matter in which their own strategic interests are directly at stake, western European politicians kept trying to wish the problem away"*

George Weigel

#### The background of Yugoslavia

Zimmerman (1996), the last U.S. ambassador in Yugoslavia appointed in 1989, in his writing Origins of a catastrophe brought an understanding of the rule in Yugoslavia until the 1990s and the causes of dissolution in this country. Although communistic, it was "non-Stalinist enough to inspire emulation among left-wing democratic thinkers in Western Europe." Yugoslavia, even as a communistic country, was "so pleasant that British Labour Party politicians, looking for political correctness, vacationed there" (p. 3).

When the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was created in 1918, for the Serbs, in particular, it was a great opportunity to reunite in one country since for long time they lived in two empires: Ottoman and Austro-Hungarian. In the 13<sup>th</sup> century the Habsburg dynasty was forming an empire in western and northern Europe, while in the

14<sup>th</sup> century the Ottoman Empire was taking over eastern and southern parts. Soon, the interests of these two empires crossed each other in the Balkans (Rogel, 1998, p. 3).

In World War II, partisans, led by Josip Broz Tito, fought the battle on the two fronts: against Nazis and Fascists, and, on the other hand, domestic radical and nationalistic paraforces. However, the success in the war of the world's concern, that ended in the mountains of Bosnia, provided Tito and his army with support from Great Britain and the United States. The special treatment by the western countries during the Cold War was accorded to Yugoslavia as a balance between NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) and the Warsaw Pact. Yugoslavia's independence from the Soviet Union meant a gateway to Italy, France and Greece in the Mediterranean. The U.S. government thought of Yugoslavia, although a communist country, as a model of independence in Eastern Europe "more open politically and more decentralized economically than the soviet satellites" (Zimmerman, 1996, p.7).

According to Shaw (1996), the removal of the Cold War constraints have enabled the Third World states to "use military means more freely" and the U.S. to "intervene more freely in conflict around the globe" (p. 5). As the division of world into the First, Second or Third World is no longer pertinent; a new arrangement in the world has taken its place.

#### The new world order

Observing *civilization as a cultural entity*, Huntington (1993) hypothesized that



the “fundamental source of conflict in this new world” will be primarily cultural—the *clash of civilizations* (p. 23).

As people define their identity in ethnic and religious terms, they are likely to see an ‘us’ and ‘them’ relation existing between themselves and people of different ethnicities and religion. The end of ideologically defined states in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union permits traditional ethnic identities and animosities to come to the fore. (Huntington, 1993, p. 29)

Briefly, the differences among civilizations, the world as a smaller place, the economic modernization and social change, and the growth of civilization-consciousness enhanced by the dual role of the West outline Huntington’s basic ideas of the future clashes (p. 26). However, not only the differences among the civilizations will cause the conflict. One more relationship should be considered—the *denial* of civilization by an other civilizations. The denial of one civilization implies the tendency of another civilization to prevail and be regarded as superior. In the age of the self-recognition and revocation of national values and identities, the differences go beyond the conflict—they inevitably lead to violence.

When Yugoslavia lost its importance as a country that served a non-aligned separating zone in the late 1980s, the different values, expectations and goals polarized Yugoslavia—economic advances on the model of the Western countries or the division between Orthodox Christianity and Islam. Slobodan Milošević had already been taking advantage of those circumstances by repressing the right of ethnic Albanians in Kosovo, sharpening the conflict with Slovenia and promoting the brotherhood and unity of Yugoslavia. His pleading for unity of Yugoslavia soon developed into Serbian jingoism and extremism. On March 15, 1989 Lawrence Eagleburger, Secretary of State, expressed his opinion on Milošević’s nationalism before the Senate:

What he has done is create a situation which I think is very dangerous. I don't yet say it's come to the point of the real likelihood of shooting. But it is far the worst situation with the regard to the nationality question we have seen since the close of the war. (in Zimmerman, 1996, p.8).

Glenny (1994) perceived Milošević as the most paradoxical of dictators, a man without passion, “without any real nationalist motivation” in contrast to what could be seen on the surface (p. 31). Those who knew him before he became widely known as the “Balkan Butcher” or the “Emperor of the Night,” noticed his somewhat liberal ideas and an “ability to blackmail weaker politicians” (Glenny, 1994, p. 31; Zimmerman, 1996, p. 15). As mentioned earlier, the year 1989 appeared to be a turning point in Milošević’s political engagement in Yugoslavia. At first, he started exploiting the “powerful anti-Albanian sentiment among Serbs” by recalling the myths woven about Kosovo and the battle of 1389. Milošević could not choose a better means to reach his end—power—than that of the unity of Serbs and safety of the land where they live. Glenny (1994), however, thinks that Serbs would not succeed in the concept of the one nation in one state capable of overcoming social and economic ills because “Serbian society is so deeply riven by provincial rivalry and indeed suspicion” (p.16).

After many unsuccessful efforts to reform the economy and social system in Yugoslavia, Slovenia and Croatia declared their independency on June 25, 1991. The People’s Army of Yugoslavia had reacted immediately in Slovenia where the assault lasted some eleven days. In Croatia, there already had been conflicts with Serb irregulars and reservists since August 1990. In April 1992 those two republics gained international recognition as independent states. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, the “panther skin” of different religions and peoples, there was a problem with its independence at the very beginning. Bosnian Serbs, backed with nationalism from Serbia, opposed any separation

from Yugoslavia. Radovan Karadžić, the leader of Bosnian Serbs and the Serb Democrat Party, openly threatened the Bosniaks, saying before the Bosnian Assembly: "Do not think that you will not lead Bosnia-Herzegovina into hell, and do not think that you will not perhaps make the Muslim people disappear, because Muslims cannot defend themselves if there is war" (Sells, 1996, p. 9).

However, 63.4% of Bosnians held the referendum for independence and 99.4% of voters decided in favor of sovereignty and territorial integrity. Shortly after the referendum, Serbs set up barricades in the streets of Sarajevo. The wave of Serb terrorism in Bosnia was quickly spreading all over the country. The state of emergency in Bosnia was declared on April 3, 1992 (Zülch, 1996, p. 29). The founder and the President of the Society for Threatened Peoples, Zülch (1996), observed that Bosnia had been a "fortress of tolerance" before Serbs started their persecution and extinction of Bosniaks and total destruction of their religious and cultural monuments (pp. 93-94). For the better understanding of nationalities in Bosnia and their identification, it is important to highlight that Muslim in Bosnia was the identification of nationality not a religious identification. However, the nationality implied a religious affiliation, so Serbs were mostly Orthodox, Croats Catholics, and Muslims were affiliated with Islam. "To say one was Muslim in Bosnia was similar to someone, say in Chicago or New York City, saying he was ethnically Jewish" (Rogel, 1998, p. 29). Thus, where possible in this study, the term *Bosniak* stands for Bosnian Muslims to separate religious and national implications.

The starting point for the study of nationalism is “how nation operates in practice” which is an analysis of deployment and formulation of nationalist logics and frames of reference (Jenkins & Sofos, 1996, p. 11). Nations are regarded as “political artifacts called into being by nationalist ideologies and movements.” Roughly, the “raw material of collective identity” such as a common language, a shared history or culture, religious particularism, a sense of territorial, ethnic or racial distinctiveness, and the existence of some political identity in the past or in the present are chief ingredients of nationalism.

Nationalisms are the product of complex social negotiation, premised on the activation of social and cultural relationships and emotional investments among the—potential—members of the national community, as well as on strategies for the pursuit of interest, and attainment of power by individuals and collectives. (p. 11)

According to Sofos (1996), in the late 1980s and the early 1990s in Yugoslavia the “national identities have been asserted throughout the positing of oppositional, or antagonistic relationships between the nation and its ‘other’, and the complexity of the ‘political’ has been reduced to bipolar antagonisms” (p. 276).

The Constitution of 1974 clearly limited Serbian aspirations by defining a certain degree of independence for each constituent republic of Yugoslavia. This was widely interpreted as a potential threat to Serbia especially after Tito’s death in April 1980. Zimmermann (1996) wrote that Tito by the Constitution of 1974 “effectively destroyed the center in Yugoslavia” and “possibly he wanted to deny Serbia the opportunity to reestablish its pre-World War II dominance over Yugoslav political institutions” (p. 16). Serbia’s pre-World War II dominance refers to the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes created in 1918 where as Serbian perspective was that the “coalition represented an informal extension of its [Serbian] power” (Turković, 1996, p. 14) In case of the

dissolution of Yugoslavia, Serbs in the other republics would be a minority. The problem actually was not as significant. The republics in their constitutions mostly had recognized the rights of minorities, but it was not enough to satisfy the Serbian aspiration for dominance. According to Cigar (1995), in the 1980s Serbs started drawing a “Manichaeian contrast between the Serbs and others—a lopsided philosophy of dualism in which the Serbs monopolized all such positive virtues as bravery, tolerance, long-suffering patience, superior morality, culture, and even intelligence” (p. 73).

#### Self-determination and “final revolution”

Weigel (1994) argued that three great experiments in twentieth century that tried to make “‘normal’ nation-states” failed: Leninism and the USSR, Wilsonianism and Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia, and finally British colonialism and India failed (p. 98).

The Wilsonian experiment refers to:

...the notion that peoples have the ‘right to self-determination,’ a right that other peoples are obliged to respect. Moreover, it is usually (though not always) understood that the ‘right to self-determination’ carries with it the right to an independent, sovereign nation-state. The assertion of this right, and the attempt to embody it in the forms and trappings of national statehood, is now the single most volatile element in world politics. (p. 98)

Weigel (1994) also wrote that the “final revolution”—the revolution of conscience in communistic countries— “was not the end of history but rather the return of history to its normal patterns and rhythms” (p. 38). In Yugoslavia in general, and Bosnia in particular, it can be applied to the Serb and Croat aspiration for dominance and the need of Bosniaks to have accepted their identity, culture and tradition. Furthermore, Weigel (1994), said

the principle of sovereignty cannot mean that states are free to engage in the discriminate slaughter of religious, racial, or ethnic minorities within their borders. When that is taking place, others have a right—perhaps even a duty—to intervene to stop the killing. (p. 100)

For instance, Biljana Plavšić was a professor of biology and former dean of the Faculty of Natural Sciences and Mathematics at the University of Sarajevo. Politically active with the Serb Democrat Party, she promoted extreme nationalist and racist theories. Ethnic cleansing in her understanding was a "natural phenomenon" that was necessary because of the "genetic deformity" of Bosnia's Muslims. She argued that the ancestors of Bosniaks (Bosnian Muslims) had originally been Serbs, "...but it was genetically deformed material that embraced Islam." The statement by Plavšić that justifies the genocide of Bosniaks in Bosnia and Herzegovina was published in the journal *Svet* of Novi Sad, Vojvodina, in September 1993 and cited by Professor Slobodan Inić in an article published by the Helsinki Committee for Human Rights (<http://www.applicom.com/twibih/twib0101.html>).

