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Proactive Crisis Communication?

News Coverage on International Crises in German Print and Broadcasting Media

International Conference "Journalism Research in the Public Interest" November 21, 2009, Winterthur (CH)

Outline

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Introduction

International Crises

- issues of highest public interest (Kempf & Luostarinen, 2002)
- events with a high news value (Eilders & Hagen, 2005)
- O media themselves are considered as a "risk factor" (Ruhrmann, 2008)
- media can fuel a conflict and contribute to its escalation
- dynamics of individual crisis perception by journalists and experts remain unclear

Crisis Communication

Peace Journalism

- O crisis coverage that can contribute to the process of de-escalation, peace building and reconciliation (Bläsi, 2004)
- Peace Journalism (Galtung, 2002; Kempf 2002, 2003; Lynch & McGoldrick, 2005)
 - explores the origins of a conflict
 - gives voice to all involved parties
 - common goals and benefits of peaceful solution are stressed
 - might prevent conflicts from breaking out
- Peace Journalism attributes political and military responsibility to the media (Hanitzsch, 2004)

Crisis Communication

News factors and international crises

- O News factors are relevant indicators that serve as selection criteria in journalism (Eilders, 2006; Maier & Ruhrmann, 2008; Schulz, 2009)
- O Most significant news factors in coverage on international crises (Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Eilders & Hagen, 2005; Fretwurst, 2008):
 - aggression & damage: international crises are often destructive and threatening
 - relevance: highly relevant to the people concerned
 - status of event nation: elite nations are mainly covered
 - *visualization:* coverage on crises contains highly visible actions
- News factors as a viable concept to investigate the demands of peace journalism

Crisis Communication

Phases of international crises

- **O** prevention
 - surfacing of the conflict, growth of verbal & behavioral hostile exchanges
 - media can direct public attention to the conflict
- O escalation & management
 - use of force & violence
 - CNN effect, real-time coverage shortens time for considerate actions
- O resolution
 - negotiation of formal agreements
 - media may function as a "diplomat" or "mediator"
- O reconciliation
 - attempts to transform the relations to amicability
 - media can contribute to change the audience's stereotypes & prejudices

(Gilboa, 2006; Kempf, 2006; Löffelholz, 2008)

Methodological approach

Research questions

RQ 1: Do international crises exhibit different news factors in their particular phases?

RQ 2: How does the media portray the different positions in an international crisis?

RQ 3: How do journalists, political and military decision makers assess the media's potential to prevent or fuel a conflict?

Methodological approach

Research project funded by the **German Foundation for Peace Research**"Threats on the (Media) Agenda. Crisis Communication in the Process of News Selection"

Design of the study

- Content analysis of German TV and press coverage on international conflicts and crises
- Semi-structured interviews with German journalists and political and military decision makers on the media's role in international conflicts and crises

Results

Content analysis: design and sample

- unit of analysis: reports on international conflicts and crises
- unit of sampling: 4 German television news programs, 3 German newspapers
- period of investigation: February April 2009
- codebook: 18 news factors; topical, formal and content variables
- sample: 2,260 reports; table shows absolute numbers

		February	March	April	Total
TV-	Public	69	58	102	229
Newscasts	stations	09	Jo	102	229
	Private	43	29	44	116
	stations	45	29	44	110
Newspapers	Quality	542	617	630	1789
	newspapers	342	017	030	1/09
	Tabloid	48	32	46	126
	newspaper	40	32	40	120
Total		702	736	822	2260

Results

Classification of news reports to phases (% of news reports)

- Every reported crisis was assigned to one conflict phase.
- Every news report was classified accordingly.
- The majority of the news reports from all media types refers to crises in the *escalation* phase.

		N	Prevention	Escalation	Resolution	Reconciliation
TV-	Public	229	7	84	7	2
Newscasts	stations	229	,	04	,	2
	Private	116	8	81	10	1
	stations	110	0	01	10	1
November	Quality	1789	15	69	15	2
Newspapers	newspapers					
	Tabloid	126	14	79	5	2
	newspaper	120	14	79	<u></u>	۷
Total		2260	14	72	13	2

Results

RQ 1: Relevant news factors in different conflict phases

- In different phases of a conflict different news factors are relevant:
 - prevention: status of the nation, reach (85-100%)
 - escalation: status of the nation, reach (72-98%), damage (31-39%), aggression (34-60%)
 - resolution: *reach (67-100%)*
 - reconciliation: reach (82-100%), damage (33-100%)
- Benefit does not play any role in any of the phases or media outlets.
- → Events by which many people are affected (reach) obtain high journalistic attention in all phases.
- → A certain degree of distortion in favour of nations with high formal status can be stated.

Results

RQ 2: How does the media portray the different positions in an international crisis?

