

**AN ANALYSIS OF THE PORTRAYAL OF SOMALIA IN THE KENYAN
PRINT MEDIA FROM 2010 TO 2013: A STUDY OF THE DAILY NATION
AND STANDARD NEWSPAPERS**

BY

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DECLARATION

This Research Project is my original work and has not been presented for evaluation in any other university. No part of this thesis may be reproduced without the prior written permission of the author and/or University of Nairobi.

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the portrayal of Somalia by the Kenyan print media for a period of three years. It is expected that the coverage by the two Kenyan newspapers under study, the Daily Nation and The Standard, would be different from the coverage by the international media that has been accused of portraying a negative image of Africa because this would be a case of African media reporting on Africa.

This research covered a period of three years between July 2010 and June 2013, analyzing 558 articles published in the weekend editions of the newspapers.

It found out that there was no difference in the tone adopted by the two newspapers on Somalia. Majority of the stories are of a negative nature. Very few stories bother to look at the positives amidst the adversity. Most of the stories in the two newspapers during the period revolved around terrorism, piracy, refugees, the war on Al-Shabaab and leadership wrangles among various factions in Somalia. The two newspapers appear to pursue the Kenyan government's agenda of using every means possible to defeat Al-Shabaab and repatriate Somali refugees.

DEDICATION

To my mother, Mary, who took me to school and ignited in me the desire to search for knowledge.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AFP – Agence France-Press

AMISOM – African Union Mission in Somalia

AP – Associated Press

AU – The African Union

BBC – British Broadcasting Corporation

CNN – Cables News Network

IGAD – Inter-Governmental Authority on Development

KDF – Kenya Defence Forces

NEPAD - New Partnership for Africa’s Development

NYT – New York Times

PMPS – Prime Minister’s Press Service

PPS- Presidential Press Service (Currently the Presidential Strategic Communications Unit)

SANEF - South African National Editors’ Forum

TJRC – Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission

US – United States of America

UN – United Nations

VPPS – Vice President’s Press Service

DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

Media Coverage

Media coverage refers to the way in which a particular piece of information is presented by media either as news, entertainment or as infotainment (Manohar, 2013). It refers to unpaid editorial material which a publication (or a broadcaster) includes at no charge to the destination (Hamilton, 1997).

Agenda Setting

Agenda setting is a theory of mass communication that describes the way the mass media interacts with and affects the public it targets. It was first put forward by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw in 1972. The theory posits that there is a strong correlation between the emphasis that mass media place on certain issues (e.g., based on relative placement or amount of coverage) and the importance attributed to these issues by mass audiences (McCombs & Shaw, 1972).

Framing

Framing refers to modes of presentation or frames that journalists and other communicators use to present information in a way that resonates with existing underlying schemas among their audience (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996 cited in Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). Frames are thematic fields in press coverage that "define the boundaries of the discourse concerning an issue and categorize the relevant actors based on some established scheme of social taxonomy" (Pan & Kosicki 2001:41 cited in Wilhelm, 2004). It is a necessary tool to reduce the complexity of an issue, given the constraints of their respective media related to news holes and airtime. It is based on the assumption that how an issue is characterized in news reports can have an influence on

how it is understood by audiences (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007, p. 11). Audiences absorb a constructed reality, made of own experiences, interaction with peers and interpreted slices from the mass media (Wilhelm, 2004).

Priming

Priming assumes that media can make certain issues or aspects of issues more accessible (i.e., easily recalled) for people and thereby influence the standards they use when forming attitudes about candidates and political issues (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007, p. 15).

Content Analysis

According to Severin & Tankard (2001, p. 35) Content Analysis is a systematic method of analyzing message content. It is a tool for analyzing the messages of certain communication.

Content analysis can be applied to the study of any book, magazine, newspaper, individual story or article, motion picture, news broadcast or television program (Tan, 1985, p. 49).

CHAPTER ONE

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Western media coverage of Africa has been under scrutiny from international media scholars, journalists and politicians for several decades. Stories that have been reported about the continent have mostly been negative, dwelling on diseases, wars, coups, political instability and famine among others (Ndangam & Kanyegirire, 2005; Brandwein, 2011).

It is this realization that has led to campaigns for telling the true African story. One of the assumptions is that since journalists in Africa have some self-sense of being ‘African’, they will therefore report on Africa in a positive light in contrast to the broader ‘negative’ coverage on Africa by ‘Western’ media and other international media (Ndangam & Kanyegirire, 2005, p. 43). Former South African President Thabo Mbeki while addressing a South African National Editors’ Forum (Sanef) conference in 2003 said it was the responsibility of the South African media to report Africa to South Africans and as Africans (Mbeki, 2003). From this assumption, the way media in African countries report about other countries would be expected to be different. This study analyzes the coverage of Somalia by the Kenyan media.

1.2 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.2.1 Kenya and Somalia

Kenya borders with Somalia to the East, and the two countries have had a long relationship since the colonial times. The current region of Jubaland in Somalia was part of the Kenya Colony and Protectorate but was ceded by Britain to Italy in July 1924 and formed Italian Somalia, one of the colonies that later joined to form the independent republic of Somalia after independence (Cahoon, 2000). The North Eastern region of Kenya is also home to ethnic Somalis who form the majority of the population in Somalia.

