

THE VIOLATIONS WILL NOT BE TELEVISED:  
TELEVISION NEWS COVERAGE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE US AND UK

By

SHAWNA M. BRANDLE

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Political Science in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, the City University of New York

2013

© 2013  
SHAWNA M. BRANDLE  
All Rights Reserved

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the  
Graduate Faculty in Political Science in satisfaction of the  
Dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

George Andreopoulos

---

Date

---

Chair of Examining Committee

Joe Rollins

---

Date

---

Executive Officer

George Andreopoulos  
Brigitte Nacos  
Christa Altenstetter  
Katherine Fry  
Stephanie Golob  
Supervisory Committee

THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

**Abstract****THE VIOLATIONS WILL NOT BE TELEVISED:  
TELEVISION NEWS COVERAGE OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN THE US AND UK**

by

Shawna M. Brandle

Advisor: Professor George Andreopoulos

This study briefly reviews the relevant communication studies and international relations literatures to build the foundation for the content analyses by defining terms and highlighting the most salient points for comparison between the media and human rights systems in the US and UK. It then moves on to three different types of content analysis on American television news broadcasts and two different types on British television news broadcasts, all with the goal of determining how those media systems cover human rights and how that coverage differs across media systems. First, a content analysis of all of the stories containing the phrase human rights from one US network news broadcast from 1990-2009 is conducted to see the amount of human rights coverage in the US in the post-Cold War period and examines both the issues and the countries that are covered in the context of human rights in the US. Then one month of transcripts/shooting scripts for evening news broadcasts in the US and UK in 1990 is examined to see what, if any, kinds of stories might be covering human rights issues without explicitly using the phrase human rights. Finally, a visual analysis of one week of evening news broadcasts for the US and UK from 1990-2009 is conducted, comparing which stories are covered in each country, as well as how they are covered. As it turns out, there is very little human rights coverage on television news, period. There is more human rights coverage in the UK than in the US, but not as much more as might have been expected, given the states' differing approaches to human rights and differing television media systems. One key difference between

the two countries' coverage is the depth of coverage of human rights stories; once the UK covers a human rights issue, it tends to do it more thoroughly, from more angles, and with more explanation, so the audience is more likely to learn about human rights when they are covered on the BBC than when they are covered on NBC or ABC.

## **Acknowledgements**

This project has been a long time in the making and would not have been possible without the help and generosity of so many people, though all errors, omissions, and faults are my own.

Many thanks are due to Kathleen Dickson and the staff of the British Film Institute for their assistance both in and out of country, Louise North and the staff of the Written Archives Center of the BBC for their assistance and warm hospitality, and the Ralph Bunche Institute and Fried Memorial Fellowship for their generous research support.

My special thanks to my dissertation advisor, George Andreopoulos, and dissertation reader, Brigitte Nacos, for their insightful suggestions throughout this long process. Invaluable practical support was provided by Meghan Metzler, whose Excel advice improved this project and my own skills exponentially, Garrett Eisler and Naaborle Sackeyfio for their assistance in obtaining research materials, Brian Hasbrouck and John McMahon for their coding assistance, and Patricia Stapleton and Janet Reilly for reading endless outlines and drafts.

I owe my greatest debt of thanks to my family, whose support and patience have been unending, especially krf.

for e & p

## Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
Chapter 2: Human Rights and the Media in the US & UK .....	5
Chapter 3: Methodology .....	37
Chapter 4: Content Analysis I: US Phrase Search.....	51
Chapter 5: Content Analysis II: US & UK Transcript Analysis .....	75
Chapter 6: Visual Content Analysis: American and British Television News Coverage .....	83
Chapter 7: Conclusion .....	117
Appendix I: Coding Instruments .....	121
Appendix II: Full Version of Table 3 .....	130
Bibliography .....	133

### List of Tables

Table 1: Human Rights Mentions in Weeks Selected .....	47
Table 2: Major Coverage of Human Rights Stories .....	53
Table 3: Top 20 Countries in Human Rights Stories .....	58
Table 4: Story Type of Human Rights Stories .....	60
Table 5: Categories of Human Rights in Human Rights Stories .....	65
Table 6: GWOT Human Rights Stories.....	67
Table 7: NGO Reports in Human Rights Stories .....	69
Table 8: Number and Percentage of All Stories for Major Issues .....	80
Table 9: Major and Main Stories for UK and US Television News .....	84
Table 10: Human Rights News Stories in the US and UK, 1990-2009 .....	94
Table 11: Human Rights Stories in the US & UK by Year (codes 1,2,&5) .....	95
Table 12: Story Type of Human Rights Stories (codes 1,2,&5) .....	100
Table 13: Human Rights Categories of Human Rights Stories (codes 1,2,&5) .....	105
Table 14: Locations of Human Rights Stories (codes 1,2,&5).....	108
Table 15: Global War on Terror in Human Rights Stories (codes 1,2,&5).....	109
Table 16: Number of Stories on the Balkans Conflicts .....	111

## List of Charts

Chart 1: Where People Got News Yesterday .....	2
Chart 2: Human Rights Stories by Year .....	52
Chart 3: Domestic & International Human Rights Stories .....	56
Chart 4: Human Rights Descriptions .....	61
Chart 5: Human Rights Focus .....	62
Chart 6: Human Rights Used in Title .....	63
Chart 7: Human Rights Focus: All Stories vs. China Stories .....	71
Chart 8: Human Rights Description: All Stories vs. China Stories .....	72
Chart 9: Possibly Human Rights Stories and Non-Human Rights Stories, UK & US .....	76
Chart 10: Human Rights Stories, UK & US .....	77
Chart 11: Domestic vs. International Stories, UK & US .....	92
Chart 12: Domestic vs. International Stories of Human Rights & Possibly Human Rights Stories, UK & US .....	93
Chart 13: Human Rights Stories in the US & UK by Year (1,2,&5) .....	96
Chart 14: Domestic vs. International Stories Human Rights Stories (codes 1, 2, & 5) .....	97
Chart 15: Domestic vs. International Stories: Human Rights Stories and Almost Human Rights Stories (codes 1, 2, 5, & 4) .....	97
Chart 16: Human Rights Description in Human Rights Stories (codes 1,2,&5) .....	103
Chart 17: Human Rights Focus in Human Rights Stories (codes 1,2,&5) .....	104
Chart 18: US Human Rights Stories Categories .....	106
Chart 19: UK Human Rights Stories Categories .....	106
Chart 20: Decline in Television News Viewership by Age .....	118

## Chapter 1: Introduction

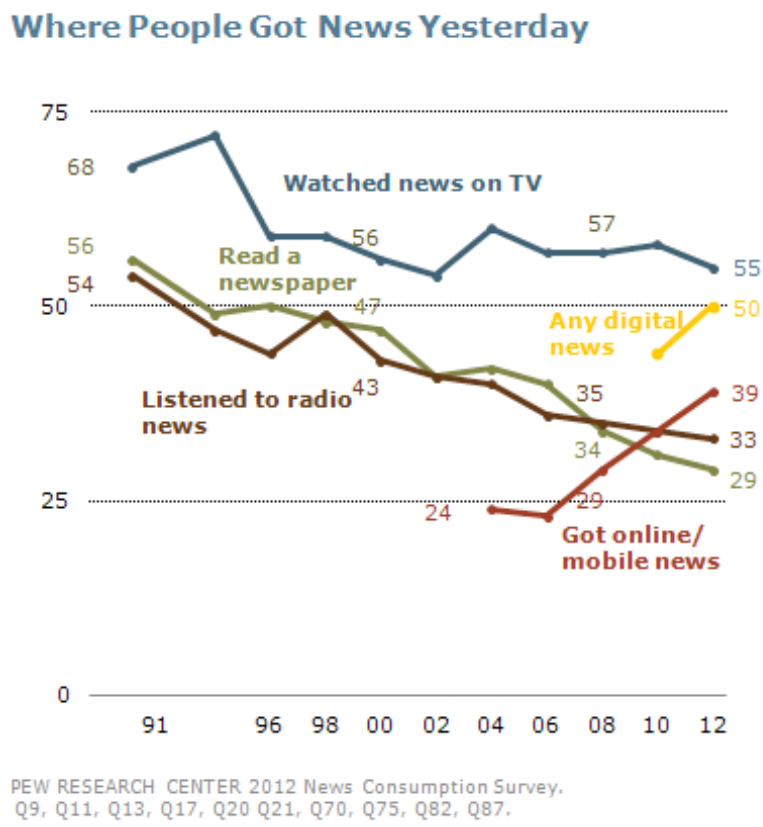
As technological advancements continue at rapid speeds, it is easy to think that everything has changed. Letters are replaced by emails, landline telephones are replaced with mobiles and internet telephony, and print and television news are dinosaurs that somehow continue to limp on despite having gone extinct years ago.

This last point, however, is not borne out by the evidence. Audiences may have declined, they may have aged, and they may also seek additional sources of news, but over the last twenty years, television has continued to be the biggest source of news for Americans. The Pew Research Center compiled data from its "Where People Got News Yesterday" surveys from 1990 onward, which revealed that television news still has the highest percentage of news consumers of any type of news source, as shown in Chart 1.<sup>1</sup> Television news still matters.

---

<sup>1</sup> " In Changing News Landscape, Even Television is Vulnerable: *Trends in News Consumption: 1991-2012.*" released September 27, 2012. <http://www.people-press.org/2012/09/27/section-1-watching-reading-and-listening-to-the-news-3/> accessed March 1, 2013.

**Chart 1: Where People Got News Yesterday**



Television reaches a mass audience, and is both an audio and a visual medium. If television news still matters, then television news research still needs to be done, despite all of the challenges of this type of research, most notably conducting both visual and auditory analysis.

I began this dissertation with the intention of examining the human rights content of television news in the US and UK as a way of determining whether human rights television news coverage could drive human rights policy or the other way around, and whether this would be the same across two different countries with two different media systems. During the long process of collecting and analyzing data, however, it became apparent that there is not very much

television coverage of human rights at all in either country. There is, in fact, not enough thematic coverage on general human rights to make a generic statement on the issue of causality.

That is not to say, however, that this study has not revealed important data. Examining the small amount of human rights content in television news in the US and UK yields insights to what television news producers and policymakers consider to be human rights, and what, if anything, audiences can learn about human rights from watching television news. Although sources for news abound today, with multiple print, television, and especially internet outlets available, television news still holds a tremendous market share. Thus, discovering what human rights information is conveyed by television is an important task, which is pursued in this study through three different cuts at the television news data.

First, Chapter Two briefly reviews the relevant communication studies and international relations literatures to build the foundation for the content analyses by defining terms and highlighting the most salient points for comparison between the media and human rights systems in the US and UK. Chapter Three explains the methodology used in the ensuing content analyses in great detail. Chapter Four consists of a content analysis of all of the stories containing the phrase human rights from one US network news broadcast from 1990-2009, which illustrates the amount of human rights coverage in the US in the post-Cold War period and examines both the issues and the countries that are covered in the context of human rights in the US. Chapter Five begins the comparative part of this study by analyzing one month of transcripts/shooting scripts for evening news broadcasts in the US and UK in 1990 to see what, if any, kinds of stories might be covering human rights issues without explicitly using the phrase human rights. Chapter Six conducts visual analysis of one week of evening news broadcasts for the US and UK from 1990-2009, comparing which stories are covered in each country, as well as

how they are covered. Chapter Seven concludes the study, summarizing the results from the three different content analyses and expounding on their implications for media and human rights in the US and UK.

## **Chapter 2: Human Rights and the Media in the US & UK**

Before examining the human rights content and impact of television media in the US and UK, theoretical lenses, definitions, and local context need to be carefully specified. This chapter will explore the relevant schools of international relations theory: the Constructivists and more specifically the theories of NGO action and influence. The meaning of human rights, including its historical and legal origins and possible differentiation from international humanitarian law, is clarified; related terms such as genocide and crimes against humanity are also defined. This chapter also explores the differing contexts of the American and British approaches to human rights. Theories from the field of communications studies and political science are examined to shed light on the concepts of framing, public opinion, and the direction of causality of media influence, followed by a survey of the existing literature on human rights in the media. Finally, the chapter offers a sketch of the broadcasting systems of the US and UK to further contextualize the results of the content analyses that make up the bulk of this study.

### **International Relations Theory**

Martin Shaw (2000) writes, “no systematic general rethinking of the media has appeared in the critical debates over international relations. Media studies retain a Cinderella status in all main theoretical schools.”(29) Shaw implies that media and its impact is taken for granted, but seldom explored- just *poof* and it is magically there as an unconsidered ingredient in various theories. This study hopes to supply some empirical evidence on which to test and refine international relations theories that indirectly point to the media having some influence, such as the non-state branch of the Constructivist School, which can speak to the importance of the media, though its application is indirect. The non-state constructivists focus on the actions, norms, and values of states and nonstate actors. The evolution of a norm begins with norm

entrepreneurs convincing states to abide by a specific norm, and as states do so, a cascade occurs, where an evolving norm becomes an established norm, the expected and appropriate behavior for all states (Finnemore & Sikkink 1998). Thomas Risse (2000) uses the example of public human rights commitments made by human rights-violating states, who nevertheless wish to appear to be playing by the rules of civilized states. This leads to the self-entrapment of the state in those commitments, which empowers domestic resistance, transnational advocacy networks, and NGOs to achieve changes in state action.

As is common in much of international relations scholarship, the internal workings of the state are left unconsidered as “given,” that any actor seeking influence influences “the state” or “states are receptive to influence” (Clark et al 1998). In actuality, norm entrepreneurs cannot influence states *qua* states, but must seek to convince the individuals who comprise those states, either as bureaucrats, elected representatives, or citizens who will subsequently pressure their governments; additionally, norm entrepreneurs themselves are either individuals, or groups, networks, or organizations that are comprised of individuals (Florini 1996). It would therefore seem important to empirically examine the processes by which individuals are influenced, with one such process being the news media. So far, however, no constructivists, and for that matter, few international relations theorists of any school, have sought to do so. For example, some constructivists discuss communication, discourse processes, and arguing as essential to transforming a state’s identity and thus its behavior, (Risse and Sikkink 1999, Risse 2000, Finnemore and Sikkink 2001), but ignore the fact that communication and discourse in the modern world is necessarily mass-mediated communication and discourse. Risse and Sikkink (1999) argue, “The diffusion of international norms in the human rights area crucially depends on the establishment and the sustainability of networks among domestic and transnational actors

who manage to link up with international regimes, to alert Western public opinion and Western governments”(5). Yet they do not mention anywhere that the mobilization of Western governments and especially of Western public opinion can only be achieved through the use of the media. Where media is mentioned at all, it is in general, non-systematic terms, such as “garnering media attention” (Keck and Sikkink 1998 127), which assumes influence of the media, but does not provide any evidence to support it. Jeffrey T. Checkel (1997), one of the few constructivists to explore media more systematically, argues that in some political systems, such as liberal and corporatist systems, society can wholly or partially constrain state options, to drive state behavior in the direction of adopting international norms. Analyzing media coverage of immigration issues in German newspapers, Checkel finds some support for claims of its influence. In the same piece, Checkel calls for a synthesis between constructivist and rationalist approaches, to better address the dynamics of identity change versus behavioral constraint in norm adoption at the domestic level.

### **Social Movements, NGOs, and the Outside Strategy**

Existing international relations theory does have more to say on the potential influence and importance of media when it comes to social movements and NGOs. Keck and Sikkink (1998) map out the relationships between individuals and domestic NGOs in developed and underdeveloped countries, as well as the transnational actors, conferences, and technologies that help bring them together into transnational advocacy groups. Media coverage is a vital part of the information and symbolic politics that network activists use. The authors describe the boomerang process, whereby third world actors (NGOs, groups, or individuals) provide facts and/or testimony to more powerful first world allies, who in turn exchange their greater financial, media, and political resources for the information and the international credibility of working

directly with the third world groups. First world and international actors (state officials, NGOs, groups, or individuals) may advocate for change in the original state's policies, or for their own government to pressure the original state. NGOs need to be able to "mobilize their own members and affect public opinion via the media" (23) by "cultivat[ing] a reputation for credibility with the press, and packag[ing] their information in a timely and dramatic way to draw press attention" (22). Snow et al (1986) argue that social movement organizations (SMOs) perform interpretive actions in constructing, maintaining, and aligning frames, or interpretive schema to create meaning. Moreover, they contend that these actions are so vital, those SMOs who cannot frame effectively will cease to exist.

Most social movements, transnational actors, and NGOs seek to change government policy, either their national government's or another state's. To that end, they pursue strategies that can be loosely classified into two categories: inside strategies of directly trying to influence policymakers, such as lobbying, and outside strategies of protest politics or attempting to influence the public, which then pressures policymakers. Ruud Koopmans (2004) argues that social movements are now less dependent on direct confrontations with policymakers via protests; the media coverage of protests is what influences authorities the most. "Authorities will not react to – and will often not even know about – protests that are not reported in the media" (368). Koopmans further argues that any response policymakers choose to make to social movements will likely be a public one via the mass media. So pursuing media coverage becomes an essential goal of NGOs and other social movements: "movements need the news media for three major purposes: mobilization, validation, and scope enlargement" (Gamson and Wolsfeld 1993 116, see also Nelson 2006 on the importance of the mass media to human rights NGOs).

This is not, however, an uncontested point. Thrall (2006) concludes that despite wide consensus on the necessity of mediated outside strategies as a necessary goal, as well as a way to level the playing field between smaller, poorer social movements and larger, better-resourced interest groups, empirical evidence is to the contrary. Investigating TV and print news, Thrall finds that the overwhelming majority of news coverage of interest groups is devoted to the largest and most-well-resourced groups, while the smaller groups, who would need the advantages of media coverage more to make up for their lack of resources, are seldom successful in getting into the news. Tresch and Fischer (2008) attribute this lack of coverage not to the social movements themselves, who, regardless of their size and resources, all tend to pursue outside strategies, but to a media bias, whereby journalists prefer high-ranking state actors and public officials or established NGOs that have the resources to prepare press releases and maintain staff dedicated to assisting the media. Interestingly, Tresch and Fischer find that the more established and better-resourced social movements and NGOs are the ones most likely to pursue, and achieve greater success with, traditional inside strategies of lobbying.

### **Human Rights Defined**

Before the human rights content of the media can be examined, the term must be clarified. “Human Rights are, literally, the rights that one has simply because one is a human being.” (Donnelly 10) Dignity, equality, and the worth of the individual are the core of international human rights (Mertus 5). As Alyson Brysk summarizes, “Human rights may be conceived as a set of entitlements to the social prerequisites to human development: protection, security, freedom, and community” (Brysk 2005 23). At the same time, human rights are a minimalist framework, as emphasized by Weiss, Forsythe, Coate and Pease (2007) as “fundamental entitlements of persons constituting means to the end of minimal human dignity”

(132). Donnelly further states, “we do not have human rights to all things that are good, or even to all important good things.”(10). Though they are often enshrined in public statements and international agreements, including the Charter of the United Nations, the definition of human rights is seldom elaborated. So what are human rights, specifically?

The most commonly referred to list of human rights is the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), which, with the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) and the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), is considered the International Bill of Rights. Paul Gordon Lauren (2003) traces the process of participation, negotiation, and consultation with as many religious and cultural groups as could be obtained at the time to come up with the most comprehensive list possible that would apply to all peoples everywhere,

. . . without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty. (UDHR Art. 2)

The UDHR contains thirty articles with provisions protecting nondiscrimination, the protection of life, liberty, and the security of person, protection against slavery and torture, equal protection under the law, equal rights of men and women in marriage, rights to work, social security, rest and leisure, adequate standard of living, education, privacy, and the freedom of assembly and association (Donnelly 24).

The UDHR was drafted and signed in 1948 as a non-binding declaration of the United Nations General Assembly. The legal classification was a tactical move on the part of the drafters to gain widespread state support for a comprehensive list covering all human rights, be they civil, political, economic, cultural, or social in nature, which could then be built into a

legally binding treaty. The politics of the Cold War intervened, however, and it would be almost twenty years before a binding treaty on human rights could be agreed to and opened for signature by the UN General Assembly in 1966, and then only after it was split into two separate treaties, the ICCPR, supported by the US and Western countries, and the ICESCR, supported by the USSR and Eastern bloc countries (Lauren 236-246). In the generational approach to classifying human rights, civil and political rights are considered the oldest, or first generation rights, while economic, social, and cultural rights are considered second generation rights, with a third generation, that of group rights, receiving less widespread acceptance (Sriram et al 37-40).

Since the end of the Cold War, both the ICCPR and the ICESCR have received widespread ratification across the East-West divide. Article 5 of the Vienna Declaration from the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights reaffirms, “All human rights are universal, indivisible and interdependent and interrelated,” but the distinction between civil and political rights on the one hand and economic, cultural, and social rights on the other still retains significant importance in several countries, particularly in the US, which has refused to ratify the ICESCR and where the language of civil and political rights are much more resonant with the state as well as the public.

The drafting and signing of the ICCPR and ICESCR initiated a period of (relatively) rapid codification of more specific human rights treaties. Although largely based (and frequently explicitly referencing) the UDHR, these treaties were issue-specific, much more detailed, and designed to be legally binding documents from the start.(Lauren 246) Treaties on eliminating racism, eliminating discrimination against women, preventing torture, protecting the rights of the child, migrant workers, and persons with disability, and protection of all persons from enforced

disappearance all spell out specific definitions for their issues and have received widespread state signature and ratification.<sup>2</sup>

### **Crimes Against Humanity and Genocide**

Two areas related to human rights have received extensive codification and jurisprudence- crimes against humanity and genocide. However, their definitions, limitations, and interactions with the existing human rights treaties and other relevant international law, still constantly debated even among academics and jurists. A brief exploration of their statutory definitions will clarify both the meanings of the terms, as well as point to why there may be significant confusion among non-experts.<sup>3</sup>

Crimes against humanity first appeared in the Charter of the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg in 1945, and were defined as:

murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation, and other inhumane acts committed against any civilian population, before or during the war; or persecutions on political, racial or religious grounds in execution of or in connection with any crime within the jurisdiction of the Tribunal, whether or not in violation of the domestic law of the country where perpetrated. (IMT Article 6(c)).

This phrasing, particularly the expanded international jurisdiction over the rights of individuals, prefigures the human rights treaties that were to be developed in the ensuing decades. Decades after 1945, crimes against humanity would come to be interpreted as customary international law applying to all states regardless of their treaty affiliations, and the nexus between crimes against humanity and armed conflict has been discarded as unnecessary in the 1990s, as

---

<sup>2</sup> See the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD 1965), the International Covenant on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW 1979), the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (CAT 1984), Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC 1989), the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families (ICRMW 1990), the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (CRPD 2006), and the International Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance (2006).

<sup>3</sup> See chapters 3 and 5 for an analysis of misused terms by television journalists.

evidenced by the Tadic decision (Cassese 2001 251). More recently, as the culmination of “considering that systematic gross violations of human rights directed against civilians may qualify as crimes against humanity” (Meron 2000 265), the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, which entered into force in 2002, defined crimes against humanity as:

any of the following acts when committed as part of a widespread or systematic attack directed against any civilian population, with knowledge of the attack:

- (a) Murder;
  - (b) Extermination;
  - (c) Enslavement;
  - (d) Deportation or forcible transfer of population;
  - (e) Imprisonment or other severe deprivation of physical liberty in violation of fundamental rules of international law;
  - (f) Torture;
  - (g) Rape, sexual slavery, enforced prostitution, forced pregnancy, enforced sterilization, or any other form of sexual violence of comparable gravity;
  - (h) Persecution against any identifiable group or collectivity on political, racial, national, ethnic, cultural, religious, gender as defined in paragraph 3, or other grounds that are universally recognized as impermissible under international law, in connection with any act referred to in this paragraph or any crime within the jurisdiction of the Court;
  - (i) Enforced disappearance of persons;
  - (j) The crime of apartheid;
  - (k) Other inhumane acts of a similar character intentionally causing great suffering, or serious injury to body or to mental or physical health.
- (Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, Article 7(1))

Arguably the most universally agreed upon (though still violated) human right and one of the greatest achievements of the human rights movement is the prohibition against genocide. Originally conceived of at the Nuremberg Tribunal as a subset of crimes against humanity, genocide came into its own with the Genocide Convention of 1948 (Cassese 2001 252). Genocide is defined as “a criminal act intended to destroy an ethnic, national or religious group, which is targeted for destruction as such” (Mann 17). The *dolus specialis* is what separates genocide from run-of-the-mill crimes against humanity- without the special intention for the act to destroy the group in whole or in part, the act cannot be considered genocide; crimes against

humanity require merely the intent to “subject a person or group to discrimination, ill-treatment, or harassment, so as to bring about great suffering or injury to that person or group on religious, political, or other such grounds” (Cassese 2001 252). The Genocide Convention also does not require a link with armed conflict for it to be triggered- crimes of genocide can occur during peace, wartime, or any degree in between (Meron 2000 264), and have been interpreted by judicial decisions at the ICTR and ICTY to include single acts (meaning no repeated pattern is necessary) and sexual violence. Furthermore, it is widely considered to be a part of customary international law, binding on all states, from which no derogation is permitted (Othman 2005 252). The prohibition against genocide is not merely that states must not commit the act- they are also required to prevent and punish genocide, and to enact relevant domestic law to be able to do so (Sriram et al 50, 53).

### **International Humanitarian Law**

International humanitarian law (IHL), alternatively known as the law of armed conflict or law in war ((Kennedy 2006 83), is closely related to international human rights law (IHRL), but conceptually distinct, at least in the legal and academic literature. IHL officially encompasses both Hague Convention Law, or how war should be carried out, and Geneva Law, which spells out the commitments of states during armed conflict for the protection of civilians, the security of belligerent populations, the treatment of the wounded, sick, and shipwrecked, and the treatment of prisoners of war (Best 116-179), though more emphasis is usually placed on the Geneva law. Unlike IHRL, which is supposed to apply to all humans equally at all times by virtue of their being human, IHL only enters into force during times of war and is based on the principle of distinction, of civilian from combatant, uniformed soldier from guerilla, and *levee en masse* from illegal opposition to occupation (Best 128-232, Kennedy 117-122). Even the

difficult question of what exactly constitutes war or conflict sufficient to trigger the applicability of IHL must be decided for each conflict, whereas human rights law applies at all times, unless a state makes a clear announcement of derogation, which can only apply to derogable human rights (which notably do not include the right to life and not to be tortured, among others) (Meron 2000 267, Droegge 2007). IHL is also predicated on the interactions of states with each other, while IHRL “was designed to protect the individual from abuse at the hands of the state” (Leebaw 225).

### **Causes of the Blur with Human Rights**

David Kennedy argues that the development of modern warfare, where the clear demarcation of battlefield and soldier by geography and uniform and of periods of conflict from post-conflict are increasingly inapplicable, has caused humanitarians to intentionally blur the line between law in war and human rights law, in order to extend the protections of the law in war to all internal conflicts and violence, regardless of whether they truly fit the legal criteria (Kennedy 112-114). Although Common Article 3 of the 1949 Geneva Conventions does address armed conflict not of an international nature, states are often loathe to admit that this threshold has been reached, such as Russia argued in the case of two attacks by the Russian air force during the conflict in Chechnya (Tamura 2011). Further muddying the water is the fact that newer treaties draw from both IHRL and IHL sources, including “the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, and the Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict 2000,” among others (Droegge 317).

In addition to the difficulties of the changing nature of warfare, determining what exactly constitutes armed conflict sufficient to trigger IHL, and treaties that include both types of law as

sources, the overlap between the two areas creates additional differences of opinion among jurists and courts. If IHRL does apply at all times, then which law, IHL or IHRL takes precedence? Two responses have been put forth- either the *lex specialis*, where IHL takes precedence over IHRL as the more specific law to the context of armed conflict, or complementarity, where the two sets of laws are seen as additive. This “belt and suspenders approach” says that “the norm that better protects the individual, whether it is drawn from international human rights law or international humanitarian law, is to be applied” (Schabas 593). The International Court of Justice (ICJ), in its Advisory Opinion on Nuclear Weapons in 1996, endorsed the *lex specialis* approach, because IHRL was insufficient to determine whether a loss of life could be arbitrary, as defined by Article 6 of the ICCPR (Meron 2000 266). This interpretation is criticized, however, on the grounds that it is unclear whether IHL would always take precedence (Tomuschat 17). It is also criticized on the grounds that the entire advisory opinion was decided on the issue of the justness of self-defense/recourse to war, which falls purposely outside the realm of IHL, meaning that IHL was not the applicable law either (Schabas 595). In 2004, in its decision on the Wall in Occupied Palestinian Territory, the ICJ laid out three possible options for the relationship of IHL to IHRL- “some rights may be exclusively matters of international humanitarian law; others may be exclusively matters of human rights law; yet others may be matters of both these branches of international law” (Tomuschat 18), but the decision failed to specify what rights fall into what categories in what contexts. Increasingly, jurists and commentators are moving in the direction of applying whichever body of law provides more protection to the victims, placing more emphasis on closing whatever gaps exist to ensure human protection.

All of the preceding codifications, both in IHL and IHRL, are state-centric- they see the state as the primary guarantor of international human rights, as well as, ironically, the primary violator. Over time, however, these treaties have been interpreted more and more expansively to account for human rights violations perpetrated by non-state actors, such as insurgent groups, private corporations, and even individuals. (Brysk 2005)

### **Human Rights in the US and UK**

The definitions of human rights explored above are drawn from the literature on various international treaties and norms. Possibly more important for the present study are the ways in which those definitions have been operationalized in the national context. Examining the way human rights are conceived of in the US and UK sheds significant light on what the term means in each country, which contrary to the foregoing legal definitions, can vary widely. Within their national contexts, the US and UK differ on such points as: their involvement in regional institutions; the speed at which they sign and ratify agreements; the attachment of reservations, understandings, and declarations; the types of rights included in the domestic understanding of human rights; the timing of the rising prominence of human rights; the conceptualization of human rights as a foreign or domestic issue; and the institutionalization of human rights.

Schmitz & Sikkink (2002) argue that “Europe and the Americas feature today the most advanced human rights institutions” (524). The US, however, is not very active in the regional human rights arrangements of the Americas:

“The US has played a marginal role in both the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights and the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, not ratified the ‘American Convention on Human Rights’ and neither signed nor ratified the ‘Additional protocol to the American Convention on Human Rights in the Area of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights’” (Felice 83)

The UK, by contrast, is subject to several layers of regional human rights legislation, monitoring, adjudication, and enforcement. The UK is party to the Council of Europe's European Convention of Human Rights (ECHR), which covers civil and political rights, and is enforceable by the European Court of Human Rights. The ECHR has also been interpreted by the European Union's European Court of Justice as "stating human rights principles [are] common to the legal systems of the member states" and therefore legally enforceable (Jones 248). This means that in addition to its own domestic legislation, the UK is subject to both EU and Council of Europe legislation and adjudication.

The US has a history of being slow to sign and ratify international treaties; for example, it only ratified the ICCPR in 1992. Thus, American ratification was almost fifteen years after the US signed the treaty, which was a full ten years after the ICCPR was opened for signature. The US only ratified the CAT and ICERD in 1994, ten and almost thirty years after they were opened for signature, respectively. Furthermore, the reservations, understandings, and declarations the US attaches to its ratifications are significant, simultaneously declaring the treaties to be non-self-executing<sup>4</sup> while generally refusing to enact any implementation legislation or accept any obligations beyond current US law and practice. The US defends these attachments on the grounds that existing US law already protects the relevant rights as far as or further than the treaties would, when read according to the US reservations, declarations, and understandings (RUDs) (Nash 1995). Notable sticking points for the ICCPR include the US protection of hate speech and war propaganda under the First Amendment and of the use of the death penalty for offenders under eighteen. Critics of the US approach to the ICCPR have said that such RUDs are an abuse of the process, "By adhering to human rights conventions subject to these

---

<sup>4</sup> Non-self-executing treaties require implementation legislation to be passed before they can be considered part of the law of the land.

reservations, the United States, it is charged, is pretending to assume international obligations but in fact is undertaking nothing” (Henkin 1995 344). The UN Human Rights Commission found that the US RUDs for the ICCPR go too far, “making them incompatible with the object and purpose of the covenant, and therefore in violation of international law” (Mertus 36). In contrast, the UK has a much better signature and ratification record of international human rights treaties, with far fewer reservations, understandings, or declarations.