Sells (1996) observed that "Croat and Serb nationalism is based upon an identification of nationhood with particular branch of the Christian religion. In such religious nationalism, a Muslim is treated as a second-class citizen at best" (p.8). As an extension of propaganda created by Milošević, Serbs claimed that other peoples in Bosnia, especially Bosniaks, were threatening them. Radovan Karadžić, the leader of Bosnian Serbs, announced their preparedness for "self-defense" before the Bosnian Assembly: "Do not think that you will not lead Bosnia-Herzegovina into hell, and do not think that you will not perhaps make the Muslim people disappear, because Muslims cannot defend themselves if there is war" (Sells, 1996, p. 9)

Ignatieff (1994) observed that ethnic and racial tensions are not strange even in the world's successful multi-ethnic society. However, the strong state whose authority is respected, keeps those tensions "within bounds" (p. 243). From the Yugoslav perspective, there was no strong state to prevent negative consequences of dissolution. Instead, three categories of nationalism became vigorous. According to Ignatieff (1994), the first nationalism—a political doctrine—is "the belief that the world's peoples are divided into nations, and that each of these nations has the right of self-determination, either as self-governing units within existing nation-states or as nation-states of their own" (p. 5). Second, nationalism, as a cultural ideal "is the claim that while men and women have many identities, it is the nation that provides them with their primary form of belonging." Finally, referring to a moral ideal, "nationalism is an ethic of heroic sacrifice, justifying the use of violence in the defense of one's nation against enemies, internal or external" (Ignatieff, 1994, p. 5).

Weigel (1994) suggested the three limitations to sovereignty, self-determination and the necessity of intermediate arrangements. Sovereignty, as a freedom of external influences or the "consequent immunity of states in their 'internal affairs'" is not absolute (p. 99). States, actually, accept certain limitations of their sovereignty by agreeing to, for instance, international laws and human rights agreements. Thus, sovereignty including its immunity from interference in one's internal affairs has to constitute an exceptionless norm to claim the "right to self-determination" because such a claim is not made in a "historical or political vacuum" (p. 101). Therefore, if a country loses its independent statehood, considerations of internal and regional stability, or irredentist territorial claims may determine the country's ability to exercise the right to self-determination.

## Television images of Bosnia and Herzegovina

*"Till the eyes tire, millions of us watch the shadows of shadows and find them substance; watch scenes, situations, actions, exchanges, crisis. The slice of life, once a project of naturalist drama, is now a voluntary, habitual, internal rhythm; the flow of action and acting, of representation and performance, raised to a new convention, that of a basic need."*

Raymond Williams

### Analysis of visual images

Actually, no model of analysis of visual images in TV news programming exists. The studies in mass media are mostly directed at the analysis of discourse. "Visuals are all too often taken at face-value and simply assumed to 'reflect' or 'mirror' the events and people captured on film" (Hansen, et. al., 1998, p. 190). Even though most researchers argue that written text and audio channel matter more for theoretical and methodological reasons, visual representation is significant in television. "When visuals are presented in a narrative sequence, they can significantly enhance both recall and learning as well as subjective assessments of understanding" (Crigler & Neuman, 1994, p. 145). In the study of visuals, the importance is how and what we learn from the an audio-visual medium. Graber (1990) argues that, to a certain extent, television has returned people to visual learning. In her study of ABC, CBS, NBC and PBS news stories she found that the "pictures on television news contain ample information, but this information does not supply the kind of factual learning that social scientists measure" and the "types of scenes used for television stories are notable for their routine, stereotypical approaches" (Graber, 1990, pp. 137-139)



Even though content analysis does not allow for the conclusions about the viewers' perception and retention of messages mediated on television, motivation for such analysis comes from cognitive theory and cognitive models of visual comprehension. Dijk (1985) wrote that a "cognitive theory of news values can be built into the cognitive (re-)production model to account for the special, socio-cultural and institutional constraints upon news reporting" (p. 7).

According to Gerbner (1985), media discourse "reflects policies of media institutions and enters into the cultivation of conceptions in ways that can be investigated" (p. 13). The investigation needs the indicators as "prevailing winds of the common symbolic environment in which and to which most people respond." The indicators are also referred to as "representative abstractions from the collectively experienced total texture of messages" or, simply broader concepts cultivated about life and society. Gerbner's analysis is fully based on discourse. However, it can be applicable to the analysis of visuals. His message system investigates features or dimensions such as existence, importance, values, and relationships. The *existence*, accompanied with *attention*, as an indicator of the items available to the audience. According to Cottle (1993), there is "a range of preformed beliefs, values and ideas" that audiences bring to the viewing context (p. 7). A contribution to these preformed cultural clichés is the specific structure of a TV news story. As a short form of information delivery, it implies certain topical prominence and repetitive approach to events and topics.

#### Framing in TV news

A frequent exposure to television news programming dictates and shapes our

behavior to a certain degree. Initially, agenda-setting was studied in the traditional context of voter behavior. Later, it appeared as the idea that mass media are capable of transferring “the salience of items on their news agendas to the public agenda” (Bryant & Zillman, 1994, p. 4).

There are procedures in how journalists deal with news. As newsroom practice imposes, journalists, in fact, gatekeepers, decide each day which events to cover and from which to make news. Since there is no room for all daily occurrences to be considered as news, a great percent of potential news is not transmitted to the audience. Thus, there is a gate information passes through to get to the final stage and become published or broadcast. Then, certain issues are represented in certain frames. Entman (1993) defined framing as “scattered conceptualization” (p. 51) Furthermore, “frames call attention to some aspects of reality while obscuring other elements, which might lead audiences to have different reactions” (Entman, 1993, p. 55). He found four functions of the frame. Once an issue gets on media agenda, frame is used to *define problems*—determine what a casual agent is doing with what costs and benefits, usually measured in terms of common cultural values; *diagnose causes*—identify the forces creating the problem; *make moral judgments*—evaluate casual agents and their effects; and *suggested remedies*—offer and justify treatments for the problems and predict their likely effects. A single sentence may perform more than one of these four framing functions, although many sentences in a text may perform none of them (Entman, 1993, p. 52). Thus, the frame is regarded as having “a common effect on large portions of the receiving audience, though it is not likely to have an universal effect on all” (p. 54). In other words, the frame decides how people understand and remember a problem, and how people evaluate and choose to act upon it.

Although transmitted to the audience, not all news has an equal treatment in the media. Such characteristic is apparent through the placement, length, and number of times the news story is repeated in the media. One of the first sociologists, Robert E. Park, noted in 1922 that “Out of all events ... the editor chooses certain items for publication which he regards as more important or more interesting than others. ... There is an enormous amount of news ‘killed’ every day” (Dearing & Rogers, 1996, p. 10). TV images can touch emotions of the viewers better than stories published in newspapers and magazines even if the print media provide us with more analytical and profound articles about the events. Crigler and Neuman (1994) suggested “the power of television as a medium that grabs attention and is emotionally involving derives not simply from visuals but from the *combination* of audio and visual stimuli” (p. 146).

The graphics and TV images from Ethiopia in 1984 produced the charity of the U.S. for hungry Ethiopian people, especially children. Even if Bosnia already had the media attention in 1992, Strobel (1997) highlighted how President Bush decided on the peace operation in favor of Somalia as an “easier” case in 1992. Warren Christopher declared in 1993 that U.S. policy should not be made by CNN.

The initial research approach in mass communication was looking for the direct effects of media messages in changing the attitudes of individuals in audiences. Conversely, Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw found in 1972 that media effects are indirect and cognitive rather than persuasive. Even though the mass media “set” the agenda for the public, they still do not educate the audience about what opinions to develop. Setting the agenda implies that the media tell people what news and content they should think about, as Bernard Cohen noted in 1963.

The media frame reality by choosing to cover only certain events and issues, while other are ignored. Thus, the analysis of media frames can provide knowledge of media reality, organization of experience, and cultural inferences. A fundamental required for the frame analysis, the term “strip,” introduced by Goffman (1974) refers to any arbitrary “slice or cut from the stream of ongoing activity” (1974, p. 10). These slices and cuts also imply sequences of happenings perceived by those subjectively involved. The other term is “frame” that refers to situations that are “built up in accordance with principles of organization which govern events and our subjective involvement in them” (Goffman, 1974, p. 10). Finally, in these terms, “frame analysis” appears to be the examination of the organization of experience. A certain meaning must be assigned to the experience, respectively, the events and issues in the focus of attention. Furthermore, this meaning or content makes the frame within which the events and issues can be understood.

According to Dearing and Rogers (1996), the stage of being in the focus of attention implies that the issue has to be controversial to a certain degree, with an interaction between proponents and opponents in the mass media considered in a public arena. Occurrence of the event, wherever it comes from, allows and seeks for the audience’s interpretation. Since the media are a transmitter of those events and occurrences, they also offer the frames of issues that should be interpreted not only by the audience, in general, but also by every individual who is part of that audience. Also, we must consider the need of the audience to interpret the news, especially those who are not connected to their immediate social environment within already existing and intelligible frames.

Following the concept of Goffman, it can be said that frames are somewhat shaped to fit into the user's or audience's expectations. For this use of "replicative records of events," he said that they are, actually, "replays of a recording of a strip of actual activity for the purpose of establishing as fact, as having occurred, something that happened in the past" (Goffman, 1974, p. 68). "Replicative records of events" serve as the "keys" which functionally interpret already meaningful input within the primary framework. Furthermore, "keys" lead to stereotyping.

#### Media and international conflicts

Rotberg and Weis (1996) characterized CNN as the medium that remains "a vehicle for reaching policy-makers who may leave their televisions on all day in their offices as a kind of alert mechanism" (p. 185). During the Kurdish crisis in Northern Iraq Turkish President Turgot Ozal kept his television set tuned to CNN even during official meetings to have the essential information before it was cabled from Washington. In the chapter "Driving Fast Without a Road Map" Strobel (1997) introduces the structural effect of CNN; that is, how government officials receive information, make decisions, and communicate them on the level of other policy officials and the audience. He also posed that "the influence of the news media expands to fill the vacuum left by lack of societal consensus and strong presidential leadership and communication" (p. 64). With regard to the macro level, that is the approach of the U.S. to the world, and the micro level in regard to how to respond to the specific crisis, this interaction, in essence, can be

accepted as the phenomenon of the post-Cold War era and the news media as a more independent actor in the changing world order.

Since it is not possible to publish or broadcast every single detail about events and issues on the media agenda, the media mostly select only significant and special circumstances and details about the events and issues. Consequently, such selection mirrors the world differently from what it really is, respectively; only one world exists in more than only one reality. Goffman calls it an “understandable error,” unless it is an intentional fabrication. Tuchman (1978) suggested that news reports “help to shape a public definition” of what the particular issue is (p. 191).

Pieterse (1997) defined two features of the international media. The first feature is that international media report on war rather than on underlying conflicts. Second, individuals and leaders draw more of media’s attention than social and economic problems, history, the present world order, and general human relations.

As a powerful tool of mass communication, television both mirrors and leads society. As a constant learning environment and the distributor of images, it presents the good and the bad. The substance of consciousness cultivated by television, Weimann (2000) concluded, is more comprised of “broad, underlying, global assumptions about the ‘facts’ of life” than of specific attitudes and opinions. Its “ability to standardize, streamline, amplify, and share common cultural norms with virtually all members of society” makes television unique (p. 8). Weimann experienced the Gulf War in his hometown Haifa, and learned about distortion, manipulation and censorship of images. Thus, he adopted C. Wright Mills’ notion of “second-hand worlds” where, using the television media channels, Reality becomes Constructed Mediated Reality and then

Perceived Mediated Reality. Constructed Mediated Reality is more dramatic, more colorful, more intense, more active and faster than real life. Perceived Mediated Reality is highly selective process that depends on selective exposure, selective perception and selective retention. Thus, these elements further reconstruct the mediated reality (pp. 11-12).