Shortly after independence, there were attempts by the ethnic Somalis to secede from Kenya and join Somalia. This led to the Shifta War that lasted from 1964 to 1967 and led to the death of an estimated 7,000 people According to the Kenyan Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Report published in May, 2013 the Somali government provided assistance to the Shifta forces operating in Kenya (TJRCiiA, 2013, p. 102).

The formal end of the war was marked by the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding in Arusha, Tanzania on 28 October 1967 between the governments of Kenya and Somalia marked the formal end of the war after talks mediated by the then Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda. During the war, some communities fled to Somalia to escape the violence and only returned decades later, in 2000 (TJRCi, 2013, p. xi). In April 1968, all large-scale military operations in Northern Kenya came to an end. Diplomatic relations between the two countries were restored

and later in 1968 Kenya hosted President Sharmarke and Prime Minister Egal of Somalia on a full state visit to Kenya (TJRCiiA, 2013 p. 144).

When political instability faced Somalia following the fall of the Mohammed Siad Barre government in 1991, thousands of Somalis started crossing into Kenya as refugees. The population of Somali refugees in Kenya, running away from insecurity and drought, stood at 600,000 in 2012. While in Kenya, some Somali refugees have ventured into towns and cities and interacted with the locals while some still reside in refugee camps, the main one being at Dadaab. Rising insecurity near Dadaab, combined with a series of kidnappings along the Kenya-Somali border, led in late 2011 to the suspension of all but emergency relief efforts at Dadaab. This coincided with the Kenya Defence Forces (KDF) incursion into Somalia to fight members of the Al-Shabaab in October 2011 (Blanchard, 2013, p. 9).

The relationship between events in Somalia and the social, economic and political life in Kenya has made news and media reports on Somalia to play a major role on how Kenyans perceive the neighboring country. The interest has been increased following the Kenyan military incursion. The KDF have continued their presence in Somalia under the Amisom.

According to Brandwein (2011, p. 52), the international media has chosen to emphasize different aspects of the Somali situation, including the civil war, international interventions, humanitarian crises, failed peace agreements, piracy, and terrorism. These distinct ways, in which the international media frames Somalia - the Kenyan media included - shapes both the way the international community understands the conflict and the range of responses that it considers.

These could be looked at bearing in mind the various ways Africa in general has been framed.

1.2.2 Images of Africa in the Western Media

According to Schraeder & Endless (1998, p. 29) Americans maintain what can be called a National Geographic image of Africa and Africans. This is also the case in other Western countries. The mention of Africa typically brings out stereotypical images of lush jungles and wild animals, poverty and famine, corruption and "tribal" warfare, and deadly diseases, such as the Ebola and AIDS viruses. These images are further reinforced by the nature of media reporting, which, when it does focus on Africa, usually concentrates on the sensationalist and often negative aspects of the continent.

Michira (2002) gives six main images about Africa that have been predominant in the Western media, most being misrepresentations. These are:

a. Africa as a Homogenous Entity

The African continent is often referred and presented in the West, especially in America, as if it were one large country, the same way that, say, China, India or Russia is presented. This is a misconception that ignores the fact that Africa is a continent made of 53 independent countries, which are in turn inhabited by peoples of diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds.

b. The Dark Continent

This is an image that has been perpetuated by Western traders, missionaries, adventurers and explorers, as well as the Western media since the era of slavery and colonial rule. Africa is

portrayed as a “Dark Continent”, one that is devoid of a history and as the white man’s burden. The white man is portrayed as the savior. Michira (2002) says news reports tend to dwell on the picture of heathen and primitive societies refusing to let go of outdated rites such as female “circumcision” or female genital mutilation - FGM. He says there has a lot of hype and propaganda in the Western print media as well as the Internet on the way “enlightened” teenage girls are refusing to undergo FGM in Kenya with some girls even being invited to give lectures on their experiences in USA.

c. Africa the Wild Jungle

Africa is normally portrayed as one big jungle bustling with wildlife. Michira (2002) gives an example of 1992, when the New York Times, while covering the drought and starvation that ravaged some east and South African countries, published five substantial stories in eight days. Three of the stories were very prominently displayed and they were about the elephants, the rhino and other endangered species while the other two shorter ones appearing deep in the inside pages were on the African people themselves. To many people in the US, a mention of Africa evokes the images on Planet Africa and Discovery Channel in the minds of many Americans.

d. Hunger, Famine and Starvation.

This is the most consistent and persistent image of Africans in the Western media. Often, Western media outlets don’t miss a story about how famine is “ravaging” in or is “stalking” Africa. Warah (2011) says that since Mohamed Amin filmed the famine in Ethiopia in the mid-1980s that triggered an international outcry and a tremendous flow of aid, famine has become the

biggest story coming out of Africa, and one of the biggest industries. The news stories are normally accompanied by moving pictures of some poor, emaciated and malnourished figures of women and children who are sadly staring into the camera (the reader), and their eyes empty and hopeless, as if pleading for mercy. Few of the reports bother to shed some light on the underlying factors that cause famine in Africa (Michira, 2002). Maren (1997) cited by Warah (2011) says “the starving African is a Western cultural archetype like the greedy Jew or the unctuous Arab.”

e. Endemic Violence, Conflict and Civil War.