The United States also has a very limited view of which human rights are immediate, actionable rights, and which are perhaps not human rights at all. Contrary to the indivisability of the whole of human rights proposed by the UDHR, the US has always had a tremendous preference for civil and political rights as opposed to economic, social, and cultural rights, and this preference includes both the US government and most of the large US-based human rights NGOs, such as Human Rights Watch, who until recently did not include economic, social, and cultural rights because they were perceived to be resource-intensive and/or non-justiciable. The US did sign the ICESCR in 1977, but has yet to propose it for ratification, let alone actually ratify it, more than thirty years later. “Claims of a ‘right’ to employment, health care, and housing seemed to run counter to the American ethos of individualism, personal responsibility, hard work, and individual initiative” (Felice 80). The US does not see economic, cultural, and social rights as legally enforceable rights; rather, they are characterized more as social goods that should be achieved only if possible in either the domestic or foreign policy arenas.

Although economic, cultural, and social rights as rights are contested in the UK, they are infinitely more accepted as human rights there than in the US. The UK ratified the original European Social Charter of 1962, and signed the revised version, though it has yet to ratify it (The United Kingdom and the European Social Charter). The UK also ratified the ICESCR and

complies with reporting requirements to the UN's Committee on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, which notes continuing improvements in several areas over time between reports (Felice 87-90). As Felice puts it, "The US limits, while the EU states expand, state responsibility to guarantee sufficient resources to all citizens as the ultimate guarantor of the right to subsistence" (91). The ECJ, the European Court of Human Rights, and the CESCR, to which the UK is subject, have all ruled that economic, social, and cultural rights are concrete goals towards which states must work immediately, regardless of resource constraints.

Kathryn Sikkink (1993) discusses the difference in human rights ideas between the US and UK. First, the idea of human rights gained prominence later in the US than it did in the UK. For the US, generally, human rights are thought to be issues that occur in the rest of the world, especially in the third world, while the UK's conception of human rights is more open to consideration of human rights issues at the European and even domestic levels. The United States views human rights as a foreign concept, as something that happens "out there" instead of at home. In fact, the most common discussion of rights in the domestic sense is about civil rights or constitutional rights, which are of much greater salience to the US public. These types of issues, such as non-discrimination or the right to free speech, for example, are also human rights- what is interesting is that they are not considered to be human rights by the US public or US government in the domestic arena. For the most part, human rights only enter the discussion when the topic is foreign- human rights happen outside the country, constitutional and civil rights happen within it (Mertus 231). The US (in)famously used the Final Act of the Helsinki Agreement as a way to criticize the USSR, while simultaneously ignoring its own monitoring and reporting obligations under the agreement.

In addition to being more tightly integrated to various international and regional treaty and monitoring systems, the UK is also more receptive than the US to human rights at the domestic level. The UK has recently been involved in a process of “rights brought home” (Petley 78), which means both making human rights apply explicitly within the UK as human rights and doing so through UK domestic legislation, specifically the Human Rights Act (HRA) of 1998, as opposed to only through the EU or Council of Europe. Subsequently, human rights have entered the domestic discourse in academia, the media, and government documents in issues as wide-ranging as the privacy of celebrities, the adoption of children (Welbourne 2002), the delivery of public services (Gavrielides 2008), and the protection of the elderly and sick in care homes (The Human Rights of Older People in Healthcare).

Human rights have been further institutionalized in the UK by the creation of the Joint Committee on Human Rights, which is comprised of six peers and six members of Parliament. The JCHR has responsibility for “scrutiniz[ing] legislation for compliance with the *Human Rights Act 1998* and the UKs international human rights commitments” (Tolley 2009). The HRA is not without criticism. It does not have the force of a constitutional document, and its ultimate power of judicial review creating a declaration of incompatibility does not change or nullify the law in question; that remains the prerogative of the government (Sypnowich 106). Fearing an overwhelming increase in rights-based claims, some have proposed replacing it with a British Bill of Rights or a British Bill of Rights and Duties (Amos 2009) , though to date, no such bill has been presented. In any case, Tolley argues that “Both Houses of Parliament in the post-HRA era have shown greater awareness of the human rights issues at stake in proposed legislation than any time before” (Tolley 49).

Having defined human rights and its related terms, as well as how those terms are understood in the US and UK, I now turn to examining the literature on the influence of the media.

### **The Influence of the Media**

For years, political scientists and media analysts have insisted on the important role of the media in politics, based on the logics of agenda-setting and framing. Iyengar and Kinder's experiments in 1987 with slight alterations on television newscasts showed that individuals significantly change their perception of the importance of issues based on television news. Iyengar (1991) uses similar experimental methodology to show that television news content contributes to individuals' assessment of who is responsible for policies, programs, or problems such as poverty, racial inequality, and terrorism. Robert Entman (2004) further explores this framing power of the news media, which goes beyond the agenda-setting of putting issues that are frequently mentioned into the conscious thought of viewers, and further influences the way those viewers will think about the issue.

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Walter Lippmann (2007) was already pointing out the tremendous influence of the mass media on public opinion, especially of the emerging technology of the moving image (35), and especially on issues that are not part of the public's daily experience, the unseen environment (101), such as foreign policy. This theme is picked up by Page and Shapiro (1992), who stress the influence of not just the mass media, but television specifically:

The American public has learned a great deal about the United States and the world through the mass media, especially television. Facts about foreign countries and international events, about US social problems and resources and policy alternatives, have been conveyed through the media. The mass media, in fact, are the chief means by which most other major sources of political information actually reach the public. (358)

The information that reaches the public is of paramount importance, since that is how individuals decide what issues are important as well as how they feel about those issues. Democratic governments seek to be responsive to their citizens' preferences, which are formed in large part by media coverage and political elites (Aldrich et al 2006). Gabriel Almond (1950) saw a very limited role of public opinion on foreign policy action; he divided public opinion on foreign policy into three groups: the mass public, which is neither informed nor capable of exerting influence, the attentive public, which is informed but has little influence, and the elite public which is both informed and influential. Richard Sobel (2001) builds on Almond's work but argues that public opinion has played a larger role in constraining possible US government action on foreign military interventions since Vietnam. Sobel closely tracks benchmark events, foreign policy decisions, and public opinion polling data before and after the benchmarks to show how policymakers operated within the realm of options acceptable to the general public. It is important to note that Sobel does not claim public opinion directly determined specific foreign policy action, rather it merely defined the parameters of what government officials might do. (see also Hurwitz & Peffley 1987, Gelpi 2006, 2005).

### *Media & Human Rights*

Most research on the media refers to print media; Patrick Rossler (2004) reviews the few comparative empirical studies of television news and his own comparative study of television news in the US and nine European countries, finding that "universal regionalism," or the tendency for the media to cover its home country's closest neighbors either geographically or strategically, is strong in all ten systems.

Additionally, most research on media coverage and influence of foreign policy focuses

directly on foreign intervention or military action<sup>5</sup>; very few studies look at media coverage of human rights. Ovsiovitch (1993) asserts the importance of media on issues of human rights, and analyzes television and print news in the US, finding that there is relatively little coverage of human rights in US media, and that most of that coverage refers to two regions of the world, Latin America and Eastern Europe. The study suffers from relying primarily on the counting of stories, thereby missing the opportunity to find meaning in the content of the stories; it also analyzes stories from 1978-1987, and therefore cannot say anything about media and human rights in the post-Cold War period. Ramos, Ron, and Thoms (2007) looked explicitly at media coverage of human rights from 1986-2000, finding that coverage increases for more repressive countries, relatively wealthier countries, and places that receive Amnesty International attention. The work is admirable in that it is comparative, encompassing American and European news sources, but it is limited in only addressing print media, and using counts and statistics, not detailed story analyses. In contrast, Caliendo et al (1999) delve deeper into content, looking for themes, continuities, and tone of coverage. After examining only American print news, and even more restrictively, only one paper, The New York Times, they conclude that there is more coverage of human rights in the news than Ovsiovitch found, but less than they expected to find, citing the media's preference for reporting stories when there are a high number of deaths associated with an event or issue. Additional work has been done in the area of content analysis of news for human rights issues, primarily in the form of single country studies, mostly in the US (Geyer & Shapiro 1988), but with some exceptions (Hanson & Miller 1987). Comparative

---

<sup>5</sup> Though there is the likelihood of overlap in these issues, it is the direction of the investigation that is the point. Media influence and public opinion projects tend to look at a war or military intervention, addressing human rights issues as incidentals, if they come up at all. (see, for examples, Livingston 1997 on Somalia, Jentleson & Britton 1998 on post-Cold War interventions, Sobel 2001 on Vietnam, the Gulf War, and Bosnia, and Boaz 2005 and Kollmer & Semetko 2009 on the Iraq War, and Lai & Reiter 2005 for the use of force by the United Kingdom from 1948-2001)

content analysis on media coverage of human rights, however, has been lacking.

### *The Direction of Causality*

If media does exert an influence on elite and/or mass opinion that then influences or constrains government discourse or action, there is still a question of the direction of causality—does media coverage drive government discourse and policy action, or is the news media instrumentalized by government elites, so that the influence is exerted from the government to the public through the media? Herman and Chomsky (1988) argue that mass media organizations are so beholden to both their corporate owners and the government sources who provide information that the mass media becomes little more than a propaganda machine for the economic and political elites to control the population and generate consent to justify their continued rule. Bennett et al (2007) invoke less conspiracy theory while expanding on the same basic ideas: mass media journalists seek the most reliable information by using established elites as a shorthand for reliability (they are also easier to find). The media's preference for relying upon existing contacts with governmental elites makes it difficult for journalists to pursue stories that do not have elite sources. In addition, journalists become more deferential to existing elites in order to maintain their continued access to information. These problems are exacerbated as the issue gets geographically more remote from the journalist; the harder it is for the journalist to access an area on his or her own, the more dependent he or she will be on official government sources.

The belief that the government leads the media's coverage of human rights is not the only theory of causal direction. Other scholars, in fact, argue the opposite: the media can exert an independent influence on government discourse and policy action, which is most commonly known as the "CNN Effect." The name reflects the idea that improvements in media technology

and real-time reporting “disrupted traditional patterns of media deference to foreign policy elites and expand[ed] the power of the news media” (Robinson 344). Real-time news coverage provides information not just to the general public, but also to policymakers and journalists, some of whom admit to “using CNN as a kind of wire service for monitoring fast-breaking stories” (Minear et al 35). The CNN Effect is not universally recognized, however. Eytan Gilboa (2005) surveys the existing literature on the CNN Effect, using methodological critiques of the studies that claim television media coverage does influence government policy (Zaller and Chiu 1996, Miller 2002) to conclude there is insufficient evidence in support of the existence of the CNN Effect. Yet, in the same essay, Gilboa finds similar problems with authors claiming that there is no evidence, so his conclusion cannot be taken as an absolute. Additionally, all of the studies Gilboa considers, as well as the overwhelming majority of studies of the phenomenon, deal with intervention, conflict, and war; few in general and none in Gilboa (2005) examine human rights. Even among scholars who believe in the CNN Effect, there is still disagreement over the level of influence the media can have on government (von Beyme 1994 on not overestimating, Kriesi 2004 on significant influence). The questions of whether the CNN Effect exists, as well as how much influence it can exert, is therefore not settled.

A third possibility exists between the first two arguments on causality, and seems most plausible. Rather than claim definitively that media coverage influences government or government controls media coverage, Baum and Potter (2008) and Entman (2004) call for a more nuanced view. Unidirectional causality does not make sense where the actors are so intricately linked. It is most likely that on different issues at different times, government elites, elites outside the government, journalists, and the public will have varying degrees of influence on what the media covers and on what that media coverage influences. Baum and Potter argue

that the causality debate is a waste of time, since “a clearer understanding of the media-opinion-foreign policy nexus emerge when, rather than exploring static snapshots of bilateral relationships between foreign policy actors, we consider them together as coequal players within a market that produces foreign policy outcomes through dynamic interaction” (42).

### **Television News in the US & UK**

Having surveyed the general literature in communication studies about the potential importance of mass media, I turn now to the news broadcasting and regulatory systems in the US and UK.

Hallin and Mancini (2004a) set out a framework to classify different political-media systems based on the development of media markets, political parallelism, development of journalistic professionalism, and the degree and nature of state intervention in the media system; they use this framework to analyze the economically advanced democratic countries of Western Europe and North America, finding three models of media systems, Mediterranean or Polarized Pluralist, Northern European or Democratic Corporatist, and North Atlantic or Liberal. Both the US and the UK are classified as North Atlantic/Liberal, but the authors concede significant differences between the two, especially in regards to ownership and regulation. First, broadcasting in the UK is required by law to be impartial and balanced in news and public affairs issues,(216) while the Fairness Doctrine in the US was abandoned in the late 1980s and the US has “shifted considerably toward a pure market model of broadcasting” (230). The regulatory agencies in the two countries differ significantly in influence and independence; the Independent Television Commission (ITC), though weaker than its predecessor, the Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA), still had much more influence over programming schedules and advertising than the Federal Communications Commission has in the US (231); since the passage

of the Communications Act of 2003, British television has been under the purview of Ofcom, which while weaker still than the ITC, still dwarfs the regulatory activity of the FCC in the US, such as with its wide-sweeping research into television content (Gardam 47). Commercial pressures are much stronger on the US networks than on the publicly-supported BBC, raising questions about journalistic independence and how well the public interest is served (Hallin and Mancini 247). Journalists in the two countries also tend to define professionalism differently; British journalists fall more in the category of social responsibility journalism, where the mark of a good journalist is one who makes informed judgments and presents news in light of those judgments, while North American norms of professionalism are closely tied to “objectivity,” where journalists are supposed to present both sides of an issue, regardless of their personal opinion (226).

Ownership, regulation, and competition are the biggest differences between the American and British broadcasting systems. In their earliest days, radio and television broadcasting were seen to need at least some state intervention in both countries because of a technological necessity- spectrum scarcity. There was only so much bandwidth that could be given out, and with that bandwidth came the idea of responsible use and an obligation to serve the public interest. The difference between the two states’ television systems and regulatory practices is largely a result of how that obligation has been defined and operationalized.

#### *Ownership and Funding in the US and UK*

The US and UK responded differently to the question of ownership in light of the potential power of broadcasting technology combined with spectrum scarcity. The US adopted a private system- “private ownership, created through government licensing” (Conrad 242). Three networks “enjoyed a virtual monopoly of nationwide television for three decades, during

which a collective prime-time share of 90 per cent was not uncommon” (Kun-Shankleman 26). US television networks and the news programs they broadcast are funded by advertising and sponsorship sales. The UK, on the other hand, adopted public service broadcasting, creating a public corporation, the British Broadcasting Corporation, which covered first radio and then both radio and television (McNair 11). In the UK, broadcasting was “deemed to be too important to be left to the whims of the market place” (Harrison 44). The BBC was designed to be a public service, “free from the direct influences of both government and commerce” (Crisell 61) as the result of the Sykes and Crawford committee reports, which cautioned against radio broadcasting being controlled by either government or private interests, respectively (McNair 108) with a charter obligation to educate, inform, and entertain. The BBC is funded by an annual licensing fee that is paid by all television owners, to prevent the targeting of mass audiences at the expense of unprofitable minorities (Crisell 62), which has been defined in terms of taste preferences as well as ethnicity and class. The BBC does not carry advertising on its domestic channels.

### *Regulation in the US and UK*

US regulation of television in general and of television news specifically has been far less stringent than in the UK and has been much more market-focused. In the early days of television in the US, competition between the very limited number of channels was backed up by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) and the Fairness Doctrine. The FCC was created in 1934 as the regulatory arm of Federal Communications Act to “set standards and obligations for broadcasters to obtain and keep their licenses” (Conrad 242). All licensees were required to act in the public interest, but no law ever defined the term- that was (remains to this day) up to the FCC. The fairness doctrine required licensees “(1) to devote a reasonable amount of their broadcast time to the discussion of controversial issues of public importance, and (2) to cover

those issues fairly, affording reasonable opportunities for the presentation of opposing viewpoints” (“The Fairness Doctrine” 1980 1028). But as early as the 1960s and 70s, the FCC was facing suits over its use of the Fairness Doctrine as a violation of First Amendment constitutional guarantees to freedom of speech (“The First Amendment and Regulation of Television News”). Criticism of the doctrine sharpened as the technological grounding for differential regulation of print and broadcasting media was deemed to have evaporated- with cable and satellite television, more channels were becoming more widely available. By 1987, the FCC had abandoned the Fairness Doctrine (Hershey Jr, 1987), and with the Telecommunications Act of 1996, Congress made the FCC significantly deregulate broadcast media ownership and licensing. (Conrad 245).

Regulation of broadcasting in the UK has historically been much more stringent, though it has been liberalized significantly and progressively since the 1980s. In addition to spectrum scarcity, increased regulation of broadcast media was justified in the UK because it was deemed to be more influential than print media and because it developed in the age of increased state involvement in many industries, as opposed to the print media’s development during the *laissez-faire* 19<sup>th</sup> century (Goodwin 131).

As part of its independence from both government and private ownership, the BBC has had to walk a careful line of impartiality, especially when it comes to controversial issues. If the BBC was to be the voice of the nation, and “the nation was recognized to contain diverse elements (diverse politically, socially, and geographically), the BBC would have to be an ‘impartial arbiter,’ independent of commercial and political interests” (McNair 37). The perception that the BBC was being partial or was a creature of one of the parties or of the current government would not only destroy its credibility, but could also endanger its revenue, the

license fee, so from its earliest days, the corporation voluntarily accepted the importance of impartiality and balance in its broadcasting policy; this voluntary acceptance was finally written into the BBC License in 1996 (Barendt 108). Neither independence nor impartiality has been absolute- on certain occasions informally, and on others, such as the Broadcasting Act of 1996, the government has asserted control over who or what the BBC can discuss. For example, during the troubles in Northern Ireland, the BBC received notice from the Secretary of State, in accordance with the Broadcasting Act of 1996 that certain groups, including the IRA, INLA, Sinn Fein, Republican Sinn Fein, and the Ulster Defence Association were to be banned (Petley 149). The BBC responded to this and other previous bans by having actors or announcers read the words from banned individuals, though bans are thought to have at least partly affected the likelihood of covering banned stories:

The BBC claimed, on the basis of its obligation to be impartial and to inform, the right to include Sinn Fein, the protestant extremists, and sometimes the IRA as voices that needed to be heard, while the government claimed the political right to exclude from the BBC voices which they thought had to change in order to win a right to a voice. The government always interpreted exposure as endorsement. 'Publicity', said Mrs. Thatcher famously, 'is the oxygen of terrorism . . . The Broadcasting Ban was imposed. This meant that when members of terrorist groups appeared on television, their voices could not be heard and actors had to read their words. This ban did nothing to reduce public interest in paramilitary personalities. It did, however, constitute a humiliation to the public service broadcasters, as it was little more than a visible badge of government power. It also meant that television executives did not make programmes about Northern Ireland if they could help it. (Curran and Seaton 211)

The Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) was established to regulate independent television shortly after its creation in much the same manner and with similar rules as the BBC's Board of Governors was to oversee the BBC:

"The authority was also required to ensure 'balanced programming', 'due impartiality' in the treatment of controversial issues, and a high quality in programme production as a whole. To enforce its recommendations the IBA could determine the broadcasting schedule, prohibit the transmission of particular

programmes, or even revoke the franchises of offending companies” (Curran and Seaton 180).

Particularly when it came to news, then, ITV “was subject to the same constraints in coverage as the BBC’s news and current affairs service” (McNair 109).

The 1990 Broadcasting Act eliminated the IBA in favor of the Independent Television Commission, a greatly weakened regulator (Crisell 65). Unlike the IBA, the ITC had no power to preview a programme and either block its broadcast or demand it be moved in the schedule to preemptively promote more impartial coverage of controversial issues via previewing broadcasts; the ITC had only retrospective power to sanction broadcasters after the fact (Barendt 115). Post-facto ITC sanctions for violating the programme code were somewhat significant, ranging from “warnings, the imposition of fines and/or on-screen apologies to, ultimately, loss of the licence to broadcast” (Petley 150).

Regulation of broadcasting has been continually scaled back over the last thirty years in the UK on similar grounds as in the US- technological change ameliorates spectrum scarcity, so minority views no longer need protection- more and more viewpoints can have their say as more and more channels become available. Further to this approach to deregulating broadcasting, the Communications Act of 2003 replaced the ITC with the Office of Communications (Ofcom), which assumed the duties of the ITC, as well as responsibility for radio and “fixed line telecoms, mobiles, postal services, plus the airwaves over which wireless devices operate” (“What is Ofcom?”). Perhaps ironically for a regulator, Ofcom’s main brief is to “roll back regulation promptly when regulation becomes unnecessary” (Curran and Seaton 394).

As of 2005, the biggest change to come out of the latest round of BBC Charter renewal negotiations has been the apparent abandonment of measuring the quality of British television in any objective manner other than by market share. “Government and regulatory authorities alike

have abandoned the last vestiges of a belief that they have a role in ruling on the quality of programming in anything more than market terminology” (Gardam 49).

*Competition in US and UK:*

Thus, “the overriding aim of US media policy has always been to further public interest by encouraging competition” (Kung-Shankleman 25). According to Lucy Kung-Shankelman, contrary to the trends in other industries, “increased competition has increased costs for broadcasters across the board,” in all media systems, due to the increased costs of talent and broadcasting rights to sports events (33). In the US, competition for network news means competition for advertising revenues with each other and the increasing number of cable and satellite news providers, including 24 hour channels like Fox News and CNN. Though the evening network news broadcasts still soundly defeat their cable news competitors, it would be naïve to think they are not actively monitoring and trying to adapt to what is happening on Fox, CNN, and the rest of the cable news channels now widely available in the US.

As a public corporation, the BBC started out insulated from competition, but the public service monopoly it enjoyed was quickly changed into a duopoly with the introduction of Independent Television (ITV) in 1955. ITV was funded by advertising, but as the only television channel allowed to accept advertising at the time, it was a very comfortable position (Crisell 62). ITV and the BBC soon found that the duopoly form of competition could serve them well, as they were not in direct competition for funding, but able to balance each others’ schedules with similar types of programming that were required by the public service obligations that fell equally on both of them. For example, “it was found that documentaries and current events programmes achieved their maximum audience only if they were shown at the same time” (Curran and Seaton 164). Additional public service broadcasters came online in subsequent

years, including second channels for BBC and ITV, and Channels Four and Five, but were folded into the same regulatory system, a functional expansion of the duopoly.

But the duopoly could not last forever. Partly as the result of regulatory changes initiated by the Conservative Party to increase competition and introduce market reforms to all public services, and partly as a result of changes in technology, such as the advent of new terrestrial television channels, increased spectrum from digital television broadcasting, and the takeup of cable and, much more widely, of satellite television, competition has come in a large way to the broadcasting system in the UK with hundreds of channels now available. More important than any financial competition, since the BBC is still license-fee funded, is the effect that competition has had on the internal structure and culture of the BBC- the corporation is much more concerned with maintaining audience share, demonstrating efficiency, and justifying its receipt of the license fee in the face of the periodic reviews that are part of its Charter renewal process (Kung-Shankleman 86-95). Where Conservative attempts to statutorily increase competition or strip the license fee monopoly from the BBC during several Charter renewals failed, Tory appointments to the BBC's Board of Governors, such as Marmaduke Hussey as chairman of the corporation in 1986, succeeded in shifting the BBC to a more market-focused approach (Goodwin 137). This market-oriented legacy continues through the present day, as the next Charter renewal, a maximum of ten years away, is always on the horizon. Director General John Birt's attempts to pursue other revenue streams and "introducing tighter financial disciplines in the form of producer choice and the 'internatl market'" in the late 1990s are only one example (Crisell 68).

While the BBC faces competition from private broadcasters like BSkyB's Sky News, a 24 hour news channel, as well as its own rolling news channel BBC 24 (Harrison 28), it still has

the overwhelming share of the market for news broadcasts, with neither BBC 24 nor Sky News gaining more than 1% of the multichannel audience, excluding international crises like September 11 or the war in Iraq (McNair 15). In fact, satellite, cable, and other digital broadcasters have not really stolen audiences from the core of British broadcasting. Although subscribers may be using digital, cable, or satellite connections to view television programming, the public service broadcasters who are subject to license renewal (the BBC, ITV, Channel 4 and Five) “amounted for 72 per cent of total television viewing” in 2004 (Gardam 57), leaving only 28 per cent of the audience for the remaining hundreds of channels available.

In a comparative study, the importance of the type of broadcasting system cannot be overstated, as the difference in media system has been shown to create differences in the very news covered. In their 2008 study of pure market (US), pure public (Finland, Denmark), and a heavily public but market-influenced (UK) media systems, Curran et al (2009) found that hard news and international news were covered much more frequently in pure public and heavily public systems than in the pure market system, because networks in the market system competed with each other by playing more entertainment shows than news and more local and domestic news than international, and because increased competition led these networks to save money by cutting their overseas bureaus. Increased competition, whether in purely market or partly market systems, leads to decreased hard news and increased info-tainment (Harrison 27). Hallin and Mancini (2004b) argue that increased commercialization in European systems leads to homogenization and globalization of media, making them increasingly similar to the American media system (38-40).

Having reviewed the relevant sections of the international relations and communications studies literatures and defined the terms that will be involved in the content analyses as carefully as possible, this study now turns to explaining the methodology that will be used to examine the British and American television news for human rights content.

### Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter outlines the coding schemes that were used in the subsequent analyses.

First, one flagship evening news program from each country was selected. The *10 O'Clock News* is the BBC's flagship news program (formerly the *9 O'Clock News* prior to October, 2000), with the largest audience of any evening news program in the UK.<sup>6</sup> *World News* is ABC's flagship national news program, and had the highest ratings of ABC, CBS, and NBC from the period 1990-1995,<sup>7</sup> so it was used for the month transcript content analysis that covers that period. The overlap between US network news programs has been well established in media studies literature, which, combined with the fact that from 1990-2009, ABC's *World News Tonight* and NBC's flagship *Nightly News* split the number of year for which they had higher ratings and market shares, made using both networks an easy choice. ABC was used for the phrase month search, while NBC was used for the visual content analysis.

### Coding Instrument<sup>8</sup>

Each story was assigned a unique identifier based on its date (dates with multiple stories were coded with the date and a sequential letter)(I). Coder read story once completely, then coded for eleven categories. First, stories were coded for domestic versus international news (I). Domestic stories were those that were primarily concerning the home country (either the US or UK) were scored 1,<sup>9</sup> while stories primarily about foreign news were coded 2, and stories that

---

<sup>6</sup> The BBC's evening news broadcast has been and remains the most viewed television news broadcast in the UK, sometimes averaging more than twice as many viewers as its competitors on ITV and Sky. "BBC's 10pm news audience is double ITV's." The Guardian online, April 17, 2008.

<http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/2008/apr/17/tvnews.television>. BBC Press Release, December 17, 2007.  
[http://www.bbc.co.uk/pressoffice/pressreleases/stories/2007/12\\_december/17/news.shtml](http://www.bbc.co.uk/pressoffice/pressreleases/stories/2007/12_december/17/news.shtml)

<sup>7</sup>Data set downloaded from The Pew Research Center's Center for Excellence in Journalism's website at <http://stateofthemediamedia.org/2012/network-news-the-pace-of-change-accelerates/network-by-the-numbers/> February 8, 2013 and available from the author.

<sup>8</sup> All codebooks available in Appendix 1. Roman numerals in parentheses refer to the item in the codebook.

<sup>9</sup> The same rubric was applied to all three code sheets. For the UK analyses, domestic was of or pertaining to the UK, and included all stories about Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland as domestic stories, unless there was additional story information that would make them both domestic and international, such as the involvement of another country, as was often the case with Northern Ireland stories. Similarly, stories about Puerto Rico and the Marianas Trench were coded as domestic for the US, as they are both under the US Federal Government.

included both domestic and foreign components were coded 3. For example, BBC stories from August 1995 about hostages taken in Malaysia were coded a 2 when the nationality of the hostages were not mentioned, but a 3 when the two British hostages' nationality was not mentioned.<sup>10</sup> Increasingly, stories take place outside of specific geographic dichotomy of domestic/foreign; for example, the June 26, 2006 NBC story (#11) about Warren Buffett's large financial donation doesn't mention the US location, though he is an American and the story also fleetingly references several other countries. Another example comes from the June 25, 2006 NBC story of actress Nicole Kidman's wedding to American singer Keith Urban in Australia. Both of these stories could be argued to be either national or foreign, as well as international—they were both coded as both (3).

Stories were then coded (II) for whether they included the phrase right or rights to refer to other rights besides human rights, such as in civil rights, right to freedom, etc. Use of the word right to refer to conservative political tendencies was not included, nor was the word to mean correct.

The type of story(III) was coded as one of eight possibilities:

1. **VOSOT**, or voice over sound on tape of five lines or less
2. **Full Package**, or complete story of more than five lines including taped feature
3. **Live 2-Way**, or major story featuring live substantive conversation between an anchor or other person in the studio and a correspondent (more than just “Thanks, John”) as part of a full package.
4. **Headline/Intro** at beginning of newscast
5. **Restatement** at end of newscast
6. **Teaser** before commercial
7. **Weather or Stock Market Report**
8. **Commentary**- opinion from one or more talking heads with no additional video

---

<sup>10</sup> Please contact the author for further documentation of the decision process.

Stories were coded for the primary subject location (IV) of the story, being careful to record the location of the subject of the story, which may deviate from the location of the anchor or the correspondent. The following abbreviations were used as necessary: US, UK, DRC, PRC, and Israel & Palestine is used for stories that are primarily about Israel and/or the territories administered by Israel and not claimed as part of another currently existing state. The coder wrote in the subject of the story as a short phrase (V).

Stories were coded as to whether “human right!” was used as an informal introduction/description for a person, group, or place or as part of an official title for a person, group, or place,(VI) and if they were, coders copied and pasted the relevant phrase(s) into a column in the row recording specifics of introduction or title. Stories were also coded as to whether the only use of “human right!” was in an informal introduction or official title(VII).

Coders determined whether a description, explanation, or clear example of human rights was included in the story(VIII), coding either 1 for yes, 2 for no, or 3 for the story including some description or information included, but not being explicit, specific, detailed, or directly related to human rights as such. Coders then determined whether human rights was the primary focus of the story, answering yes, no, or that human rights is a prominent but not the primary focus of the story,(IX) using the question “To what extent is the story a discussion or more in-depth analysis of human rights?” to guide their decision.

Coders then classified the story as one of seventeen possible categories of human rights, or as eighteen, not applicable/not given/not specified(IX). The first fourteen categories are derived from international treaties, while fifteen through seventeen are from international norms that are currently widely prominent, despite lack of enshrinement in multilateral treaties. While most of the categories could be covered by either 2- Civil and Political Rights, as derived from

the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) or 3- Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, as derived from the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), additional categories were included to investigate more specifically exactly what types of human rights were covered in television news. For example, protection against torture is clearly included as a civil and political right under Article 7 of the ICCPR, but is significantly expanded under the Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, and Degrading Treatment (CAT). Torture was included as its own category to allow more fine-grained analysis. Additionally, there is a question of overlap, as several treaties and issue areas overlap with each other; for example, most treaties include a prohibition against excluding the rights and privileges contained therein against persons for reasons of race, ethnicity, or gender. But the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD) and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) expand and cover these areas more directly, and so racial discrimination and women's rights were included as separate categories. Coders were then able to select the narrowest category that was supported by the story. During reliability testing, it was discovered that the distinctions originally in place, that listed the categories in #12 as two different categories, one for Humanitarian Law and the Laws of War, and one for Crimes Against Humanity and War Crimes Tribunals, was an unnecessary distinction, as stories that mentioned something from one almost always mentioned at least one part of the other, and the subjects are so intricately tied that making them one category made much more sense logically and to the coders.

If the relevant section had not been copied into the file previously (as part of V or VII), then the coder pasted the phrase including "human right!" into the file (X). Coders then

determined whether the use of the phrase “human right!” was a purely rhetorical reference in a story unrelated to human rights issues (XII) and whether the primary frame of the story is the Global War on Terror (GWOT) (XIII).