Schechter (1997) stated that “television influences viewers’ beliefs and cultivates their world by repetition of limited forms of TV programming.” At the same time, as the window on the world, it is narrower than we think and

when it treats reality, television news wants to be believed, seen as conveying truth by upholding objectivity. Yet all too often it equates empty-mindedness with open-mindedness. Media gatekeepers in our commercial culture invariably screen out perspectives that challenge the conventional wisdom. (p. 33)

Former Secretary General of the UN Butros Butros Ghali noted that “decisions about which stories to cover and for how long have a real lasting impact on the course of international events.” For Ghali CNN was the sixteenth member of the Security Council. As others have thought, media promoted the “culture of the moment, when cameras jump from bloody flashpoint to bloody flashpoint but rarely focus on what can or should be done about the problems” (Schechter, 1997, p. 46). Kofi Annan, current Secretary General of the United Nations, suggested “preventive journalism” that would prevent genocides by operating with more responsibility. According to Schechter, this idea was “shot down” by Christiane Amanpour, who viewed news as just the facts (p. 47).

CNN effect

Since agenda-setting is a theory of limited media effects, some studies aimed to define to what extent the media effect, respectively, the CNN effect, had an impact on the decision-making process in the U.S. From the perspective of agenda-setters and sources of news, there is a relationship between the participants in the decision-making process and the media agenda. Livingston (1997) has developed a typology of “CNN Effects” which are “accelerant,” “impediment,” and “agenda-setting agency,” which he defined as the mode of coverage in Somalia, Bosnia, and Haiti. The main point of the “agenda-setting agency” is the prominence assigned to the particular event or one angle of the event. Thereafter, this prominence was raised or, in some cases, “pumped up,” dependent on the particular media interest in the event.

As the results of Linsky’s study in 1986 showed, the relationship between the media agenda and the participants in the decision-making process is much weaker and implies that the media coverage of an event or issue to be considered must be a “public” issue. However, those relationships enable us to understand, as Dearing & Rogers (1996) defined, why the information about certain issues only pass through the gates of selectivity and are available to the public, why certain issues are addressed through politics, and how public opinion is shaped.

In writing about wrote about the images of crises on CNN and reactions of politicians to it, Neuman (1996) says that CNN, for example, became the universal intervener in terms of the pressure for engagement or disengagement (p. 14 – 15). This suggestion relates to the engagement of U.S. troops in Somalia during President Bush’s mandate as well as claims for their withdrawal during the mandate of President Clinton. The news frame that drew world attention from the very beginning of the conflict in



Somalia changed its content and meaning over time and directly influenced the decision on the withdrawal of U.S. troops.

Conversely, Natsios (1996) suggested that so-called “CNN effect” was overvalued and of limited consequence. In reference to the “CNN effect” he found that this effect suggests that policy-makers obtain most of their information from media reports on different “manmade” disasters and that they only respond to scenes of those disasters. In the Bosnian case the electronic media were not the first and only factor that has drawn world’s attention in the context of foreign policy. Natsios (1996) stated that military intervention in Bosnia was only partly driven by Western media and that the “CNN effect in this case was clearly exaggerated” (p. 162). In the context of the bombing in Iraq in 1998, Schorr (1998) scrutinized this event as the most dramatic example of the CNN effect, arguing that CNN changes the course of history.

#### Media and principles of journalism

The principles of accuracy, objectivity, neutrality and fairness make journalists conform to the factual reporting. However, questioning the purity of those principles inevitably confirms that “impartiality, in television, like chastity in fiancées, is much admired but hard to sustain” (Swallow, 1996, p. 21). Gans (1979) also states that, even though they try hard to be objective, journalists are not free of values and/or judgments, respectively. Fuller (1996) wrote that the bias of immediacy rules because only new information or the up-date of what has already been broadcast make the news. He also argues that objectivity actually is an inadequate description of how journalists perform their tasks. “Only an amnesiac could approach anything in a state of pure neutrality. But,

even recognizing this, journalists can discipline themselves to correct bias and deal with each new situation with an open mind' (Fuller, 1996, p. 28). Morrison and Tumber (1995) observed that a "reasonable amount of accuracy and rounded presentation of the facts" is all that can be expected from journalists. However, "facts are provisional upon wider understandings than that which is observed; but a factual account can be taken to be what community accepts as reasonably accurate, given the limitations and difficulties of observing events" (p. 315).

Shattuck (1996) argues that media, as an inescapable mediator between the events and audience, are morally neutral "their value will be determined by the uses to which they are put" (p.175). Detmer (1997) suggested a problem with the theory of objectivity as it is conceived as underscoring different perceptions of the reasons and conclusions.

In journalism, there is still strong antagonism concerning the neutrality of the media about what they see on the field and whether or not media should have a humanitarian agenda, which implies a perspective more profound than the poor facts. However, the media have a role to inform the public. For this reason, access to accurate information and transmission of accurate information is required. The media should become more knowledgeable about crises and move beyond the simple and stereotyped approaches to those events. Swallow (1966) said about reporters that "their responsibility is enormous, and their activities, inevitably, are controversial" (p. 102). "Film that has been shot on the scene of the news story is still the most vivid and effective means of representing not only the facts of the news, but—and more importantly—the flavour and the smell of it" (Swallow, 1966, p. 35). On the other hand, not always the crew is permitted to do the filming on the scene and show the reality to the audience. If events

are not filmed, it does not necessarily mean that they do not exist. The following experience shows how the truth can be learned in other ways:

Soon enough we came upon the reason why the Serbs that day were a little shy of visitors. Three miles ahead a Muslim policeman signaled us urgently into a side road, and we caught up with the rearguard of a great and forced migration of whole communities of Muslims and Croats. Here it was in its early stages. It later came to be known as ethnic cleansing. This egregious euphemism was Bosnia's contribution to the language of war. It covered a multitude of crimes from intimidation to murder. It took its origins from the training manuals of the old Yugoslav army, where advancing units were ordered to 'clean' or 'cleanse'—the word *čišćenje* means either—the area ahead of them of mines or obstacles or enemy. As the Serbs adopted it, all non-Serbs became their enemy, civilians as much as soldiers. (Bell, 1996, pp. 20-21)

No matter how much objectivity and neutrality are obligatory principles in journalism, Cumings (1992) sees bias and subjectivity as unavoidable in television production:

Every assemblage of television images into program is a deeply subjective, contrived, manipulated human effort, resting on a template of more or less hidden, more or less self-conscious assumptions that are inescapably biased. That is our unshakable position, our 'point of view'. (Cumings, 1992, p. 45)

Amanpour discussed the antagonism between the neutrality and independent judgment as an ethical dilemma of the journalist in the field reporting:

The question of objectivity is paramount. What does it mean? Does it mean treating all sides equally? I do not believe so, I believe it makes giving all sides a fair hearing. If you treat all sides equally, if you draw moral equivalence between victim and aggressor then you are just a step away from being neutral, and when you are neutral you are just one step away from being an accomplice... in the case of Bosnia... an accomplice to genocide. ([www.mbnlobal.com/amanpour.htm](http://www.mbnlobal.com/amanpour.htm))

Rotberg and Weis (1996) suggested a greater self-consciousness of the media when covering usually "unfamiliar kinds of crises in unfamiliar locales" (p.180).

### Who says what ...?

The principles of social responsibility are not mirrored only in the work of journalists themselves, but also in the sources they use. According to Fiske (1987), the representation of people is central concern of television even in the news stories. "Its most typical image is a mid-shot or close-up of someone talking or reacting. Two and three-shots establish identities, spatial relationship and location, and then the camera moves in on the individual" (p. 149). In the analysis of discourse, Davis (1985) asked three crucial questions of *who is speaking*, *what are they saying*, and *what do they mean* (p. 46). The question *who is speaking* pertains to the person who has an access to the medium. Furthermore, in the "hierarchy of access" there are three relations between the status of the speaker and "mediation of speech." The person with higher status gets a relatively greater attention and the more direct presentation that is while media personnel tend to "endorse the speaker's assumption." The rule of greater media attention can be understood as if media are "simply reflecting an external world of facts, events and characters" (Davis, 1985, p. 47).

Through the analysis of media occupations and professionals, Boyd-Barrett (1995) found that the "fluid symbiosis of practice and genre...is also a function of broader organizational constraints, as well as of cultural values and expectations" (p. 270). Some studies in this field that were studies of news values in particular, identified values such as *élite persons* and *attributions* in reference to an availability of direct source for what is reported; *facticity* of event-oriented reports rather than processes or ideas; and recently recognized *continuity* where events from already reported stories and

familiar to people are more likely get media space and attention; *competition* is judged by the presentation of the same issue in more than one medium; *co-option* is linked to the greater probability of story to be reported from the small country if journalist is already visiting the capital of that country; *predictability* is referred to as the ease with which a story can be covered through established routines and sources (Boyd-Barrett, 1995, p. 272).

The interpretation of relying on official sources can also be done in the light of Klapper's theory of *reinforcement*. The media are taken only to "reinforce existing opinions" rather than to change minds. There is a crucial connection between attitudes and actions; that is, "if media 'only' reinforce 'existing opinions,' they may well be readying action, or anchoring opinion in newly routine behaviour." Reinforcement can be understood as the "crucial solidifying of attitude into *ideology*" that, as a pattern of consciousness, decides the perception and response of people to new situations (Gitlin, 1995, p. 27).

### Media language and reality of peril

Virtually, the media's chief role and effort is bringing the different issues and conflicts to broader attention. However, vague reports that lead sometimes to misrepresentation cannot be avoided. There is, at least, one simple reason—media workers, who have a different understanding of the things observed, or modest or no understanding at all, interpret the facts and information found on the scene. If a medium's financial sources do not allow for having the crew on the scene, the risk of getting

muddled information is greater. Thus, the interpretations of a same item are sometimes more or less (mis)interpreted or not profound enough to be as close as possible to the reality.

Even those “heavily covered“ issues, particularly the late twentieth century conflicts, seem to be too fragmental in the factual and explanatory tissue. In truth, war is war; it is all the same if observed at distance and if we do not fight it. In other words, it is, eventually, natural that the idea of distant war is based on already existing and adopted concepts and beliefs, so is natural confusion in distinguishing characteristics of different conflicts and their significance. Allen (1999) observed that “although wars are sometimes discussed as if they are phenomena objectively existing in nature, in practice there have always been important differences in the application of the term” and as the term, war is an “emotive and resonant word, one which conjures up powerful images and associations” (pp. 11-12).

The interaction between the Meaning Theory and the Construction of Reality helps us in our attempts to answer the questions of how do we know reality and the world around us, what is the meaning of the interpretations of reality made by media, and what are the consequences of that “media reality?” In the context of Lippmann’s “The World Outside and the Pictures in Our Heads,” Hudson (1998) wrote that “watching the outside world, the picture was much different. The war was not seen as an international conflict, but as yet another Balkan civil war between peoples who were always fighting one another” (p. 277). Shattuck (1996) labeled the situation in Bosnia as “the most intractable crisis of our time” (p. 171).

Mandelbaum (1996) suggested that there was no American interest in Somalia, Haiti, or Bosnia that fit the historical basis of U.S. foreign policy (cited in Livingston, p. 300). Brough (1996) wrote about causes that maintained the non-intervening attitude of Western powers from the aspect of operational terms used in the news. "The message, however laudable, is often sacrificed to the immediacy of the image; in Bosnia as in other wars, the news has tended to concentrate on the symptoms of the conflict rather than the cause" (quotation from Ashdown The Sunday Times, 20 March 1994, in Brough, 1996, p.20).