It is a true that many regions of Africa have experienced various forms of violence, ranging from “tribal” clashes, armed conflicts, and civil wars to genocide such as in Somalia, Congo and Rwanda. Reports of this kind have a high premium in the Western media and they automatically earn a headline or at least “top-story” status. Such Western media reports about war and conflicts in Africa are often crisis-driven in such a way as to imply that Africans are naturally savage, warlike, and violent and steeped in primordial tribal feuds (Michira, 2002).

f. Africa and AIDS.

For three decades, AIDS has had a devastating impact on the social and economic development of the human race. Statistics provided by WHO and other humanitarian agencies vindicate the fact that the majority of the HIV/AIDS sufferers are in Africa. From this, the Western media have succeeded in giving Aids an African face. The media attributes the rapid spread of HIV and Aids in Africa to ignorance, the reluctance to change sexual behavior, as well as backward

cultural and religious traditions that make talking about sexuality and AIDS taboo. Such explanations are prominently fronted (Michira, 2002).

1.2.3 The Role of the Media in Africa

It is widely accepted that an independent and effective media is a key ingredient to a democratic system (UNESCO, 2013). According to Martin (1992, p. 334), in Africa the media have dual roles: to speak out freely and fearlessly about concrete conditions in their own and other states, and at the same time to be an instrument for informing and mobilising the people about their rights and obligations. The African media also have responsibilities towards the outside world, because international news coverage, with a few noteworthy exceptions, has been and continues to be little short of abysmal.

According to Schraeder & Endless (1998, p. 29), despite the shortcomings of the American media when covering Africa, they nonetheless serve an important agenda-setting function within the realm of foreign policy by focusing the attention of the Parliament and Presidents to somewhat neglect prone areas of the African continent. They cite President Richard Nixon administration's decision to provide humanitarian relief for starving Biafrans during the Nigerian civil war (1967- 1970), the President Ronald Reagan administration's decision to extend famine relief to Ethiopia during 1983-1985 as one of the interventions that were driven by protests in the media.

1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

For a long time, critics have faulted the way Africa has been portrayed in the Western media. Stories of war, death, disease, disaster and despair have tended to dominate creating an impression of a desolate continent (Ndangam & Kanyegirire, 2005; Brandwein, 2011; Martin, 1992; Ogbimi 2012; Macdonald, 2009).

According to a research by Media Tenor between April 2007 and March 2008 cited by Macdonald (2009_a, p. 1) Africa receives very little coverage from the international media and the little that it does is predominantly negative, with Africa receiving the worst overall rating of positive stories versus negative stories of all the continents.

Somalia is one of the African countries that get covered frequently in the international media. Over the past 20 years, the international media has covered Somalia from several different angles, while at the same time maintaining a continuously dismal outlook on the prospects for peace and security in the country (Brandwein, 2011, p. 52). According to Jessica Brandwein, the way the international media frames Somalia shapes both the way the international community understands the conflict and the range of responses that it considers (ibid).

During the devastating drought of 2011, the international President of Medecins Sans Frontieres Dr. Unni Karunakara, in a statement after visiting Kenya and Somalia, accused aid organizations and the media of portraying the crisis in one-dimensional terms, such as “famine in the Horn of Africa” or “worst drought in 60 years”. Dr Karunakara said blaming natural causes ignores the complex geopolitical realities exacerbating the situation and suggests that the solution lies in

merely finding funds and shipping enough food to the Horn of Africa which was not enough to solve the crisis.

While the international media has been blamed for ‘misrepresenting’ Africa and Somalia, very little has been done to look at how the African countries themselves represent each other. Kenya, as a neighboring country to Somalia has had a long relationship with the country pre and post independence. Shortly after independence the Shifta War brought the countries at logger heads. During the Ogaden War between Ethiopia and Somalia in 1977, it was Kenya that helped shelter refugees displaced by the war (TJRCiiA, 2013, p. 182). Kenya has continued housing refugees from Somalia displaced by conflict and natural calamities.

In 2011, the Kenyan Defence Forces crossed into Somalia to pursue Al-Shabaab militants. The way Somalia is perceived by Kenyans, most of whom, have never been to Somalia is determined by how the country has been portrayed by the Kenyan media. Their support to government initiatives such as the war on Al-Shabaab, peace talks and housing of refugees also depends on how they perceive the country.

This study analyzed how Somalia has been framed by the Kenyan media with a view to understanding how the Kenyan media has shaped the Kenyan government policies towards Somalia.

1.4 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The purpose of this study is to compare and contrast the coverage of Somalia by Kenyan media.

The objectives are:

1. To determine the kind of stories on Somalia covered by the Kenyan media.
2. To investigate how the Kenyan media sources for stories on Somalia
3. To find out the frequency of coverage of stories on Somalia in the Kenyan media
4. To determine the agenda setting role of the media in Kenya on Somalia.

1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1. What are the main aspects of Somalia covered by the Kenyan media?
2. How do the Kenyan media source for stories on Somalia?
3. How frequently do the media in Kenya run stories on Somalia?
4. What agenda does the media in Kenya set on Somalia?