### **Reliability**

The majority of the coding was conducted by the author, but to test the reliability of the coding scheme, 40 stories were coded by a team of coders.<sup>11</sup> 95% or better intercoder reliability between two coders was achieved for the type of story, location, if human rights was used in an introduction or title, whether it was used only in the introduction or title, if the reference was purely rhetorical, and if the story was framed primarily as a GWOT story. 80% intercoder reliability was achieved for categorizing the human right, with slightly lower (60% and 65% respectively) for whether a description or example of human rights was given and if human rights was the primary focus of the story. In conjunction with the coders, the coding scheme was revised to make clearer definitions for the categories and to clarify distinctions between the answers of whether a story gave human rights description or had human rights focus, after which test-retest reliability from the primary coder was 100%. The tested and revised codebook was used for the monthly content analysis and the visual content analysis, with only minor changes.<sup>12</sup>

### **Monthly Content Analysis**

To address the possibility that human rights stories were being covered without the use of the phrase “human rights,” as well as to allow for valid selection and comparison of US and UK television coverage, one month of broadcast transcripts for 1990 (February) was selected for

---

<sup>11</sup> The team of coders consisted of the author, Brian Hasbrouck, and John McMahon, all of whom are native speakers of English with at least a bachelor’s degree and one class in international human rights.

<sup>12</sup> The major change was adding an extra category for whether the story is a human rights story to account for stories that did not include the phrase “human right!” but were nevertheless human rights stories. See below for a description of the added categories.

including the most human rights coverage, based on a search of the BBC Motion Gallery's<sup>13</sup> Archive. Using the Motion Gallery's search function, instead of a Vanderbilt Television News Archive search or a Lexis-Nexis transcript search,<sup>14</sup> was deemed most appropriate, as the same metrics for classifying stories would be applied to both the BBC and CBS news stories, yielding the most comparable data.<sup>15</sup>

Scripts from the *9 O'Clock News* were collected from the BBC Written Archives in Reading, UK, where they are stored on microfilm. Transcripts of ABC's 6:30pm *World News Tonight with Peter Jennings* were collected from the Lexis-Nexis online database. Lexis-Nexis does not include introductions, goodnights, or teasers before commercials in their transcripts for this period, so they were omitted from this study.

Scripts/Transcripts of stories were analyzed to see what, if any, use of the phrase human rights was included. The coding instrument is largely duplicative of the coding instrument used in the phrase analysis explained above and is included in Appendix I. The week/visual coding instrument is largely duplicative of the month/transcript instrument, so the following points of explanation apply to both sets of analysis, except where noted. For both the month/transcript and week/visual codes in both the US and UK analyses, commercials, stock market and (regular) weather reports were coded as 4 for location- "no story information" so they would not be included in the count of stories. Where stock market reports are included as part of another story, they are not disaggregated for story counts (since they wouldn't be counted anyway). Where

---

<sup>13</sup> BBC Motion Gallery is the BBC's footage sales and licensing arm. The Motion Gallery maintains summaries of news broadcasts for BBC News and CBS News, to which it also holds licensing rights.

<sup>14</sup> A search of both ABC and CBS evening news was conducted on Vanderbilt, but the results for the sample 1990-1995 appeared less subject-focused, only turning up stories that had "human right" in the title or summary, and therefore less comparable to the BBC selection mechanism. A transcript search was deemed incomparable to the Motion Gallery search; for an analysis of US transcripts including the phrase "human right!" see chapter 3.

<sup>15</sup> This method of selection has several unfortunate drawbacks. First, no information on the manner of search and retrieval is available from the Motion Gallery. Second, the search conducted on the Motion Gallery in February 2010 is not replicable, as the Motion Gallery has subsequently unveiled a new search platform, which does not allow disaggregation of CBS and BBC News holdings. PDFs of the original search are available from the author.

the stock market report is part of a general economic report, even if it's just the Consumer Price Index figures given, as on the NBC May 14, 2004, the package is coded as 1 for location so it would be counted as a story. Local London news broadcasts and the teasers for them were not viewed, and were coded as 4, so they would not be included in the overall number of stories.

*Sports stories note:* for the month/transcript analysis, sports stories were coded as a 4/non-story for location, so they are not included in the general count; stories involving professional athletes that were not accounts of specific sporting events, such as February 9, 1990 US profile of Golfer Lee Trevino as person of the week and the coverage in the UK of the rebel cricket tour in South Africa in February 1990, were viewed and coded according to the contents of the story; they were therefore also included in the general story count. For the week/visual analysis, sports reports were viewed as a single story, not disaggregated into individual stories, counted into the general story count as one story, and coded as one segment.

To see if the US and UK news covered certain issues in a similar fashion, all month/transcript stories were coded for whether they involved South Africa, the reforms and independence movements within the USSR, or the reunification of Germany. To be coded for the USSR, a story had to deal with party reforms or independence movements within the USSR itself- stories about US-USSR arms reduction negotiations, stories about Warsaw Pact but not formally Soviet countries such as Romania, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Czechoslovakia, and non-reform related topics were not coded as USSR for this category.

In addition to the coding applied from the phrase search code, month/transcript stories and week/visual stories were also analyzed to see if they covered a human-rights related topic without using human rights as a phrase. It is important to note that the decision of whether the story is human rights, possibly, or not, is made based on the contents of the story alone, as

someone just tuning in for that story would view it. For example, protests against Chinese president Ziang Zemin speaking at Harvard in the intro story to the NBC November 1, 1997 broadcast does not qualify, because nothing about what the protests are against is mentioned. Item III on the coding sheet scores a 1 if the story includes the phrase “human right!” and a 2 if it does not include the phrase but nevertheless is a human rights story, by covering a clear human rights issue with focus and framing on the human rights issue (even if it is not named as such). A 3 was entered if the story is not a human rights story as it neither contains the phrase “human right!” or substantially covers a human rights issue as such. A fourth category was added to cover a large number of stories which could have been human rights stories but both lacked the phrase “human right!” and were not framed as human rights issues. To clarify, a story coded 4 is close to a human rights issue, but is not covered as such; the focus is not on the human right. A 3 is not a human rights story- if it does cover a human rights issue, it does so so tangentially that it does not in any way illuminate or focus on the human right. For example, the BBC’s coverage of the former Yugoslavia on December 14, 1992 included a story (#8) of Muslim and Croat prisoners released that was coded a 4, because it mentions (in passing) possible abuse of the detainees while in prison, while the #6 and #7 stories of that same day, about Paddy Ashdown's visit to Bosnia and the US pressing for permission to use force against violators of the no-fly zone, are both coded 3, because they are framed as war stories about troop movement and armed attacks with no link to human rights whatsoever. Another illustrative case is the second BBC story from June 25 1998 6/25/1998 on need for food aid in Southern Sudan, which was coded a 4, because it discusses famine and the hardships the people and children face, but with no mention/relation/frame to human rights (even though there easily could be). If there had been some connection to a state cause or some kind of government action or inaction then it might

have been a 2-- as in the case of the third BBC story on July 26, 2001 on protestors at the G8 claiming abuse by Italian police. The extensive description of violence and inhumane treatment with attribution to the state actor (police) makes it a 2, a human rights story even though the phrase human rights was not mentioned. The bright line can be shown by the 9th BBC story on August 19, 2002 about a Nigerian woman sentenced to death for having baby out of wedlock-- there was absolutely no explicit human rights frame to the story, but on a topic so close to several human rights issues (womens rights, civil and political rights, and economic, social and cultural rights) , so it was coded a 4, instead of a 2 or 3. A further example comes from NBC coverage of Somalia in 1992. Stories on Somalia famine that focus on troop movements and only mention/show footage of starving Somalis (without expanding on human rights-related issues), such as NBC Dec 13, 1992 #2, are coded as a 3. If story is only about starving Somalis (not troops) but without additional details, like NBC Dec 14, 1992 #1, it's a 4. So #4 on Dec 14, 1992 is a 4 for its extensive coverage of the dire condition of the famine, while #3 and #5 on that same day are coded 3 because they focus more on fighting and the trip into Baidoa. The Dec 15, 1992 #8 story focuses on famine, starvation, and disease; there is no explicit reference to human rights, but there is enough detail to be coded a 4. Items that received a 3 or 4 were not coded further, while stories that received a 1 and 2 on Item II were fully coded.

### **Visual Content Analysis**

Several methods for selection for which weeks of footage to view were considered. First, the “human rights” phrase search of *World News Tonight* was tried, but the number of stories for each year is relatively small (an average of 40 per year), so a larger number of stories was needed to better select the month of transcript analysis and the week of visual coding. To provide that larger n, and to increase the likelihood that major human rights stories that might not

have been caught in the initial *World News Tonight* search would have a chance to be included, the *New York Times* online archive of stories from 1980-present<sup>16</sup> was searched for the phrase “human rights.” The results for 1990-2009 were an unmanageably large number of stories, 31,082, so front page stories were used to narrow the focus to consider only those stories that were of the highest prominence and news values, yielding 2,466 stories. These stories were arranged chronologically, and merged with the ABC stories (an average of 162 total stories per year), to determine which week of footage should be analyzed. The week from the combined ABC and New York Times stories each year that had the most references to the phrase human rights was selected for analysis, using the 2011 Microsoft Excel default WEEKNUM function, where week one starts on January 1 and week two the Sunday after that.<sup>17</sup> Table 1 displays the selected weeks.

---

<sup>16</sup> Available at <http://www.nytimes.com/ref/membercenter/nytarchive.html>. Final data verification on September 1, 2010.

<sup>17</sup> For more on the default WEEKNUM function in Excel, and how it differs from the ISO date system, see <http://www.rondebruin.nl/weeknumber.htm>

**Table 1: Human Rights Mentions in Weeks Selected**

Year	Week #	Date	Combined	ABC	New York Times
1990	10	Mar 4-Mar 10, 1990	8	2	6
1991	36	Sep 1-Sep 7, 1991	7	4	3
1992	51	Dec 13-Dec 19	6	2	4
1993	47	Nov 14-Nov 20, 1993	7	2	5
1994	13	Mar 20-Mar 26, 1994	9	4	5
1995	34	Aug 20-Aug 26, 1995	10	5	5
1996	14	Mar 31-Apr 6	6	3	3
1997	44	Oct 26-Nov 1, 1997	12	7	5
1998	26	Jun 21-Jun 27, 1998	15	10	5
1999	47	Nov 14-Nov 20, 1999	11	2	9
2000	24	Jun 4-Jun 10, 2000	10	8	2
2001	30	Jul 22-Jul 28, 2001	7	2	5
2002	34	Aug 18-Aug 24, 2002	8	2	6
2003	16	Apr 13-Apr 19, 2003	9	3	6
2004	20	May 9-May 15, 2004	11	6	5
2005	47	Nov 13-Nov 19, 2005	10	3	7
2006	26	Jun 25-Jul 1, 2006	6	2	4
2007	47	Nov 18-Nov 24, 2007	10	1	9
2008	15	Apr 6-Apr 12, 2008	12	9	3
2009	17	Apr 19-Apr 25, 2009	9	1	8

In several years, there were several weeks where the combined number of ABC and New York Times stories was the same as the selected week; in those cases, the week with the higher number of ABC stories was selected for analysis, as this seemed the best way to include the types of stories that television news coverage would deem most important to cover. In some cases, full weeks were not available due to broadcasts being interrupted by sporting events or preempted by local (Tennessee) coverage. 1996 had two weeks with identical combined and

ABC story counts, so a random coin flip was used to select the week for analysis.<sup>18</sup> Where possible, weeks with identical combined scores that had the full week's broadcasts available were selected, but for the years 1990, 1991, 1997, 1998, 1999, and 2005, only six nights of broadcasts were visually analyzed. Broadcast transcripts for the missing days were sought, but Lexis-Nexis does not possess any NBC transcripts before 1994, and Lexis-Nexis had no NBC evening news transcripts for the days missing in 1997 and 1998, as evening news broadcasts were preempted nationally. Transcripts were analyzed for the missing dates in 1999 and 2005, as it was the local broadcast that was preempted. Additionally, the BBC aired no news programs in the evening of November 14, 1999, so only six programs are analyzed for that year for the UK. BBC stories were divided and numbered by the author. NBC stories were divided according to the titles and divisions provided by the VTNA, but subdivided by the author when the VTNA heading contained discreet stories.<sup>19</sup>

*Initial Viewing:* All stories were viewed once and given a preliminary code for domestic vs. foreign or combined domestic/foreign, whether the phrase "right" was included, and whether the story was a human rights story.<sup>20</sup> Stories that had no news content to them, such as promos for other shows, weather forecasts, and introductions and goodnights from the newscasts that did not include any references to the stories did not receive a domestic or foreign code, allowing them to be excluded from counts of actual news stories. For example, the goodnight message from the BBC's broadcasts for the early 1990s did not include any summaries of the stories from the newscasts, while towards the end of the period they did include reviews of the major story or stories of the night.

---

<sup>18</sup> More specific explanations for week selections are available- please contact the author.

<sup>19</sup> Disaggregated stories list available from the author.

<sup>20</sup> See Appendix 1 for the complete Coding Instrument.

If the story contained the phrase “human right!” then it was coded HR. If the story had any possibility of being related to human rights issues whatsoever, it was coded “possibly.” Stories with even the remotest possible connection to human rights were coded “possibly” to ensure that no stories that cover human rights even tangentially would be missed. For example, in 2006, the BBC did a series of stories following up on the report of the racist murder of a juvenile prisoner by his mentally disturbed roommate. These stories were all coded “possibly” because they might include information on human rights as they pertain to children, prisoners, and racial discrimination. Stories did, however, need to have some possibility of connection to human rights content to be rated “possibly”; NBC stories such as the March 23, 1994 story on the Clinton healthcare plan, the March 24, 1994 story on the ceasefire in Somalia, the April 20, 2009 story about women making less money than men, and the stories from November 2007 about the cyclone in Bangladesh were not rated “possibly” because they were not framed in any way remotely connected to human rights issues.

*Full Coding:* Stories that were coded HR or “possibly” were viewed a second time and given a fuller code. The coding for the full visual code was largely duplicative of the coding sheet for the monthly transcript analysis and can be found in Appendix I. For codebook item III, the code was the same as item III for the monthly transcript code, with the addition of a possible score of 5, for if the story contained the phrase “human right!” in text only, not mentioned audibly.

Non-human rights stories (3 and 4) were not coded further. Human rights stories (1,2, and 5) were further coded similarly to the month code analysis, with the addition of items that, following Hoskins and O’Loughlin (2009), coded for references to past and/or current

events,(56) use of tickers or banners,(71) and premediation and/or re-meditation (91). Having explained the coding scheme in detail, it is now time to put it into action in the ensuing chapters.

## Chapter 4: Content Analysis I: US Phrase Search

A large-scale transcript analysis was applied to the American case<sup>21</sup> by searching ABC *World News* transcripts from 1990-2009 on Lexis-Nexis.<sup>22</sup> It is important to note that any Lexis-Nexis transcript search must be conducted carefully, as duplicate stories are sometimes generated by the search results, especially in the earlier years of this study.<sup>23</sup> In total, 824 stories that include the phrase “human right!”<sup>24</sup> were analyzed for topic, country, category of human rights, and type of story.

### Number of Stories and Major Coverage

Immediately, one point is very clear. 824 is a very small number of stories. From 1990-2009, there were 7,305 nights when evening news could have been broadcast.<sup>25</sup> 824 stories is far less than one story per night, and in only three years, 1994, 1995, and 1998, were there even enough human rights stories in a year to have been possible to have one story per week. If each nightly broadcast is conservatively assumed to have fourteen stories, then these 824 stories may be said to represent 0.8% of stories broadcast during the time period. Less than 1% of the stories broadcast during this time period contained the phrase human rights. Chart 4.1 shows the number of human rights stories by year. The trend line of the data illustrates a gradual decline over the time period.

---

<sup>21</sup> A searchable electronic database of British television is not currently available; this will be an excellent area for future research, as both the tapes of news shows and the technology to create transcripts and house them in a searchable database exist. The author’s next project will be grant-writing to support creating such a database.

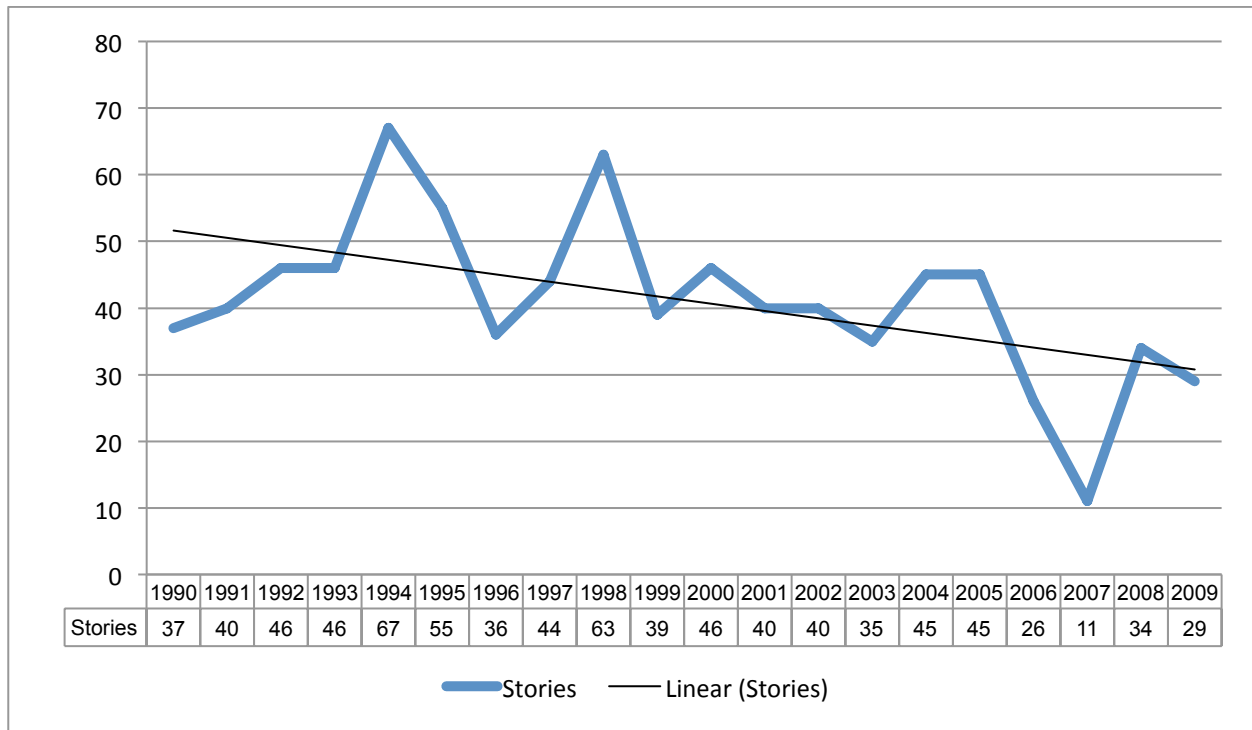
<sup>22</sup> See Chapter 3: Methodology.

<sup>23</sup> Additional data collection by the author shows that the early 1990s in Lexis-Nexis news transcripts are particularly prone to this problem, as well as a few mis-dated stories. Researchers should take extra care to ensure their numbers are accurate and reliable.

<sup>24</sup> Actual search applied in Lexis-Nexis: "human right!" and BODY("human right!")

<sup>25</sup> This number is an estimate, because there are nights when evening news broadcasts are suspended due to sporting events or other issues, such as weather emergencies.

**Chart 2: Human Rights Stories by Year**



The sheer count of human rights stories only tells part of the story. What types of issues are covered in these human rights stories is a potentially much more interesting question. A review of the issues that received repeated coverage in a year will help contextualize the rest of the chapter: what does television news cover when it covers human rights? Major coverage here is defined as an issue that had at least four stories of any type in the year, of which forty were identified from 1990-2009. Table 2 shows the issues that received major coverage from each year.

**Table 2: Major Coverage of Human Rights Stories**

1990	<b>USSR:</b> ending of Cold War; Paris summit; anniversary of Helsinki accords
	<b>China:</b> fallout from Tiananmen Square, including continued hiding of Fang Zhili and his eventual emigration; Ge Xun goes to Beijing to find his friend; general follow up stories
	<b>Iraq:</b> reports of atrocities in Kuwait, that may or may not be reliable; debate over what the UN, US, or others will do about it
1991	<b>China:</b> whether or not to renew Most Favored Nation (MFN) status despite human rights violations; use of prison labor for exported goods; second anniversary of Tiananmen crackdown
	<b>Iraq &amp; Kuwait:</b> conduct of invasion and rebuilding; alleged human rights violations committed by Kuwait
1992	<b>US:</b> evolving policy on Haitian refugees
	<b>Bosnia:</b> atrocities during the war
	<b>China:</b> whether or not to renew MFN despite human rights violations
1993	<b>Haiti:</b> Aristide removed' military government and violence; US response
	<b>Bosnia:</b> rape in the war; peace negotiations
	<b>China:</b> release of dissidents; whether or not to renew MFN despite human rights violations; use of prison labor for exports
1994	<b>Haiti:</b> Aristide has not returned; embargo not working; international observers expelled; US invasion
	<b>China:</b> prison labor; political prisoners; MFN status; delinking human rights and trade
	<b>Rwanda:</b> ethnic killings; conditions of refugees
	<b>Indonesia:</b> Clinton attends APEC meeting in Jakarta amid questions of Indonesia's human rights policies
1995	<b>China:</b> American Harry Wu's arrest and detention in China and his release; Hillary Clinton attends Beijing Conference on Women's Rights
	<b>Russia:</b> fighting affecting civilians in Chechnya
	<b>Bosnia:</b> atrocities including rape used as weapons of war; UN abandons Srebrenica and Zepa, with massacres following
1996	<b>China:</b> doctor alleges orphanages selected children to die; MFN status extended despite HR concerns; questions of Hong Kong transition
	<b>Bosnia:</b> evidence of atrocities will not be guarded by NATO troops, but the investigators will be
1997	<b>China:</b> VP visits Beijing; organ sales from executed prisoners; Jiang Zemin comes to US, struggle over MFN
1998	<b>China:</b> Clinton visits China and speaks about HR candidly; China subsequently hosts some protests but then cracks down on dissidents
	<b>Cuba:</b> Pope visits Cuba

**Table 2: Major Coverage of Human Rights Stories, continued**

1999	<b>Kosovo:</b> NATO bombing; fate of refugees
	<b>China:</b> US signs trade deal and supports Chinese application to WTO; crackdowns on religious groups and dissidents
2000	<b>China:</b> US considers and approves Permanent Normal Trading Relations with China
2001	<b>China:</b> campaigns for, and gets, the 2008 Olympics; increasing religious repression, particularly of Falun Gong; detaining and then releasing Chinese-born American scholars
	<b>GWOT:</b> military action in Afghanistan; questions of treatment and trial of detainees
2002	<b>Israel &amp; Palestine:</b> attack on Palestinian refugee camp Jenin leaves many Palestinians dead; suicide bombings called crimes against humanities
	<b>GWOT:</b> civilian casualties in Afghanistan; treatment of detainees
2003	<b>GWOT:</b> Treatment of detainees; invasion and occupation of Iraq
2004	<b>GWOT:</b> Abu Ghraib abuse scandal; transition to independent governing authority in Iraq
	<b>Sudan:</b> Ethnic cleansing in Darfur
2005	<b>GWOT:</b> CIA Interrogation techniques questioned; trial of Saddam Hussein
	<b>Vatican:</b> death and funeral of John Paul II
2006	<b>GWOT:</b> Saddam's trial and plans for execution; tribunals for Gitmo detainees struck down by Supreme Court; torture denied; secret prisons discovered
	<b>China:</b> Yahoo's cooperation helps China track dissidents; Hu Jintao's visit to the US
2007	<b>GWOT:</b> CIA secret prisons admitted; waterboarding outlawed; refugees from Iraq face dire conditions
2008	<b>China:</b> protests leading up to the Olympics; reactions at the Olympics
2009	<b>GWOT:</b> NATO agrees to send troops to Afghanistan for training missions; Afghan elections; release of young Afghan detainee from Guantanamo

The main issues covered in these 824 human rights stories can be divided neatly into two periods: before 2001 and after. Up to and including 2001, every single year included major issues focusing around China's human rights policies, particularly as they relate to arrested dissidents or whether the US should tie its trading relationship to China's human rights record. Starting in 2001, however, the Global War on Terror (GWOT), especially

the treatment and trial of detainees in various locations, became the most frequent major issue of human rights stories. The GWOT was the only major issue covered in 2003, 2007, and 2009. As a major issue, China's human rights policies did not disappear; they surfaced again in 2006 and the leadup to and protests at the Beijing Olympics was the only human rights issue to receive major coverage in 2008.

Looking again at Table 2, a pattern appears over time: there are fewer major stories per year as time progresses. Taken together, the decreasing trend line of the total number of stories from 1990-2009 and the declining number of issues to receive major coverage can both be seen to grow out of the existence and subsequent fading away of the New World Order proclaimed by President George Bush in 1991. With the end of Cold War politics as the dominant frame for both states and the media, human rights was one of several policy goals/media frames that was put into practice. Human rights, however, seems to have been displaced from prominence in the policy and media worlds by more dominant frames; even the stories that receive repeated coverage in later years are related to the GWOT, which has been the most dominant frame in American politics since September 11, 2001.

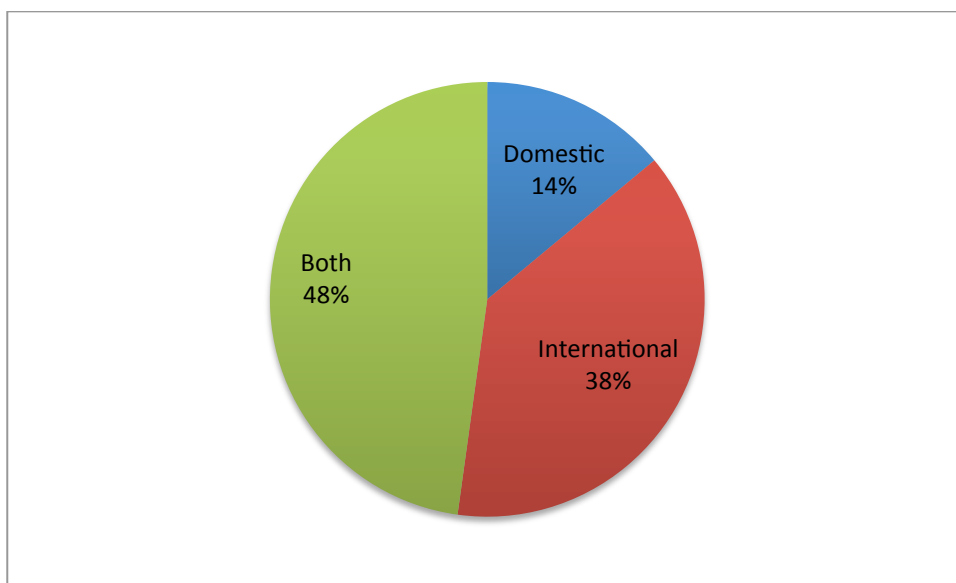
#### *Location, Location, Location*

Analyzing the countries covered in human rights stories can shed light on the nature of television coverage of human rights. All stories were coded for whether they were domestic stories pertaining to the US, international stories not directly involving the US, or both international and involving the US, and the results are displayed in Chart 3. A significant portion of the human rights stories, 315 stories or 38% of the total, were coded as international, not involving the US. The smallest share of the human rights

stories was domestic, only 115 stories or 14% of the total. These results are consistent with the general US approach to human rights, that they are generally considered foreign, something that doesn't happen in the US but instead happens in other countries.

Domestic human rights issues are generally framed differently in the US, frequently as civil liberties, civil rights, or constitutional rights; these issues receive coverage, and sometimes prominent coverage as domestic news on television, but not as human rights.

**Chart 3: Domestic & International Human Rights Stories**



A plurality of the human rights stories, almost half of total, were coded as both international and involving the US. 394 stories, or 48% of the total human rights stories involved the US at least partially, and this is also consistent with communications studies literature that says news outlets are more likely to cover stories that involve their home country, for at least two reasons: news producers may have more access if their own government is involved and news producers may believe that it is of greater interest to their audience since their own government is at least tangentially involved. Stories that

do not involve the home country at all, whether they are human rights stories or not, are less likely to get coverage.

In the 824 human rights stories, 75 countries were featured 1268 times,<sup>26</sup> either by name or by nationality of a prominent part of the story. The top 19 of those countries,<sup>27</sup> however, account for 90% of the total countries mentioned. Table 3<sup>28</sup> lists the first 20 of the countries covered and the number of times they occurred.

---

<sup>26</sup> All stories were coded for at least one location and up to three, which is why there are more featured countries than total stories. A story could have one, two, or three locations included. Locations were not in rank order, i.e. a country coded as location 2 for a story is counted equally to the country coded as location 1 for that story.

<sup>27</sup> Countries have been collapsed to combine old states with their successor states and/or previous names, and the US is listed separately for its "Domestic" and "Both Domestic and International" categories

<sup>28</sup> Please see Appendix II for the complete list of countries

**Table 3: Top 20 Countries in Human Rights Stories**

Country	Stories Mentioning that Country	Percentage of Total Stories
1. US (international)	398	48%
2. PRC (216) & Hong Kong (5)	221	27%
3. US (domestic)	115	14%
4. Iraq	68	8%
5. Yugoslavia (2) & Successor States: Bosnia (31), Kosovo (10), Serbia (6), Croatia (2) Macedonia(1)	52	6%
6. Haiti	39	5%
7. Israel & Palestine	37	4%
8. Russia & USSR & Chechnya	35	4%
9. Afghanistan	23	3%
10. Vatican	23	3%
11. Sudan	19	2%
12. Cuba	18	2%
13. UK & Northern Ireland	17	2%
14. Indonesia & East Timor	15	2%
15. Mexico	13	2%
16. Kuwait	13	2%
17. Rwanda	10	1%
18. Chile	9	1%
19. South Africa	8	1%
20. Pakistan	7	1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>1140</b>	

**Color Key:** Countries whose relations with the US are linked to GWOT  
Countries where the US military saw action 1990-2009 (not related to GWOT)

War means media coverage, and heightened media coverage means the opportunity to seek additional angles to stories, one of which could be human rights issues, so it is not surprising to see several countries that have had military relations with the US rank highly in the top 20 list. Three countries on the top 20 list, Yugoslavia/Successor States, Haiti, and Kuwait, are there because of stories mentioning human rights that relate to

American military action in those locations; similarly, three other countries from the top 20 list, Iraq, Afghanistan, and Pakistan, are hotspots in the US GWOT.

That the US would be the most frequently included country in a study of American media is not surprising, but that US domestic stories (excluding the stories that are international and both) outrank all other countries except China perhaps is. Domestic stories are 14% of all of the stories, but no country besides China (27%) comes close to having that many stories; as the next runner up, Iraq (8%) has a few more than half the number of stories of US domestic human rights stories. The 221 stories involving China represent 27% of the total human rights stories from 1990-2009. That is more than three times the number of stories than any of the other non-US countries.