Weigel (1994) asked how can we tell the difference between civil war and the war between newly minted and legitimate sovereign states? He argued that the moral revulsion people felt at the events in former Yugoslavia suggested "a grave deficiency in the argument that the principle of non-interference to stop this carnage, whether one considers the conflict a civil war or a regional war among micro-states" (pp. 100-101). Gutman (1993) argued "the assault against Bosnia had all earmarks of genocide, but no official would utter the word because it would force them to come up with a policy response" (p. xiv)

In the context of the construction of reality, Tuchman (1978) highlighted the suggestion of Berger and Luckman that "social meanings, constituted in social interactions, are transformed into institutional and organizational rules and procedures that may be invoked as resources to justify actions" (p. 195). Moreover, the meanings may be modified, codified apart from the primary developed context while procedure may become "the way to do things." According to the study of social psychologist Kurt Lewin, "what exists as 'reality' for the individual is to a high degree determined by what

is socially accepted as reality” (Lowery & DeFleur, 1995, p. 194). Television “cultivates” certain images and concepts in the heads of the audience by repeating them. Thus, the cultivation analysis can help us to better understand the stereotyping in the media content and in the audience’s thinking.

Accordingly, the audience derives reality based on the facts that the media provide, often including the confusing and contradictory angle of these facts due to the lack of time and, often, superficiality and alteration of the news reports. Regardless of these shortcomings, media do not distort the reality on purpose; they are creators of illusions. However, tightness of time and space inevitably result in truncated summaries and interpretations of the mediated world.

Regarding the knowledge of the subject, Sadkovich (1998) suggested that “journalists ground their reporting and their analyses in conventional wisdom,” which pertains, on the other hand, to the excitement of the profession (p. 47). Referring to the interpretations of the news, Brough argued “the multiple conflict of what may be called the “War of the Yugoslav Succession” was called simply the “Bosnian War” which “adequately facilitated readings of the Gulf War, but which not (and could not) adequately contain the situation on the ground in this instance” (Brough, 1996, p. 20). Similarly to Brough, Sadkovich noticed the impact of the “Gulf War frame” and the Bosnian issue that was especially visible from the presentation of different ethnic groups in Yugoslavia implying Bosnia and Herzegovina and the interaction between them. Pertaining to this, “the U.S. media are sensitive to ethnicity.” He posed that “media tried to fit Yugoslavia’s breakup into a cluster of historic myths and bogus peace process” (Sadkovich, 1998, p. 44-45).



According to Hudson (1998), “probably never before had the influence of the media been more powerfully felt by the governments of the world than in the ensuing months and years of the war in Bosnia” (p. 278). He also concluded that the “media acted as a mainspring which continually forced the inadequate clockwork to run” (Hudson, 1998, p. 300).

As Livingston’s (1997) findings demonstrate, the proportion of attention that the U.S. electronic and print media gave to the humanitarian crisis for the period from January 1995 to mid-May 1996 was uneven. Actually, Bosnia tops Livingston’s list of the U.S. media attention for this period, one we can call the “immediate aftermath.” At that period the U.S. was engaged in the peacemaking process in Bosnia. However, his study does not provide the content of the research on particular patterns in the TV news shots. Even if some researchers estimated the Bosnian War as the most seen film shot in media, Rwanda, for example, readily pushed it back from the news agenda in 1994. This implies that journalists “packed their bags” (Sadkovich, 1998, p. 50) whenever the place or region of interest lost its newsworthiness.

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## CHAPTER III

### METHODOLOGY

#### Introduction

This chapter describes the methodology of the study. The researcher explains the purpose of analysis, research design, sampling procedure, selection criteria for sample and operational and conceptual definitions.

#### Purpose of analysis

The research was conducted to find out what the main emphasis of CNN was in covering the war in Bosnia and how these events were framed.

#### Research design

The methodology employed in this study is content analysis. Content analysis appears to be the most useful for examination of differences and constant elements regarding the primary and secondary focus of TV news items, the length, the type of coverage, the lexical and visual clichés and placement of the news item in the newscast.

For Berelson (1952), content analysis is “a research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication” (p. 18). Hsia (1988) wrote the analysis of content “infers underlying intent, motivation,



orientation, and effect, either implicit or manifest” (p. 318). According to Krippendorff (1980), content analysis is “a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context” (p. 21). Kerlinger (1986) defined a content analysis as a “method of studying and analyzing communication in a systematic, objective, and quantitative manner for the purpose of measuring variables” (p. 127).

The study involved several steps. The research questions, hypotheses and universe were defined, a sample was selected and the unit of analysis defined. The code sheet was developed. The coders practiced and conducted the pilot study. The unit of analysis was coded. The data gathered was analyzed and interpreted. A simple frequency distribution, a chi-square analysis and correlation coefficient were the statistical measures used in data analysis. SPSS was used for statistical calculations where it was appropriate.

#### Coder reliability

An intercoder reliability test was conducted between the two coders and calculated by using Holsti’s formula  $R=2M/N1+N2$ , where M is the number of coding decisions on which two coders agree, and N1 and N2 were the total number of coding decisions made by the first and second coder (Wimmer & Dominick, 1999, pp. 151-152). The intercoder reliability coefficient for two coders is 0.93. The result indicated high intercoder reliability between the two coders; on a scale of 0 to 1.0, 1.0 is considered perfect reliability. Most published content analyses typically report a minimum reliability coefficient of about 90% or above when using Holsti’s formula.

## Research questions, hypotheses and variables

This study was designed to answer the following research questions and accept or reject the hypotheses about the profile of coverage of the war in Bosnia 1992-1995.

The research answered the following questions:

1. What type of coverage was most frequent in reporting about the aggression in Bosnia and Herzegovina 1992 to 1996?
2. How has the coverage of topical categories changed in CNN news programming during the periods under the study?
3. Was there a difference in the placement and the length of TV stories during the periods under the study?
4. Which terms were used to describe the nature of conflict in Bosnia?
5. How were different ethnicities in Bosnia portrayed as actors in the aggression in Bosnia and Herzegovina?
6. Which photographic clichés were used to depict the warfare in Bosnia?
7. Did CNN rely more on government or non-government sources in the stories done from 1992 until 1996?
8. What was the relationship between the opinion of the source and the opinion of the reporter about U.S. troop involvement in Bosnia and Herzegovina?

Hypotheses in this study were:

1. H<sub>1</sub>: The topical categories have changed from wartime topics to peacetime topics during the period 1992 to 1996.

2. H<sub>2</sub>: The verbal clichés clearly stated the nature of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina was aggression and genocide.
3. H<sub>3</sub>: There was a strong relationship between the opinion of source and the opinion of reporter about U.S. troop involvement in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

*Independent variable:* The news stories about the aggression in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

*Dependent variables:* The frequency distribution of topical categories, the length, the placement, the primary and secondary story focus, the primary and secondary character, the lexical clichés, the visual clichés.

#### Sampling and data analysis

The sample of news items was selected from the TV News Archive at Vanderbilt University, Nashville, Tennessee. The selection of news stories was based on the crucial events that happened in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 to 1996, assuming their proximity, impact and human interest. The four periods were examined: April to August 1992 (26 stories); January to May 1993 (29 stories); February to May 1994 (20 stories); August 1995 to April 1996 (25 stories).

The analysis was conducted across CNN's *Prime News* at 7:00 p.m. CST from April 1992 to October 1995. The *Prime News* show was renamed *World View* broadcast at 5:00 p.m. CST. Thus, from October 1995 to April 1996 a sample was drawn from the *World View* news show. Transcripts available in the Lexis-Nexis database were used for

the analysis of verbal content of stories. The unit of analysis was a single news story. The same code sheet was used to classify all stories.

The *first period* under the study covered the events from *April 1992 to August 1992*. This was the period when the European Community and the United States recognized Bosnia and Herzegovina as an independent country. The events such as the siege of Sarajevo, the first fighting, the kidnapping of Bosnia's President by the Yugoslav People's Army, the creation of the Bosnian Serb army and a mortar attack on a bread line in Sarajevo. In addition, the United Nations imposed sanctions on a new Yugoslavia and took over Sarajevo airport which had been under Bosnian Serbs up to that time. The international airlifts to Sarajevo began, and international conference on Yugoslavia in London was held but agreements on the cease-fire were never implemented.

The *second period* under the study from *January until May 1993*, was comprised of events of the possible division of Bosnia into ten provinces, the establishment of a war crimes tribunal for former Yugoslavia by the UN Security Council, the conflicts between Bosnian Croats and Bosniaks (Bosnian Muslims), the enforcement of UN no-fly zone over Bosnia, Serb attacks on Srebrenica, refugee crisis and declaration of six "safe areas" by the Security Council.

The *third period*, from *February to May 1994*, denoted the following events: one more mortar attack in the downtown Sarajevo marketplace when more than 60 people were killed and some 200 wounded, the NATO stipulation that Bosnian Serbs withdraw heavy guns from Sarajevo and Gorazde region or face air strikes, the arrival of Russian peacekeepers in Bosnia, the downing of four Bosnian Serb planes that violated the "no-fly" zone by U.S. F-16 fighters flying for NATO, settling of peace between Bosniaks and

Bosnian Croats, the international community announcement of the new peace plans, cease-fires and the eventual partition of Bosnia.

The *fourth period* under study involved *August 1995 to April 1996*. It was the aftermath of the fall of Srebrenica, NATO air strikes, the beginning of the U.N. war crimes tribunal investigation of the mass graves of executed Bosniaks, UN pull out from Gorazde, the indictment of the Bosnian Serb leader and his military commander for war crimes, the signing of the Dayton Peace Accord, the transfer of peacekeeping duties from the UN Security Council to NATO, arrival of U.S. ground troops in Bosnia, reconciliation efforts, implementation of the peace accord, reunion of families and city quarters and freedom of movement issue.

#### Operational and conceptual definitions of the categories

Eight categories have been produced for this content analysis: *type of coverage*, the story length, the *placement*, the *primary story focus* and *secondary issue*, the *verbal clichés*, the *sources* and the *visual portrayals of people in Bosnia*.

#### The type of coverage

The key terms for the *type of coverage* were: the *anchor only*, the *field reporting from Bosnia*, the *reports from outside Bosnia*, the *phone report*, the *anchor voice-over*, the *reporter voice-over*, the *interview* and the *analysis*. The *type of coverage* refers to the *news format* as the way information was delivered. Cottle (1993) developed a typology of news formats defining them as restricted, limited and expansive.

*Restricted news formats* are “typically delivered by newsreader in the restricted format of a newsdesk presentation” and “such items remain entirely dependent on the

newsreader's account, with the minimum of direct reference to outside voices, viewpoints and visuals" (p. 155). In this study, the restricted format refers to the type of coverage the *anchor only*.

A *limited news format* is the one where "both accessed voices and visuals are combined under the editorial control of the newsroom" (p. 156). The *limited news format* in this study applies to the *field reporting from Bosnia*, the *reporting from outside Bosnia*, the *phone report*, the *anchor voice-over*, the *reporter voice-over* and the *analysis*. The limited news format develops the two types of discourse—the reporter voices one and another is an interviewee's statement.

An *expansive news format* is related to the *interview* as an opportunity of group discussion, debate and dialogue. The *interview* allows an expression of opinion and usually is set in the studio or similar place appropriate for longer discussions with one or more people with an outstanding knowledge of issue discussed. The *interview* in this study is referred to as a *question-answer communication* between the anchor in studio or reporter and interviewee and as the part of TV news item.

To distinguish where the reports originated, in Bosnia or elsewhere, two reporting categories have been created: the *field reporting from Bosnia* including the *phone report*, and the *reporting from outside Bosnia*. The *field reporting from Bosnia* refers to all items done in Bosnia. All items focused on Bosnia but done outside of Bosnia – Yugoslavia, Croatia, the United States and elsewhere, were considered the *reporting from outside Bosnia*.