1.6 JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

By analyzing how the Kenyan print media has covered Somalia, a fellow African country, this study is of value to media, communication and political analysts and experts. It helps answer the recurring question as to whether African media tells a different story about Africa compared to

the one told by the Western media. This is an angle that has not been covered well within the wider debate over the perceived negative coverage of Africa by the international media.

This study is also of use to Kenyan media organizations by pointing out the shortcomings inherent in the coverage of Somalia and what can be done to remedy this. It also analyzes the contribution or non-contribution of the media towards the Kenyan government policy and actions through agenda setting.

1.7 SCOPE AND LIMITATION

This study focuses on all kinds of stories published on Kenya's two leading newspapers Daily Nation and The Standard on Somalia sampling stories published between 1st July 2010 and 30th June 2013. The period experienced one of the worst droughts to ever hit Somalia and the fall of Al-Shabaab among other events. Although it offers a wealth of information of how Kenyan media has been framing Somalia, there are some limitations. The first one is time, which is limited to three years. This is because of the limited time set for this master's project. The study also restricts itself to the print media. Television and radio stations have also covered Somalia in a different way. Even within the print media, the study focuses on the two main newspapers with the assumption that they are representative of the media coverage of Somalia.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The media plays a major role in informing citizens and with it comes the power to influence opinions. Through agenda setting and framing the media can tell the people what to think about and even how to think about it (Leetaru, 2012).

In its extreme, framing by the media has led to development perceptions and stereotypes towards peoples and countries. The way the Western media covers African nations has been blamed for the negative attitudes toward Africans and their continent in the West (Chavis, 1998; Ndangam & Kanyegirire, 2005). Scholars have also attributed the framing of issues on Somalia to the response from various nations and the perception of Somalis in other countries (Brandwein, 2011; Ogbimi 2012; Macdonald, 2009).

2.2 Images of Africa in the Media

The image of Africa that has been portrayed by the international media is a negative one. Most studies and scholarly papers attest to this. Ndangam & Andrew Kanyegirire (2005, p. 42) in their paper: *African Media Coverage of NEPAD: Implications for Reporting Africa*, say content analyses of international news identify conflicts and crises as dominant topics in reports of less developed countries in the media of Western countries. The media coverage also tends to frame corruption, violence and disorder as systemic problems evolving from the natural character of

these countries, whereas similar problems in the West are framed as mere deviances or temporary imperfections. Theerasatiankul (2007, p. 46) says the Western media often interprets conflicts in Africa as ethnic or tribal in nature and also portrays the West as the savior.

Schraeder and Endless (1998, p. 32) after analyzing 1,168 sampled articles published in the New York between 1955 and 1995 found out that 73 percent of all articles provided negative images of African politics and society. The most noteworthy year for positive portrayals of Africa was 1990, having a positive rating of 43 percent. This, they explained, was directly associated with optimistic expectations associated with the end of the Cold War and negotiations designed to achieve Namibian independence and a democratic South Africa. The optimism was however short-lived, as negative media portrayals of Africa increased to 85 percent in 1995.

IMAGE	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	AVE.
Positive	33	31	21	28	32	34	8	43	15	27
Negative	67	69	79	72	68	66	92	57	85	73
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
% OF ALL ARTICLES	72	53	63	59	49	74	63	68	73	62

Table 1. Positive/Negative images of Africa in the New York Times (1955-1995). Source:

Schraeder and Endless (1998, p. 32)

Binyavanga Wainaina, a Kenyan author and a past winner of the Caine Prize for African Writing also says the world has got the image of Africa wrong. According to him, if one was to imagine “that Africa was really like it is shown in the international media. Africa would be a country. Its

largest province would be Somalia.” Africa's image in the West, and Africa's image to itself, are often crude, childish drawings of reality (BBC, April 2012).

Chavis (1998) in his paper: *Africa in the Western Media* says Africa's image in the Western Media is not a self-portrait and is not a ‘what you see is what you get’ situation. He attributes this to media conditioning which he says, shapes, molds, and monopolizes the images on Africa making references to Africa to be received sometimes with disdain and contempt. He adds that there is evidence of a modus operandi Western Media organizations employ to specifically dump negative news materials and information when reporting, communicating, or disseminating anything concerning Africa. CNN Africa bureau chief Kim Norgaard quoted by Macdonald (2009) said at the International Media Forum in South Africa in May 2008, that while the news network had to report on the big negative stories, they also had a "moral responsibility to provide coverage on the full picture of Africa to help change perceptions and lives".

2.3 Why the negative coverage?

Several authors have tried to explain the reasons that could be behind the negative portrayal of Africa in the international media. Milica (2011) in *(Mis-)representations of Africa in the Western media: Crises, conflicts, stereotypes* argues that the depiction of Africa as the 'dark continent' infested with diseases, corruption, hunger and everlasting 'tribal conflicts' is caused by the commercialization of the media sector, media monopoly and economic interests, as well as, old colonial prejudice and ignorance. She identifies patterns that are used to create an image of Africa as if dependable on foreign funds and aid agencies. Due to the media's partiality, the involvement of the Western political structures and multinational corporations in the exploitation

of Africa's natural resources, their common support of dictatorial regimes and weapon exports into (post-)crisis regions are deliberately left out of the reports on the crises and conflicts bedeviling the continent.