#### *Story Content: Type, Description, & Focus*

The type and content of these stories reveal much more than just a simple count of the involved locations. What human rights information could audiences viewing these 824 stories obtain? The answer is not very much. The small number of human rights stories is compounded by the lack of information in most of the stories. First, the type of story these human rights stories are sheds light on the amount of information that could possibly be transmitted. A short Video Over Sound On Tape (VOSOT) has less detail and information in it than a longer full package but more than a teaser before a program break, and live 2-ways are often used for further analysis from the reporter as a way to follow up on a story. In addition to the amount of information each type of story can convey, story type can also indicate the priority of the story for producers: VOSOTs take fewer resources to produce while full packages and live 2-ways require more substantial planning and commitment. Placement in headline introductions and teasers before

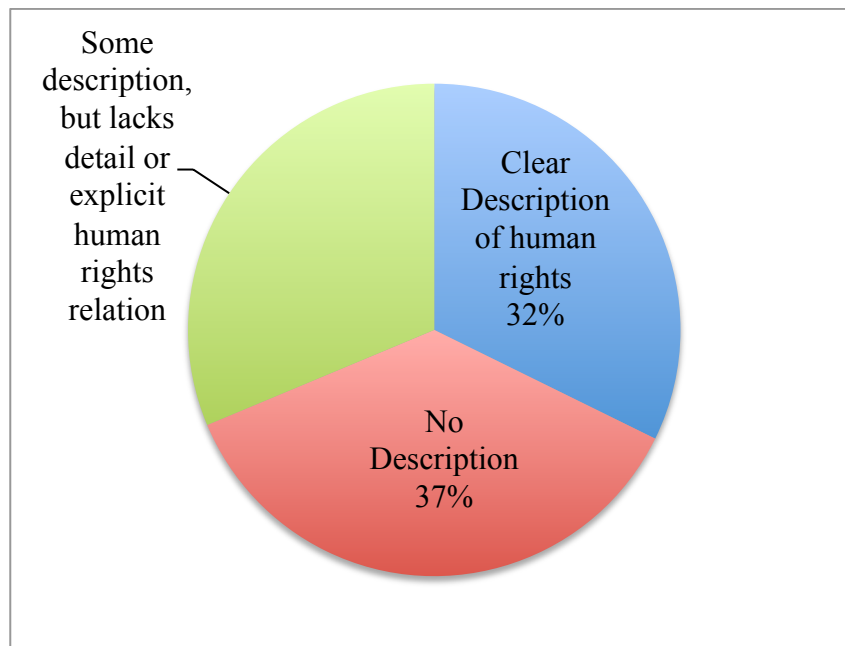
program breaks indicate that producers believe the story to be one of the major stories of the day and of sufficient interest to entice viewers to stay with the program. So what types occurred most in the human rights stories? Table 4 lists the story type of human rights stories.

**Table 4: Story Type of Human Rights Stories**

<b>Type of Story</b>	<b>Number of Stories</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>VOSOT</b>	155	19%
<b>Full Package</b>	622	75%
<b>Live 2-Way</b>	15	2%
<b>Headline/Intro</b>	15	2%
<b>Restatement at End</b>	3	0%
<b>Teaser Before Break</b>	14	2%

Most of the human rights stories were full packages, which initially indicates significant dedication to these stories. But a deeper look is required to see how much human rights information those full package stories contained.

Was each story containing the phrase human rights really about human rights? A story could theoretically include the phrase human rights with either a lot, some, or no description of human rights issues. To put it another way, to what extent could these stories form the basis for a substantive discussion of human rights? Stories were coded for what amount of human rights detail, description, and focus they contained. Most of the stories coded as human rights stories were lacking in description or examples of human rights. Chart 4 breaks down the human rights stories by how much human rights description they included.

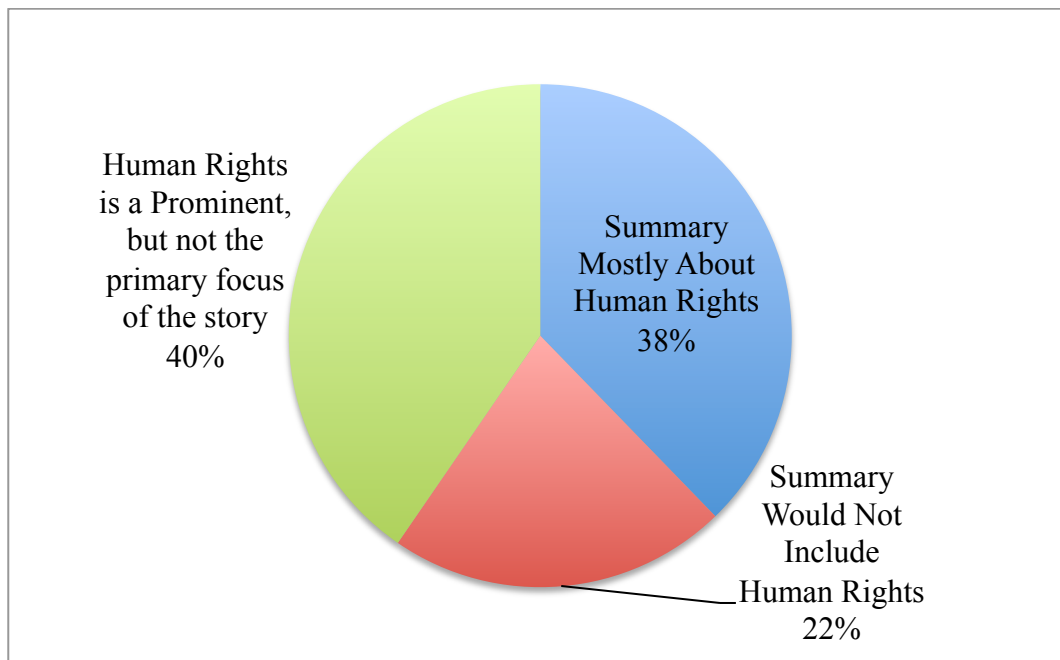
**Chart 4: Human Rights Descriptions**

Most of the 824 human rights stories were human rights in name only; 300 stories contained no description of human rights at all, while only 266 contained a clear description of human rights. Examples of these stories include the VOSOT from April 7, 2008 where Hillary Clinton says "I believe the Bush administration has been wrong to downplay human rights," the full package story on November 19, 1993 where President Clinton says, "My policy is to try to engage China, to be very firm on the human rights issue, to be very firm on the weapons proliferation issue," and the November 19, 2000 full package on the end of Alberto Fujimori's rule in Peru where "Union-led protestors have been demanding a return of human rights." These three stories, and the other 297 coded as no description include the phrase human rights but offer no details, no examples or illustrations or additional information that helps to explain any human rights issue.

Even if there is no clear example, illustration, or definition of human rights issues in a story, it could theoretically still be focused on human rights, so stories were coded for whether

human rights was the primary focus of the story, one of several prominent foci of the story, or not a focus of the story at all. Chart 5 displays the results.

**Chart 5: Human Rights Focus**

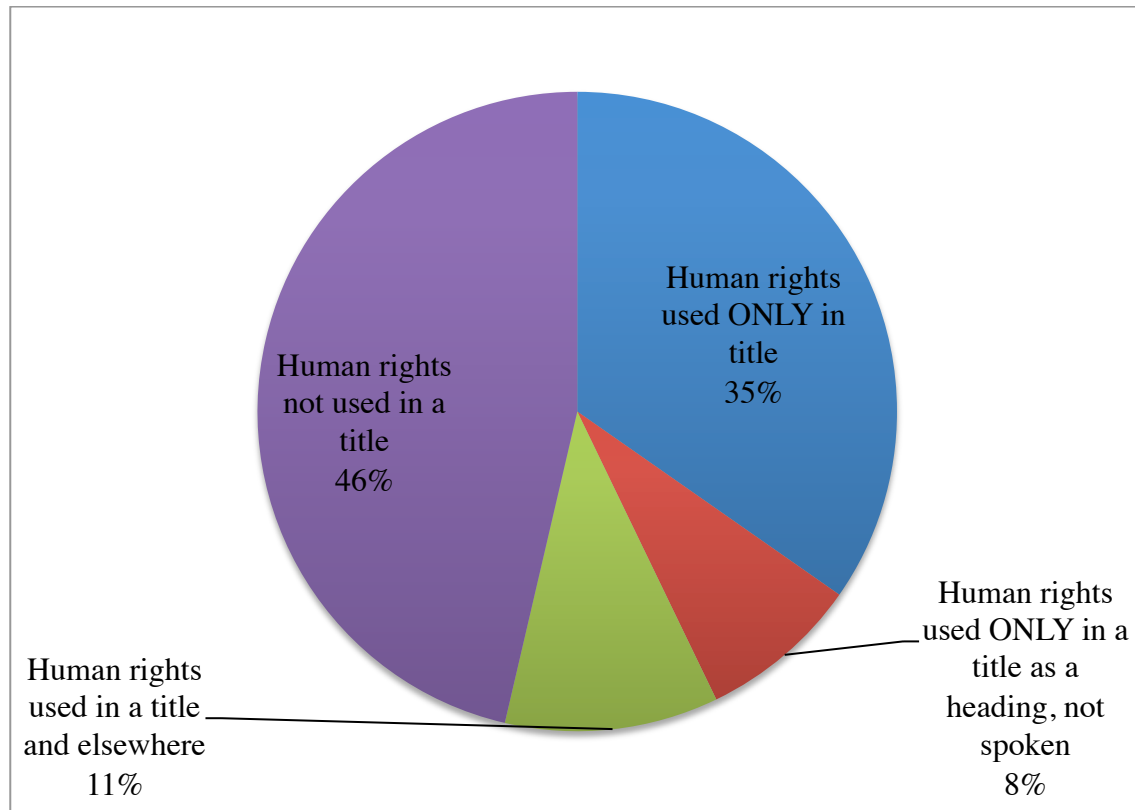


The September 23, 2001 full package about the life and death of composer Isaac Stern is an excellent example of a story that can include the phrase human rights but does not have human rights as a focus of the story and does not include any human rights detail. The only human rights information in the story is the claim "He fought for human rights and artistic freedom," with no further explanation or relation to human rights or human rights issues. Although it contains the phrase human rights, this story simply does not have enough human rights information or focus to inform or interest the audience about human rights. There are 162 stories like this; 20% of the total human rights stories have neither detail about nor focus on human rights!

A different way to determine if a story contained human rights information was to see whether the phrase human rights was used substantively and descriptively, or simply in the

unofficial or official title of a person, place or group, such as “Tom Malinowski, Human Rights Watch,” “human rights lawyers,” or “human rights activist.” Chart 6 displays stories by whether or not they included the phrase human rights in a formal or informal title as the only reference to human rights.

**Chart 6: Human Rights Used in Title**



35% of the total human rights stories are only human rights stories because the formal or informal title of a person, place, or group is spoken during the story. A further 8% only use the title in a captioned headline for a speaker; the title is not even audible during the story, so someone who happened to be looking away from the screen at that point would miss it.

Together, that's 353 stories or 43% of the total human rights stories that are only human rights stories because of a formal or informal title.

The February 19, 2005 VOSOT about fox hunting in Britain is a prime example of how the title of a person or institution can make a story include the phrase human rights while at best only being related to human rights in a distant way:

**BOB WOODRUFF (Voice Over)** To a controversial sport in England now. Four people have been arrested for fox hunting. It's the first weekend of a new law banning hunting with hounds. Hunters unhappy with the ban say they will take their case to the European Court of Human Rights.

There is no detail, description, or explanation of why this would be a human rights issue; on the face of it, foxes are not human and the UDHR does not contain a stated unalienable right to hunt foxes. A very long line could be drawn from a person appealing their arrest under an unfair law on human rights grounds, but it would be a stretch, and very likely beyond the interest or ability of most viewers. The story itself provides no easily accessible detail about or focus on human rights.

Returning to what appeared to be a high proportion of full package stories in the total human rights stories pool, the 75% of human rights stories that are full packages do not contain as much information as first assumed based solely on the type of story. 188 of the full package human rights stories had no description of human rights; this equals 23% of all human rights stories and 30% of the full packages that have no detail or description of human rights. 152 of the full packages, or 24% of those full packages, amounting to 18% of all human rights stories, did not include human rights in a summary of the story. 266 of the full package stories, or 43% of the full package stories and 32% of the total human rights stories, had the only inclusion of human rights as part of the formal or informal title of a person, place, or group. Therefore, despite a high number of human rights stories being full packages, many of those full packages did not include any information or focus on human rights.

*Story Content: Category*

Human rights is a large framework, encompassing many different issues, so the human rights stories were coded for what kind of human rights they covered, as shown in Table 5.

**Table 5: Categories of Human Rights in Human Rights Stories**

<b>Categories of Human Rights</b>	<b>Number of Stories</b>	<b>Percentage of Stories</b>
18. Not Applicable/Not Specified/Unclear	343	42%
2. Civil & Political Rights	241	29%
12. Humanitarian law, Laws of War, Crimes Against Humanity, War Crimes Tribunals	77	9%
5. Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment	42	5%
4. Women's Rights	29	4%
17. GLBTQ	17	2%
13. Genocide	16	2%
6. Children's Rights	15	2%
11. Refugees & Asylees	14	2%
1. Racial Discrimination	11	1%
10. Abolition of Death Penalty	10	1%
3. Economic, Cultural, and Social Rights	4	0%
15. Slavery and Slavery-like Practices	4	0%
14. Rights of the Elderly	1	0%

The largest number of stories by far was Category 18- Not Applicable/Not Specified/Unclear, coming in at 343 stories or 42% of the total. This is entirely consistent with the lack of human rights information in many of the human rights stories; if there is no human rights information in a story it cannot possibly be classified as a specific issue area of human rights. The second most popular category was 2- Civil and Political Rights. This is not surprising, given the US preference for civil and political rights as the dominant conception of human rights. 241 stories, or 29% of the total human rights stories were classified as civil and political rights. These 241 stories are more than the sum of all the other stories that could be categorized by one type of

human right; all of the other categories except 18-Not Applicable/Not Specified/Unclear add up to 240 stories.

The category results are also revealing in what did not show up at all. From the coding instrument list, which is based on all of the international human rights treaties and prominent non-treaty norms, several categories did not have even one story: Rights of Migrant Workers/Families, Protection against Enforced Disappearance, the Rights of Disabled Persons, and the Rights of Indigenous Groups.

It is perhaps unusual to see a category like Humanitarian Law/Laws of War/Crimes Against Humanity/War Crimes on a list of human rights issues, as these issues are usually considered part of other frameworks, namely international humanitarian law or international criminal law. This academic and legal distinction appears to be completely lost on television news journalists and producers, as humanitarian law and crimes against humanity stories were covered as human rights stories. This is likely due to several reasons. First, as discussed in Chapter 2, IHL and IHRL are distinct, but they also overlap, and the borders and overlap between these issues are complex and difficult to understand, even for those who spend years studying them. The quick-paced, event-driven nature of the television news medium does not allow for teaching the fine points of categories of international law to the audience, who would likely not be interested anyway. Second, another journalistic imperative may be at play as well; if it bleeds, it leads- those issues that can include compelling video images of mangled bodies or crying victims are more likely to get coverage, which would likely contribute to the blurring of international relations theoretical boundaries. Third, and finally, even the policymakers seen and heard in these stories do not seem to acknowledge the difference, so why should journalists, producers, or the audience? Further compounding this issue is the expansive mission of

organizations like Human Rights Watch, that deal in humanitarian law areas as well as in human rights issues strictly defined. The inclusion of the name of Human Rights Watch alone can trigger a story to be coded as human rights, whether it is about humanitarian law or human rights strictly defined. For all of these reasons, the category was included here, and was actually a very frequent category among the human rights stories- the third most frequent, with 9% of the coded stories.

*A New Frame: The GWOT*

Since the Global War on Terror (GWOT) was proclaimed in 2001, it has become a dominant frame for both policymakers and journalists, and human rights stories are no exception. Table 6 displays the number of human rights stories since 2001 that had a predominantly GWOT frame.

**Table 6: GWOT Human Rights Stories**

	<b>GWOT</b>	<b>Not GWOT</b>	<b>Percentage of That Year's Stories</b>
<b>2001</b>	8	32	20%
<b>2002</b>	15	25	38%
<b>2003</b>	21	14	60%
<b>2004</b>	26	19	58%
<b>2005</b>	22	23	49%
<b>2006</b>	9	17	35%
<b>2007</b>	4	7	36%
<b>2008</b>	2	32	6%
<b>2009</b>	7	22	24%
<b>Total</b>	<b>114</b>	<b>191</b>	

In every year since 2001, the GWOT frame appeared in at least 20% of the human rights stories for that year, excluding 2008, when human rights stories were all about the leadup to the Beijing Olympics. In 2003 and 2004, more than half the human rights stories were GWOT-related, and

49% of 2005's human rights stories were GWOT-related. This is not necessarily surprising, as both the GWOT in general and specifically the treatment and legal rights of detainees from the GWOT became a major news issues in the US. It is interesting to note that this is an area where the issues at hand, political rights of detainees and treatment of detainees that may amount to torture, are simultaneously clear-cut human rights issues as well as constitutional or civil liberties issues, the latter of which would not necessarily have been caught by this matter of data collection. Chapter Six's analysis of weeks of footage will shed light on coverage about the GWOT and about human rights that doesn't include the phrase human rights.

#### *State Department and NGO Reports*

Official reports from government offices and NGOs are often released with an eye towards garnering media coverage, and this study found evidence of some limited success. The State Department's release of their annual report on human rights received a story every year from 1990 to 2002, one story in 2004 about the annual report, and one story in 1994 about a (non-annual) State Department report on Haiti. Although the annual reports continued to be issued, and their releases continued to be introduced at official events, no stories were found for 2003 or 2005-2009.

Many human rights NGOs devote a significant part of their resources to researching reports and seeking to disperse the results widely, including by providing expert commentary to news programs. Kenneth Roth and John Sifton from Human Rights Watch, Cheryl Jacques and Elizabeth Birch from the Human Rights Campaign, and Stephen Bright from the Southern Center for Human Rights, are just a few examples of NGO representatives who appeared in multiple stories. NGOs also publish their official reports whose release they hope will trigger news coverage. This study

uncovered 28 stories that mention reports written by various NGOs, as displayed in Table 7.

**Table 7: NGO Reports in Human Rights Stories**

<b>NGO</b>	<b>Mentions of Reports</b>
Human Rights Watch	14
Amnesty International	12
Freedom House	1
ICRC	1
Save the Children	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>29<sup>29</sup></b>

At least one NGO report is included in every year, except 1990, 1994, 2006, and 2007.

Considering both the number and the research and report output of these organizations, 29 mentions of their reports is not a very high number. Human Rights Watch had the largest number of its reports mentioned, but it must be remembered that Human Rights Watch has a decided advantage in being caught by this method of data collection because the inclusion of its name alone is enough to trigger being categorized as a human rights story. Amnesty International is also frequently introduced as "human rights organization Amnesty International" or "human rights group Amnesty International" which would partially account for its prominence in this method of collecting human rights stories. It may be that NGO reports are getting more television coverage than is indicated here, but that must be investigated in a future study.

### *Conclusions*

Analyzing the 824 stories containing the phrase human rights that were broadcast from 1990-2009 yields several conclusions. First, there is very little television news coverage of human rights as human rights, and that which is broadcast is often not very

---

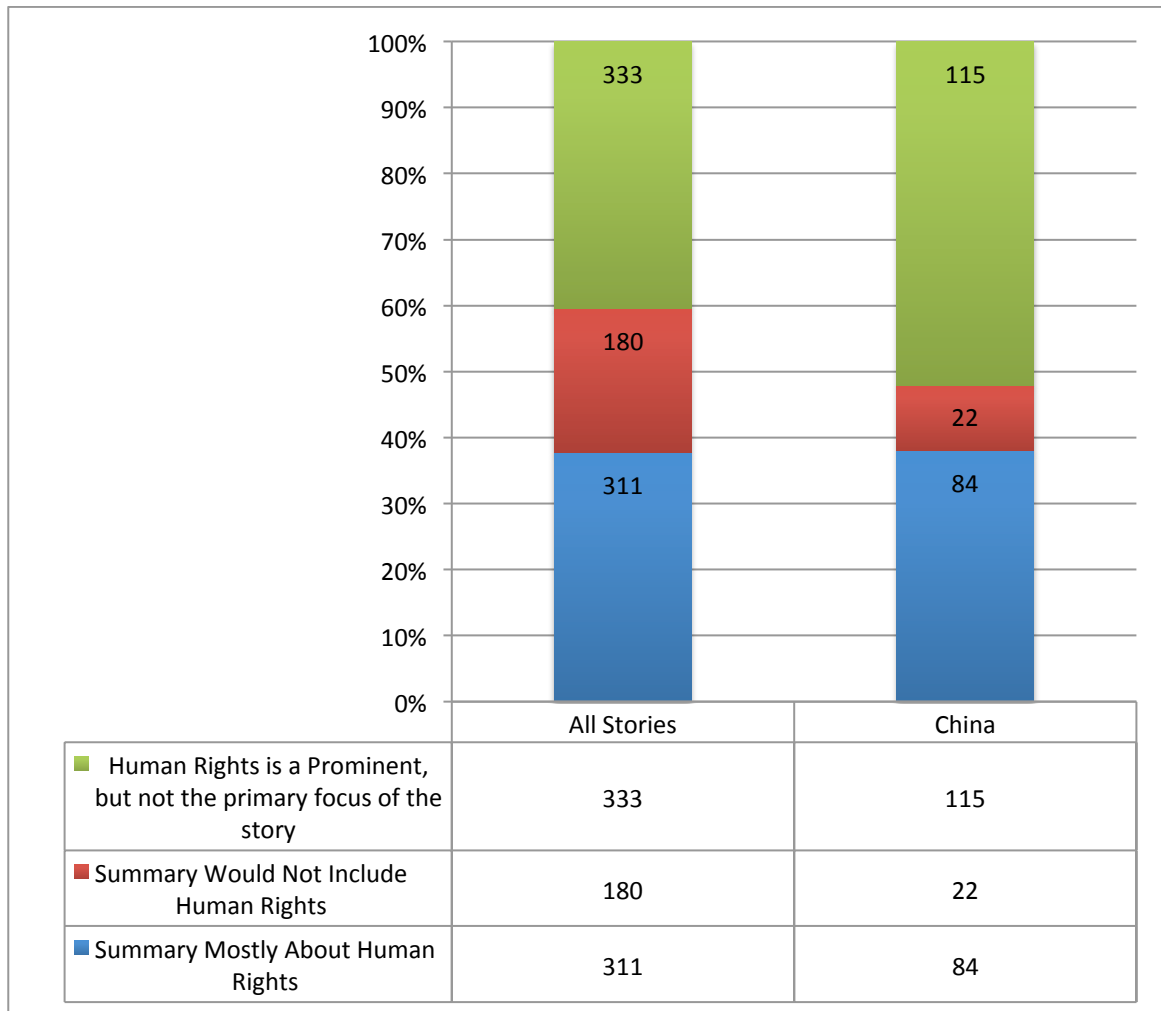
<sup>29</sup> One story mentioned reports by HRW and Amnesty International, so they were each credited with one story, which is why there are 29 NGO mentions in 28 stories.

detailed or focused on human rights. These 824 stories contain no thematic coverage; there is no in-depth coverage of human rights that could offer definitions and explanations of the human rights framework to a general audience that lacks specialized training or education in human rights. So what is being covered, and what does it mean?

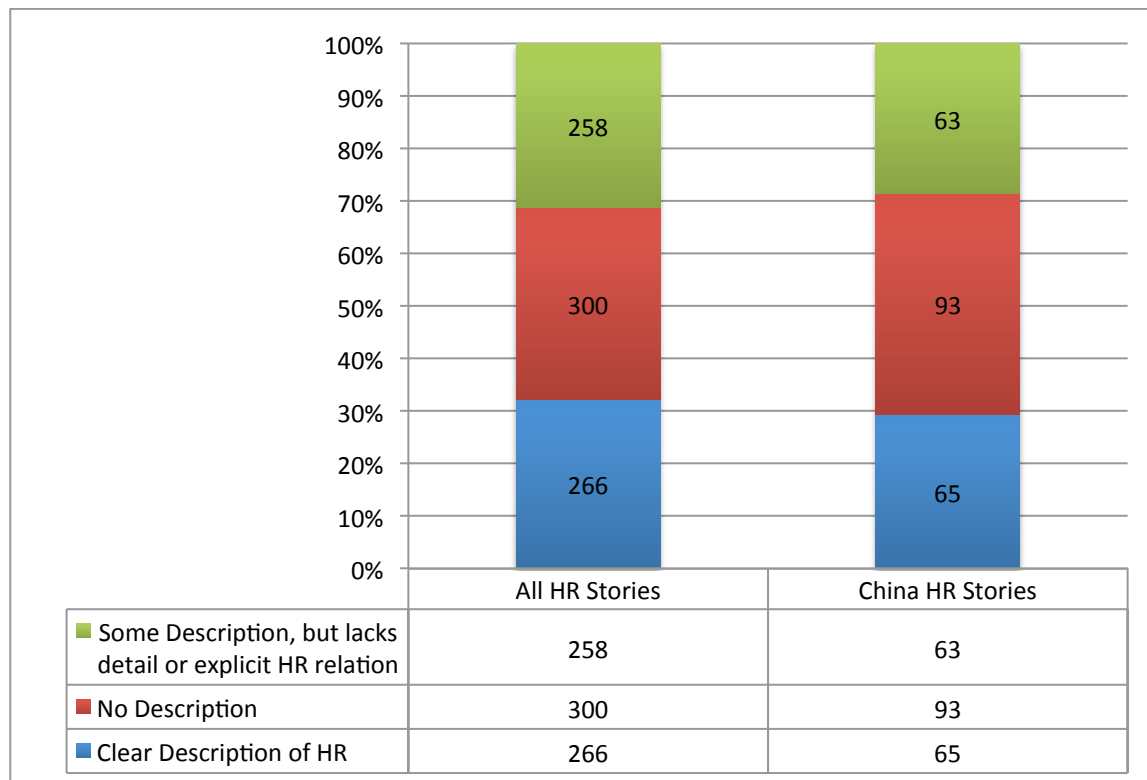
### *Big Bad China*

One of the biggest results from this study is that China is the absolute *bête noire* of American television news stories involving human rights. More than one quarter of the human rights stories from this period involve China. In addition to the frequent mention of China in association with human rights, stories involving China are more likely to feature human rights as at least a prominent, if not the primary focus of the story, as shown in Chart 7.

**Chart 7: Human Rights Focus: All Stories vs. China Stories**



Despite China stories tending to feature human rights as a prominent theme more than the general pool of human rights stories, the China stories (42%) are more likely than the human rights stories as a whole (36%) to not include any detail or description about human rights, as shown in Chart 8.

**Chart 8: Human Rights Description: All Stories vs. China Stories**

If the phrase "human rights record" is uttered, it is more than likely to be preceded by the word "China's" or some variation of that phrase,<sup>30</sup> though this frequency of mention does not coincide with an increased likelihood of providing description of human rights.

Television news in the US covers human rights stories that relate to China more than human rights stories that relate to any other country in the world. These human rights stories relating to China are more likely to be focused on human rights than the total pool of human rights stories, but less likely than the total pool to include a description or definition of human rights. All three of these trends hold true across the entirety of the time period under review. Taken together, this data indicates the existence of a frame or

<sup>30</sup> A partial list includes *ABC World News* stories from August 10, 2008, August 7, 2008, April 8, 2008, April 7, 2008, March 24, 2008, July 31, 2001, July 13, 2001, April 1, 2001, February 26, 2001, February 21, 2001, November 15, 1999, July 23, 1991, September 4, 1991, May 26, 1994, May 28, 1993, November 5, 1992, February 25, 1992, March 2, 1992, July 21, 1992, June 2, 1992

reference connecting China and human rights. When these references are repeated over time, they become self-fulfilling: journalists look for the story angles that fit their existing frames of reference, and then the stories they produce reinforce the frame with which the journalists started. So China and human rights are linked together, not necessarily because of any absolute quality or lack thereof in China's human rights record, but because when stories regarding either "China" or "human rights" come up, journalists are primed to look for connections to the other issue.

*What Isn't Being Broadcast versus What Wasn't Caught by this Methodology*

The location data also point to an important but easy to miss conclusion: human rights issues may be being covered by television news, but perhaps not with the phrase human rights. If human rights is not a dominant theme for American television journalists, then it may not be used for covering human rights issues, which might mean the phrase human rights would not be used. Any usage of the phrase human rights would have been collected in the 824 stories analyzed here. But according to this data, only 10 stories that touched on Rwanda were broadcast from 1990-2009, and only 7 of those were in 1994. Considering the scope of the killings that went on, this is beyond shocking. That the international media was slow to cover the genocide in Rwanda has been well-established. That in twenty years, 5 prior to and 15 after the genocide, only 10 stories were broadcast is not to be believed. It is therefore likely that stories relating to the Rwandan genocide have been broadcast, but did not include the phrase human rights. And if human rights stories relating to Rwanda might be broadcast without the phrase human rights in them, then what other human rights issues might be being covered that were not picked up in this phrase search? The transcript and visual content analyses in

the following chapters collect data differently, to discover if human rights issues are being covered without the phrase human rights in the story. They also compare the American television news coverage with British television news coverage, to determine whether the national system will affect the amount or type of human rights coverage in television news.

**Chapter 5: Content Analysis II: US & UK Transcript Analysis**

One way to see if news programs are covering human rights issues without using the phrase human rights is to examine the entirety of news transcripts instead of just performing a search for the phrase "human rights." Additionally, one way to deepen the analysis is to make it comparative- to find out not only how American television news covers human rights, but also how that coverage compares to the coverage in the United Kingdom. A working hypothesis of this study was that there would be more human rights coverage in the British news than in the American news, because the UK is more integrated into human rights mechanisms, because the BBC is more insulated from commercial pressures than American commercial television news, and because the BBC has a specific mission to educate and inform. While the data does support this hypothesis, it is not nearly so large a difference as expected.

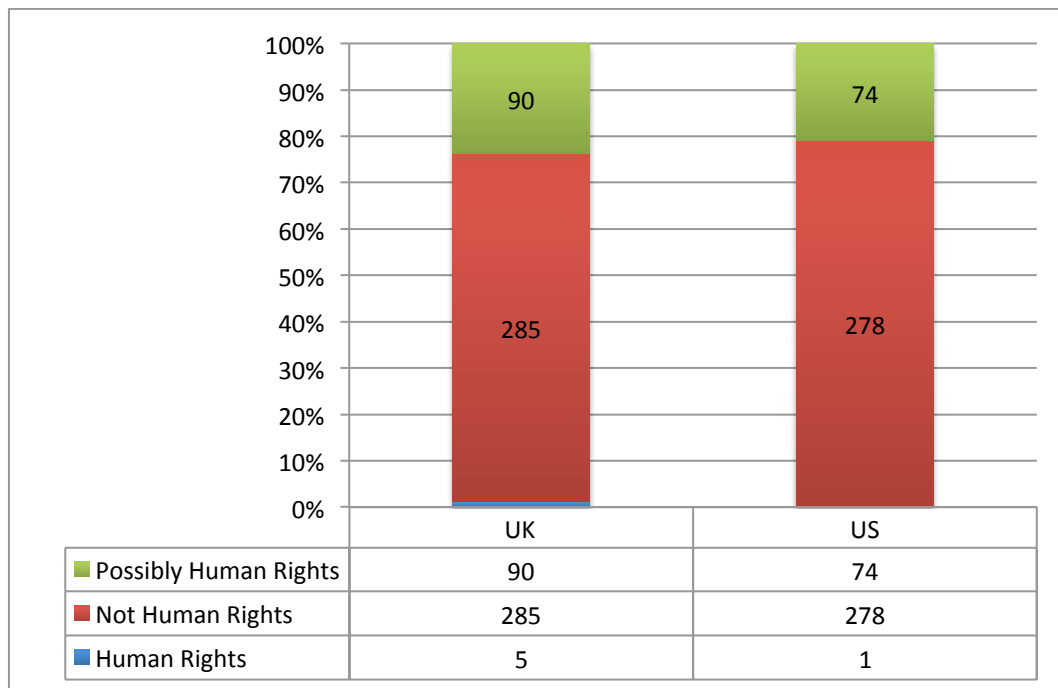
Transcripts<sup>31</sup> were collected from February, 1990 from ABC's *World News Tonight with Peter Jennings* and the BBC's *9 O'Clock News*. Twenty-eight days of transcripts were coded for each country, with a total of 353 American and 380 British stories<sup>32</sup> having sufficient information to be coded for location.<sup>33</sup> While the total number of stories analyzed is small, the results are still informative. Each story was coded for location and whether it could possibly be a human rights story. Chart 9 shows the results, with the overwhelming majority of stories in both American and British television news having nothing to do with human rights whatsoever.

---

<sup>31</sup> Transcripts made after the broadcasts by Lexis-Nexis were collected for the American news. Shooting scripts, or the pages that the BBC actually used to produce each evening broadcast, were collected for the British news. For simplicity, transcript and shooting script will be used interchangeably in this chapter. See Chapter 3: Methodology for month selection and coding scheme.

