

CONTENTS

<i>List of tables</i>	xi
Introduction	1
<i>Overview</i>	1
<i>Organisation of chapters</i>	5
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	6
1 The CNN effect considered	7
<i>Media power and world politics</i>	7
<i>The 1990s and intervention during humanitarian crises</i>	7
<i>The CNN effect debate takes off</i>	10
<i>Manufacturing consent and theories of media–state relations</i>	12
<i>Observing the ‘unobservable’</i>	16
<i>Interview-based research</i>	16
<i>The importance of theory</i>	19
<i>Theory-based research</i>	20
<i>The CNN effect as political control</i>	21
<i>The CNN effect as political control reconsidered</i>	23
<i>The need for systematic and theoretically informed research</i>	23
2 Developing a theory of media influence	25
<i>Policy uncertainty</i>	26
<i>Observing policy uncertainty</i>	26
<i>Media framing</i>	27
<i>Developing the policy–media interaction model</i>	30
<i>The policy–media interaction model: offering an advanced two-way understanding of media–state relations</i>	32
<i>Wolfsfeld’s political contest model of media–state relations</i>	35
<i>Types of effect</i>	37

	<i>The weak CNN effect</i>	38
	<i>Accelerant and impediment effects</i>	39
	<i>Potential CNN effect</i>	40
	<i>Enabling effect</i>	40
	<i>Testing the CNN effect</i>	41
	<i>Additional research strategies</i>	43
	<i>Case selection</i>	43
	<i>Conclusion</i>	45
3	The CNN effect myth	46
	<i>Overview</i>	46
	<i>The 1991–2 civil war in Somalia</i>	46
	<i>US re-engagement in Somalia</i>	47
	<i>The lead-up to the August 1992 airlift</i>	47
	<i>Operation Restore Hope</i>	48
	<i>Possible causes of intervention</i>	49
	<i>Applying the policy–media interaction model</i>	52
	<i>Media framing after the intervention decision</i>	55
	<i>News media and US intervention in Somalia: a case of manufacturing consent or indexing and not the strong CNN effect</i>	57
	<i>Consideration of other possible routes of media influence</i>	59
	<i>The myth of the strong CNN effect and Somalia</i>	62
	<i>Intervention in northern Iraq: the case of the Kurds</i>	63
	<i>From policy certainty against involvement, to US ground troops in northern Iraq</i>	64
	<i>US media coverage of the Kurdish crisis: emotive and critical of Bush</i>	67
	<i>Assessing the impact: was operation Provide Comfort motivated by media coverage?</i>	69
	<i>The myth of the CNN effect</i>	71
4	The CNN effect in action	72
	<i>Overview</i>	72
	<i>Background</i>	72
	<i>US involvement in 1995</i>	73
	<i>US military engagement</i>	75
	<i>Media framing: empathising with refugees and criticising Western policy</i>	78
	<i>‘What do we do next?’</i>	81
	<i>Assessing media influence</i>	82
	<i>Recognising the importance of other factors</i>	84
	<i>The 1994 market-place massacre</i>	86

CONTENTS

<i>Policy uncertainty</i>	87
<i>News media coverage between 5 and 9 February 1994</i>	90
<i>Assessing the impact</i>	91
<i>Conclusion</i>	92
5 The limits of the CNN effect	93
<i>Overview</i>	93
<i>Kosovo</i>	94
<i>September 1998 to March 1999: the lead-up to US military intervention</i>	94
<i>Operation Allied Force</i>	95
<i>Kosovo and the media</i>	97
<i>News media empathy and some criticism of official policy</i>	99
<i>'No intention to use ground troops'</i>	103
<i>Was there a secret decision to launch a ground invasion?</i>	104
<i>Media influence: enabling and impediment effects, but no strong CNN effect</i>	107
<i>Media performance: manufacturing consent or government watchdog?</i>	108
<i>Media-state relations during the Kosovo campaign</i>	109
<i>Genocide in Rwanda</i>	110
<i>PDD 25 and US policy certainty against intervention</i>	111
<i>Distance framing</i>	114
<i>Assessment</i>	115
<i>Media influence and performance during executive policy certainty</i>	116
6 The CNN effect reconsidered	117
<i>Overview</i>	117
<i>Determining the conditions under which the CNN effect occurs</i>	117
<i>The strong CNN effect: influencing air power intervention during humanitarian crises but not the deployment of ground troops</i>	121
<i>Future research</i>	126
<i>Concluding comments: media power in the post-Cold War era</i>	128
Appendix A: Policy uncertainty	133
<i>Theoretical development of policy uncertainty</i>	133
<i>Measuring levels of policy uncertainty</i>	135

CONTENTS

Appendix B: Framing	137
<i>Measuring framing</i>	137
<i>Counting keywords</i>	139
<i>Data source</i>	140
Appendix C: Testing the policy–media interaction model	141
Appendix D: Case selection	143
<i>Selecting an easy case</i>	143
<i>Selecting a hard case</i>	145
<i>Selecting cases of non-intervention</i>	146
Notes	149
Bibliography and further reading	161
Index	171