According to Ebo (1992) cited in Wa’Njogu (2009) the reason why Africa is neglected and/or portrayed negatively is deliberate and systematic. Western correspondents in Africa look for news stories that are easy to gather, and that will be attractive to viewers. They must choose exceptional and out of the ordinary news stories. The huge cost incurred when covering Africa in terms of resources and manpower also affects the coverage. The political significance of a country or a geographical region also raises the newsworthiness of a story and provides an incentive to allocate resources and attention. For the Western media, this is done according to Western political interests. The continent is no longer considered important following the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War. Africa only becomes of interest when major political events that threaten Western interests take place. Western journalists are also not familiar with the historical and cultural factors that affect the continent and are mostly guided by negative stereotypes. African stories are further disadvantaged because of the Western belief in a hierarchy of social relationships that place cultures of industrialized nations at the top and those of the developing at the bottom. The further apart two nations stand in this hierarchy, the greater the imbalance in the flow of news between the two nations. This puts at a disadvantage, developing nations that are lower in the hierarchy. Most African countries fall here (Wa’Njogu, 2009).

According to Wa’Njogu (2009) Africa has also in a way contributed to the negative coverage it receives from the Western media. Poor infrastructure and poor transport and communication systems make it hard to access news sites in Africa and to relay the stories. The lack of press freedom in Africa is one of the major obstacles facing foreign journalists trying to access news in the continent. Many governments distrust the press and deny them access to their countries and even to their leaders. The lack of an open and vibrant domestic media and the reluctance of many African journalists to write critically about their own or their neighbour countries makes it hard for foreign journalists to do their job well. This study sets out to look at this by evaluating the way Kenyan media has covered Somalia, a neighbouring country.

Former Nation Media Group Chief Executive Officer Wilfred Kiboro while chastising the foreign journalists and their portrayal of Africa, in his address media delegates who had gathered in South Africa's Rhodes University for the Highway Africa Conference in 2005 also blamed African journalists for not portraying the continent rightly. "The media in Africa has much to be blamed for the current state of affairs vis-a-vis tainting a negative image on Africa. There lacks a link on what the media reports and what is really on the ground," he said. He blamed this on the lack of press freedom (The New Times, 2005).

2.4 African media and the African story

The negative portrayal of Africa in the Western media has led to calls for the telling of the true story about Africa. This has been summarized by the concepts of ‘telling the African story’ and ‘reporting Africa as Africans’. According to Ndangam & Kanyegirire (2005, p. 43) these concepts have not been sufficiently analyzed. They say the key “questions that need to be asked

include: What is the African story? What does it mean to report Africa as Africans? In whose interest is it to report Africa as Africans?"

One of the key arguments behind this is the assumption that African media reportage on Africa by Africans would be different from the Western media coverage. This is from the proposition that they would be filled with a sense of belonging and therefore report on the continent in a positive light. Former South African President Thabo Mbeki while addressing a SANEF conference in Johannesburg in 2003 issued a similar call. He said he was of the "assumption that you were African before you became journalists and that despite your profession, you are still Africans" (Mbeki, 2003). Macdonald (2009_b) seems to support this line of thought. He says for the current situation to change, African media needs to set the African agenda and to tell its stories of its challenges and also of its stories of hope, innovation, progress and positive developments from an African perspective. Okwir (2012) in his commentary: *When No News Is Good News for Africa's Image* adds that a crucial part of improving Africa's global image will have to come from an increased inclusion of African voices in telling African stories.

Macdonald (2009_b) quotes Tina van der Heyden of Rhodes University saying "As long as bad news sells, we shouldn't hold our breath waiting for the Western media to realize that their images are not an accurate portrayal of Africa's reality. As Africans, we need to stop seeing ourselves through the eyes of the Western media and find a way to make them see us as we see ourselves." This argument is part of what this study seeks to test, by analyzing how the Kenyan media has covered Somalia, a neighbouring country. It would be interesting to see whether the

media in Kenya followed the “West” or set out on a different path when portraying Somalia, one of the countries in Africa that has been bedevilled by political instability and natural calamities.

According to Ndangam & Kanyegirire (2005, p. 43), there are two sides to the argument. On the one hand, African journalists by virtue of their perceptions and specific context can report the continent differently from Western journalists. On the other hand, reporting differently does not necessarily equate to portraying Africa positively. Reporting positively or differently could also very easily reinforce the self-serving interests of governments and business—at the cost of the interests and rights of the wider African publics.

Mbeki (2003) acknowledges that he has heard complaints among African journalists about distorted reporting of their countries by the South African public broadcaster. He says none of the journalists suggested that such reporting should not be critical of their countries but that it should be truthful. To do this, he says anyone reporting about Africa must himself know Africa. To be truthful requires one to know the subject he is dealing with.

Apart from well-documented stories of HIV/AIDS and bad governance, critics of the international media coverage contend that there are many positive stories on the continent, giving the example of stories of successes such as Nollywood and South African soap operas (Ndangam & Kanyegirire, 2005, p. 44). Ama Biney, Editor in Chief of Pambazuka News seems to agree with this. She says Africa has a remarkably high number of women parliamentarians, for example, but the stories that come out of Africa tend to portray most African women as oppressed and powerless (Pietsch, 2013).