<sup>32</sup> It is important to note that the American news transcripts did not include the text of broadcast introductions, teasers before commercials, and goodnights, which were included in the British shooting scripts and therefore in the analysis; this helps to explain why a larger number of stories were coded for the British news than for the American.

<sup>33</sup> This number excludes purely sports reports, general weather reports, stock market reports, and introductions and goodnights that have no story information. See Chapter 3: Methodology for further explanation.

**Chart 9: Possibly Human Rights Stories and Non-Human Rights Stories, UK & US**

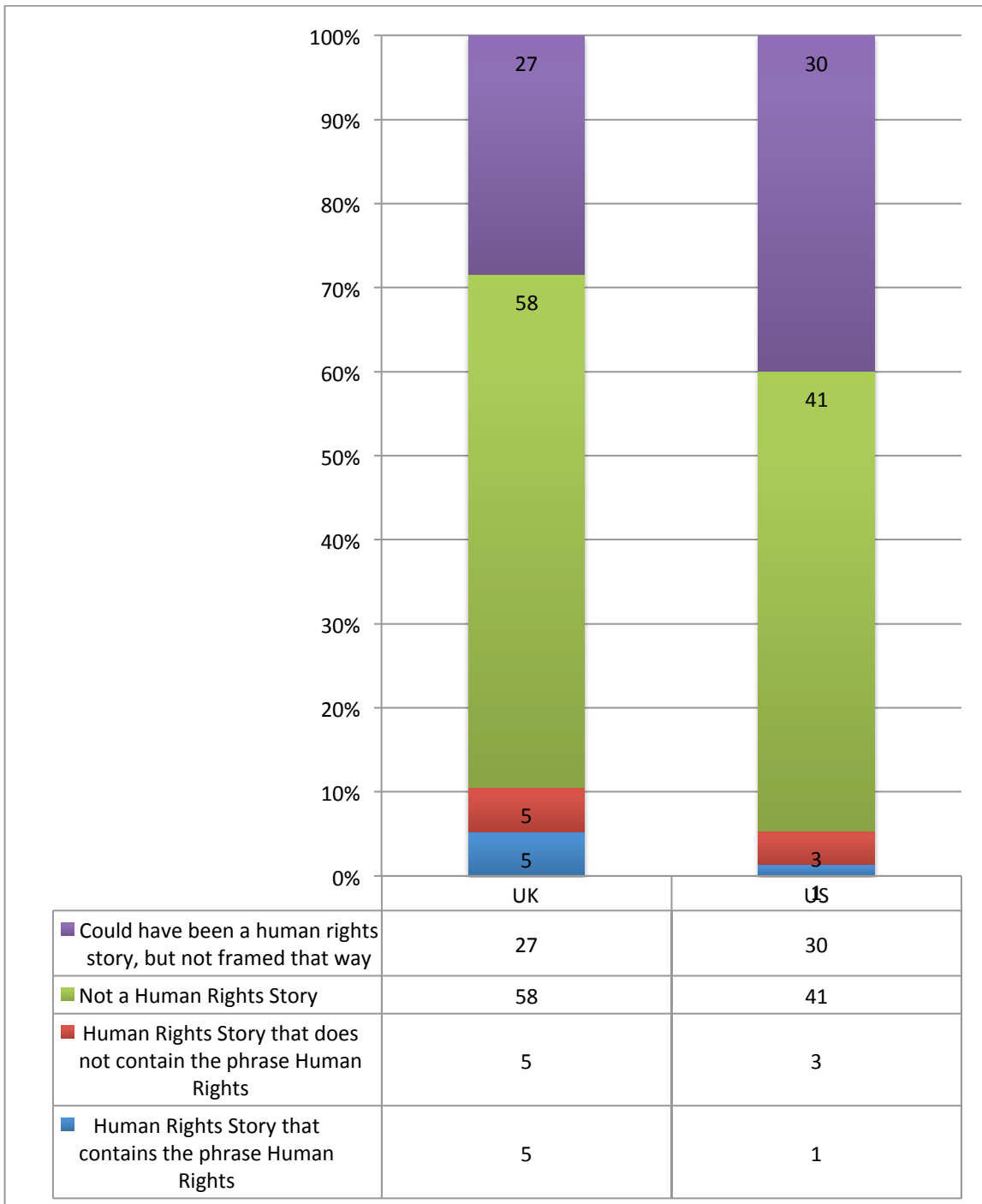
79% of American news stories and 75% of British news stories did not even have a possibility of being about human rights issues. Additionally, in the month selected for having the most human rights coverage of the year, only five British and one American story actually contained the phrase human rights.

### *The Glass is Half Empty*

A more optimistic interpretation of this data is conceivable- it also means that 21% of American news stories and 24% of British news stories, or slightly more than one in every five stories had a possibility of covering human rights issues. So these transcripts were read again and coded further to determine whether they actually were human rights stories that just happened to omit the phrase human rights. Stories could either contain the phrase human rights, be a human rights story without containing the phrase human rights, not be a human rights story, or come close to being a human rights story, but lack sufficient detail or human rights framing.

Chart 10 illustrates how most of the possibly human rights stories were not actually human rights stories.

**Chart 10: Human Rights Stories, UK & US**



For both countries, the majority of possibly human rights stories are simply not human rights stories; 61% and 55% of British and American possibly human rights stories, respectively, are not human rights stories at all. They cover issues that could possibly be human rights stories, but without sufficient explanatory detail to actually provide any human rights information to the viewer. For example, 29 of the British and 16 of the American non-human rights stories are about South Africa, and all of these have one thing in common: they seem to assume that viewers have considerable knowledge of South Africa, apartheid, and its implied discrimination and human rights violations, and so do not include any explanatory detail about apartheid in the story. The 27 British and 30 American stories that were coded as close to human rights stories but lacking in sufficient human rights detail or framing are also almost all about South Africa: 24 of the 27 British and 24 of the 30 American. Though they do include more human rights information than the non-human rights stories, these stories still lack explanatory detail about the human rights issues in South Africa, and so were coded close to human rights stories. Only five British and three American stories actually include sufficient detail about human rights to be considered human rights stories even though they do not contain the phrase human rights; four of those five British and all of those three American stories are about South Africa.

#### *Human Rights are a Foreign Concept in the US*

Human rights stories, both those that contain the phrase human rights and those that do not, were further coded to see what types of human rights issues occur most frequently. In total, ten British stories and four American stories, representing 2.6% and 1.1% of the total stories for each country respectively, received the full coding. While the small number of stories precludes any meaningful quantitative analyses, the results nevertheless point to some tentative conclusions. The four stories in the American news are all foreign stories; none of them are

about domestic policies or issues. This is consistent with the American approach to human rights, that they are something foreign that happens elsewhere. There were three ABC stories that included references to constitutional rights in the domestic setting: February 4's "constitutional right to an abortion," February 20's constitutional rights regarding a child abuse case decided at the Supreme Court, and February 27's assertion that there is no constitutional right to drive as a justification for police roadblocks to prevent driving while intoxicated. Three other ABC stories referenced civil rights in the domestic setting: February 12's protests in Selma Alabama that referenced the civil rights movement, February 19's relating the Civil Rights Act to gender discrimination at Virginia Military Institute, and February 25's education story covering teachers learning about the civil rights movement. The overlap between these stories and human rights issues is clear, but the human rights frame is not applied in any of them. The British human rights stories, on the other hand, include three different stories based in the UK: the BBC's stories on February 9 about Salman Rushdie living in secrecy following death threats against him, on February 12 about the government's possible criminalization of marital rape, and on February 21 about the High Court's ruling on improper delegation of immigration decisionmaking. These three are all human rights stories that are primarily domestic stories. This is quite different from the American example, where no human rights stories are domestic. This difference will be investigated further in the next chapter.

*Major issues get the most coverage, but few issues get Human Rights Frame*

Overwhelmingly, the subject matter for both countries' human rights stories is South Africa: six of the British stories and three of the American stories are about the monumental changes that began in South Africa in February 1990, with the release of Nelson Mandela from prison after 27 years. The frequent recurrence of this issue area led to recoding all of the news

stories, human rights and not human rights alike, for whether they covered one of three general "hot" issues during that time period: South Africa, political reforms and independence movements within the USSR, and German reunification. Table 8 displays the results.

**Table 8: Number and Percentage of All Stories for Major Issues<sup>34</sup>**

	UK		US	
	Number of Stories	Percentage	Number of Stories	Percentage
<b>South Africa</b>	81	21%	49	14%
<b>USSR Reforms/ Independence</b>	36	9%	31	9%
<b>German Reunification</b>	21	5%	13	4%
<b>None of the Above</b>	245	64%	261	74%

These three topics represent a large chunk of the coverage in both countries: one third in the UK and one quarter in the US. 21% of all British news stories and 14% of all American stories were about the changes taking place in South Africa. Political reforms and independence movements within the USSR garnered 9% in both the US and UK, while German reunification stories represented 4% and 5% of the total stories, respectively. But most of these issue areas are not covered as human rights stories, although human rights angles could be applied with ease to the case of South Africa and with only minimal effort in the case of the USSR and German reunification. In fact, however, the human rights frame was simply not selected for most of these. Of the 21 BBC German reunification stories, only one was coded as possibly human rights, and even that one was fully coded as not a human rights story; none of the 13 ABC German reunification stories was even coded as possibly human rights. The USSR stories tell a similar tale. Of the BBC's 36, only 14 were possibly human rights stories and all of them were

<sup>34</sup> For the UK, two stories combine South Africa and USSR Reforms/Independence, and one story combine South Africa and German Reunification, so there are three additional stories in the total number of stories. For the US, there is one story that combines USSR Reforms/Independence and German Reunification, so there is one additional story in the total number of stories. Percentages are calculated out of the increased total for both cases.

subsequently coded as non-human rights stories, while ABC's 31 USSR reform/independence had 8 possibly human rights stories that also all turned out to be non-human rights stories. Most of these stories in both countries utilized the frame of democratic development, focusing on the potential for movement towards multi-party democracy. This frame has significant potential overlap with civil and political human rights, but the human rights frame was not represented in any of the USSR reform/independence stories in either the US or UK.

Only in the case of South Africa were there actual human rights stories, but again, these represent a very tiny share of the whole population of either BBC or ABC stories. Out of 81 South Africa stories on BBC, 60 were possibly human rights stories or contained the phrase human rights, but only 6 actually were human rights stories; and of ABC's 49 South Africa stories, 43 were possibly human rights stories, but only 3 turned out to be human rights stories.

The disconnect between possibly human rights stories and stories that are actually human rights stories can largely be attributed to the lack of information in the news stories themselves, and the stories about South Africa are an excellent illustration. Very few of the stories actually took the time to explain Apartheid; it was mentioned in most of them, but seldom defined. The lack of explanations and descriptions is much more severe in the American stories than in the British stories. On February 2 as well as on February 11, the BBC showed lengthy stories that explained the history of apartheid; there are no such explanations to be found in the American stories. If a viewer comes to one of these possibly human rights stories with limited or no knowledge of the issue and was depending only on that individual story for information as was the assumption for this coding, much if not all of the human rights connection would be missed.

*Conclusions*

Even this limited sample concurs with several of the conclusions made in the previous chapter, mainly that there is not much human rights content in television news, and what is there is often about foreign countries. Both of these statements are true for the UK as well as for the US, though to a lesser extent for the UK, as it has both more human rights stories and more domestic human rights stories than the US does. As is common in the news, major issues can dominate coverage, but this analysis shows that even when such an issue is almost by definition an obvious human rights issue, such as Apartheid in South Africa, human rights coverage is not guaranteed. Human rights detail was lacking in most stories in the US and UK, though the BBC did provide some stories with more extensive details. Both the nightly news' inability to spend too much time on background information and human rights being only one competing angle among many for stories help to explain the very small number of human rights and close to human rights stories.

Because of the slight differences between the transcripts from Lexis-Nexis and the shooting scripts from the BBC, and the importance of visuals in the audio-visual medium that is television news, the surest way to get truly comparable data that can best evaluate news content as the audience would experience it is viewing full broadcasts. It is to that large task that this study now turns.

**Chapter 6: Visual Content Analysis: American and British Television News Coverage**

Television cannot be reduced to transcripts alone. Transcript content analysis is quicker, easier, and cheaper to conduct, but it cannot tell the whole audio-visual story that television media conveys, so in addition to the individual story and whole-transcript analysis, a visual code of television news programs was conducted. Building on the work of Canino & Huston (1986), one week of news coverage was considered representative for the year.<sup>35</sup>

Summaries of NBC's Nightly News were collected through the Vanderbilt Television News Archive (VTNA), and recorded broadcasts were viewed online through the VTNA's website. Weeks of British footage were viewed through the British Film Institute's research viewing service. Seven nightly broadcasts were collected for all years in the US case, excluding 1990, 1991, 1997, and 1998 where six broadcasts were collected; seven nightly broadcasts were collected for all years in the UK case, excluding 1999, where six broadcasts were collected. A total of 136 NBC and 139 BBC broadcasts were viewed. Excluding commercials, weather reports, local news reports, and stock market reports, 2020 NBC stories and 1878 BBC stories were viewed, for an average of 13.5 BBC stories per broadcast and 14.5 NBC stories per broadcast.

All stories for the UK and the US were viewed at least once, and a quick review of the main stories of each week for each country helps to set the stage for the human rights analysis that is to come. Major news topics were deemed to be those that included multiple stories (at least three substantive stories in the week, excluding broadcast introduction, pre-commercial teasers, and goodnight summaries) in the weeks under study. This is a holistic account,<sup>36</sup> designed to give an idea of the most prominent issues from the week, the ones that viewers

---

<sup>35</sup> See Chapter 3: Methodology for an explanation of the week selection and coding scheme.

<sup>36</sup> A formal code count was not conducted, so the numbers in the list are nominal.

tuning in would be most likely to see. The main story is the story that received the most frequent, prominent coverage that week.

**Table 9: Major and Main Stories for UK and US Television News**

<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>UK News Stories 1990</u></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Main story:</b> Poll tax protests</li> <li>2. South Africa-Protests in Bophuthatswana</li> <li>3. MUN investigation on Skargill</li> <li>4. Elections and reforms in USSR</li> <li>5. German unification process- Polish border question, property question for reunification</li> </ol>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>US News Stories 1990</u></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Main Story:</b> Lebanon hostage developments and relations with Iran</li> <li>2. USSR- local elections and developments of USSR's decreasing involvement in Eastern Europe</li> <li>3. South Africa- death squads investigated, protests in Bophuthatswana.</li> <li>4. German Reunification plans</li> </ol>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>UK News Stories 1991</u></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Main story:</b> USSR dissolving</li> <li>2. Yugoslavia- fighting between Croat and Serb forces</li> <li>3. Majors visits China for first time since Tiananmen</li> <li>4. Independence of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia</li> <li>5. IRA attacks</li> </ol>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>US News Stories 1991</u></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Main Story:</b> USSR dissolving</li> <li>2. Yugoslavia- fighting between Croat and Serb forces</li> <li>3. Independence of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia</li> </ol>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>UK News Stories 1992</u></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Main Story:</b> Yugoslavia- UN asks NATO to plan more military action in Bosnia, prisoners released, Paddy Ashdown visit, calls for Serb leaders to be tried for war crimes, battle for Bosnia</li> <li>2. Somalia- US and French forces in Somalia, US troops going to interior</li> <li>3. Teen girl found by side of road burned, investigation for torture and kidnapping, girl dies.</li> <li>4. IRA attacks, including bomb attack on Christmas shoppers in London</li> <li>5. Israel-Palestine- body of abducted Israeli soldier discovered, 400 Palestinians deported from Israel, protests over the deportations, deaths at the protests</li> </ol>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>US News Stories 1992</u></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Main Story:</b> Somalia- US military in Somalia, operations to deliver aid beyond the capital</li> <li>2. Israel-Palestine- body of kidnapped Israeli border soldier discovered, 400 Palestinians deported, protests</li> <li>3. President-elect Clinton's economic summit in Little Rock</li> <li>4. Yugoslavia- possibility of US involvement in military action, atrocities in Bosnia, reactions to offer to use US planes to enforce no-fly zone</li> </ol>

**Table 9: Major and Main Stories for UK and US Television News, continued**

<u>UK News Stories 1993</u>	<u>US News Stories 1993</u>
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Main Story:</b> Northern Ireland- Majors reaches out to Sinn Fein and offers them a place if they renounce violence- new plan for peace, reactions of both sides, leaked document denied by Irish Prime Minister</li> <li>2. Former Yugoslavia- UN troops in Bosnia, hundreds of mentally ill people abandoned at hospitals, need for humanitarian aid</li> <li>3. South Africa- new constitution lacks some key support, protests and reactions</li> <li>4. Economic indicators announced</li> <li>5. NAFTA</li> <li>6. James Bulger murder trial</li> <li>7. APEC Summit</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Main Story:</b> NAFTA</li> <li>2. APEC Summit, meetings with Asian leaders, discussion of US-Asia relations</li> <li>3. Israel-Palestine- Israel-PLO meetings, Arafat aide shot, violence in Israeli-occupied territories</li> </ol>
<u>UK News Stories 1994</u>	<u>US News Stories 1994</u>
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Main Story:</b> Former Yugoslavia- UN relief missions in Bosnia, football match in Sarajevo stadium, Serb weapons cache discovered, Tuzla airport reopened, UN aid convoy hijacked and looted</li> <li>2. Northern Ireland- Attacks and talks, conflict between Prime Minister and Northern Ireland Minister rumored</li> <li>3. Europe- Britain and Spain trying to prevent dilution of their ability to block legislation, change in voting pattern looks set to pass</li> <li>4. Scott Inquiry- Hesseltine and Lyell at Matrix-Churchill trial</li> <li>5. South Africa- protests and unrest ahead of elections, particularly in prisons</li> <li>6. Trial and sentencing of youths who beat a young man to death for interrupting their vandalism</li> </ol>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Main Story:</b> North Korea- nuclear weapons standoff after the US sends Patriot missiles to South Korea</li> <li>2. Whitewater scandal</li> <li>3. Israel-Palestine- Israel-PLO talks</li> <li>4. Political Assassination in Mexico</li> </ol>

**Table 9: Major and Main Stories for UK and US Television News, continued**

<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>UK News Stories 1995</u></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Main Story:</b> Zaire- Expulsion of Rwandan refugees from Zaire, and the humanitarian crisis there</li> <li>2. Northern Ireland- Offer of releasing IRA convicts rejected as an insult to the IRA</li> <li>3. Water shortages in UK prompt questions of regulator and individual metres</li> <li>4. US and China- Harry Wu expelled from China</li> <li>5. Water shortages in UK and responses of water companies</li> <li>6. Anglican priest who held Raves for Jesus up on sex abuse charges</li> <li>7. India- hostages being held in Kashmir</li> <li>8. Former Yugoslavia- UN troops use force, UN troops prepare to withdraw from Gorazde</li> </ol>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>US News Stories 1995</u></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Main Story:</b> US and China- Harry Wu expelled from China, Hillary Clinton decides to attend Beijing Conference on Women</li> <li>2. Bosnia- memorials and return of bodies of three American diplomats killed</li> <li>3. O.J. Simpson murder trial</li> <li>4. Iraq weapons inspections</li> <li>5. Plane crash in Georgia</li> </ol>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>UK News Stories 1996</u></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Main Story:</b> BSE – European ban, mass slaughter of cattle, reaction of ministers and markets</li> <li>2. Russia ceases fighting in Chechnya</li> <li>3. Government decides to hold a referendum on joining the European single currency</li> <li>4. Northern Ireland- IRA issues Easter message which is taken as a threat by the government, expansion of police powers to deal with terrorist suspects</li> <li>5. Former Yugoslavia- UN War Crimes Tribunal investigations are ongoing, Bosnian Serbs missed deadline for releasing POWs</li> </ol>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>US News Stories 1996</u></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Main Story:</b> Ron Brown’s plane crash in Croatia, details of crash and victims, memorials</li> <li>2. Standoff with anti-government Freeman group in Montana</li> <li>3. New suspect in the Unabomber case, Theodore Kaczynski, arrested, evidence examined</li> <li>4. High speed chase of illegal immigrants ending in videotaped beating of suspects in Riverside California</li> </ol>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>UK News Stories 1997</u></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Main Story:</b> British au pair Louise Woodward trial and sentence</li> <li>2. Labour government spells out its stance on the euro single currency</li> <li>3. Ziang Zemin goes to the US for official summit</li> <li>4. Prince of Wales visit to Africa</li> <li>5. Lead up to and start of French lorry driver strike</li> </ol>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>US News Stories 1997</u></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Main Story:</b> US-China summit with Jian Zemin visiting US</li> <li>2. Stock market crash, reactions, and recovery</li> <li>3. British au pair Louise Woodward trial and conviction</li> </ol>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>UK News Stories 1998</u></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Main Story:</b> Northern Ireland- lead up to and elections for new assembly</li> <li>2. World Cup in France- riots, hooligans</li> <li>3. Investigation into disappearance of, and discovery of the body of, 13 year old Clare Hart</li> <li>4. Clinton visit to China</li> </ol>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>US News Stories 1998</u></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Clinton visit to China</li> <li>2. Special Prosecutor investigation into Clinton</li> </ol>

**Table 9: Major and Main Stories for UK and US Television News, continued**

<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>UK News Stories 1999</u></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Main Story:</b> Possible breakthrough in Northern Ireland Peace Process- statement from IRA saying they would decommission when Sinn Fein is in power</li> <li>2. French ban of British beef products, labeling of British beef</li> <li>3. Russian troops moving in on Chechnya, problems for civilians and refugees</li> <li>4. Question of who will run for London's mayor</li> <li>5. Egyptair flight 990 crash cause not known</li> <li>6. Queen's speech with legislative agenda</li> <li>7. Blairs announce they are having a baby</li> </ol>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>US News Stories 1999</u></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Main Story:</b> Egyptair Flight 990 crash investigation</li> <li>2. Chechnya- escalation of Russian activity</li> <li>3. Women on the Job- recurring feature with different aspects covered</li> <li>4. Texas A&amp;M bonfire collapse</li> </ol>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>UK News Stories 2000</u></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Main Story:</b> Trial of racially motivated London nail bomber begins</li> <li>2. Northern Ireland Assembly met for first time after being suspended 4 months ago</li> <li>3. Euro 2000 security concerns over hooligans</li> <li>4. Debate over hunting with dogs</li> <li>5. Britain's military attaché in Greece murdered</li> <li>6. Conservative party conference</li> <li>7. President Assad of Syria died</li> <li>8. Sierra Leone- British call to restrict conflict diamond trade, Robin Cooke visits Sierra Leone</li> </ol>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>US News Stories 2000</u></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Main Story:</b> Campaign 2000- various campaigns and primary results followed</li> <li>2. D-Day Remembrances</li> <li>3. Microsoft Anti-Trust Suit decision and follow up</li> <li>4. President Assad of Syria died</li> </ol>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>UK News Stories 2001</u></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Main Story:</b> Possible epidemic of foot and mouth disease- culling of sheep, stopping farm clean up</li> <li>2. G8 Summit- end of G8 summit in Genoa where there was violence and accusations of police abuse of protestors, talks between Putin and Bush at G8 summit on missile defense, release of arrested British protestors, Italian government promises investigation into police conduct</li> <li>3. Indonesia throws out its president, who stays in the presidential palace initially, but then goes to the US for medical treatment</li> <li>4. 200 countries sign on to a watered down environmental treaty- the US did not sign</li> <li>5. Mt. Etna erupting</li> <li>6. US pulls out of germ warfare enforcement talks</li> <li>7. Trial and sentence of parents whose child and a friend died on the railroad tracks</li> </ol>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>US News Stories 2001</u></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Main Story:</b> Chandra Levy disappearance and investigation</li> <li>2. Mount Etna erupting</li> <li>3. China- arrest and release of two Chinese-born American scholars for espionage, Powell's visit to China</li> </ol>

**Table 9: Major and Main Stories for UK and US Television News, continued**

<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>UK News Stories 2002</u></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Main Story:</b> Bodies of Holly and Jessica, missing girls in Soham, found, mourning, investigation and arrests</li> <li>2. Russian military helicopter crashed in Chechnya</li> <li>3. French declare they will close the Sangat refugee camp in Callais</li> <li>4. World summit in Johannesburg: expectations, leaders begin to arrive, clashes between protestors and police</li> </ol>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>US News Stories 2002</u></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Main Story:</b> Iraq- possible chemical and biological weapons in Iraq, debate over invading Iraq examined</li> <li>2. Israel-Palestine- security agreement for pullout, arrest of 5 Hamas members</li> <li>3. Terrorism- secret courts, arrest warrants for suspects issued, firing of a Florida professor for supporting terrorist groups, suspect detained in Saudi Arabia</li> </ol>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>UK News Stories 2003</u></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Main Story:</b> Invasion of Iraq.</li> <li>2. IRA handed government a statement on decommissioning, but declines to clarify it</li> <li>3. Local English election campaigns begin, stories on local government in Scotland and Wales ahead of local elections</li> <li>4. Murderers of Holly and Jessica appeared in court</li> <li>5. SARS – is China hiding cases?</li> <li>6. Report that RUC officers colluded in murder in the 1980s in Northern Ireland</li> </ol>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>US News Stories 2003</u></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Main Story:</b> Invasion of Iraq.</li> </ol>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>UK News Stories 2004</u></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Main Story:</b> Prisoner Abuse in Iraq</li> <li>2. Pro-Russian President of Chechnya killed in an explosion</li> <li>3. Glasgow factory exploded</li> <li>4. Congress Party won election in India</li> <li>5. Mirror fake abuse photos scandal, Piers Morgan sacked</li> <li>6. Maxine Carr's release from prison and theft of documents relating thereto</li> </ol>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>US News Stories 2004</u></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Main Story:</b> Iraqi Prisoner Abuse Scandal</li> <li>2. Berg execution</li> <li>3. Campaign 2004</li> </ol>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>UK News Stories 2005</u></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Main story:</b> Iraq- President says British troops could leave in a year's time, US admits using deadly white phosphorus, Iraqi troops accused of abuse, suicide, car, and roadside bombings</li> <li>2. Weeks of rioting continue in France, emergency powers extended</li> <li>3. Debates for Conservative Party Leadership- David Davis vs. David Cameron</li> <li>4. Trial of murderers of Antony Walker</li> <li>5. Government changing licensing laws for pubs, bars, and clubs</li> <li>6. Bird Flu</li> <li>7. Sri Lanka, presidential elections, ceasefire failing</li> <li>8. Police woman shot and killed in an armed robbery in Bradford City center- investigation and arrests</li> </ol>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>US News Stories 2005</u></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Main Story:</b> Iraq Prisoner Abuse, rebuilding efforts, departure debate</li> <li>2. Hurricane Katrina recovery updates</li> <li>3. Bombing of hotel in Jordan</li> <li>4. Tornadoes in Iowa</li> </ol>

**Table 9: Major and Main Stories for UK and US Television News, continued**

<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>UK News Stories 2006</u></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Main Story-</b> World Cup- England goes through to quarter finals, English fans cause trouble in Germany, reaction to English loss</li> <li>2. Israel-Palestine- Palestinian kidnapping of Israeli soldier, Israel's hunt to get him back</li> <li>3. Former Home Secretary Kenneth Clarke criticizes Home Office and Blair, government hits back</li> <li>4. Marking the 90<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Battle of the Somme</li> </ol>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>US News Stories 2006</u></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Main Story:</b> Iraq- troop withdrawal question, rape accusations, Military tribunals ruling from Supreme Court</li> <li>2. Warren Buffett's large donation to the Gates Foundation</li> <li>3. Israel-Palestine- Israeli soldier kidnapped, Israel's hunt to get him back</li> <li>4. Secondhand smoke declared to be deadly</li> <li>5. Flooding in Northeast</li> </ol>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>UK News Stories 2007</u></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Main Story-</b> Massive security breach at the Revenue Service as a disc with the personal information of 25 million went missing- tales of other similar scandals</li> <li>2. Duke and Queen's 60<sup>th</sup> Wedding Anniversary</li> <li>3. Schemes to rescue Northern Rock bank</li> <li>4. Several teen girls' bodies found in the yard of a house in Margate</li> <li>5. Aid programs to help cyclone victims in Bangladesh</li> <li>6. Commonwealth meeting- Pakistan suspended</li> </ol>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>US News Stories 2007</u></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Main Story:</b> Holiday travel stories, Thanksgiving, and Black Friday shopping</li> <li>2. Campaigns for election in 2008</li> <li>3. Bangladesh cyclone</li> </ol>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>UK News Stories 2008</u></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Main Story-</b> Olympics and Olympic Torch Relay, with protestors against China</li> <li>2. Inquest verdict on the death of Princess Di</li> <li>3. Shannon Matthews disappearance investigation and arrests</li> <li>4. Zimbabwe election- government refuses to release results, opposition refusing a runoff, Southern African leaders hold a summit</li> </ol>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>US News Stories 2008</u></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Main Story:</b> Iraq war- US deaths, Petraeus Report and reactions, war orphans, naturalization of foreign-born US soldiers</li> <li>2. Olympics and Olympic Torch Relay, with protestors against China</li> <li>3. Raid in Texas on Yearning for Zion sect</li> <li>4. Campaigns for election in 2008</li> <li>5. Food riots in Haiti and ousting of Prime Minister</li> </ol>
<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>UK News Stories 2009</u></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Main Story-</b> Government issues budget statement- trying to talk up economy before statement, opposition reaction after, report saying economic output dropped significantly, high level of borrowing and tax increases</li> <li>2. Criticism of policing at G-20 in London</li> <li>3. Collapse and defeat of Tamil Tigers, final Sri Lankan government assault on rebel areas</li> <li>4. MP Expense scandal</li> <li>5. Swine Flu</li> <li>6. Election in South Africa- campaigning, Zuma and ANC win</li> </ol>	<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>US News Stories 2009</u></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. <b>Main Story:</b> Anti-terrorism Policies: interrogation techniques, question of pursuing prosecutions of former administration officials,</li> <li>2. Swine Flu</li> <li>3. Iraq War- tourism, suicide bombings, Clinton visit</li> <li>4. Economic downturn: housing crisis and credit card rate hikes from bailed out banks</li> </ol>

There are more major stories listed for the UK than for the US each week, except in 2008. Based on these weeks, *NBC Nightly News* does not seem to do as many follow-up stories on most topics

during the same week, and so would have fewer major stories according to this measure. The major stories for the UK news also appear to include more foreign stories than for the US, and the major stories from both countries are consistent with communications literature that predicts broadcast news will cover its home country and its own “near neighbors”- for the UK, members of the Commonwealth, for the US, Latin American and Caribbean countries, more than other countries or regions. Despite concerns among academics about the Americanization of British broadcasting over the last 20 years, the average number of stories in both countries does not seem to be very far apart at any point during the period under review, nor does the number of stories seem to be changing; furthermore, there does not seem to be a tremendous amount of overlap in the major stories covered. The US has only one story about the Poll Tax, the main story British story in 1990, and few or none on major stories in other years such as no American stories on IRA attacks in 1991 or 1992, only one US brief on Majors visit to Tiananmen in 1991, and one American story on Bosnia in 1993, during which week the temporary disappearance of Michael Jackson got two American stories. In 1995, NBC carried only one full package story on Rwandan refugees during the week under review, while the BBC covered it more than they covered any other story that week. In 1996, there was one American story each for BSE and the ceasefire in Chechnya, stories which dominated the BBC that week. Similarly, Chandra Levy’s disappearance and the ensuing investigation was the primary NBC story for 2001, and it received no coverage on the BBC during the same week.