### The length of TV news story

The benchmark for the analysis of the story length was in 30 second intervals.

The length was organized in intervals from twenty seconds to five minutes or more.

Based on the author's TV reporting experience, news items were considered:

1. *short* – 20 seconds to 1:50; that is one minute and thirty seconds.
2. *medium* – 1:51 to 3:50; that is one minute and thirty seconds to three minutes and thirty seconds.
3. *long* – 3:51 to 5:00 or more; that is, three minutes and thirty seconds to five minutes or more.

### Placement of the story

The media indicates an importance of the story by a certain placement in the news show. The closer to the beginning of the show the more important news item is. Five possible relations to other TV news items were generated for the purpose of this study: 7:00 - 7:05 p.m.; 7:06 - 7:15 p.m.; 7:16 - 7:30 p.m.; 7:31 - 7:45 p.m. and 7:46 - 8:00 p.m.

### Analysis of topical categories

TV news stories were analyzed as having the *primary* focus and one or more *secondary* issues. The idea of the *primary story focus* is the idea of predominant topic in a certain story. The greater attention and time in the story are devoted to the chief story focus. From the structural aspect, it receives the first mention in the news story. The *secondary issue* is referred to as mention of one or more secondary issues in the news

story. Since it comes later in the story, the *secondary issue* is assigned least time and attention.

#### Analysis of the primary focus and the secondary issue

The six categories yielded in the analysis of the primary story focus are:

1. *Foreign participation*--refers to the involvement of governments and governmental agencies outside of Bosnia and Herzegovina, UN, UN ground troops (UNPROFOR, IFOR, SFOR), NATO, European Community officials and international community officials, role in the aggression in Bosnia and attitude towards the warfare in Bosnia.
2. *Violence*--includes reports on combat and consequences of combat, shelling and other forms of attacks, killings and massacres of civilians, concentration camps in Bosnia, locations, conditions and treatment of prisoners, massive executions and evictions of people, and rape. This category includes the reports on local military formations, their movements, weapons and arms.
3. *Peace-making process*--includes reports on cease-fires, peace proposals, peace efforts and appeals, peace negotiations, peace accord and violations of peace agreements.
4. *Humanitarian issues*--the story focus that deals with humanitarian supplies (food and medicine) for citizen, refugees, casualties, and conditions of living.
5. *Legal matters*--war criminals, war crime issues and trials.
6. *Social and economic environment*--stories about the infrastructure, labor, working conditions and the state of economy in Bosnia, cultural initiatives, holidays and the like, history of Bosnia, cultural and religious relationship between people.



In truth, the categories were not mutually exclusive since the *foreign participation*, for instance, implied foreign involvement in the *peace-making process* and the *humanitarian issues*.

### Verbal clichés

The analysis was conducted to find out whether CNN framed Bosnia as a battlefield for two or more warring sides or armed aggression against Bosnia that was launched from another country.

### Sources

The term *source* was defined as a person that provided the information, statement or an official opinion for the medium in the form of live appearance or quotation. The term *direction* was defined as a positive, negative or neutral opinion expressed by the source. The *positive* direction was defined as a supportive opinion for U.S. troops involvement in Bosnia. The *negative* direction was defined as a disapproving opinion for U.S. troops involvement in Bosnia. The *neutral* direction was defined as a divided and ambivalent opinion for U.S. troops involvement in Bosnia.

### Analysis of visuals images

In the context of mediated reality, the visual language in TV news stories was examined to find out how the specific content was framed. The concept of framing as a selection of “some aspects of a perceived reality” that are “more salient in a communicating text, in such a way to promote a particular problem definition, casual interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described” was a theoretical basis for the analysis of visual images in stories under study (Entman, 1993, p. 52).

### The cultural indicators

The analysis in this study is based on the *cultural indicators* established by George Gerbner. The indicators are also referred to as “representative abstractions from the collectively experienced total texture of messages” or, simply broader concepts cultivated about life and society (Gerbner, 1985, p. 13). The methods of analysis are designed to identify elements of *existence, importance, values and relationships*.

1. The measure for existence is *attention*. A measure of attention is an indication of the presence and frequency of subject elements in a message system such as topics, themes, prevalence, rate, complexity and variations.

*Questions:* “What is available for the public’s attention? How much and how frequently?”

2. The importance is measured by *emphasis*. It establishes a context of priorities of importance or relevance. Emphasis structures the agenda of public conception and discourse cultivated in message systems.

*Question:* "What is important--in what context or order of importance?"

3. *Tendency* is a measure for values. It is an explicit or contextual judgment of qualities of phenomena expressed in their presentation. A measure of favorable/unfavorable association is based on whether a subject or topic appears in a supportive or critical context.

*Question:* "What is right or wrong, good or bad, etc., in what light, from what point of view, with what associated judgments?"

4. *Structure or frame* is the aspect of context that reveals relationship among components. It is a measure for relationships.

*Question:* "What is related to what, and how—in what over-all proximal, logical, or causal structure?" (Gerbner, 1985, pp. 20-24).

Gerbner's analysis is fully based on discourse. However, it can be applied to the analysis of visuals. For instance, the dimension *existence* deals with topical level of message and the frequency, prevalence, rate and complexity of items, topics or themes presented in the TV stories. The *existence*, accompanied with *attention*, as an indicator of the items available to the audience, and other cultural indicators determined how video footage was classified in this study.

## CNN profile and performance

According to Küng-Shankleman (2000), CNN has an “unorthodox approach to news broadcasting” as well as unorthodox organization (p. 109). It has evolved two distinct periods—the first phase is the one when CNN in the 1980s was an “outsider” in terms of already existing television services and the networks. With its broadcasting, CNN at that time could be described as “a marginal player delivering a niche service using what was widely perceived as an inferior delivery system” (p. 109). On one occasion, Amanpour remembered her start at CNN. People at the TV station she used to work for recommended her CNN in its infancy saying: “You know, this is a great opportunity for somebody like yourself who's foreign, who has a foreign accent. We hear foreign accents on CNN. It's crazy, it's wild, who knows, maybe they'll take you because you certainly don't fit in, in the American spectrum of news”

(<http://www.rtnda.org/news/2000/asera.html>).

Founded in 1980, CNN did the opposite of NBC, CBS and ABC with regard to opening bureaus in Europe, Africa and Asia, while three networks curtailed their overseas operations. “Indeed, CNN’s international position often makes it a player in diplomacy as well as a reporter of major events. With its reports available in all world capitals, political leaders and diplomats watch closely” (Hachten, 1999, pp. 48-49)

However, it was the dominant network in the field of international news only until the mid-1990s when other networks entered the media market, such as the Fox News

Channel with its 24-hour news service. According to Küng-Shankleman (2000), CNN has always been focused on news programming in contrast to the major TV networks.

### Limitations

This research is not free of limitations. The following are the main limitations in the study:

1. The content analysis was limited to CNN news programming.
2. One hundred stories were selected from available material at the Vanderbilt University TV News Archive, Nashville, Tennessee. The results may be different if more TV news items from various CNN newscasts were analyzed.
3. The origin and personal experience of the researcher might have an influence on the interpretations of the results.

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## CHAPTER IV

### FINDINGS AND DATA ANALYSIS

#### Introduction

This study was a content analysis of TV news items broadcast in the CNN news shows *Prime News* at 7:00 p.m. CST from April 1992 to October 1995. The show, renamed *World View*, has broadcast at 5:00 p.m. CST in October 1995; the sample was drawn from *World View* for the period October 1995 to April 1996. One hundred stories were selected for the study. Four periods were examined: April to August 1992 (26 stories); January to May 1993 (29 stories); February to May 1994 (20 stories); August 1995 to April 1996 (25 stories).

The purpose of this study was to examine the portrayal of Bosnia and Herzegovina in CNN news programming from 1992 to 1996, how CNN approached the aggression in Bosnia in terms of news treatment, and what the focus was of the CNN media agenda. From the viewpoint of attention, emphasis, tendency and frame, the visual presentation of citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina was analyzed. Portrayals of different ethnicities living in Bosnia were examined as well as the verbal clichés for the aggression in Bosnia.

The research method of this study was content analysis, deemed as the most useful method for examination of differences and constant elements regarding the *type of coverage*, the *length*, the *placement*, the *primary focus* and *secondary issue* in a TV news story, the *verbal clichés*, the *identification of ethnic groups* in Bosnia and Herzegovina as



well as *visual clichés* of people. The researcher examined coverage of the crucial moments for Bosnia and Herzegovina since declaration of its independence from Yugoslavia 1992 until the signing of the Dayton Peace Accord.

The data were used to answer the research questions posed and to accept or reject the hypotheses of the study.

Overall, the years from 1992 to 1996 were studied in this research. The *first period* under the study covered the events from *April 1992 to August 1992*. This was the period when the European Community and the United States recognized Bosnia and Herzegovina as an independent country. The period includes such events as the siege of Sarajevo, the first fighting, the kidnapping of Bosnia's President by the troops of Yugoslav People's Army upon his return from peace talks in Lisbon, the creation of a Bosnian Serb army and a mortar attack on a bread line in Sarajevo. In addition, the international airlifts with humanitarian supplies to Sarajevo began, the UN imposed sanctions on Serbia and Montenegro, and the negotiations and the agreements on cease-fire.

The *second period* under the study from *January until May 1993* was comprised of the following events: the possible division of Bosnia into ten provinces, the establishment of a war crimes tribunal for former Yugoslavia by the UN Security Council, the enforcement of a UN no-fly zone over Bosnia by NATO jets, refugee crisis and declaration of six "safe areas" by Security Council. Meanwhile, Bosnian Croats turned their weapons against Bosniaks.

The *third period*, from *February to May 1994*, denoted the following events: one more mortar attack in the downtown Sarajevo marketplace when more than 60 people

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were killed and some 200 wounded, NATO stipulation that Bosnian Serbs withdraw heavy guns from Sarajevo and Gorazde region or face air strikes, the arrival of Russian peacekeepers in Bosnia, the downing of four Bosnian Serb planes that violated the "no-fly" zone by U.S. F-16 fighters flying for NATO, the peace settlement between Bosniaks and Bosnian Croats, the international community's announcement of the new peace plans, cease-fires and the eventual partition of Bosnia.

The *fourth period* under study involved *August 1995 to April 1996*. It was the aftermath of the fall of Srebrenica, NATO air strikes, the beginning of the UN war crimes tribunal investigation of the mass graves of executed Bosniaks, the UN pull out from Gorazde, the indictment of Bosnian Serb leader and his military commander for war crimes, the signing of the Dayton Peace Accord, the transfer of peacekeeping duties from the UN Security Council to NATO, the arrival of U.S. ground troops in Bosnia, reconciliation efforts, implementation of the peace accord, reunion of families and neighborhoods and the issue of freedom of movement within the country.

## TV news production and formats

Type of coverage

Table I

Simple frequency distribution of the types of coverage for the period 1992 -1996, n=100, cases found: 118

Type of coverage	Frequency	%
<b>Limited</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>94.92%</b>
field reporting from Bosnia	44	37%
reporting from outside Bosnia	37	31%
anchor v/o	24	20%
phone report	3	3%
reporter v/o	3	3%
analysis or comment	1	1%
<b>Expansive</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3.39%</b>
interview	4	3%
<b>Restricted</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>1.69%</b>
anchor only	2	2%
Total	118	100%

$\chi^2 = 139.84, df = 2, p < .001$

The calculated chi-square has shown that there was a significant statistical difference in the use of *limited*, *restricted* and *expansive* types of coverage from 1992 to 1996.