2.5 The common frames on Somalia

Brandwein (2011 p. 52), in her paper *Impact of international media in Somalia*, says most of the time, the media has chosen to emphasize different aspects of the Somali situation, including the civil war, international interventions, humanitarian crises, failed peace agreements, piracy, and terrorism. These distinct ways in which the international media frames Somalia shapes both the way the international community understands the conflict, and the range of responses that international actors consider.

Rasna Warah writing in *The East African* accuses the media of not being impartial in their reporting on African and Somalia. She says the story on famine is normally told by aid agency staff on the ground or independent filmmakers. News organizations, she argues, that do not have the resources to send reporters to far-flung disaster zones such as the camp in Dadaab and have therefore entered into “unholy alliances” with aid agencies. Even when journalists are present on the ground, they rely almost exclusively on aid agencies’ version of the disaster. The narrative about the famine in Somalia has, therefore, become both predictable and one-sided. According to her, “the appeals for food aid have been accompanied by heart-wrenching images: children with swollen, malnourished bellies, emaciated mothers with shrivelled breasts that no longer lactate, campsites bursting at the seams with hordes of skeletal refugees.” She adds that “Images of starving Africans are part and parcel of fund-raising campaigns, as are journalists” (Warah, 2011).

After analyzing articles published in the New York Times (NYT) and allAfrica.com¹ website between 2000 and 2010, Jessica Brandwein found that Western media tends to frame Somalia in

terms of terrorism, a humanitarian crisis or a civil war, with little focus on peace negotiations and local human interest stories or pragmatic local realities. According to her, this media focus conforms to the US government’s view of Somalia as a breeding ground for terrorists, legitimizing US policies of military intervention in Somalia, while simultaneously justifying the lack of meaningful engagement in the country on peace building issues.

Frame	New York Times	AllAfrica.Com
Terrorism/Al-Qaeda	45%	16%
Humanitarian crises	18%	14%
Civil war	16%	11%
Peacekeeping	15%	12%
Warlords	13%	8%
Piracy	8%	5%
Natural disasters	8%	8%
Peace talks/Agreements	6%	13%
Islamic insurgency	4%	2%
Local initiatives	<1%	7%

Table 2. Percentage of Somalia-related articles from New York Times and allAfrica.com published between 2000 and 2010 that fit frames used by Brandwein. Source: Brandwein (2011, p. 56)

¹AllAfrica.com is a service that collects and disseminates news articles from more than 130 African news organizations. Brandwein (2011) used the website as a sample of African media reporting.

She adds that, while African media sources are more likely to highlight peace talks and local peace and regional security initiatives, nonetheless, both sources reinforce the one sided portrayal of Al-Shabaab, providing little space for alternative narratives that would legitimize and support local peace building engagement with the insurgent group (Brandwein, 2011 p. 52).

Eribo (1994) who conducted content analysis coverage of Somalia by two Russian newspapers, Pravda and Izvestia, in December 1992 found out that news reports of Somalia and the former Yugoslavia in Russian newspapers were in most cases reported from the Russian perspective.

The period covered was when Operation Restore Hope, led by American marines, dominated the news worldwide. The operation that was ordered by President George Bush involved the US sending American troops to Mogadishu to help deliver humanitarian food assistance to the starving victims of drought and ethnic conflicts in Somalia. In his paper, Russian Newspaper Coverage of Somalia and the Former Yugoslavia, Eribo says it was not surprising that Pravda and Izvestia emphasized the coverage of the former Yugoslavia more than the coverage given to Somalia. Pravda's stories however appeared slanted against US involvement in Operation Restore Hope while Izvestia was more professional and objective in the reporting of the events in Somalia and Yugoslavia. The factors that affected the Russian papers' definition of news did not appear to be different from those already discussed in Western communication scholarship namely cultural ties, proximity, deviance and interests (ibid, pp. 33, 34).

2.6 Kenyan print media and the war on Al-Shabaab

One of the studies that have looked at Kenyan media coverage was conducted by Ogenga (2012) and published in a paper titled *Is Peace Journalism possible in the ‘war’ against terror in Somalia? How the Kenyan Daily Nation and the Standard represented Operation Linda Nchi*. Though aimed at looking at the concept of Peace Journalism, his study concludes that the two newspapers sanitized and supported the military operation and shaped the public opinion about it. He says journalists took a stand favouring a war to protect national interests. The media shared similar fears with the political and economic elites about the threat Al Shabaab posed to Kenya’s political economy adding that it is not hard to point out the political position or ideological inclination of the mainstream press in Kenya due to the mutual relationship the media shares with some politicians. He argues that though the Kenyan media claims to be practicing journalistic objectivity, it doesn’t make any genuine attempts to be objective.

Concerning the coverage of the war on Al-Shabaab in Somalia, Ogenga (2012) after looking at 26 main headlines in 26 newspaper editions of the newspapers between October 16 and November 21, 2011 says “the local media simply employed the journalism of bandwagoning, copied and pasted from the western tradition.” If this is to be the case, it would be hard for the Kenyan media to tell a different story from the one being told by the international media. This goes against the notion that Africans can tell a different story when covering the continent.