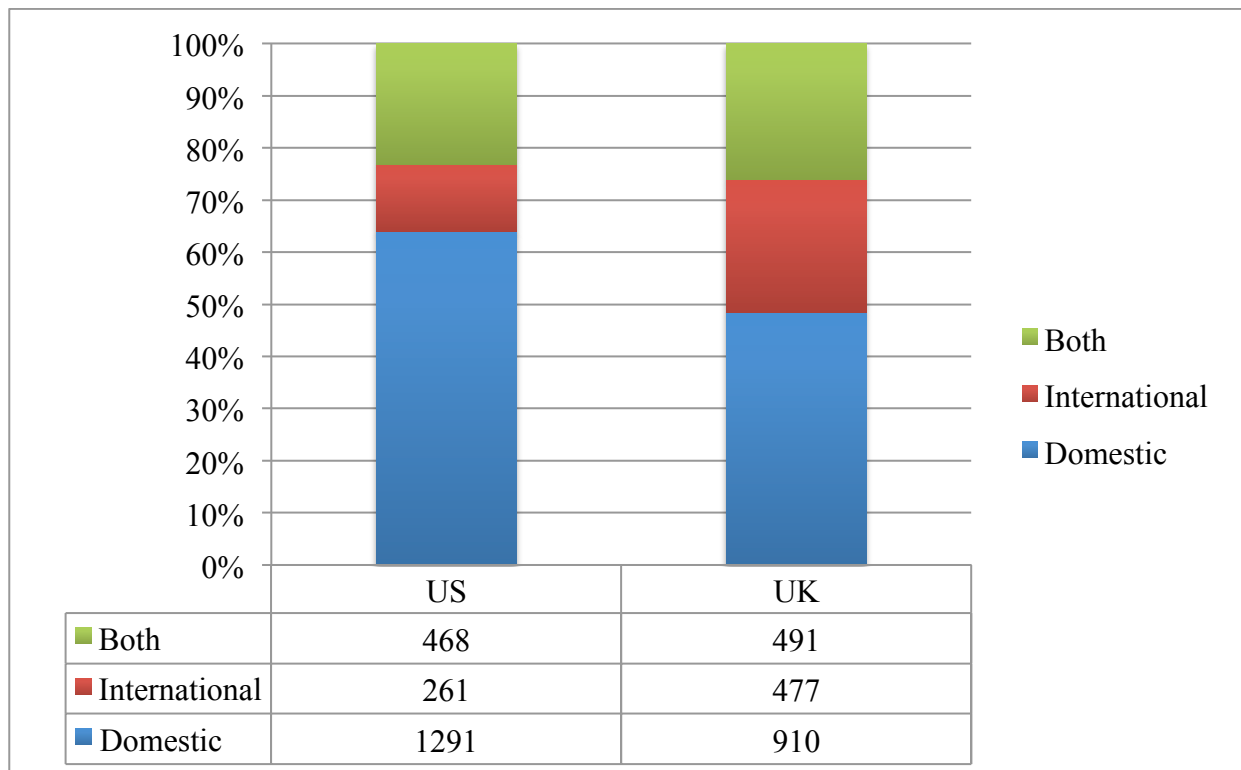
The idea that the BBC is converging with the American model of television news as evidenced by covering the same stories all but evaporates if the special relationship and frequent cooperation between the two countries is considered and if it is conceded that there are certain stories that are so big, any news outlet would have to cover them. Stories like the invasion, war,

and abuse scandals in Iraq, in which both countries were involved, and the Olympic torch relay in 2008, which went through both countries, are the types of stories that both broadcasters would cover because they are both inherently newsworthy and involved their home country, not because either broadcaster is copying or converging with the other.

Finally, and most relevant to this study, very few of the main or major stories are even tangentially related to human rights issues, and this holds true of both countries. While the BBC has more potentially human rights-related stories as main and major stories, such as the expulsion of Rwandan refugees from Zaire in 1995 or the treatment of protestors at the G8 summit in 2001, human rights-related stories are certainly not the majority of the main or major stories listed for either country.

*How many stories? How many human rights stories?*

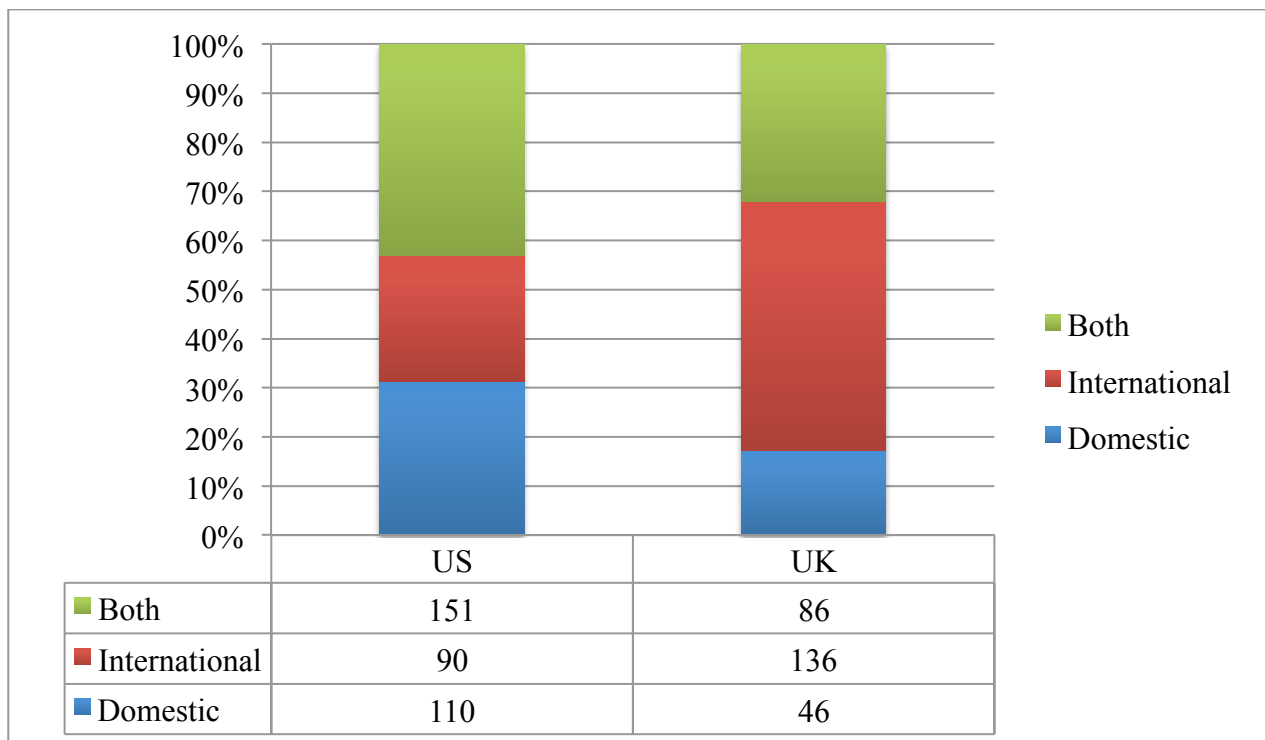
In both the US and the UK, the majority of stories broadcast were domestic in nature, though the division was more exaggerated in the US case; 64% of NBC's total stories versus 48% of the BBC's stories were solely domestic. The amount of international coverage in both countries is consistent with comparative media studies literature- US media tends to cover more domestic and less international news, and international news primarily as it ties in to US interests (which in this coding would be "both") while the UK media has both more purely international coverage (25% against the US 13%) and a comparable combination domestic and international stories (26% against 23%).

**Chart 11: Domestic vs. International Stories, UK & US**

Stories were coded for whether they could possibly be human rights stories, and the results were surprising. In examining the human rights content of television news, the author had hoped to see what the audience could have learned about human rights from television news coverage. This question, however, rests on the assumption that there would be human rights coverage, and this turns out not to be the case most of the time in either country. First, very few stories out of the total in either country actually qualified as even a possible human rights story. 351 NBC stories and 268 BBC stories (17.4% and 14.3% of the total stories viewed) were coded as either containing the phrase human rights or possibly being human rights stories, so they were viewed again and coded further. The author had further expected the UK media to have much more human rights content than the US media, since the UK is more integrated into human rights mechanisms, the BBC is more insulated from commercial pressures than American commercial television news, and because the BBC has a specific mission to educate and inform. But this

turned out not to be such a simple case- there were more possible human rights stories selected for NBC than for the BBC. Chart 12 shows the number of stories for both countries that were coded as being possibly human rights stories and viewed again. The percentage of these stories that were coded as domestic stories dropped significantly for both countries, and the percentage of purely international stories doubled for both countries.

**Chart 12: Domestic vs. International Stories of Human Rights & Possibly Human Rights Stories, UK & US**



The possibly human rights stories were coded further for whether or not they contained the phrase human rights (1), were human rights stories without containing the phrase human rights (2), contained the phrase human rights in text without it being spoken audibly (5) or were not human rights stories (3). As the development of the coding instrument progressed, it became obvious that an additional category was needed- not just human rights or not, but something to represent the grey area in between. In these cases, stories were close to human rights stories, but

lacked the detail, description or framing to qualify as a human rights story without the phrase human rights (code 2). Thus, a final category (4) was created- close to human rights but not quite enough detail or framing to be a 2.<sup>37</sup> Overall, very few stories were found to actually be human rights stories in either country, as shown in Table 10.

**Table 10: Human Rights News Stories in the US and UK, 1990-2009**

	US		UK	
	# of Stories	% of Possibly HR	# of Stories	% of Possibly HR
1. Contain HR Phrase	48	14%	53	20%
2. HR Story without Phrase HR	28	8%	45	17%
3. Not HR Story	139	40%	90	34%
4. Close to HR Story	131	37%	79	29%
5. Contain HR Phrase in text only	5	1%	1	0%
<b>Total # of Stories</b>	<b>351</b>		<b>268</b>	

The author's hypotheses about more UK human rights coverage were partially redeemed. In the time period under review, the BBC broadcast more actual human rights stories- 53 stories with the phrase human rights against 48 US NBC stories with the phrase, and 45 stories that were human rights stories without the phrase, compared to 28 NBC stories. Counting these human rights stories with code 5, (stories that include the phrase in text but not audibly) means the BBC broadcast 99 human rights stories or 5.3% of the total stories broadcast, which is greater than the 81 stories NBC did, which accounted for only 4% of the total stories. This study did not count broadcast minutes of stories, but on average, BBC stories tend to be longer than NBC stories, despite the BBC's shorter broadcast lengths, because of the lack of commercials during the BBC broadcast and the lower average number of total stories per broadcast. So a greater number of

<sup>37</sup> Please see Chapter 3: Methodology and Appendix 1: Coding Instruments for further detail.

human rights stories on the BBC most likely also means that there were more broadcast minutes spent on human rights stories on the BBC than on NBC.

The author had expected more human rights coverage in the UK than in the US for every year, but again, the results more complex than "more in the UK, less in the US." Table 11 shows the number of human rights stories annually broken down by domestic, international, and combination.

**Table 11: Human Rights Stories in the US & UK by Year (codes 1,2,&5)**

Year	Human Rights Stories- US				Human Rights Stories-UK			
	Domestic	International	Both	Total	Domestic	International	Both	Total
1990		2	1	3		1	2	3
1991		3		3	1	1	5	7
1992	1	3		4		5	1	6
1993		1	7	8		3		3
1994			1	1		2		2
1995		1	3	4	1	8	1	10
1996	1	2	1	4		2		2
1997			9	9		3	2	5
1998			7	7		3	1	4
1999		3	1	4	1	2		3
2000	2	2		4	1	1	1	3
2001				0			3	3
2002	2		1	3	2	2		4
2003				0	4	2	4	10
2004			7	7	1	4	5	10
2005	2	1	2	5		3	1	4
2006	4	1	1	6	4			4
2007		1		1		1		1
2008		1	3	4	1	4	7	12
2009	4			4	1	2		3
<b>Total</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>99</b>

The UK does have more human rights stories overall, and does have at least one human rights story in every week examined, while the US has two weeks, 2001 and 2003, that have no human rights stories at all. Despite this larger number of stories, however, fully half the years have the

US broadcasting more human rights stories than the UK, and two additional years tied with the same number of stories in both countries. Chart 13 compares both countries' human rights stories by year, showing that the UK has many more stories than the US in several years.

**Chart 13: Human Rights Stories in the US & UK by Year (1,2,&5)**

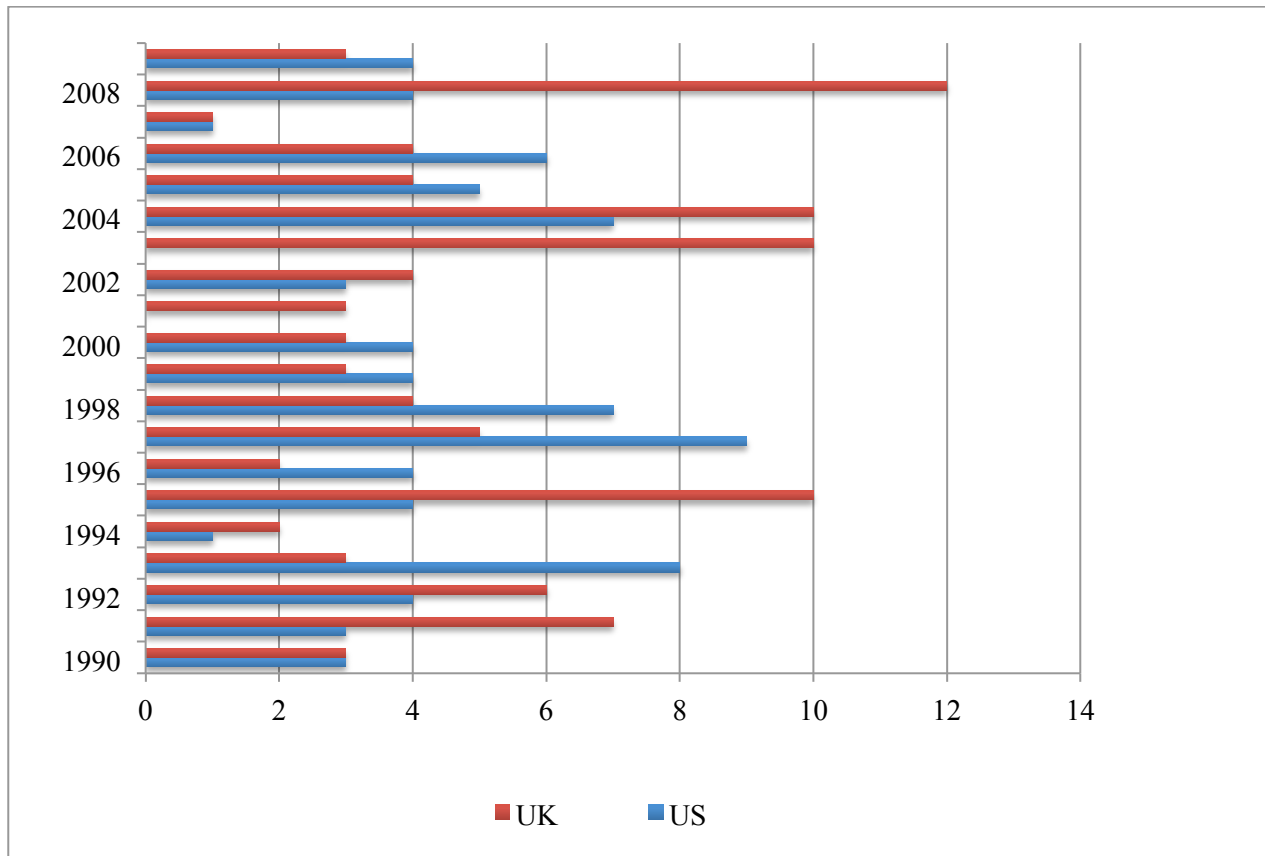
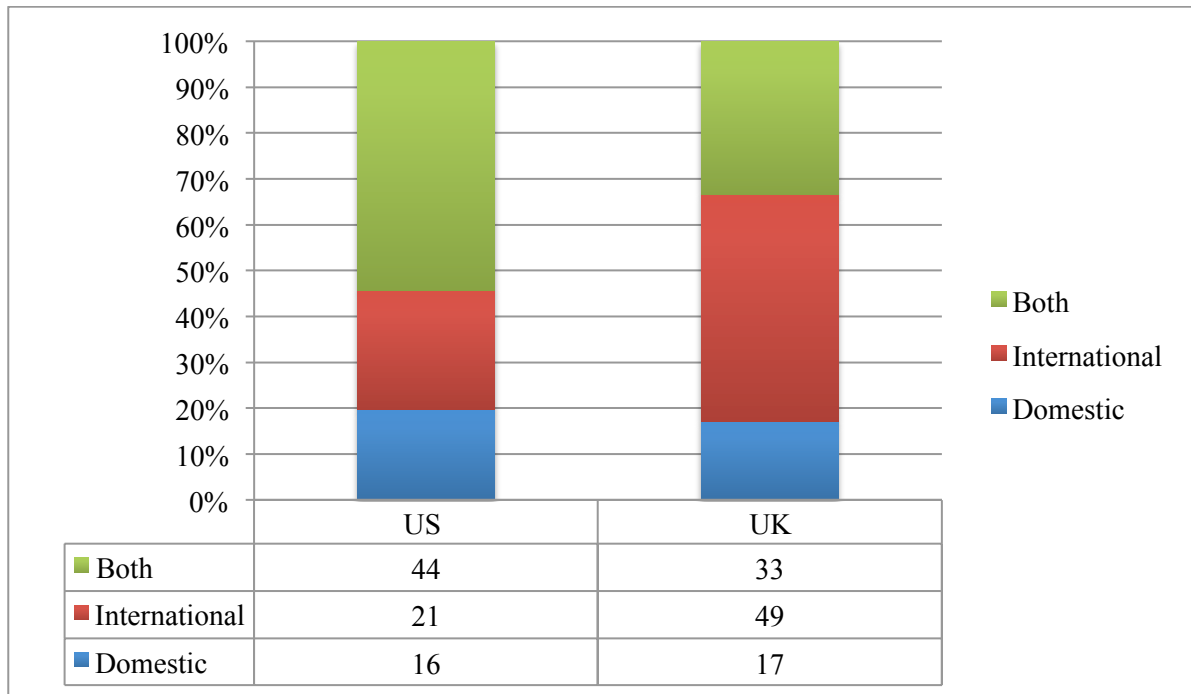


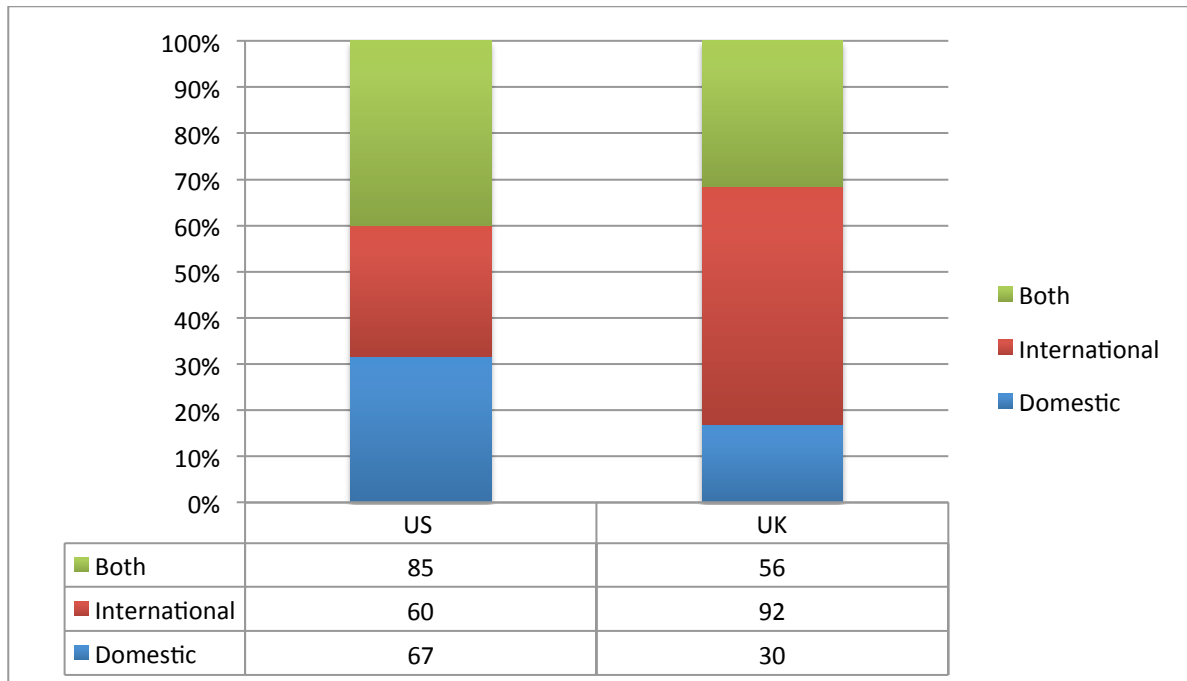
Chart 14 shows these human rights stories (code 1, 2, and 5) for both countries, again divided by domestic versus foreign stories. The BBC percentages of domestic and foreign stories were essentially stable at the levels for the possibly human rights analysis in Chart 12, but the NBC domestic stories percentages again dropped, from 31% to 20%. The British human rights stories included five stories about the Human Rights Act of 1998 (HRA), namely two stories on April 11, 2008 on a court ruling on soldiers' human rights under HRA and stories on June 25, 26, and 28 2006 stories on Conservative government's clashes over trying to get rid of the HRA. There

is no comparable domestic human rights legislation in the US system, which could contribute to the lack of domestic human rights coverage.

**Chart 14: Domestic vs. International Stories Human Rights Stories (codes 1, 2, & 5)**



**Chart 15: Domestic vs. International Stories: Human Rights Stories and Almost Human Rights Stories (codes 1, 2, 5, & 4)**



If code 4 stories are considered as shown in Chart 15, the BBC percentages for domestic vs. international stories stay essentially the same, while the NBC percentages shift back in the direction of domestic stories, from 20% to 32%. In fact, if the code 4 stories are added to the human rights stories (codes 1, 2, and 5), the percentage of total stories more than doubles for the US, from 4% to 10.5% of total stories. The percentage of total stories goes up for the UK as well, but not by as much, from 5.3% to 9.5%. This indicates that, more so than in the UK, there are several stories, particularly domestic ones, that are close to human rights stories but are framed differently for the US audience.

#### *Non-Human Rights Rights in the US*

These results are consistent with the general US approach to the human rights framework. In the US, human rights are often thought of as a foreign affair; similar events and issues in the US itself are usually covered using a different frame, such as civil rights. To further examine this phenomenon, all US stories were coded for whether or not they included the phrase "right" (not in the context of left, right, or politically conservative). Of the 2020 NBC stories that were

viewed, 68 stories (3.4%) included the word right, while there are only 49 that include the phrase human rights (2.4%). Of those 68, 28 were not deemed to be even possibly human rights stories. These 28 included 2 stories on gun rights, 5 stories on abortion rights, 6 stories on medicare or patient's rights, and 3 stories on the right to die. These stories are all domestic movements that have explicitly framed their issues using rights language, largely without reference to or relation with international human rights frameworks. There were also five stories that mention civil rights or constitutional rights issues without enough information to merit being coded "possibly human rights stories." Looking at the remaining 40 stories that were coded as possibly human rights stories, eight were human rights stories- seven contained the phrase and one on November 17, 1993, about the South African constitution that "gives blacks the right to vote for the first time" was coded a human rights story even though it did not use the phrase "human right"). Nine stories were coded as not human rights stories, of which five contained the phrase "civil right" or rights. The remaining 23 stories, those that were close to human rights stories but lacked either sufficient description or sufficient framing to be coded a human rights story, were most illustrative- these stories were not framed as human rights, but were very close. Nine stories included the phrase civil rights explicitly, and seven additional stories covered topics that are typically considered civil liberties or constitutional rights, such as "the right to burn the flag", "the right to free speech," and "privacy rights."<sup>38</sup> Many if not most of these stories could have been reframed with minimal changes to be human rights stories, but were not.

### *Contents of the Human Rights Stories*

Having established the number of human rights stories broadcast in the US and UK in the period under review, it is time to examine those stories themselves. What human rights

---

<sup>38</sup> NBC Evening News March 21, 1994, August 22, 2002, and April 21, 2009.

information could audiences viewing those 81 US and 99 UK stories obtain? The answer in both countries is not very much. The small number of human rights stories is compounded by the lack of information in most of the stories, and that is true in both countries, though more so in the US than in the UK. First, the type of story these human rights stories are sheds light on the amount of information that could possibly be transmitted. A short Video Over Sound On Tape (VOSOT) has less detail and information in it than a longer full package but more than a teaser before a program break, and live 2-ways are often used for further analysis from the reporter as a way to follow up on a story. In addition to the amount of information each type of story can convey, story type can also indicate the priority of the story for producers- VOSOTs take fewer resources to produce while full packages and live 2-ways require more substantial planning and commitment. Placement in headline introductions and teasers before program breaks indicate that producers believe the story to be one of the major stories of the day and of sufficient interest to entice viewers to stay with the program. So what types occurred most in the human rights stories? Table 12 lists the story type of human rights stories in the US and UK.

**Table 12: Story Type of Human Rights Stories (codes 1,2,&5)**

<b>Story Type</b>	<b>US</b>	<b>UK</b>
VOSOT	11	5
Full Package	62	72
Live 2-Way	3	5
Headline/Intro	3	8
Restatement at End	0	7
Teaser Before Break	0	1
Commentary	2	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>98</b>

Both countries have primarily full packages as the story type, which indicates some dedication of resources and program time to human rights stories. When human rights are covered, they are covered mostly in full-length stories, the most expensive type to produce. If story type is taken as a measure of dedication, then the BBC does edge out NBC- by using more full packages and

live two-ways, and fewer VOSOTs, they can deliver more details about the stories to their audience than NBC can in short VOSOTs. The BBC also had more human rights stories in their headline introductions than NBC, as well as reiterating more human rights stories at the close of their broadcast,<sup>39</sup> indicating that the BBC viewed those stories to be of importance and interest to the audience. Three of the seven BBC headline stories were about the 2008 human rights protesters along the Olympic Torch Relay routes in Paris, London, and San Francisco. Although NBC did cover these same stories and even included them in the headline program introductions, NBC did not mention human rights, merely non-specific "protests."

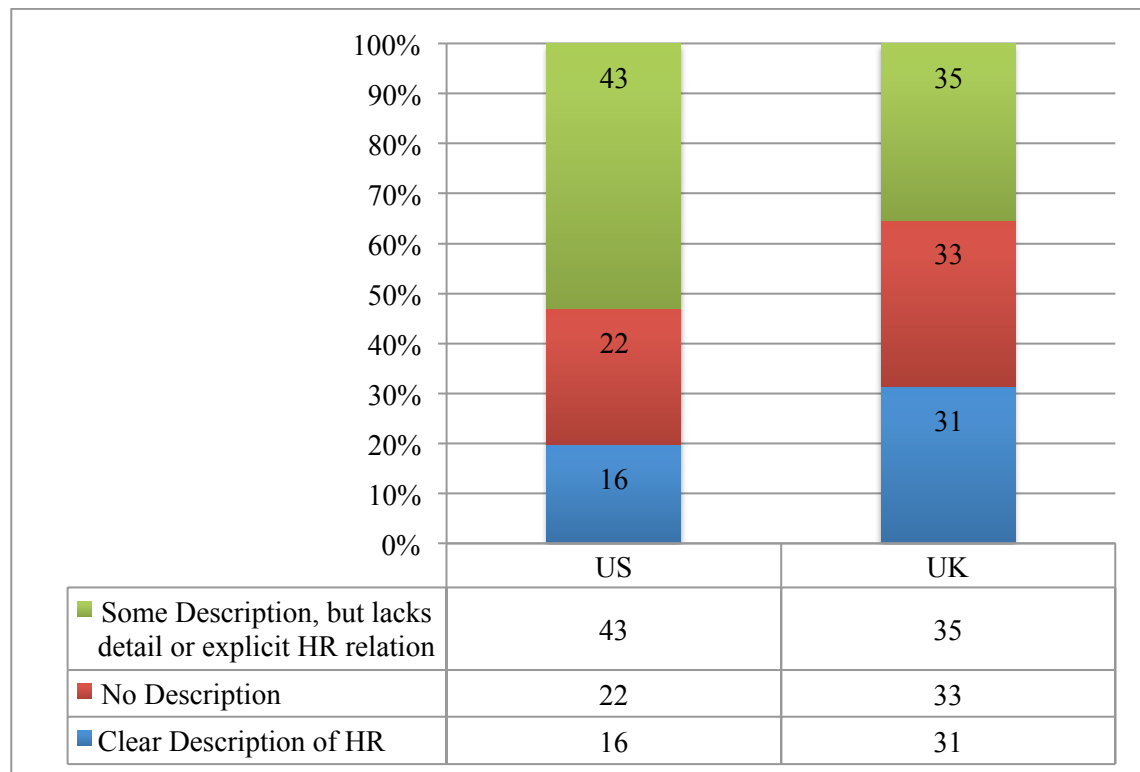
In evaluating the human rights content of the stories coded as human rights stories, it is useful to look at whether the phrase was used substantively, and descriptively, or simply in a title. In 15 US stories and 11 UK stories, the only usage of the phrase human rights is in the official or unofficial title of a person, place or group, such as "Tom Malinowski, Human Rights Watch," "human rights lawyers," or "human rights activists." That means that in 18.5% of the human rights stories for the US, and 11% of those in the UK, the phrase that triggered the classification of the story as a human rights story at all was only used in a person, place, or group's title. To put it more starkly, consider these numbers as the percentage out of the total of stories with the phrase human rights audibly or in text (codes 1 and 5). That brings the number up to 28% for the US and 20% for the UK- almost one-third and one-fifth of human rights stories are only so classified because of the inclusion of an official or unofficial title!

But a story could theoretically include the phrase human rights with either a lot, some, or no description of human rights issue; it could also theoretically omit the phrase human rights but

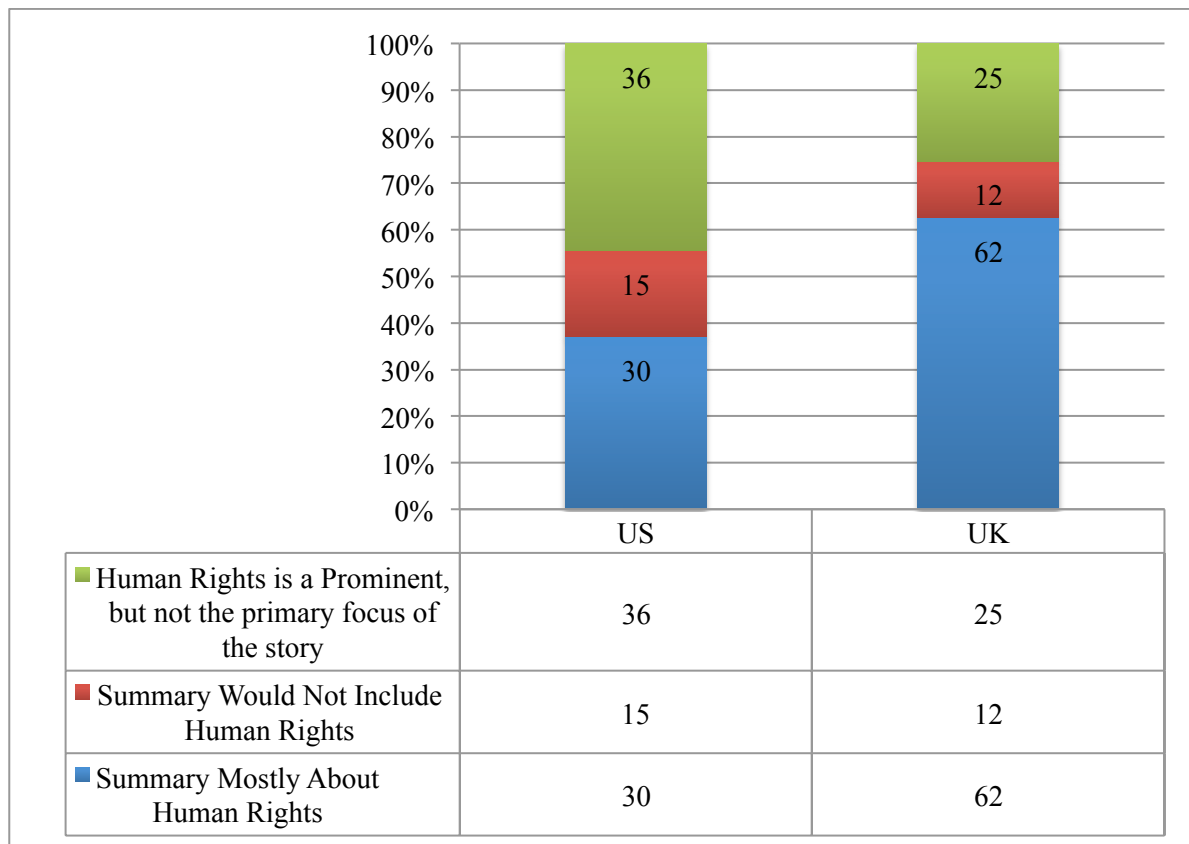
---

<sup>39</sup> The Restatement at the end of the break is not exactly comparable between the BBC and NBC, as the BBC tended to do it more frequently in general with lots of different stories in the period under study, while NBC tended more to have a simple goodnight without any restatement of any stories, human rights or not. It is included in the data because for different parts of the weeks under review, both programs did use substantive restatements.

still include a lot of human rights information, so the human rights stories were analyzed to see to what extent they could inform the audience. To put it another way, to what extent could these stories form the basis for a substantive discussion of human rights? Stories were coded for what amount of human rights detail, description, and focus they contained. Most of the stories coded as human rights stories were lacking in description or examples of human rights; this held true across both countries, although again more markedly for the US. Chart 16 breaks down the US and UK human rights stories by how much human rights description they included.