- imbalanced reporting: one position towards the conflict is described
- uncritical reporting: no journalistic interpretation or questioning of the reported event
- ▶ prevention, escalation and resolution phase: across all types of media outlets the majority of the news reports is imbalanced (59-100%) and uncritical (62-100%).
- ► reconciliation phase: highest shares of simultaneously balanced and critical reports in public TV newscasts (67%) and quality newspapers (30%).

Results

Semi-structured interviews: design and sample

- unit of sampling: 6 German TV & newspaper journalists and 6 decision-makers from German politics & the military
- period of investigation: January May 2009
- sample: 12 interviews

Results

RQ3: Potential of the media to prevent or fuel conflicts?

- High awareness of journalists' potential to foster peaceful resolutions
- Agreement on the need for steady coverage on different phases of crises
- Conflicts usually attract the media's attention after their break-out ...
- ... and often depend on dramatic images in order to be broadcast on TV
- Rare coverage of crises in the phase of reconciliation
- Ability of the media to both inhibit and fuel the development of a conflict

"The media can play with it, of course. They can fuel it or they can bring it down, depending on what they want."

Klaus Naumann, retired General of the German Army, former chairman of the NATO military committee

Conclusion

Does the German media coverage on international conflicts and crises comply with the demands of peace journalism?

- German media focus on conflicts mainly during their escalation phase.
- In different conflict phases specific news factors prevail.
- Some news factors, e.g. reach, are relevant throughout all phases.
- The majority of news reports is imbalanced and uncritical.
- The premises of peace journalism remain unaccomplished.

Conclusion

How do journalists, political and military decision makers assess the media's potential to prevent or fuel a conflict?

- Journalistic coverage can speed up diplomatic actions or public protest.
- The demand to cover a crisis continually and over its course is supported.
- Due to daily routines and the assumed interests of the audience, they mainly cover international conflicts and crises in the phase of escalation.
- The normative demands of peace journalism are hardly fulfilled.

Thank you for your attention!



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Appendix: Tables

Content analysis

Relevant news factors (% of news reports): Prevention and Escalation

	News factors								
Phase media outlets	N	Status 1 st nation (high)	Status 2 nd nation (high)	Reach (min. partly national)	Benefit (high)	Damage (high)	Aggression (high)		
Prevention									
Public TV	17	13	80	93	6	6	6		
Private TV	9	0	0	100	0	0	0		
Quality NP	267	17	42	97	2	5	6		
Tabloid NP	18	0	100	85	0	6	6		
Escalation									
Public TV	192	13	30	98	7	31	34		
Private TV	94	9	27	98	4	32	60		
Quality NP	1232	14	28	95	3	33	34		
Tabloid NP	100	13	75	72	6	39	57		

Content analysis

Relevant news factors (% of news reports): Resolution and Reconciliation

	News factors							
Phasemedia outlets	N	Status 1 st nation (high)	Status 2 nd nation (high)	Reach (min. partly national)	Benefit (high)	Damage (high)	Aggression (high)	
Resolution								
Public TV	16	44	0	100	0	31	13	
Private TV	12	58	50	92	8	42	33	
Quality NP	260	18	14	98	3	20	18	
Tabloid NP	6	50	_	67	0	83	83	
Reconciliation								
Public TV	4	0	_	100	25	7 5	25	
Private TV	1	0	_	100	0	100	0	
Quality NP	30	10	0	82	3	33	33	
Tabloid NP	2	0	0	0	0	50	50	

Content analysis

Balanced and critical reporting (% of news reports): Prevention and Escalation

Phasemedia outlets	Max. N	Balanced Reporting	Imbalanced Reporting	Critical Reporting	Uncritical Reporting	Balanced and Critical Reporting
Prevention						
Public TV	15	60	40	33	67	27
Private TV	9	11	89	33	67	11
Quality NP	264	41	59	37	63	23
Tabloid NP	17	20	80	0	100	-
Escalation						
Public TV	177	41	59	26	74	15
Private TV	86	22	78	15	85	9
Quality NP	1204	43	57	36	64	23
Tabloid NP	83	0	100	0	100	_ ENOCCERRENOCER

Content analysis

Balanced and critical reporting (% of news reports): Resolution and Reconciliation

Phase media outlets	Max. N	Balanced Reporting	Imbalanced Reporting	Critical Reporting	Uncritical Reporting	Balanced and Critical Reporting
Resolution						
Public TV	15	13	87	20	80	7
Private TV	11	0	100	0	100	
Quality NP	254	41	59	38	62	22
Tabloid NP	6	0	100	0	100	-
Reconciliation						
Public TV	3	100	0	67	33	67
Private TV	1	0	100	0	100	_
Quality NP	30	53	47	40	60	30
Tabloid NP	2	0	100	0	100	

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