Ogenga (2012, p. 12) indicts the Kenyan media saying though the journalists focused on the threats posed by Al Shabaab to Kenyans such as terror attacks, kidnapping and piracy, they downplayed the effects of the military operations in Somalia on ordinary Somali’s. This

negatively affected refugees, mostly women and children, who were fleeing their country with some being detained by government officials at the border crossing points. In some cases the media sanitized the negative impact of the military operation by showing KDF officers distributing relief food and medicine to starving and sick Somalis.

2.7 The CNN Effect

The CNN-effect refers to the speed and volume of media in the late 20th and early 21st centuries that bring the suffering of people around the world into Western homes through their televisions screens, computers, and newspapers leading to action. According to Spencer (2005) cited in Brandwein (2011, p. 52), this coverage by Western media outlets, from CNN to the New York Times and the BBC, puts pressure on government officials to take action to end the violence and suffering being shown on the news, even if intervening does not further a government's foreign policy interests.

After the first Gulf War in 1991 and the UN/US interventions in Somalia between 1992 and 1994, the predominant school of thought was that there was a "CNN effect" that influenced a government's decision to both intervene in and exit a conflict including the US intervention in Somalia in 1992. The deaths of eighteen US soldiers during a Mogadishu battle and the television images of their bodies being dragged through the streets is commonly believed to have precipitated America's hurried withdrawal from Somalia (Brandwein, 2011 p. 52). The CNN Effect concept has evolved and is used to refer to the ability of realtime communications technology, in the form of the news media, to provoke major responses from political and

military elites to national and international events (Robinson, 2001 cited in Fitzsimmons, 2007, p. 2).

Recent research has however shown that the CNN-effect is not as powerful as once believed. An alternative theory of media impact is that of Manufacturing Consent. Proponents of this theory argue that political elites impel news makers to 'read' global events in a particular way. Thus rather than assuming that the news media influences or determines what governments do, they maintain that the media is influenced by government and government policy (Robinson, 1999, p. 303). Within the Somalia intervention example, proponents of this theory claim that the government was already leaning towards involvement, and the media simply converged with this likely policy outcome (ibid, p. 53).

Piers Robinson disapproves the Manufacturing Consent theory saying it fails to examine closely the link between media coverage and policy formulation (Robinson, 2001, p. 530). He attempts to integrate these two theories with his policy-media interaction model where he proposes that when the government's policy has already been set, the media tends to conform to it, and therefore has no independent influence on foreign policy towards a particular conflict (Brandwein, 2011, p. 53; Robinson, 2001, p. 537). He argues that conceptualizing the CNN effect in terms of 'who controls the media' is useful because it reflects the debate within foreign policy circles (Robinson, 1999, p. 307). He says by assuming media influence one forecloses the possibility that other factors might have caused an intervention decision. Further, whereas media coverage has been associated with recent humanitarian interventions it is also the case that media coverage has accompanied instances of non-intervention: for example, non-intervention during

the 1990s humanitarian crises in Liberia. He raises the question as to why intervention occurs in some instances but not others thus discrediting the CNN effect. According to him, defining the CNN effect in terms of who controls them fails to reflect the humanitarian debate that is concerned not with questions of policy control but the role the news media plays in triggering international responses to humanitarian crises (Robinson, 1999, p. 303).

2.8 Framing and Priming

According to Brandwein (2011, p. 53) to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation. Parenti (1986) cited in Brandwein (2011, p. 55) argues that framing is achieved in part through the use of particular labelling and vocabulary. The repetitive use of specific terms by a news outlet constitutes a frame that “conveys positive or negative cues regarding events and persons”.

The emphasis that the media puts on certain aspects of the conflict over others influences our understanding of the situation, and implicitly proposes specific solutions over others. Suggesting that an internal conflict is an “ethnic conflict” often implies to readers that there is a reified division between the warring groups based on their identities. In such a case, intervention may be viewed as futile, with the reasoning that it will not change the underlying ethnic identities that perpetuated the conflict. On the other hand, framing that same conflict as genocide or a humanitarian crisis suggests that intervention is both legitimate and potentially legally or morally mandated to stop the unnecessary suffering of the innocent (Brandwein, 2011, p. 54).

From Jessica Brandwein's findings, Somalia was most often referred to by the NYT with respect to terrorism, with 45 percent of the articles mentioning terrorism or al-Qaeda. The African sources on the other hand, only wrote about terrorism or al-Qaeda in 16 percent of their Somalia articles. Other popular frames used by the NYT included that of a humanitarian crisis, a civil war or a peacekeeping operation. Peace processes were only mentioned in 5.8 percent of the articles, while local peace building efforts, represented by the key words "civil society" and "grassroots", were only mentioned in 12 out of the 2,500 articles. While allAfrica.com's sources were also most likely to refer to terrorism, humanitarian crises, civil war and peacekeeping operations in their articles, they were also twice as likely to mention peace processes and more than six times more likely to write about local peace building efforts than was the NYT.

Gewald (2004) in his paper *Global media and violence in Africa: The case of Somalia*, says America's involvement in Somalia during the 1992 crisis was predicated on a positive media image: American forces guarding food-aid convoys and aiding the starving and needy. This image changed completely when 'wanted' posters bearing Farah Aidid's image appeared throughout Mogadishu. This was after the US attacked a meeting of clan elders loyal to Aidid, leading to the killing of 70 people. News of the strike spread quickly and when foreign journalists arrived at the scene, Somalis, including women and children, turned on them and beat four to death. (Purvis, 2002 cited in Gewald, 2004, p. 100). The killing of the four western journalists unleashed a storm of protest in the West.