The story length

Table II

Frequency distribution of the length of stories  
for period 1992 to 1996 under the study, n=100

Length	Frequency	%
<b>Short</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>22%</b>
:20 – :30	16	16%
:31 – 1:00	4	4%
1:01 – 1:50	2	2%
<b>Medium</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>44%</b>
2:51 – 3:00	21	21%
2:01 – 2:50	12	12%
3:01 – 3:50	8	8%
1:51 – 2:00	3	3%
<b>Long</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>34</b>
3:51 – 4:00	14	14
5:00 or more	11	11
4:01 – 4:50	5	5
4:51 – 5:00	4	4
	100	100%

$$\chi^2 = 7.906, df=2, p<.05$$

Overall, stories with the medium length were the most frequent. A various length of stories was observed during the framework studied, from 1992 to 1996. There was a significant difference in the length of the stories. The value of chi-square calculated is 7.906. A critical value at .05 for  $df=2$  is 5.991.

Placement

Table III

Placement of stories about Bosnia in CNN news programming from 1992 to 1996

Placement	Period 1. April to August 1992	Period 2. January to May 1993	Period 3. February to May 1994	Period 4. September 1995 to May 1996	Row total
*7:00 - 7:05 p.m.	9	16	9	13	47
*7:06 - 7:15 p.m.	9	10	5	8	32
*7:16 - 7:30 p.m.	6	2	4	4	16
*7:31 - 7:45 pm	2	1	2	0	5
7:46 - 8:00 p.m.	0	0	0	0	0
	26	29	20	25	100

\*  $\chi^2 = 43.2, df=3, p<.001$ 

Overall, 79 of 100 stories about Bosnia from 1992 to 1996 were shown in the first fifteen minutes in the hour long news show The analysis has shown that 47 of 100 TV news stories were treated as prime news and broadcast within the first five minutes of the newscast.

## TV news portrayals

Macro-analysis of topical categories

Hypothesis H<sub>1</sub> predicted that the topical categories changed from wartime topics to peacetime topics during the period 1992 to 1996.

Table IV

Frequency distribution of primary story focus for the period 1992 to 1996, n=100

Primary Story Focus	Frequency	%
foreign participation	38	38%
violence	24	24%
peace-making process	18	18%
humanitarian issues	14	14%
legal processes	6	6%
social and economic environment	0	0%
Total	100	100%

The framework of TV coverage in CNN news shows *Prime News* and *World View* was the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Overall, six topical categories were found in the TV news items dealing with Bosnia from 1992 to 1996. The topical categories were studied as the primary story focus.

Out of 100 stories, 38% were focused on the *foreign participation*; that implies involvement of foreign governments, the European Community, NATO, the UN and peacekeeping forces. The *violence*, in reference to massacres, killings, attacks on civilians, shooting and shelling, fighting, rape and similar, was represented in 24% of stories. This category also included *military references* in terms of a review of military formations in Bosnia, positions of their weapon and movements. The peace-making processes yielded 18%. Humanitarian issues involved 14% of cases and legal matters 6%.

Analysis of the secondary issue in the story

Table V

Frequency distribution of the secondary story focus for the period 1992 to 1996

Secondary story focus	Period 1	Period 2	Period 3	Period 4	Row total
foreign participation	14	13	10	8	45 (40.9%)
humanitarian issues	9	4	3	4	20 (18.2%)
violence	8	5	2	4	19 (17.3%)
peace-making process	3	6	3	6	18 (16.4%)
legal matters	0	1	0	4	5 (4.5%)
social and economic environment	2	0	0	1	3 (2.7%)
					<u>110 (100%)</u>

The analysis of secondary issues in stories has shown the similar distribution of issues to the primary focus in 100 stories under study. Overall, 28 stories covered only one primary issue while the same number of stories were comprised of one or more issues. In view of the evidence that wartime issues remained prevalent from 1992 to 1996, H<sub>1</sub> is rejected.

News language

For the purpose of this study an analysis of the *verbal clichés* for the name of

conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina 1992 to 1996 was conducted. More than one *conflict term* was found in some stories. The second hypothesis stated that the verbal clichés clearly stated the nature of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina was aggression.

Table VI  
Simple frequency distribution of conflict terms from  
1992 to 1996

Conflict Terms	Frequency	%
fighting	33	28.9%
war in Bosnia	23	20.2%
civil war	13	11.4%
conflict	7	6.1%
crisis	7	6.1%
ethnic cleansing	6	5.3%
bloodshed	4	3.5%
killing	4	3.5%
Serbian siege	4	3.5%
genocide	2	1.8%
Serbian attacks in B-H	1	0.9%
ethnic war in Bosnia	1	0.9%
war against Bosnia	1	0.9%
battles	1	0.9%
starvation	1	0.9%
orgy of violence	1	0.9%
horror	1	0.9%
humanitarian crisis	1	0.9%
atrocities	1	0.9%
carnage	1	0.9%
attacks on civilians	1	0.9%
Total	114	100.0%

One hundred and fourteen verbal clichés were identified in 100 stories. The second hypothesis  $H_2$  is rejected. Instead of *aggression*, the nature of the war in Bosnia



and Herzegovina was most frequently named *fighting*, the *war in Bosnia* and the *civil war*.

### Analysis of sources

Table VII

Frequency distribution of sources interviewed in the TV news items from 1992 to 1996

Persons interviewed	Period 1	Period 2	Period 3	Period 4	Total	%
	April to August 1992	January to May 1993	February to May 1994	August 1995 to April 1996		
*official sources	44	50	58	37	189	63%
reporter	15	20	26	26	81	27%
*citizens	6	7	4	4	21	7%
other persons	3	4	0	2	9	3%
					300	100%

\*  $\chi^2 = 121, df=1, p<.05$

Out of 100 stories, 89% carried visual and verbal identification of persons. The unit of analysis was the number of persons who appeared in each single story. The chi-square analysis showed that there was a significant difference in representation of the official sources and civilians during all four periods under the study, 1992 to 1996. Other persons were considered activists of human rights groups, artists and medical workers.

TABLE VIII

Structure of official sources in the CNN news stories from 1992 to 1996

Origin of source	Period 1 April to August 1992	Period 2 January to May 1993	Period 3 February to May 1994	Period 4 August 1995 to April 1996	Row total
U.S.	18	20	28	12	78 (41.3%)
UN	13	14	11	10	48 (25.4%)
Bosnian government	5	6	8	6	25 (13.2%)
Bosnian Serbs	3	5	4	5	17 (9.0%)
NATO	2	1	4	1	8 (4.2%)
International community	3	1	0	2	6 (3.2%)
Russia	0	1	3	1	5 (2.6%)
Yugoslavia	0	2	0	0	2 (1.1%)
Column total	44	50	58	37	189 (100.0%)

Overall, United States officials were the most frequent sources represented with 41.3% of 189 sources in TV news stories from 1992 to 1996. The United Nation sources were interviewed in 25.4% stories, the representatives of legal Bosnian government 13.2%, the representatives of Bosnian Serbs 9.0%, NATO personnel 4.2%, the international community representatives 3.2%, Russia's official sources 2.6% and Yugoslavia's sources 1.1%.

Framing the identities in Bosnia and Herzegovina

TABLE IX

Identification of roles in aggression based on ethnicity in Bosnia

Mentions per ethnicity	Ethnicity	aggressor	defender	victim	neutral
63 (42%)	Bosnian Serbs	*55 (90%)	0	**8 (11%)	0
52 (34%)	Bosnian Muslims	*3 (5%)	7 (70%)	**34 (49%)	8 (80%)
27 (18%)	Bosnia's people	0	0	**26 (37%)	1 (10%)
9 (6%)	Bosnian Croats	*3 (5%)	3 (30%)	**2 (3%)	1 (10%)
151 (100%)	Total:	61 (100%)	10 (100%)	70 (100%)	10 (100%)

\*  $\chi^2= 89, df=2, p<.001$

\*\*  $\chi^2= 39.514, df=3, p<.001$

Bosnians were identified either as the *Bosnia's people* or particularly as the *Bosnian Muslims*, the *Bosnian Serbs* and the *Bosnian Croats*. Therefore, an analysis was conducted to find out whether different ethnicities were portrayed as the *aggressor*, the *victim*, the *defender* or whether the presentation of ethnical groups was *neutral*. The chi-square could be calculated for the categories *aggressor* and *victim* only due to the zero values in the other two categories – the *defender* and the *neutral*. The chi-square calculated revealed a statistically significant difference in the presentation of different ethnicities in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 to 1996 as the *aggressor*,  $\chi^2= 89, df=2, p<.001$ , and the *victim*,  $\chi^2= 39.514, df=3, p<.001$ .

TABLE X

Frequency of mentions of domestic military formations in Bosnia

Military formation	Frequency	%
Bosnian Serbs	61	85%
Bosnian Muslims	7	10%
Bosnian Croats	4	5%
Total mentions:	72	100%

$\chi^2 = 65.708, df=2, p<.001$

The chi-square calculated,  $\chi^2 = 65.708, df=2, p<.001$ , has shown that there was a significant difference in the number of mentions of military formations in Bosnia in terms of assaults, combat, and movement of units and weapons.

#### The visual representation of people

The following tables represent visual coverage of civilians in Bosnia to understand a visual framing of ordinary people in the state of peril. The criteria for selection of visual images of people in Bosnia were attention, emphasis, tendency and structure, as Gerbner's theory of cultural indicators suggests (Gerbner, 1985, p.20). In addition, Table XI represents the specific settings and situations associated with the captions of people in Bosnia from 1992 to 1996. The researcher observed that the patterns of representations remained similar or the same during the period under study, 1992 to 1996.

TABLE XI

Visual focus in representation of people in Bosnia from 1992 to 1996

People	Frequency	%
children	43	28.7%
women	41	27.3%
mixed	32	21.3%
elderly	21	14.0%
men	13	8.7%
	150	100.0%

In the representation of people as the most affected by the war from 1992 to 1996, the major tendency was to show close-ups or mid-shots of children. Nearly the same amount of attention was given to women alone or mothers with children. Of 150 typical representations of people, 21.3% were long shots of people of different ages and gender. The shots of the elderly were images similar to those that depicted children. The linkage between these two categories was assumed to be a certain dependency on the care and help of others. Men were seen the least, only in 8.7% of the images.

The following Table XII is a summary of the specific settings in which civilians were depicted.

TABLE XII

Specific settings and situations in the visual representation of people  
from 1992 to 1996

Settings and situations	Frequency	%
ducking and running away from snipers	28	14.6%
wounded and killed on blood stained streets	27	14.1%
city under attack (shelling)	24	12.5%
in lines forced from their homes	23	12.0%
ruined, damaged and burning homes	20	10.4%
casualties in hospitals	17	8.9%
freely walking the streets (normalization of life)	16	8.3%
graveyard	15	7.8%
in lines waiting for food or water	12	6.3%
mass graves	5	2.6%
death camps and prisons	5	2.6%
	192	100.0%

#### The opinion of the reporter

As the results in Table VIII have already shown, the official sources from the United States – President, Secretary of Defense, U.S. Senators and Congressmen, Pentagon and the State Department spokespeople, Secretary of State U.S. Air Force

representatives, congressmen, ambassadors and the like – were persons most frequently for opinion. This study aimed to find out whether there was a relationship between the opinion of the source and the opinion of the reporter about U.S. troop involvement in Bosnia in terms of U.S. led military intervention. The *positive* direction was defined as a supportive opinion for U.S. troops involvement in Bosnia. The *negative* direction was defined as a disapproving opinion for U.S. troops involvement in Bosnia. The *neutral* direction was defined as a divided and ambivalent opinion for U.S. troops involvement in Bosnia. The *humanitarian assistance* referred to protection of UN airlifts with humanitarian aid supplies. For the purpose of calculation of Pearson  $r$  coefficient, the *humanitarian assistance* was observed as neutral since it dealt with action different from military intervention and ending the war by strictly military means. The decision rule was the reporter's positive or negative opinion voiced in the TV news item. If the report contained quotations and pre-recorded statements of U.S. official sources, the direction of the reporter's opinion was considered neutral.