**Chart 16: Human Rights Description in Human Rights Stories (codes 1,2,&5)**

Only 16 of the 81 US human rights stories (20% of the total human rights stories) that were coded as human rights stories actually had clear descriptions or detailed illustrations of human rights concepts, while 22 stories (27%) had no description, examples, or illustrations of human rights issues. The UK had a more even divide, but still only 31 stories (31%) had clear definitions or illustrations while 33 stories (33%) had no description or examples. Whether or not human rights was the primary focus of the story showed more of a sharp distinction between NBC and the BBC. Most of the NBC stories coded as human rights stories did not include human rights as the primary focus or frame of the story, but most of the BBC human rights stories did. Chart 17 shows the human rights focus of the human rights stories. 62 of the BBC human rights stories (63%) had human rights as the primary focus of the story, while only 30 of the NBC stories (37%) did.

**Chart 17: Human Rights Focus in Human Rights Stories (codes 1,2,&5)**

Interestingly, both the US and UK human rights stories included several stories (15 and 12, respectively) whose summaries would not have included human rights at all. These stories included fleeting references to "China's human rights record" in stories about protests or economic summits,<sup>40</sup> as well as stories that included a generic statement of support for human rights as part of an unrelated story.<sup>41</sup> Based on this data, it can be concluded that many of those few stories that are coded as being human rights stories have little information about human rights and, in the US, do not for the most part focus on human rights directly.

<sup>40</sup> *NBC Evening News* April 8, 2008, April 9, 2008, and November 20, 1993. *BBC 9 O'Clock News* November 19, 1993 and November 20, 1993.

<sup>41</sup> *NBC Evening News* August 19, 2002 and August 20, 2002. *BBC 9 O'Clock News* September 4, 1991 and April 22, 2009.

Human rights is a large framework, encompassing many different issues, so the human rights stories were coded for what kind of human right they covered, as shown in Table 13 and Charts 18 and 19.

**Table 13: Human Rights Categories of Human Rights Stories (codes 1,2,&5)**

Categories of Human Rights	US	UK
1. Racial Discrimination	3	1
2. Civil & Political Rights	22	27
4. Women's Rights	1	1
5. Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment	11	6
6. Children's Rights	0	2
9. Disabled Persons	0	1
10. Abolition of Death Penalty	0	1
11. Refugees & Asylees	4	8
12. Humanitarian law, Laws of War, Crimes Against Humanity, War Crimes Tribunals	11	18
13. Genocide	2	2
15. Slavery	1	0
17. GLBTQ	1	0
18. Not Applicable/Not Specified/Unclear	25	32

In both countries, the largest category is "18. Not Applicable/Not Specified/Unclear"- 33% of British stories and 31% of American stories. That means that the plurality of both countries' human rights stories did not contain enough information to categorize the story as covering a specific human rights issue. The largest amount of stories that could be categorized as a specific human rights issue, Civil and Political Rights, was the same for both countries, at 27%. This is in line with the long history of US focus on Civil and Political Rights, as opposed to other types of human rights, such as economic, social and cultural rights. It is interesting to note the same apparent bias towards civil and political rights in the British stories as in the American ones, despite the wider acceptance of economic, social, and cultural human rights by the British state.

Chart 18: US Human Rights Stories Categories

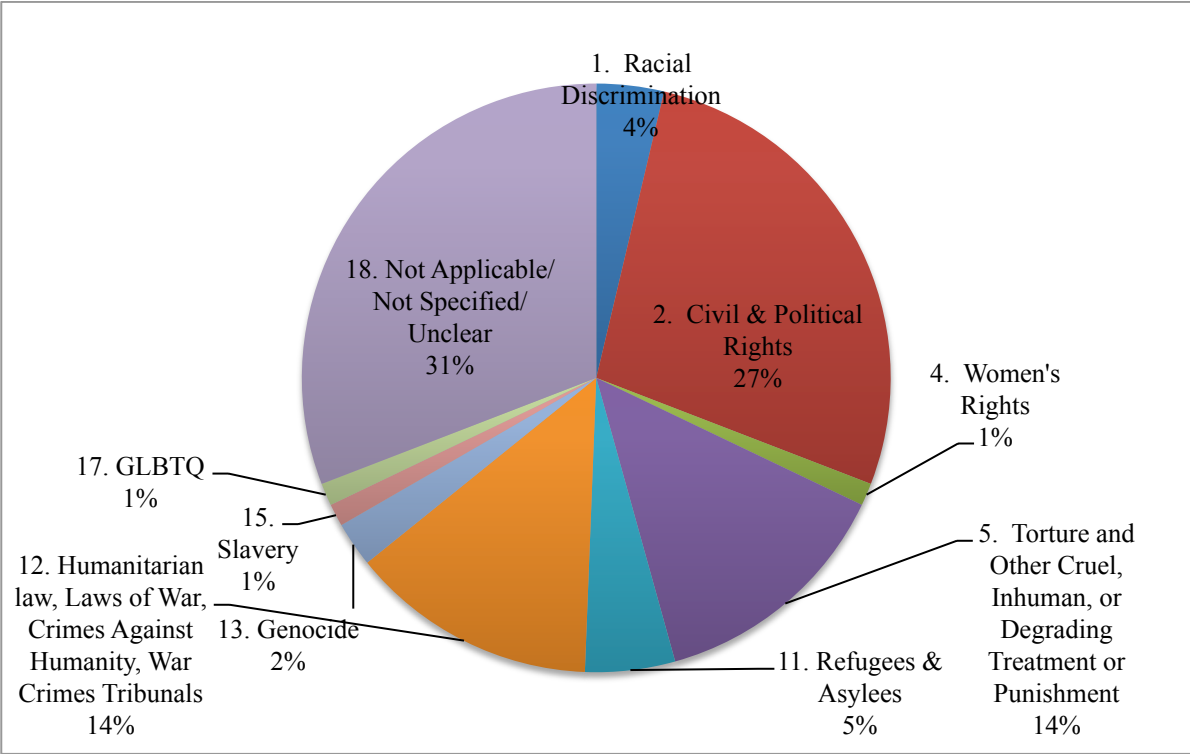
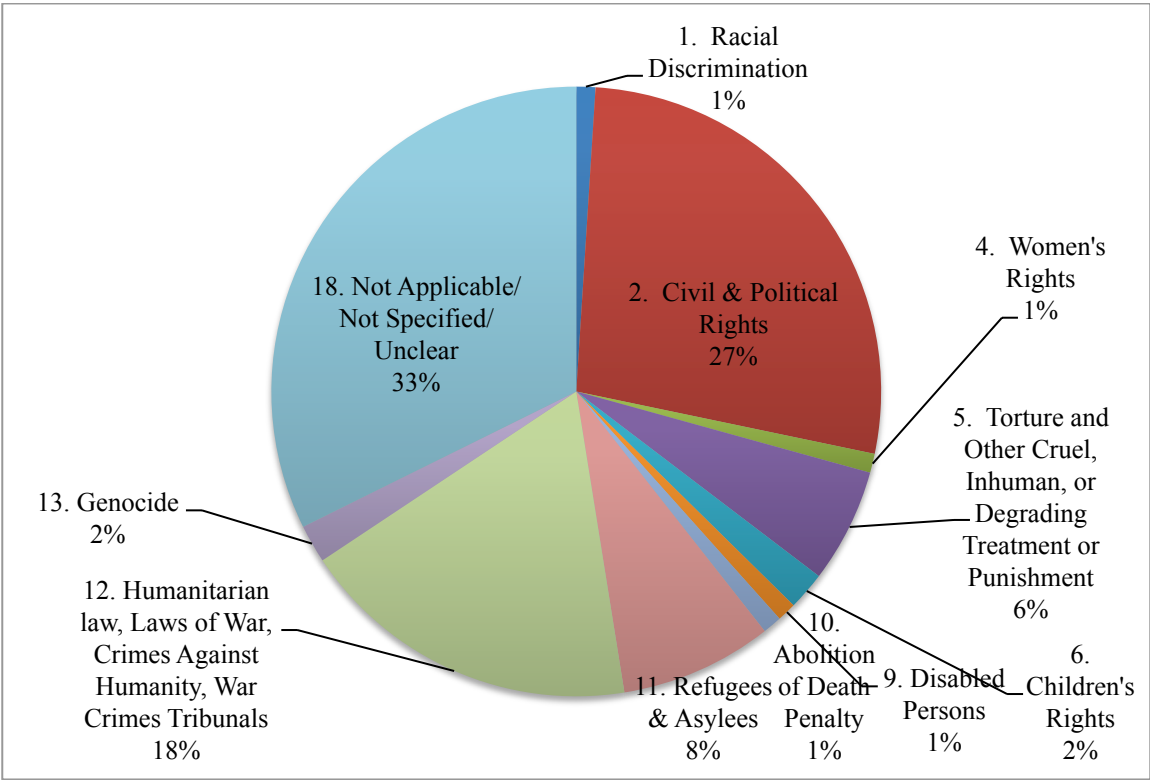


Chart 19: UK Human Rights Stories Categories



The British stories did, however, cover a wider variety of rights categories than the US ones did, with children's rights, the rights of the disabled, and the abolition of the death penalty all receiving coverage as human rights in the UK. The category results are perhaps more revealing in what did not show up at all. From the coding list, which is based on all of the international human rights treaties and prominent non-treaty norms, several categories did not have even one story: Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, Rights of Migrant Workers/Families, Protection against Enforced Disappearance, and Rights of the Elderly. Many of these issues were covered in stories that were viewed in both countries, but those stories did not cover the issues as human rights stories- they were framed in other ways, and so the stories were not coded as human rights stories. To that end, several of the issues whose categories did appear in human rights stories (Racial Discrimination and Civil and Political Rights stand out particularly) were also covered extensively in non-human rights stories, just not as human rights issues. American and British television news may be more open to human rights issues than this analysis is showing, but neither explicitly connects those issues to human rights.

The location of the human rights stories reveals important information about their content. Table 14 lists the top 12 locations for both NBC and BBC human rights stories.

**Table 14: Locations of Human Rights Stories (codes 1,2,&5)<sup>42</sup>**

US		UK	
US	61	UK	42
China	31	China	24
Iraq	12	US	19
Russia/USSR	4	Iraq	17
Bosnia	4	Rwanda	7
South Africa	4	Zaire	5
Chechnya	3	Russia/USSR	4
Lithuania	2	Israel & Palestine	4
France	1	Bosnia	3
Israel & Palestine	1	Italy	2
Kosovo	1	Nigeria	2
Mexico	1	Serbia	2
North Korea	1	South Africa	2
Rwanda	1	Chechnya	2
Serbia	1	Bulgaria	1
Tibet	1	Croatia	1
Turkey	1	France	1
UK	1	Ireland	1
Zaire	1	Kenya	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>132</b>	Lithuania	1
		Turkey	1
		Zimbabwe	1
		<b>Total</b>	<b>143</b>

It is not surprising that the most frequent location for each country is the home country, as television news tends to cover stories involving its home country as a first priority. Consistent with the findings of Chapter 3's human rights phrase search, China is the most common location of human rights stories for both countries after the home country. This further illustrates the importance and reoccurrence of thematic links, such as the one that has developed over the last two decades about China and human rights. The lists of locations covered by the BBC and NBC do overlap quite a bit- only three countries covered by the US were not on the UK list at all

<sup>42</sup> Stories were coded for up to three locations that were added together, which is why the totals for locations (132 for the US and 143 for the UK) are greater than the number of human rights stories (81 and 99 respectively). Russia and the USSR were collapsed into one category to account for the transition that occurred during the time period under study.

(Tibet, North Korea, and Mexico had one story each). Based on these results, the BBC appears to cover a wider variety of countries in human rights stories than NBC does. Not only does it have more human rights stories covering more countries than NBC, but it is also both less home-country and less-China obsessed than NBC. The US and China account for 70% of NBC's human rights story locations, while the UK and China account for only 46% of the BBC's human rights story locations. The top three locations for human rights stories in the US- the US, China, and Iraq, represent 79% of the US human rights story locations, while the top three in the UK- the UK, China, and the US, make up only 59% of the UK human rights story locations.

One prominent frame found in some of the human rights stories turned out to be the Global War on Terror (GWOT) that was instituted after 2001. This was unsurprisingly more marked in the US case, as the concept originated in the US, but is also very present in the UK stories, as shown in Table 15.

**Table 15: Global War on Terror in Human Rights Stories (codes 1,2,&5)<sup>43</sup>**

Year	US			UK		
	Total HR Stories	GWOT HR Stories	GWOT % of Year's HR Stories	Total HR Stories	GWOT HR Stories	GWOT % of Year's HR Stories
2002	3	3	100%	4	1	25%
2003	0			10	2	20%
2004	7	6	86%	10	9	90%
2005	5	5	100%	4	3	75%
2006	6	5	83%	4	1	25%
2007	1			1		
2008	4			12		
2009	4	4	100%	3	3	100%
<b>Total</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>77%</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>40%</b>

<sup>43</sup> Years with no GWOT stories have been blacked out for clarity.

In every year that the GWOT frame occurred in US human rights stories, it represented the overwhelming majority of stories for that year, amounting to 100% of the coverage in 2002, 2005, and 2009; it represented a majority of UK human rights stories in only three years (2004, 2005, and 2009). Once the GWOT concept gained ground in 2001, it accounted for 23 of the 30 human rights stories from 2002 to 2009, or 77% in the US. The UK GWOT human rights stories are a smaller number and a smaller share of the total stories from 2002-2009- 19 stories or 40% of the human rights coverage in the period were about the GWOT. Thus, though the issue was an important part of human rights coverage, it was not the only part. If the GWOT frame is considered as a share of the human rights stories from 1990-2009, 28%, or almost one-third, of US human rights stories use the GWOT frame, while only 19% of the UK human rights stories do.

### *Case Studies*

The numbers tell an important part of the story about how the US and UK cover human rights, but cannot tell the whole story. For that, coverage of individual human rights issues is needed. Four case studies have been selected from the stories covered during the week, conflict in the Balkans (this case spans several years), the expulsion of Rwandan refugees from Zaire in 1995, prisoner abuse in Iraq in 2004, and the protests leading up the Beijing Olympics in 2008. All coverage of these stories from the weeks under study, whether it was coded as possibly human rights, human rights, or not, was reviewed and all stories that were related to these issues were collected and analyzed together.

#### *Conflict in the Balkans: The Breakup of Yugoslavia*

The breakup of Yugoslavia in the 1990s was a long, bloody process that one could argue has still not finished as of today.<sup>44</sup> It spawned several wars and resulted in the creation of at least six independent countries. Naturally, ongoing violent conflict within 800 miles would make it high on the newsworthiness scale for the British news media as a "near neighbor", and the BBC covered the breakup of Yugoslavia and the ensuing conflicts as major stories. In the weeks under review, it was a major story in the UK in six years- 1991-1996; it was only a major story in the US in 1991 and 1992.<sup>45</sup> As shown in Table 16, the BBC had more coverage of the conflicts in the Balkans than NBC did, both in total and in every week under consideration.

**Table 16: Number of Stories on the Balkans Conflicts**

	US	UK
1991	4	13
1992	8	24
1993	1	5
1994	1	11
1995	2	5
1996	2	3
<b>Total</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>61</b>

The difference can be addressed partly by geography- the UK is much closer to the Balkans and therefore would be more interested, and partly by active military presence- the UK had troops on the ground by 1992, but neither of these factors can fully explain the great discrepancy in coverage of the conflicts. For that, alternative priorities must be the answer- NBC was more interested in covering other stories during these weeks than they were the conflicts in the Balkans. In the week under review for 1992, for example, the US had troops on the ground

---

<sup>44</sup> The partial recognition of Kosovo as an independent state participating in several international institutions but not as a full member in the UN is evidence that the process has not completely finished yet.

<sup>45</sup> 1995 and 1996 both had major stories in the US that occurred in the Balkans: the memorials of American diplomats who died in Bosnia in 1995 and the plane crash and death of Commerce Secretary Ron Brown and 31 other Americans in 1996. Both of these stories related only to the deaths of the Americans and the memorials for them, and neither included any information about the conflicts in the Balkans, so they are not included in the analysis here.

launching a big movement to the interior of Somalia. This issue received much more coverage than the Balkans did, both in that year and in total- 24 Somalia stories in 1992, against 18 total US Balkans conflict-related stories. In 1993, NBC had more stories on Michael Jackson's temporary disappearance (2) than on the Balkans (1), although in fairness, the BBC had three Jackson disappearance stories in that week.

#### *Rwandan Refugees Expelled from Zaire - 1995*

In August, 1995, Zaire decided to evict the Rwandan refugees who had fled the genocide and civil war in Rwanda in 1994. Despite no troops from either home country being involved and a location that excludes the region from being the near neighbor of either country, this issue also received numerically more and more extensive coverage in the UK than in the US. NBC covered the story on one day, August 22, 1995, mentioning it as part of the program introduction, in a teaser before a commercial break, and as a full package story. The BBC, in contrast, reported the issue in 8 stories, broadcasting at least one each day from August 21-26, 1995. This included a full package story every day August 22-26, as well as inclusion in the headline program introduction and the main news restatement on August 22. The content of the BBC stories is also much more substantive and human rights focused than the NBC story, explicitly exploring and explaining issues like forced repatriation, the possibility of prosecution for participation in the genocide, and the dire conditions in the refugee camps and forced return process. More stories, and longer more detailed stories mean that the Rwandan refugee crisis in Zaire received much more coverage on the BBC than on NBC during that week.

#### *Abu Ghraib and Iraqi Prisoner Abuse - 2004*

The prisoner abuse scandal in Iraq that broke in the spring of 2004 provides an excellent natural experiment for comparing human rights coverage between the US and the UK, since the

same conditions for high-level newsworthiness would be triggered in both countries- both countries had troops on the ground who were allegedly involved in abusing Iraqi prisoners, and there were gruesome pictures in abundance, to feed the visual nature of the medium. The abuse scandal dominated the week's news in both countries, and also represented all of the human rights stories for both countries (10 BBC, 7 NBC), as well as most of the near-human rights stories in both countries (all 11 BBC code 4 stories from 2004 and 13 out of the 15 NBC code 4 stories). At 35, there were three more stories about the abuse scandal aired in the UK than the 32 aired in the US. Both British and American television news devoted significant program time and resources to this issue, with 23 full package stories and six headline introductions in the US and 19 full package stories, five live 2-ways, and five headline introduction. Coverage on this issue did overlap significantly across the two countries- both the BBC and NBC repeatedly showed the actual photographs of detained Iraqis being abused, used iterations of the phrase "allegations of abuse," and avoided the word torture in their reporting. Both countries pursued additional angles to the story with some overlap- for example, both investigated the potential political fallout of the revelations. The BBC, however, did double duty on covering political fallout, with stories about the Blair administration's response, as well as the American response, possible trials, and the question of whether or not Secretary Rumsfeld should or would resign. NBC covered the American fallout, focusing particularly on hearings and committee meetings on Capitol Hill, but did not have any stories on the UK's response to allegations of abuse. Media was a frame in common between the US and UK coverage of the abuse, though much more utilized in the UK than in the US. While NBC broadcast two stories on the media on May 12, one on the advisability of broadcasting the photos and giving potentially too much coverage to the abuse and one on the reactions to the abuse in the media of the Arab world, the BBC was

much more preoccupied with media as a frame, largely because of the accusations that abuse photos published by *The Daily Mirror* had been faked. The question of the authenticity of the photos and whether or not *The Mirror's* editor Piers Morgan would be sacked represent a significant amount of the BBC coverage of the abuse scandal in the week under review, and it is completely uncovered by NBC in this week. The BBC also pursued troop morale and the impact on the troops as an angle, including several stories from Basra, and stories covering the reaction to the abuse by cleric Muqtada al-Sadr; the NBC coverage was largely focused in the US and did not pursue troop morale as a frame for follow-up stories. Overall, in both countries during this week, the abuse scandal was extensively covered and often in human rights terms.

#### *Olympic Torch Relay and Protests - 2008*

In the leadup to the Beijing Summer Olympics in 2008, the Olympic flame was paraded from Athens through many world capitals on its way to Beijing, carrying on the tradition that began in 1936. This relay was different, however- it was besieged by human rights protestors at several of its European stops and its only North American stop. The protests along the relay were captured in this study's April 5-12, 2008, which, not coincidentally, also had the highest number of human rights stories for either country with the UK's 12 human rights stories for the week. The BBC again had more stories on this issue, more in-depth stories on this issue, and more of its stories on this issue framed with human rights as the primary lens of the story. The BBC covered the Olympics in 15 stories, while NBC had only 10 stories, which is partly inflated by the inclusion of three segments (a headline intro, teaser before commercial, and full package) of Ann Curry's interview with the Dalai Llama, which only mentioned the protests and relay in passing. The NBC stories were also mostly shorter types- only three were full packages and two were VOSOTs, while three were part of program introductions and two were teasers before

commercial breaks. The BBC stories were predominantly substantial story types, with six full packages, 3 live two-ways, only one VOSOT, four inclusions in program introductions and one in the restatement at the end of the broadcast. The BBC pursued more angles to the story than NBC did, broadcasting segments on how the relay was being covered in China and how the IOC was reacting to the protests and concerns over China's human rights record; NBC was silent on these issues, and covered the story as straight reports from the scenes of the protests and with an interview with the Dalai Llama. NBC's coverage was primarily about the protests- showing some clashes between protestors and police, but mostly the measures being taken to prevent interference with the relay in San Francisco. There was very little NBC coverage of what the protestors were actually protesting, only a few vague references to anti-China protests, without elaboration or description. The BBC, on the other hand, had more information about what protestors were protesting, including multiple references to "violence in Tibet" and "torture, lack of human rights." The British stories included more footage of the relay itself than the American stories did, both in London and in San Francisco, and the attempts at stopping it, including several close up shots of police and guards forcefully stopping protestors; clashes were largely omitted from the NBC coverage, with most of the footage used being aerial shots from a great distance. The NBC stories only had one shot of pro-Chinese relay attenders, while the BBC stories included several, with comments from them about their pride in China hosting the Olympics. Overall, the BBC devoted more program minutes and more production resources to covering the Olympic torch relay and protests than NBC did, and covered it in a more detailed and more human rights-focused way.

### *Visual Code Conclusion*

After viewing one week of television news footage from the US and UK from 1990-2009, several conclusions can be drawn. There was overall very little coverage of human rights in either media system, and no significant trend over time to either increasing or decreasing human rights coverage. The UK had more human rights coverage overall, though not by as much as was expected. There was a decided advantage to the UK in terms of depth of coverage and human rights framing- those stories that were covered as human rights stories in British television news were more likely to be both detailed and explicitly framed in human rights terms than American television news stories on human rights.

## Chapter 7: Conclusion

This study conducted three different types of content analysis on American television news broadcasts and two different types on British television news broadcasts, all with the goal of determining how those media systems cover human rights and how that coverage differs across media systems. As it turns out, there is very little human rights coverage on television news, period. There is more human rights coverage in the UK than in the US, but not as much more as might have been expected, given the states' differing approaches to human rights and differing television media systems. Although the UK is party to more international human rights treaties and is a more integrated participant of a more powerful supranational human rights body than the US is, despite its Human Rights Act, whose purpose is to bring human rights to the domestic level in Britain, and despite the BBC having a specific mission to educate and inform as well as being more insulated from commercial pressures than American television stations are, the UK only has a little more human rights coverage than the US, and very little human right coverage overall. One key difference between the two countries' coverage is the depth of coverage of human rights stories; once the UK covers a human rights issue, it tends to do it more thoroughly, from more angles, and with more explanation, so the audience is more likely to learn about human rights when they are covered on the BBC than when they are covered on NBC or ABC.

Overall, a viewer would be hard pressed to learn anything from nightly television news about human rights, as it is currently covered in either the US or UK. This does not necessarily resign human rights issues to academics, activists, and the bureaucrats they seek to influence. For one, television news, while still the overall most popular source of news, is losing ground against internet sources, as shown in Chart 1.1. The decline of television news is particularly

sharp among young people, as shown in Chart 6.1, and the downward trend in television viewership among younger people looks set to continue.

**Chart 20: Decline in Television News Viewership by Age<sup>46</sup>**

<b>Just a Third of Young People Watched Any TV News Yesterday</b>			
<i>Watched news on television yesterday ...</i>	<b>2006</b>	<b>2012</b>	<b>Change</b>
	%	%	
Total	57	55	-2
18-29	49	34	-15
30-49	53	52	-1
50-64	63	65	+2
65+	69	73	+4

PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2012 News Consumption Survey, Q13.

It is not only the decline of television news as the primary source of news, but also the rise of internet sources as a place to read and share news that is important to the future of human rights news coverage. Internet news outlets and social media allow for the possibility of citizen journalism and citizen activism in ways that can create more outlets for human rights-minded individuals to connect, share information, and spread their message. It is very possible that human rights is being more fully integrated in newer internet news and social media platforms. The powers of internet connectivity and social media are particularly notable in the wake of the Arab Spring movements and Kony 2012 campaign. In both cases, stories started in social media and internet platforms gained so much momentum they became mainstream news that were picked up by television news.

#### *Avenues for Future Research*

<sup>46</sup> "In Changing News Landscape, Even Television is Vulnerable: *Trends in News Consumption: 1991-2012*." released September 27, 2012. <http://www.people-press.org/2012/09/27/section-1-watching-reading-and-listening-to-the-news-3/> accessed March 1, 2013.

This study compared media coverage in one country to media coverage in another country, but there is a very real possibility that some human rights issues or events could be omitted by broadcasters in both systems. Developing a base line of human rights issues and events from academic and policy sources would serve as a useful basis of comparison for both media systems coverage. After all, if there were no human rights issues or events occurring, then it is not the fault of the media for not covering them; this is, of course, highly unlikely. A preliminary list of sources could include reports from the United Nation's Office of High Commissioner for Human Rights or other UN organs that deal in human rights, as well as US State Department and UK Foreign Office reports.

This study began from the observation that none of the evidence for the CNN Effect, either proving or disproving its existence or arguing for one or another direction of causality in the public-media-policy triangle, bothered to empirically investigate the amount and quality of human rights coverage in television news. Such empirical investigation, it seemed logical, would be a necessary first step in shedding light on the questions of media effects on policy and the direction of causation of those effects. This study was intended to move on to supplying at least partial answers to those questions after the content analyses, but after completing three different methods of analyzing human rights content in television news in the US and UK, those questions cannot be addressed by this study, because of the very limited coverage of human rights in both the US and UK. Human rights is not a dominant theme in either media system, so a thematic search, looking either at the use of the phrase human rights over time or at stories framed explicitly in human rights terms, will not yield sufficient results to provide any kind of evidence, either disproving or proving the influence of media, policy, and the public on each other on human rights issues.

It is important to note, however, that these results neither prove nor disprove any of the theories about media-policy-public influence. To determine influence or the direction of causality of that influence when it comes to human rights issues, one cannot look at human rights stories from a phrase search or general frame point of view, as this study has done. That question can and should be answered, but the evidence that could prove or disprove it must be gathered differently. One way would be to examine more specific cases of actual human rights events or issues, for example, searching not for "human rights" but "slavery" or "genocide" or "disappearance" and related words, or looking, as some studies have done, at the share of stories about obviously human rights-related events, such as the genocide in Rwanda, that are explicitly framed as human rights issues, as opposed to other competing issues. The overall coverage of specific issues and events must be examined to see the manner in which they are covered. This case study approach has not been systematic enough to settle the CNN Effect, but the present study proves it is the only way, since there is not enough systematic thematic human rights coverage to supply an answer in either the American or British case.

A different approach would be to apply data mining software to conduct word cloud analysis from larger pools of data. This could be a useful preliminary step in identifying what types of issues are covered in relation to human rights in patterns that might not be evident to human observers.

The challenges in pursuing television research in the British system, due to the lack of publicly available transcripts is one faced by all researchers, not just this one. Despite the difficulty of achieving change in a large public organization like the BBC, it is a worthwhile long-term project to pursue.

## Appendix I: Coding Instruments

### A. Coding Instrument- Phrase Search Content Analysis<sup>47</sup>

Read story once. Then read story and code for the following:

**Unique Identifier**- use date of story; for dates with multiple stories use the date and a sequential letter.

#### I. Is the story primarily about domestic or international news?

1. Domestic (including local)
2. International
3. Both (ex: a story that covers protests at the Egyptian Embassy in New York would be both)

#### II. Does the story use right or rights besides HR (as in civil right, right to freedom, etc. NOT as in conservative)

1. Yes
2. No

#### III. Type of Story

1. **VOSOT**, or voice over sound on tape of five lines or less
2. **Full Package**, or complete story of more than five lines including taped feature
3. **Live 2-Way**, or major story featuring live substantive conversation between an anchor or other person in the studio and a correspondent (more than just “Thanks, John”)
4. **Headline/Intro** at beginning of newscast
5. **Restatement** at end of newscast
6. **Teaser** before commercial
7. **Weather or Stock Market Report**
8. **Commentary**- opinion from one or more talking heads with no additional video

#### IV. Primary Location of Story

Coder writes in country that is the primary subject of the story (what the story is about, not necessarily the location of the correspondent or anchor). Abbreviations used: US, UK, and DRC. Palestine-Israel is used for stories that are primarily about Israel and/or the territories administered by Israel and not claimed as part of another currently existing state.

#### V. Topic of Story

Coder writes a short summary (1 phrase) of what the story is about.

#### VI. Is HR used as introduction or as part of title for person, group, or place?

**NB:** If 1 or 2 is used, then coder copies the phrase in Column G- “Specific I/T”

- 1- **HR is part of an unofficial title, as in an introduction or description** (ex: X, a fierce champion of human rights, or “pressure from human rights groups”)

---

<sup>47</sup> HR used as abbreviation for “human right!”