TABLE XIII

Relationship between the opinion of the source and the opinion of the reporter about the involvement of U.S. troops in Bosnia

	positive	negative	neutral	humanitarian assistance	Row total
U.S.	13 (24%)	12 (22%)	19 (35%)	10 (19%)	54 (100%)
Reporter	8 (15%)	6 (11%)	40 (74%)		54 (100%)

Pearson  $r = .20$

The calculation of Pearson  $r = .20$  has shown a weak relationship between the opinion of the source and the opinion of the reporter about the involvement of U.S. troops

in Bosnia and Herzegovina in terms of bringing the war to an end. Therefore,  $H_3$  is rejected.

#### Demographic structure of journalists

Table XIV

Demographic structure of CNN reporters who covered Bosnia from 1992 to 1996

	Period 1, n=8	Period 2, n=12	Period 3, n=10	Period 4, n=13	Frequency	%
<b>Age</b>						
35-50	4	7	4	7	22	51%
25-35	4	4	3	4	15	35%
50 or more	0	1	3	2	6	14%
18-25	0	0	0	0	0	0%
unclear	0	0	0	0	0	0%
					43	100%
<b>Race</b>						
White	8	12	10	13	43	100%
Afro-American	0	0	0	0	0	
Hispanic	0	0	0	0	0	
other	0	0	0	0	0	
unclear	0	0	0	0	0	
					43	100%
<b>Gender</b>						
male	5	7	6	9	27	64%
female	3	5	3	4	15	36%
					42	100%

Note. Age and race were estimated by the researcher and the coder from video.

The analysis of demographic data pertaining to the journalists involved with



in Bosnia and Herzegovina in terms of bringing the war to an end. Therefore, H<sub>3</sub> is rejected.

#### Demographic structure of journalists

Table XIV

Demographic structure of CNN reporters who covered Bosnia from 1992 to 1996

	Period 1, n=8	Period 2, n=12	Period 3, n=10	Period 4, n=13	Frequency	%
<b>Age</b>						
35-50	4	7	4	7	22	51%
25-35	4	4	3	4	15	35%
50 or more	0	1	3	2	6	14%
18-25	0	0	0	0	0	0%
unclear	0	0	0	0	0	0%
					43	100%
<b>Race</b>						
White	8	12	10	13	43	100%
Afro-American	0	0	0	0	0	
Hispanic	0	0	0	0	0	
other	0	0	0	0	0	
unclear	0	0	0	0	0	
					43	100%
<b>Gender</b>						
male	5	7	6	9	27	64%
female	3	5	3	4	15	36%
					42	100%

Note. Age and race were estimated by the researcher and the coder from video.

The analysis of demographic data pertaining to the journalists involved with

reporting about Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 to 1996 has shown that journalists were mostly 64% Caucasian male 35 to 50 years old or older.

## ENDNOTES

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## CHAPTER V

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, DISCUSSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

*"Whatever the carnage (...) the initial shock of the reports gradually wears off, certainly if those killed are not from one's own country. A boredom factor begins to appear, as it did, towards the end of the South African War, in Somalia, Rwanda, Chechnya, Bosnia and elsewhere."*

Mills Hudson and John Stanier

#### Summary, conclusions and discussion

The overall purpose of this study was to examine the portrayal of Bosnia and Herzegovina in CNN news programming from 1992 to 1996. The four periods, out of a general framework 1992 to 1996, were selected to examine how CNN approached the aggression in Bosnia; that is, whether the coverage was in-depth or event driven and what the focus was of CNN's media agenda. From the viewpoints of emphasis and importance, the visual presentation of citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina was analyzed. Portrayals of different ethnicities living in Bosnia were examined as well as the names for the aggression in Bosnia.

The research method of this study was content analysis as the most useful for examination of differences and constant elements regarding the *primary* and *secondary focus* of TV news items, the *length*, the *type of coverage*, the *verbal clichés* and *placement* as well as the *visual clichés* and portrayals of peoples in Bosnia and

Herzegovina. The researcher examined coverage of the crucial moments for Bosnia and Herzegovina since the declaration of its independence from Yugoslavia in 1992 until signing of the Dayton Peace Accord in 1995.

The research answered the following questions:

1. What type of coverage was most frequent in reporting about the aggression in Bosnia and Herzegovina 1992 to 1996?
2. How has the coverage of topical categories changed in CNN news programming during the periods under the study?
3. Was there a difference in the placement and the length of TV stories during the periods under the study?
4. Which terms were used to describe the nature of conflict in Bosnia?
5. How were different ethnicities in Bosnia portrayed as actors in the aggression in Bosnia and Herzegovina?
6. Which photographic clichés were used to depict the warfare in Bosnia?
7. Did CNN rely more on government or non-government sources in the stories done from 1992 until 1996?
8. What was the relationship between the opinion of the source and the opinion of the reporter about U.S. troop involvement in Bosnia and Herzegovina?

Hypotheses in this study were:

1. H<sub>1</sub>: The topical categories have changed from wartime topics to peacetime topics during the period 1992 to 1996.
2. H<sub>2</sub>: The verbal clichés clearly stated the nature of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina was aggression and genocide.

3. H<sub>3</sub>: There was a strong relationship between the opinion of source and the opinion of reporter about U.S. troop involvement in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

In the context of the information delivery processes, the *type of coverage*, in reference to the news format, was analyzed. Cottle's (1993) typology of restricted, limited and expansive news format was adopted for the purpose of the study. Overall, the results of this study have shown that a *limited news format* was typical for the coverage of Bosnia and Herzegovina in CNN news programming from 1992 to 1996 (see Table I). The limited news format involved 37% the *field reporting from Bosnia*, 31% the *reporting from outside Bosnia* and 20% the *anchor voice-over*. However, the analysis of each period has shown that distribution changed. During the first period, April to August 1992, information about Bosnia was mostly delivered as the *anchor voice-over* (41%), since the *field reporting from Bosnia* was only represented in 22% of the examples. As the foreign decision-making process became firm, the participation of foreign governments in peace initiatives increased and violence and genocide were constant, the *field reporting from Bosnia* increased especially during the third period, February to May 1994, (50%), and the fourth period, August 1995 to April 1996, (53%).

The *length* and *placement* of the story in the news show are directly related to the attention of viewer. The stories shown at the beginning of the TV newscast or the front-page stories in the newspaper are certainly given more value and importance. This research has shown that 79 out of 100 TV news items were broadcast in the prime fifteen minutes of an hour-long newscast (see Table II and Table III). The *lead story* was considered the first story aired in the show. The most frequent focus of the lead stories clearly was the U.S. regarding the policy and the type of intervention in Bosnia. In

addition, the U.S. were represented in those stories that dealt with NATO involvement in Bosnia, humanitarian issues, the peace processes and similar.

The analysis has shown that medium long stories, from one minute and 30 seconds to three minutes and thirty seconds, were more frequent than other lengths. As the political elite, and the U.S. in particular, were becoming more active in discussing an option in Bosnia and Herzegovina and possibility of air strikes on Bosnian Serb positions in Bosnia, stories were becoming longer. This notion was representative especially during the fourth period, August 1995 and April 1996. It was the period before and during the air strikes and creation of the peace agreement.

The analysis of the *primary story focus* and the *secondary issue* yielded six categories pertaining to the foreign participation, the violence including the military reference, the peace-making process, the humanitarian issues, the legal processes and the social and economic environment in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 to 1996 (see Table IV and Table V). As the results in the study have shown, there was no significant change from wartime topics to peacetime topics during the period 1992 to 1996.  $H_1$  is rejected. These categories were strongly interrelated. For instance, the foreign participation, the peace-making process and humanitarian issues directly involved the foreign governments in the problem-solving process in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but from different angles. Russia's policy toward Bosnia was more frequent as a secondary issue. The *refugee issues* were exclusively the primary story focus and insignificantly represented as a secondary issue. As the number of refugees was increasing and it was clear that rape was used as the weapon of war, stories of human interest and about the violence were more representative. The story aired on February 12, 1993 on CNN's

*Prime News* show at 7:01 p.m. CT profiled rape in Bosnia as a weapon of war recounted by victims' graphic descriptions.

According to Williams (1988), the *lexical terms* frequently used in mass communication media are actual signals for the wider contexts or interpretation and understanding of certain social frames. In the field of news language, Cottle (1993) has observed "labeling the social space" in which the events took place referring to the geographical, social, political or other domains (p. 168).

The analysis of the verbal clichés has shown that of 118 terms found (see Table VI), the most frequently used were *fighting* (33%), *war in Bosnia* (23%) and *civil war* (13%). The fighting and war can be applied to any kind of armed conflict. However, the *civil war* and both *fighting* and *war* imply equally involved and equipped sides in an armed conflict. Because the verbal clichés did not state the nature of the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina was aggression and genocide, H<sub>2</sub> is rejected.

The significant difference in the analysis of sources interviewed in TV news stories was found in the frequency distribution of the official sources and civilians (see Table VII and table VIII). Namely, the official sources were most interviewed. Furthermore, the structural analysis of sources has shown that most represented were U.S. high officials. Thus, the results of this study have confirmed previous research, such as one done by Swezey (1997), that media rely more on institutional or governmental sources.

The analysis of ethnic identifications and roles in aggression revealed that the *Bosnia's people* soon were identified as *Bosnian Muslims*, *Bosnian Serbs* and *Bosnian Croats* (see Table IX). Subsequent to ethnic identification, Bosnian Muslims and Bosnia's people were identified as victims while Bosnian Serbs were recognized as



aggressors. The representation of people in Bosnia as victims or aggressors made reporting from and about distant regions easier through the ethnic utterances. Similarly, the local military formations were distinguished on the ethnic basis. Once recognized as cause of aggression, Bosnian Serbs and Serbians were mentioned most frequently. However, Bosnian Serb General Mladić, convicted of war crimes but still at large, was several times portrayed like “strong man and real power in Bosnia.”

The content analysis does not allow for conclusions about possible effects of audio-visual messages on the audience. However, some previous statements about the impact of TV messages on the viewers were taken into account in this study. Graber remarks that a special quality of visual images—pictures, color and motion—on television makes events look “real.” The reality of television images “enhances the credibility of news reports” (Graber, 1988, pp. 172-173). The questions of whether the “pictures speak for themselves” or whether verbal messages “hold the key to increased retention” of certain issues are incessant (Crigler & Neuman., 1994, p. 140).

In this study, the visual images were observed as components of one coherent structure rather than independently. Overall, the arrangement of visual images in reports from and about Bosnia from 1992 to 1996 indicated a tendency of reporters to concentrate their stories around particular types of visuals. Once the typology of visual representation was established, similar sequences or patterns were reiterated in the reports. An assumption is that recognizable visual patterns have helped the journalist to disseminate information about particular subjects in a shortage of time and space. Since reporters were doing their stories with primary human concerns in the visual representation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, the researcher examined the visual

representation of people. The ordinary people were related to the members of their families and fellow-citizens in the same circumstances and settings. The study has yielded that out of 300 sources interviewed in TV news items, only 7% of interviewed were civilians (see Table VII). Therefore, the civilians cannot be considered a serious source of any information other than their fears and anxiety, troubles, exhaustion, hopes and the like. Hence, the visual focus in representation of people was emotional language in sequences representing them as victims and sufferers who live in damaged places, escape sniper bullets, try to find food or water or dig graves for casualties.

It is important to say that even though the analysis of primary and secondary story focus revealed chief concern about the *foreign participation*, the human interest mainly served as backdrop for information. In other words, visuals images of people in their specific settings were a permanent underlying substance of TV news reports. TV fragments from official talks, negotiations, decision-making processes on Bosnia alone would not make as much sense as when the cause for those is confirmed in visual concepts with implication of violence, humiliation and injustice. During the research and previewing the news items broadcast in CNN news programming, it was possible to follow how the medium had been linking its concerns in Bosnia to visual interpretations establishing familiar “posters” of war victims and their agony. The bits of “reality,” faced at the beginning of aggression in Bosnia, shortly became compressed into recognizable and constant visual patterns of knowledge (see Table XI and Table XII).

The notion of *search for the solution in Bosnia* with an intensive and vague foreign involvement developed into the primary concern while the killings, shelling, and other kinds of torture were becoming a part of everyday life. At the same time, graphic

footage of atrocities and agony became actually less perceptive. In the dynamics of war, the TV news items contained encoded bits of information that could be recognized quickly in the short time in television space. The visual clichés depicting the victims and sufferers sometimes acted as recapitulating and reminding units if the angle of story did not directly refer to the consequences of war but the political and peace processes related to the war. Thus, the *moving image* in television news from and about Bosnia from 1992 to 1996 as the knowledge of reality and especially the pain of people did not need to be voiced each time in reports. The graphic building blocks were used as a reminder and background. For instance, reporter would do her stand-up about the new airlift and the humanitarian air lifts with line of people in her background with extended hands toward the truck with food depicting hunger and people eager for food. Or else, improvement would be depicted with the shots of children playing outdoors and people walking the streets, but the permanent danger was indicated with images of the watchful eye of UN soldiers and their vehicles. On the other hand, it was not made clear that the UN forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina did not have the mandate to protect civilians nor did U.S. military intervention in Bosnia up to 1995 have this purpose. They were there to protect the UN staff and UN declared no-fly zone. From experience, the researcher knew that those “protected” children could be killed any moment by Bosnian Serb soldiers who were in the superior positions on the hills around Sarajevo.

Frequently, establishing visual substance in stories were long shots of the city during bombardment, destruction of homes or buildings on fire, until the camera would zoom into city to show the people ducking at the sound of sniper bullets, while running away and hiding from those. Or else, the bloodstained bicycle lying on the street signaled

the deadly consequences of one in a series of bombardments. The children and women were not only accounted visually in the stories – they were the chief image of difficult living conditions. In relation to the footage of official meetings, talks and political persuasions, the women, the mothers with the children in their arms, and the children alone were the points of tension in the visual structure of the story. The children, especially, were the strongest expression in the visual syntax. In this study, the close-ups or, at least, medium shots of children were the richest and the most intense information source about physical conditions and a mental state of youngsters in Bosnia from 1992 to 1996. In one story, the reporter ended her voice-over before the last shot was shown in her story—a close-up of a few months old baby with one leg amputated. In terms of emotional eloquence, as mentioned earlier, the women, and mothers in particular, were the second most self-expressive source.

Once the style of portrayals was defined, it was less likely that these clichés representing the people in Bosnia could take in more information that is new. For instance, the news was ironical fact that the same people today might walk the streets freely, yet tomorrow might be killed on those same streets.

One of the aims of this study was to find out whether the journalists explicitly voiced their opinion about the approval or disapproval of the involvement of U.S. troops in Bosnia. Namely, the debate on this issue continued for almost four years. The correlation coefficient has shown a weak relationship, so  $H_3$  is rejected. The results have shown (see Table XIII) that journalists were reporting on facts rather than making judgments about the political decisions. Two situations on this matter were observed. First, fewer journalists who were considered experienced in the field of war reporting and

the foreign affairs were free to analyze, comment or recommend. Second, the anchor in the studio asked those journalists for their opinion.

There has to be a reason, some significance in the issue for it to become news. For example, there was problem in finding stories about Bosnia in the first four months of 1992, and again after the Dayton Peace Accord period in CNN's *Prime News* show. The actual "coverage" did not become regular until the President of Bosnia and Herzegovina officially pronounced the state of emergency in April 1992. Once the Peace Accord was signed in 1995, Bosnia's occasional appearance on the media agenda turned on the point of whether the peace was being successfully implemented or violated.

Overall, the study has found the principles of *facticity* and *continuity* and an event-oriented framework rather than an in-depth reporting to be the important characteristics of the news coverage in CNN news programming. Schlesinger (1987) observed "there is an inherent tendency for the news to be framed in a discontinuous and ahistorical way, and this implies a truncation of context, and therefore a reduction of meaningfulness" (p. 47).

CNN and its crews undoubtedly deserve tribute for their field reporting from Bosnia and Herzegovina, but there was a certain disharmony among the facts represented. Namely, civilians in Bosnia were found the main victims. The victims were mostly people in Bosnia in general especially Bosnian Muslims who particularly suffered damage from armed Bosnian Serbs. Finally, the tactics of rape clearly showed that Bosnian Muslims were the main nuisance for Serbs in Bosnia and Herzegovina. If they were not there, Serbs would easily split Bosnia with Croats and make the Greater Serbia

possible. Still, journalists insisted on reporting about *all sides in conflict* and the *warring groups* with almost equal responsibilities for atrocities in Bosnia.

As researcher noticed, the factual errors referred to interpretations like *Muslim led Government* and *Muslim President* even though he was President not only of Bosniaks (Bosnian Muslim), but the internationally recognized state Bosnia and Herzegovina and all people who have lived there. Actually, there were no pure *Muslim villages* and *Croat district* in Bosnia, as it was presented. Early story about the death camps created for torture of Bosniaks (Bosnian Muslims) and held by Bosnian Serbs was balanced with the story that checked on the allegations of the same camps for Bosnian Serbs held by Bosnian Muslims. On August 8, 1992, there was report on Serbs held in alleged Bosnian war camps. The TV news item framed war as a civil war with several sides confronting one another. Detention, respectively, death and rape camps, appeared to be more or less common trait of war strategies. However, the reporter did not make clear if prisoners were Serbians, meaning citizens of Serbia, or Serbs who are Bosnian Serbs and citizens of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In addition, a real difference between prisons and detention camps in the early 1990s in Bosnia was not made. The interviewed women in the prison seemed freer to speak, while men were looking down rather than straight at camera. Such a dimension of selected visual examines the sense of unspoken threat for fundamental human rights or denial of unpleasant assumptions. The railway building in Sarajevo, alleged detention camp held by Bosniaks, was documented as an abandoned and ruined place. The reports on the slaughters were the lead stories with graphic footage. The backdrop for information, though, was the reaction of the U.S. and the international

community. On February 5, 1994, Bosnia was not only the lead news in the *Prime News* show, but there was about 13 minute special edition devoted to the massacre at the downtown Sarajevo market where some 30 people were killed. Out of four reporters covering this event, three were in Washington D.C. and one at the scene in Sarajevo. The point of the foreign participation in settling the aggression in Bosnia was made in the statement of Bosnian Vice President who said that it was terrible to see US planes flying overhead, but nothing was being done. Overall, the representatives of Bosnian government were less asked about their objectives and opinion. The aspect of self-defense was underreported while debates were mostly concerned with whether Bosnia was the responsibility of Europe or the United States. In one story from early 1992, the issue was a commitment of U.S. forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The U.S. was reluctant to send its troops to a non-NATO region in Europe, explaining that military intervention was not an option. Instead, they were pushing for strong economic sanctions against Yugoslavia. The U.S. President was talking to the Russian President, the European Community leaders and UN representatives about an option in Bosnia.

Meanwhile, former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher suggested the West arm Bosniaks to defend themselves. However, former President Bush reiterated his opinion that region did not need more arms and that the air strikes would not solve the problem, enforcing that way the arms embargo imposed for Bosniaks and their inability to defend themselves. Taming the aggression in Bosnia was often represented in the U.S. as an ambiguous internal politics issue. Former President Bush was criticized for his non-intervention policy in Bosnia in 1992.

However, when the critics took over the presidency, they chose airdrop of the civilian supplies like in Iran rather than military intervention. Soon these airdrops were pronounced dangerous and insufficient.

The evidence of genocide in Bosnia and Herzegovina was growing from 1992 to 1995. Yet, the Clinton administration and NATO launched air strikes no earlier than in 1995. The journalist reporting on this decision commented that President Clinton was two and the half years late with his decision. The Security Council eased the arms embargo not earlier than the day after the Peace Accord was initiated in Dayton on November 21, 1995. At the same time, the UN Security Council suspended sanctions against Serbia ahead of time.

The notion of objectivity, neutrality and other ethical principles of journalism created an ethical dilemma in reporting from and about Bosnia and Herzegovina. The most important standard of the news is the truth. Accuracy, objectivity, fair play, intelligibility of information, impartiality, protection of human rights and the well being of people are the principles that all media-related professions have in common. Accuracy means to check and double-check the facts. However, the interpretation and the context of these facts are as important as their accuracy and one of the major prerequisites and contributors to the truthfulness of the story. The fundamental principles of the social responsibility allow journalists to tell the story, report on the facts, but not to criticize.

At the same time, the graphic visual elements of Bosnia's reality sometimes were expressing what journalists could not say in words. The TV medium in general is uniquely blessed: it is an active agent in the social process and it is capable of here and now representations of events and issues. However, as some studies have shown, the



visual images are not a sufficient learning medium. In this perspective, the validity of the “CNN effect,” in terms of undeniable impact of media on the decision-making process, should be examined. If the CNN effect was significant in Somalia, it does not necessarily mean it was successful in Bosnia and Herzegovina too. When the length of genocide and aggression in Bosnia and Herzegovina is considered and the time the CNN crews spent there, it can be concluded that final foreign intervention took place for reasons other than a media “push effect.”

#### Recommendations for further research

Even though the content analysis is an appropriate method for examining the quantitative data about the TV news items, the character or essence of each aspect blurred. Material reduced to quantification seems to lose its force.

The analysis of the demographic data of the journalists who were reporting from or about Bosnia has shown that 51% of them were 35 to 50 years old, 35% were 25-35 years old and 14% were older than 50. The only represented race was Caucasian. The men were represented with 64% and 36% were women. An analysis of media professionals who reported from Bosnia and Herzegovina and personal interviews with them is recommended. This analysis would offer valuable insights in understanding values and principles in the war reporting practice as well as influences on the content of reports. Furthermore, the data would be a basis for examine of validity of ethical principles of journalism.

In the context of the ability of viewer to learn from news, the study of the most captivating visuals and themes should be conducted. What is needed for an analysis of

TV images is a model that is comprised of the meanings adopted and expressed by journalist, as a mediator of message, and visuals that follow his knowledge and beliefs. Those models would be an application to fragments of unique reality that is interpreted through learned and simplified interpretations of other similar realities. Those interpretations would be close to the expression “detailed memory models” needed to fill in “the required applications in media research” as Dijk suggested (p. 7).

For future research in the field of visual images, it is recommended to draw a greater sample of TV news stories from more networks and conduct a comparative content analysis on the subject. An empirical inquiry into media use with regard to the viewer attention and retention of issues is recommended.

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