- 2- **HR is part of the official title of a person, group, or place** (ex: Human Rights Watch issued the report, the State's Office of Human Rights was attacked)
- 1,2. HR is part of both a formal and an informal title.**
- 3- **HR is neither part of the formal or informal title.**

**VII. Is HR used ONLY in the formal or informal title?**

- 1- Yes
- 2- No- it is used elsewhere as well.
- 3- N/A, as HR is not in the title or introduction (NB: can only use code 3 if 3 is coded in previous category).
- 4- Yes, it's used only in the formal or informal title in the heading of an individual, not spoken

**VIII. Is a Description or Example of HR Given?**

**NB:** If 1 or 3 is used, then coder copies the phrase(s) that support the classification into Column J "Specific D/E"

- 1- Yes
- 2- No
- 3- Some Description, but not explicit, specific, detailed, or related to Human Rights as such

**IX. Is HR the primary focus of story?** To what extent is the story a discussion or more in-depth analysis of human rights?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No
- 3. HR is prominent, but not the primary focus of the story

**X. Human Rights Categories** (from treaties, with 15-17 from prominent non-treaty norms)

- 1. Racial Discrimination
- 2. Civil and Political Rights (code for subset if possible, as 2-A, 2-C, etc.)
  - a. Press Freedom/Freedom of Speech/Freedom of Information
  - b. Voting/Political Participation/Freedom of Assembly
  - c. Prison Conditions/Rights of the accused
  - d. State Violence/extrajudicial killings
  - e. Freedom of Conscience/Religious Practice
- 3. Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (code for subset if possible, as 3-A, 3-D, etc.)
  - f. Minimum Standard of Living
  - g. Worker's Rights
  - h. Food, water rights
  - i. Housing
- 4. Women's Rights/sexual violence
- 5. Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment
- 6. Children's Rights
- 7. Migrant Workers/Families
- 8. Protection against Enforced Disappearance
- 9. Disabled Persons
- 10. Abolition of the Death Penalty

11. Refugees, Asylees, nationality, Statelessness
12. Humanitarian Law, Laws of War, Crimes Against Humanity, War Crimes Tribunals
13. Genocide
14. Elderly
15. Slavery, Slavery like Practices
16. Indigenous Groups
17. GLBTQ Rights
18. Not Applicable or Not Given or Not Specified or Unclear

**XI. If not already in the file, copy and paste in the phrase including HR.**

**XII. Is HR used only as a rhetorical reference in a story completely unrelated to human rights?** (ex: “environmental issues now have reached that stage much like human rights or peace, that it’s not something that’s episodic.”)

1. Yes
2. No

**XIII. Is the primary frame of the story terrorism or the Global War on Terror?**

1. Yes
2. No

**XIX. Does the story mention a written report from the US State Department?**

1. Yes
2. No

**XX. Does the story mention a report from an NGO (ex: Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, ICRC). NB: only actual written reports get this code, not "X says," "X claims," or "X accuses"**

1. Yes
2. No

**B- Coding Sheet- Month Content Analysis<sup>48</sup>**

**Read story once. Then read story and code for the following:**

**Unique Identifier-** record story date and number of story in the broadcast.

**I. Is the story primarily about domestic or international news?**

1. Domestic (including local)
2. International
3. Both (ex: a story that covers protests at the Egyptian Embassy in New York would be both)
4. Non-story (sports, simple stock market report)

**II. Does the story use right or rights besides HR (as in civil right, right to freedom, etc. NOT as in conservative)**

3. Yes
4. No

**III. Is the story a HR story?**

1. Yes- it includes the phrase HR
2. Yes- it does not include the phrase HR, but still covers a clear HR issue with focus and/or framing on the HR (even if it is not named as such)
3. No- it neither includes the phrase HR, nor covers a HR issue.
4. No- it could be a HR story, but is not framed as one, and the primary focus of the story is not on the HR

NB: If answer is 3 or 4, then proceed to next story. If answer is 1 or 2, then continue coding story.

**IV. Type of Story**

1. **VOSOT**, or voice over sound on tape of five lines or less
2. **Full Package**, or complete story of more than five lines including taped feature
3. **Live 2-Way**, or major story featuring live substantive conversation between an anchor or other person in the studio and a correspondent (more than just “Thanks, John”)
4. **Headline/Intro** at beginning of newscast
5. **Restatement** at end of newscast
6. **Teaser** before commercial
7. **Weather or Stock Market Report**
8. **Commentary-** opinion from one or more talking heads with no additional video

**V. Primary Location of Story**

Coder writes in country that is the primary subject of the story (what the story is about, not necessarily the location of the correspondent or anchor). Abbreviations used: US, UK, and DRC. Palestine-Israel is used for stories that are primarily about Israel and/or the territories administered by Israel and not claimed as part of another currently existing state.

---

<sup>48</sup> HR used as abbreviation for “human right!”

**VI. Topic of Story**

Coder writes a short summary (1 phrase) of what the story is about.

**VII. Is HR used as introduction or as part of title for person, group, or place?**

**NB:** If 1 or 2 is used, then coder copies the phrase in **Column G- “Specific I/T”**

1. **HR is part of an unofficial title, as in an introduction or description** (ex: X, a fierce champion of human rights, or “pressure from human rights groups”)
2. **HR is part of the official title** of a person, group, or place (ex: Human Rights Watch issued the report, the State’s Office of Human Rights was attacked)
- 1,2. **HR is part of both a formal and an informal title.**
3. **HR is neither part of the formal or informal title.**

**VIII. Is HR used ONLY in the formal or informal title?**

1. Yes
2. No- it is used elsewhere as well.
3. N/A, as HR is not in the title or introduction (**NB:** can only use code 3 if 3 is coded in previous category).

**IX. Is a Description or Example of HR Given?**

**NB:** If 1 or 3 is used, then coder copies the phrase(s) that support the classification into **Column J “Specific D/E”**

1. Yes
2. No
3. Some Description, but not explicit, specific, detailed, or related to Human Rights as such

**X. Is HR the primary focus of story?** To what extent is the story a discussion or more in-depth analysis of human rights?

1. Yes
2. No
3. HR is prominent, but not the primary focus of the story

**XI. Human Rights Categories** (from treaties, with 15-17 from prominent non-treaty norms)

1. Racial Discrimination
2. Civil and Political Rights (code for subset if possible, as 2-A, 2-C, etc.)
  - a. Press Freedom/Freedom of Speech/Freedom of Information
  - b. Voting/Political Participation/Freedom of Assembly
  - c. Prison Conditions/Rights of the accused
  - d. State Violence/extrajudicial killing
  - e. Freedom of Conscience/Religious Practice
3. Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (code for subset if possible, as 3-A, 3-D, etc.)
  - a. Minimum Standard of Living
  - b. Worker’s Rights
  - c. Food, water rights
  - d. Housing
4. Women’s Rights/sexual violence
5. Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment

6. Children's Rights
7. Migrant Workers/Families
8. Protection against Enforced Disappearance
9. Disabled Persons
10. Abolition of the Death Penalty
11. Refugees, Asylees, nationality, Statelessness
12. Humanitarian Law, Laws of War, Crimes Against Humanity, War Crimes Tribunals
13. Genocide
14. Elderly
15. Slavery, Slavery like Practices
16. Indigenous Groups
17. GLBTQ Rights
18. Not Applicable or Not Given or Not Specified or Unclear

**XII. If not already in the file, copy and paste in the phrase including HR.**

**XIII. Is HR used only as a rhetorical reference in a story completely unrelated to human rights?** (ex: "environmental issues now have reached that stage much like human rights or peace, that it's not something that's episodic.")

1. Yes
2. No

### C- Coding Sheet for Visual Content Analysis

**Watch the story once. Then watch the story and code for the following:**

**For US stories, code the name of the story, using the VTNA title**

#### **I. Is the story primarily about domestic or international news?**

1. Domestic (including local)
2. International
3. Both (ex: a story that covers protests at the Egyptian Embassy in New York would be both)

#### **II. Does the story use right or rights besides HR (as in civil right, right to freedom, etc.**

**NOT as in conservative)**

1. Yes
2. No

#### **III. Is the story a HR story?**

1. Yes- it includes the phrase HR
2. Yes- it does not include the phrase HR, but still covers a clear HR issue with focus and/or framing on the HR (even if it is not named as such)
3. No- it neither includes the phrase HR, nor covers a HR issue.
4. No- it could be a HR story, but is not framed as one, and the primary focus of the story is not on the HR
5. Yes- it includes the phrase HR but only in text, not audibly.

**NB: If answer is 3 or 4, then proceed to next story.**

#### **IV. Type of Story**

1. **VOSOT**, or voice over sound on tape of five lines or less
2. **Full Package**, or complete story of more than five lines including taped feature
3. **Live 2-Way**, or major story featuring live substantive conversation between an anchor or other person in the studio and a correspondent (more than just “Thanks, John”)
4. **Headline/Intro** at beginning of newscast
5. **Restatement** at end of newscast
6. **Teaser** before commercial
7. **Weather or Stock Market Report**
8. **Commentary**- opinion from one or more talking heads with no additional video

#### **V. Primary Location of Story**

Coder writes in country that is the primary subject of the story (what the story is about, not necessarily the location of the correspondent or anchor). Abbreviations used: US, UK, DRC, and PRC.

#### **VI. Is HR used as part of title for person, group, or place or as introduction to a person, group, or place?**

1. **HR is part of an unofficial title, as in an introduction or description** (ex: X, a fierce champion of human rights, or “pressure from human rights groups”)

**2. HR is part of the official title** of a person, group, or place (ex: Human Rights Watch issued the report, the State's Office of Human Rights was attacked)

**1,2. HR is part of both an unofficial title and an official title**

**3. HR is neither part of the formal or informal title.**

**VI. Is HR used ONLY in the formal or informal title of a person, group, or place? 1.**

1. Yes

2. No- it is used elsewhere as well.

3. N/A, as HR is not in the title or introduction (NB: can only use code 3 if 3 is coded in previous category).

**VII. Is a Description or Example of HR Given?**

1. Yes (there is a clear description of human rights that is detailed and/or explicitly linked to human rights)

2. No (there is no description, example, illustration or elaboration)

3. There is some description, but it is not explicit, specific, detailed, or related to Human Rights as such

**VIII. Is HR the primary focus of story?** To what extent is the story a discussion or more in-depth analysis of human rights?

1. **Yes** (if a summary of the story would be mostly about human rights)

2. **No** (if a summary of the story would not include human rights)

3. **HR is prominent, but not the primary focus of the story** ( if a summary of the story would include a bullet point about human rights, but bullet points about other things as well)

**IX. Is HR used only as a rhetorical reference in a story completely unrelated to human rights?** (ex: "environmental issues now have reached that stage much like human rights or peace, that it's not something that's episodic.")

1. Yes

2. No

**X. Is the primary frame of the story terrorism or the Global War on Terror?**

1. Yes

2. No

**XI. Does story use comparison to past or current events?**

1. Relates current story to past events only.

2. Relates current story to current events only.

3. Relates current story to both past and current events.

4. Relates current story to neither past or current events

**XII. Does story premediate or remediate?**

1. Story premediates- makes predictions about the future

2. Story remediates- tries to change conclusions from the past

3. Story both premediates and remediates

4. Story neither premediates nor remediates

**XIII. Does the story use split screen?**

1. Yes
2. No

If Yes, then describe the screens

**XIV. Does the story have a banner running underneath it?**

1. Yes
2. No

If Yes, then record the banner

**XV. Does the story use graphics?**

1. Yes
2. No

If yes, then describe the graphics

**XVI. Human Rights Categories** (from treaties, with 15-17 from prominent non-treaty norms)

1. Racial Discrimination
2. Civil and Political Rights (code for subset if possible, as 2-A, 2-C, etc.)
  - A. Press Freedom/Freedom of Speech/Freedom of Information
  - B. Voting/Political Participation/Freedom of Assembly
  - C. Prison Conditions/Rights of the accused
  - D. State Violence/extrajudicial killings
  - E. Freedom of Conscience/Religious Practice
3. Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights (code for subset if possible, as 3-A, 3-D, etc.)
  - A. Minimum Standard of Living
  - B. Worker's Rights
  - C. Food, water rights
  - D. Housing
4. Women's Rights/sexual violence
5. Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment
6. Children's Rights
7. Migrant Workers/Families
8. Protection against Enforced Disappearance
9. Disabled Persons
10. Abolition of the Death Penalty
11. Refugees, Asylees, nationality, Statelessness
12. Humanitarian Law, Laws of War, Crimes Against Humanity, War Crimes Tribunals
13. Genocide
14. Elderly
15. Slavery, Slavery like Practices
16. Indigenous Groups
17. GLBTQ Rights
18. Not Applicable or Not Given or Not Specified or Unclear

**Appendix II: Full Version of Table 3****Table 3 Countries Featured in Human Rights Stories 1990-2009**

<b>Country</b>	<b>Stories</b>
US (international)	398
PRC (216) & Hong Kong (5)	221
US (domestic)	115
Iraq	68
Yugoslavia(2) & Successor States: Bosnia (31), Kosovo (10), Serbia (6), Croatia (2) Macedonia(1)	52
Haiti	39
Israel & Palestine	37
Russia & USSR & Chechnya	35
Afghanistan	23
Vatican	23
Sudan	19
Cuba	18
UK & Northern Ireland	17
Indonesia & East Timor	15
Mexico	13
Kuwait	13
Rwanda	10
Chile	9
South Africa	8
Pakistan	7
El Salvador	6
Colombia	6
Iran	5
DRC & Zaire	5
UN	4
Saudi Arabia	4
Romania	4
Nigeria	4
Canada	4
Jordan	4
Egypt	4
Cambodia	4
Australia	4
Myanmar & Burma	4
Vietnam	3

Poland	3
Peru	3
Italy	3
India	3
France	3
Zimbabwe	2
UAE	2
Turkey	2
South Korea	2
North Korea	2
Netherlands	2
Germany	2
Brazil	2
Somalia	2
Sierra Leone	2
Austria	2
Czechoslovakia & Czech Republic	2
Uzbekistan	1
Uganda	1
Tajikistan	1
Spain	1
San Marino	1
Philippines	1
Panama	1
Norway	1
Moldavia	1
Malawi	1
Lithuania	1
Libya	1
Liberia	1
Lebanon	1
Kenya	1
Japan	1
Ireland	1
Finland	1
Benin	1
Bangladesh	1
Algeria	1
Singapore	1
Greece	1
Hungary	1

<b>Total</b>	<b>1268</b>
--------------	-------------

**Bibliography**

- Abdela, L. (2007). 'Anyone here been raped and speaks english?': Workshops for editors and journalists on gender-based violence and sex-trafficking. *Gender and Development*, 15(3), 387-398.
- Aldrich, J. H., Gelpi, C., Feaver, P., Reifler, J., & Sharp, K. T. (2006). *Foreign policy and the electoral connection*
- Amos, M. (2009). Problems with the human rights act 1998 and how to remedy them : Is a bill of rights the answer? *The Modern Law Review*, 72(6), 883-908.
- Andreopoulos, G. J., Kabasakal Arat, Z. F., & Juviler, P. H. (2006). *Non-state actors in the human rights universe*. Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press, Inc.
- Barnett, M. N., & Finnemore, M. (1999). The politics, power, and pathologies of international organizations. *International Organization*, 53(4), 699-732.
- Baum, M. A. (2002). Sex, lies, and war: How soft news brings foreign policy to the inattentive public. *American Political Science Review*, 96, 91-110.
- Baum, M. A. (2004). Going private: Public opinion, presidential rhetoric, and the domestic politics of audience costs in U.S. foreign policy crises. *The Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 48(5), 603-631.
- Baum, M. A., & Potter, P. B. K. (2008). The relationships between mass media, public opinion, and foreign policy: Toward a theoretical synthesis. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 11(1), 39-65.
- Bennett, W. L., & Entman, R. M. (2001). *Mediated politics : Communication in the future of democracy*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bennett, W. L., Lawrence, R. G., & Livingston, S. (2007). *When the press fails : Political power and the news media from iraq to katrina*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Best, G.,. (1994). *War and law since 1945*. Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press.
- Boaz, C. (2005). War and foreign policy framing in international media. *Peace Review*, 17(4), 349-356.
- Boyle EH, & Hoeschen A. (2001). Theorizing the form of media coverage over time. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 42(4), 511-27.
- Boyle, E. H., McMorris, B. J., & Gomez, M. (2002). Local conformity to international norms: The case of female genital cutting. *International Sociology*, 17, 5-34.

- Brysk, A., (2002). *Globalization and human rights*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Brysk, A., (2005). *Human rights and private wrongs : Constructing global civil society*. New York: Routledge.
- Bull, H. (1995). *The anarchical society : A study of order in world politics*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Caliendo, S. M., & Gibney, M. P. (1999). All the news that's fit to print? *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, 4(4), 48.
- Caliendo, S. M., & Gibney, M. P. (2006). American print media coverage of human rights violations. *Conference Papers -- American Political Science Association*, , 1-17.
- Campbell, V. (2006). A JOURNALISTIC DEFICIT?: A comparative content analysis of british television news coverage of the 1994 and 2004 european election campaigns. *Journalism Studies*, 7(4), 593-609.
- CHECKEL, J. T. (1997). International norms and domestic politics:: Bridging the rationalist--constructivist divide. *European Journal of International Relations*, 3(4), 473-495.
- Checkel, J. T. (1998). The constructivist turn in international relations theory. *World Politics*, 50(2), 324.
- Checkel, J. T. (2001). Why comply? social learning and european identity change. *International Organization*, 55(3), 553-588.
- Chomsky, N., & Chomsky, N. (2002). *Media control : The spectacular achievements of propaganda*. New York: Seven Stories Press.
- Clark, A. M., & Friedman, E. J. (1998). The sovereign limits of global civil society. *World Politics*, 51(1), 1.
- Conrad, M. (2010). The new paradigm for american broadcasting – changing the content regulation regimen in the age of new media. *International Review of Law, Computers & Technology*, 24(3), 241-249.
- Curran, J., & Seaton, J. (2009). *Power without responsibility : The press, broadcasting, and new media in britain*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Curran, J., Iyengar, S., Brink Lund, A., & Salovaara-Moring, I. (2009). Media system, public knowledge and democracy. *European Journal of Communication*, 24(1), 5-26.
- Curran, J., Iyengar, S., Lund, A. B., & Salovaara-Moring, I. (2009). Media system, public knowledge and democracy: A comparative study. *European Journal of Communication*, 24(1), 5-26.

- Desyllas, M. C. (2007). a critique of the global trafficking discourse and u.s. policy. *Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare.*, 34(4), 57-80.
- Droege, C. (2007). The interplay between international humanitarian law and international human rights law in situations of armed conflict. *Israel Law Review* *Israel Law Review*, 40(2), 310-355.
- Dustin M., & Phillips A. (2008). Whose agenda is it?: Abuses of women and abuses of 'culture' in Britain. *Ethnicities* *Ethnicities*, 8(3), 405-424.
- Entman, R. M. (2008). Theorizing mediated public diplomacy: The U.S. case. *Harvard International Journal of Press Politics*, 13(2), 87-102.
- Entman, R. M. (2003). *Projections of power : Framing news, public opinion, and U.S. foreign policy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Esser, F., & Pfetsch, B. (2004). *Comparing political communication : Theories, cases, and challenges*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- The fairness doctrine and claims of systematic imbalance in television news broadcasting: American security council education foundation v. FCC.(1980). *Harvard Law Review*, 93(5), 1028-1038.
- Felice, W. F. (2006). Human rights disparities between Europe and the United States: Conflicting approaches to poverty prevention and the alleviation of suffering. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 19(1), 79-104.
- Finnemore, M., & Sikkink, K. (1998). International norm dynamics and political change. *International Organization*, 52(4, International Organization at Fifty: Exploration and Contestation in the Study of World Politics), 887-917.
- Finnemore, M., & Sikkink, K. (2001). TAKING STOCK: The constructivist research program in international relations and comparative politics. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 4(1), 391.
- The first amendment and regulation of television news.(1972). *Columbia Law Review*, 72(4), 746-771.
- Florini, A. (1996). The evolution of international norms. *International Studies Quarterly*, 40(3, Special Issue: Evolutionary Paradigms in the Social Sciences), 363-389.
- FRANKS, S. (2004). The world on the box: International issues in news and factual programmes. *Political Quarterly -London then Oxford- Macmillan then Blackwell-*, 75(4), 425-428.

- GAMSON, W. A., & WOLFSFELD, G. (1993). Movements and media as interacting systems. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 528(1), 114-125.
- Gavrielides, T. (2008). Human rights and customer satisfaction with public services : A relationship discovered. *The International Journal of Human Rights the International Journal of Human Rights*, 12(2), 189-204.
- Gilboa, E. (2002). Global communication and foreign policy. *Journal of Communication*, 52(4), 731.
- Gilboa, E. (2003). Television news and U.S. foreign policy. *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, 8(4), 97.
- Gilboa, E. (2005). The CNN effect: The search for a communication theory of international relations. *Political Communication*, 22(1), 27-44.
- Gilboa, E. (2005). Global television news and foreign policy: Debating the CNN effect. *International Studies Perspectives*, 6(3), 325-341.
- Goldstein, J., Keohane, R. O., & Social Science Research Council (U.S.). Committee on Foreign Policy Studies. (1993). *Ideas and foreign policy : Beliefs, institutions, and political change*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Gulati, G. (2008). Media representation of human trafficking in three liberal media systems. *Conference Papers -- American Political Science Association*, , 1.
- Hafez, K. (2002). Journalism ethics revisited: A comparison of ethics codes in europe, north africa, the middle east, and muslim asia. *Political Communication*, 19(2), 225-250.
- Hafner-Burton, E., & Ron, J. (2009). Seeing double: Human rights impact through qualitative and quantitative eyes. *World Politics*, 61(2), 360-401.
- Hallin, D. C., & Mancini, P. (2004). *Comparing media systems : Three models of media and politics*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Harrison, J.,. (2000). *Terrestrial TV news in britain : The culture of production*. Manchester [England]; New York; New York: Manchester University Press ; Distributed exclusively in the USA by St. Martin's Press.
- Henkin, L.,. (1995). U.S. ratification of human rights conventions: The ghost of senator bricker. *American Journal of International Law*, 89(2), 341-350.
- Herman, E. S., & Chomsky, N. (1988). *Manufacturing consent : The political economy of the mass media*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Hershey Jr, R. D. (1987, August 5, 1987). F.C.C. votes down fairness doctrine in a 4-0 decision. *The New York Times*,

*Human rights of older people in healthcare*. Retrieved March 1, 2013, 2013, from <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/jt200607/jtselect/jtrights/156/156i.pdf>

Iguyovwe, R. (2008). The inter-play between international humanitarian law and international human rights law. *Commonwealth Law Bulletin Commonwealth Law Bulletin*, 34(4), 749-789.

Iyengar, S. (1991). *Is anyone responsible? : How television frames political issues*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Iyengar, S. (1994). *Is anyone responsible? : How television frames political issues*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Iyengar, S., & Kinder, D. R. (1987). *News that matters : Television and american opinion*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Iyengar, S., & Kinder, D. R. (1988). *News that matters : Television and american opinion*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Jakobsen, P. V. (2000). Focus on the CNN effect misses the point: The real media impact on conflict management is invisible and indirect. *Journal of Peace Research*, 37, 131-144.

Jentleson, B. W., & Britton, R. L. (1998). Still pretty prudent: Post-cold war american public opinion on the use of military force. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 42(4), 395-417.

Jones, C. A. (2004). Regulating political advertising in the EU and USA: A human rights perspective. *Journal of Public Affairs*, 4(3), 244-255.

Keck, M. E., & Sikkink, K., (1998). *Activists beyond borders : Advocacy networks in international politics*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press.

Kennedy, D.,. (2006). *Of war and law*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Kolmer, C., & Semetko, H. A. (2009). Framing the iraq war: Perspectives from american, U.K., czech, german, south african, and al-jazeera news. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 52(5), 643-656.

Koopmans, R. (2004). Movements and media: Selection processes and evolutionary dynamics in the public sphere. *Theory and Society*, 33(3/4, Special Issue: Current Routes to the Study of Contentious Politics and Social Change), 367-391.

Kriesi, H., Tresch, A., & Jochum, M. (2007). Going public in the european union. *Comparative Political Studies*, 40(1), 48-73.

- Krippendorff, K. (2004). *Content analysis : An introduction to its methodology*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- Kuñg-Shankleman, L. (2000). *Inside BBC and CNN : Managing media organisations*. London: Routledge.
- Lai, B., & Reiter, D. (2005). Rally 'Round the union jack? public opinion and the use of force in the united kingdom, 1948-2001. *International Studies Quarterly*, 49(2), 255-272.
- Leebaw, B. (2007). The politics of impartial activism: Humanitarianism and human rights. *PPS Perspectives on Politics*, 5(02)
- Leipold, G. (2000). Campaigning: A fashion or the best way to change the global agenda? *Development in Practice -Oxford-*, 10, 453-460.
- Lewis, J., Williams, A., & Franklin, B. (2008). a compromised fourth estate? *Journalism Studies*, 9(1), 1-20.
- Lippmann, W.. (2007). *Public opinion*. [Miami, Fla.]: BN Pub.
- Livingston, S. (1997). *Clarifying the CNN effect : An examination of media effects according to type of military intervention*. Cambridge, Mass.: Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.
- Lloyd, J., & Seaton, J. (2006). *What can be done? : Making the media and politics better*. Malden, MA; Oxford: Blackwell Pub. in association with the Political Quarterly.
- Lustgarten, A., & Debrix, F. (2005). TheRole of theMedia inMonitoringInternationalHumanitarianLaw duringMilitaryInterventions: TheCase ofKosovo. *Peace & Change*, 30(3), 359-397.
- Mann, M., (2005). *The dark side of democracy : Explaining ethnic cleansing*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- McNair, B. (2003). *News and journalism in the UK*. London: Routledge.
- Mertus, J. (2008). *Bait and switch : Human rights and U.S. foreign policy*. New York [u.a.: Routledge.
- Minear, L., Scott, C., & Weiss, T. G. (1996). *The news media, civil war, and humanitarian action*. Boulder, Colo.: L. Rienner.
- Monasebian, S. (2006). *Media matters: Reflections of a former war crimes prosecutor covering the iraqi tribunal Case* Western Reserve University School of Law.

- Moravcsik, A. (2000). The origins of human rights regimes: Democratic delegation in postwar Europe. *International Organization*, 54(2), 217-252.
- Nacos, B. L., & Torres-Reyna, O. (2007). *Fueling our fears : Stereotyping, media coverage, and public opinion of muslim americans*. Lanham, Md. [u.a.: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Nacos, B. L. (2002). *Mass-mediated terrorism : The central role of the media in terrorism and counterterrorism*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Nacos, B. L., Shapiro, R. Y., & Isernia, P. (2000). *Decisionmaking in a glass house : Mass media, public opinion, and american and european foreign policy in the 21st century*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Nacos, B. L., & Torres-Reyna, O., (2007). *Fueling our fears : Stereotyping, media coverage, and public opinion of muslim americans*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Nelson, A. (2006). The news media in the arena of human rights. In G. J. Andreopoulos, Z. F. Kabasakal Arat & P. H. Juviler (Eds.), *Non-state actors in the human rights universe* (). Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press, Inc.
- Neuendorf, K. A. (2002). *The content analysis guidebook*. Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- Neuman, J. (1996). *Lights, camera, war : Is media technology driving international politics*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- The new law journal.(1965). *The New Law Journal*.,
- Norris, P. (1997). *Politics and the press : The news media and their influences*. Boulder, Colo.: L. Rienner Publishers.
- Ovsiovitch, J. S. (1993). News coverage of human rights. *Political Research Quarterly*, 46(3), 671.
- Page, B. I., & Shapiro, R. Y., (1992). *The rational public : Fifty years of trends in americans' policy preferences*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Page, B. I., & Shapiro, R. Y., (1992). *The rational public : Fifty years of trends in americans' policy preferences*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Petley, J. (2009). What rights? whose responsibilities? *Soundings -London- Lawrence and Wishart-*, (43), 77-88.
- Ramos, H., Ron, J., & Thoms, O. N. T. (2007). Shaping the northern media's human rights coverage, 1986--2000. *Journal of Peace Research*, 44(4), 385-406.

- Riffe, D., Lacy, S., & Fico, F. (1998). *Analyzing media messages using quantitative content analysis in research*.
- Risse, T. (2000). "Let's argue!": Communicative action in world politics. *International Organization*, 54(1), 1-39.
- Risse, T. (2000). "Let's argue!": Communicative action in world politics. *International Organization*, 54(1), 1-39.
- Risse-Kappen, T. (1991). Public opinion, domestic structure, and foreign policy in liberal democracies. *World Politics*, 43(4), 479-512.
- Risse-Kappen, T., Ropp, S. C., & Sikkink, K., (1999). *The power of human rights : International norms and domestic change*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Risse-Kappen, T., & Sikkink, K., (1999). The socialization of international human rights norms into domestic practices: Introduction. In T. Risse-Kappen, S. C. Ropp & K. Sikkink (Eds.), *The power of human rights : International norms and domestic change* (). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Robinson, P. (2000). World politics and media power: Problems of research design. *Communication Abstracts*, 23(5)
- Robinson, P. (2005). The CNN effect revisited. *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, 22(4), 344-349.
- Rotberg, R. I., & Weiss, T. G. (1996). *From massacres to genocide : The media, public policy, and humanitarian crises*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution.
- Ruggie, J. G. (1998). What makes the world hang together? neo-utilitarianism and the social constructivist challenge. *International Organization*, 52(4, International Organization at Fifty: Exploration and Contestation in the Study of World Politics), 855-885.
- Schabas, W. A., (2007). Lex specialis? belt and suspenders? : The parallel operation of human rights law and the law of armed conflict, and the conundrum of jus ad bellum. *Israel Law Review*, 40(2), 592-613.
- Seaton, J. (1998). *Politics & the media : Harlots and prerogatives at the turn of the millennium*. Oxford, UK; Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers.
- Semetko, H. A. (2009). Media and public diplomacy in times of war and crisis. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 52(5), 639-642.
- Shaw, M. (2000). Media and public sphere without borders? news coverage and power from kurdistan to kosovo. In B. L. Nacos, R. Y. Shapiro & P. Isernia (Eds.), *Decisionmaking in a*

- glass house : Mass media, public opinion, and american and european foreign policy in the 21st century* (). Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Shaw, M. (1996). *Civil society and media in global crises : Representing distant violence*. New York: Pinter.
- Sikkink, K. (1993). Human rights, principled issue-networks, and sovereignty in latin america. *International Organization*, 47(3), 411-441.
- Sikkink, K. (1993). The power of principled ideas: Human rights policies in the united states and western europe. In J. Goldstein, R. O. Keohane & Social Science Research Council (U.S.). Committee on Foreign Policy Studies. (Eds.), *Ideas and foreign policy : Beliefs, institutions, and political change* (). Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Skaar, E., Gloppen, S., & Suhrke, A. (2005). *Roads to reconciliation*. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books.
- SLANTCHEV, B. L. (2006). Politicians, the media, and domestic audience costs. *International Studies Quarterly*, 50(2), 445-477.
- Snow, D. A., Rochford, E. B., Jr., Worden, S. K., & Benford, R. D. (1986). Frame alignment processes, micromobilization, and movement participation. *American Sociological Review*, 51(4), 464-481.
- Sobel, R. (2001). *Public opinion in american foreign policy : From vietnam to the nineties*. New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Stimson, J. A. (2004). *Tides of consent : How public opinion shapes american politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Stokes, J. C., & Reading, A. (1999). *The media in britain : Current debates and developments*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Macmillan ; St. Martin's Press.
- Sypnowich, C. (2008). Taking britain's human rights act seriously. *The University of Toronto Law Journal*, 58(1), 105-117.
- Tolley, M. C. (2009). Parliamentary scrutiny of rights in the united kingdom: Assessing the work of the joint committee on human rights. *Australian Journal of Political Science*, 44(1), 41-55.
- Tomuschat, C. (2010). Human rights and international humanitarian law. *European Journal of International Law European Journal of International Law*, 21(1), 15-23.
- Tresch, A., & Fischer, M. (2008). Political actors in search of media attention: An analysis of mobilisation and communication strategies in seven european countries. *Conference Papers -- American Political Science Association*, , 1.

Trevor Thrall, A. (2006). The myth of the outside strategy: Mass media news coverage of interest groups. *Political Communication*, 23(4), 407-420.

*UK and european social charter*. Retrieved March 1, 2013, from [http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/socialcharter/countryfactsheets/UK\\_en.pdf](http://www.coe.int/t/dghl/monitoring/socialcharter/countryfactsheets/UK_en.pdf)

Weiss, T. G. (2007). *The united nations and changing world politics*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press.

Welbourne, P. (2002). Adoption and the rights of children in the UK. *International Journal of Children's Rights.*, 103, 269-289.

*What is ofcom?* Retrieved March 1, 2013, from <http://www.ofcom.org.uk/about/what-is-ofcom/>

Wheeler, N. J. (2002). *Saving strangers : Humanitarian intervention in international society*. New York [u.a.]: Oxford University Press.

Zaller, J., & Chiu, D. (1996). Government's little helper: U.S. press coverage of foreign policy crises, 1945-1991. *Political Communication*, 13(4), 385-406.