2.9 Theoretical Framework

This study used the framing as a theory to analyze how Somalia has been portrayed in the Kenyan media. It also used the agenda setting theory to look at the agenda pursued by the two Kenyan newspapers in their coverage.

2.10 Agenda Setting

Agenda setting is a theory of mass communication that describes the way the mass media interacts with and affects the public it targets. It was first put forward by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw in 1972. The theory refers to the idea that there is a strong correlation between the emphasis that mass media place on certain issues (e.g., based on relative placement or amount of coverage) and the importance attributed to these issues by mass audiences (McCombs & Shaw, 1972).

At the core of the theory is the notion that mass media form the primary interface between the public and the world around them (Leetaru, 2012). An agenda is a list of things to be considered or acted upon (Dominick, 2009, p. 442). The theory refers to the mass media's tendency to pay attention to certain issues, but neglect others (Botha, 2007, p. 5). According to the Agenda Setting theory, the media wield considerable control over the public's perception of the world around them. This control takes the form not only of what to think about, but also how to think about it.

According to McCombs (2002) cited in Riaz (2008), in a typical daily newspaper, over 75 percent of the potential news of the day is rejected and never transmitted to the audience.

Newspapers don't have enough space to print each and everything that is available. There is no way other than choices. Discussing the agenda setting role of the media, Riaz (2008) says the news media tell us (the audience) which issues are important and which ones are not. He says: "We have never seen the war situations of Afghanistan, Iraq, Palestine and Kashmir with our own eyes. Even then we have pictures of these disputed areas in our minds. The media's daily reports inform us about the latest events and changes taking place in the world beyond our reach." As a result of this, most of people's perceptions about the world are a second-hand reality created by the media organizations. There is no assurance and no guarantee that this reality is an accurate picture of the world. How the Kenyan audience perceive Somalia is influenced by what and how the media reports on the country, according to this theory.

According to McCombs (2012, p. 1) "Not only do people acquire factual information about public affairs from the news media, readers and viewers also learn how much importance to attach to a topic on the basis of the emphasis placed on it in the news. Newspapers provide a host of cues about the salience of the topics in the daily news – lead story on page one, other front page display, large headlines, etc." Journalists engage in agenda setting, in deciding out of the vast universe of events what to report and what to ignore. In setting the news agenda, however, most studies have found that American journalists turn to politicians and government officials for guidance in deciding what constitutes news. This means that sometimes, mostly in foreign policy matters, the media may be involuntarily be pursuing the governments agenda (Mermin, 1997, p. 387).

2.11 Framing

Framing is based on the assumption that how an issue is characterized in news reports can have an influence on how it is understood by audiences (Pan & Kosicki, 1993). According to Rodgers (2003, p. 204) a tendency to portray particular kinds of information in particular kinds of ways can exclude information, ideas and actors that may reasonably be expected to have a place in the reporting of events. Agenda setting is traditionally grouped with the concepts of priming and framing (Leetaru, 2012). Priming enables agenda setting by influencing an individual to evaluate an issue along a particular dimension favourable to the viewpoint being suggested.

Framing is its complement, and refers to the association of a viewpoint with other specific viewpoints, such that an individual hearing of the given viewpoint will automatically recall the other viewpoints. Although there is much contention about the exact nature of framing (Roefs, 1998; Scheufele, 1999, p. 103 cited in Botha 2007, p. 5), it is generally accepted to be related to agenda setting, and especially to second level agenda setting that concerns attributes of news topics.

According to Allen, O'Loughlin, Jasperson and Sullivan (1994, p. 266), framing describes the process of placing information into a context of preconscious symbolism while priming concerns the unobtrusive activation of attitude or knowledge constructs stored in memory. Tewksbury and Dietram (2007) cited in Leetaru (2012) conceptualize the Framing and Priming in terms of accessibility and applicability. Priming, according to Leetaru (2012) falls under the category of accessibility, defining and constraining the available dimensions of discourse for a topic.

Additional dimensions of a subject simply cease to exist if the media refuses to cover them.

Applicability refers to framing, in which other related topics are grouped with the chosen viewpoint to make the application areas of those topics become affiliated with the given viewpoint. In both framing and priming, the unconscious or preconscious references stimulate conscious judgments that might not have occurred if information had been framed or attitudes had been primed differently (Allen et al, 1994, p. 266). Media framing and priming can predispose individuals to understand and interpret information selectively.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the methodology used in gathering and analyzing data for this study. The sample population consists of stories of all kinds on Somalia that were published in the Nation and The Standard between 1st July 2010 and June 30, 2013. This study followed a quantitative and qualitative approach. Of key interest was to establish how the Kenyan media framed stories on Somalia in a period that was characterized by a great famine and a military operation by the Kenyan Defence Forces against Al-Shabaab.

3.2 Research Design

A research design is a process of constructing the structure that makes it possible to test the hypotheses. It is a programme that guides the investigator on how to collect, analyze and interpret the observations (KIPPRA, 2005, p. 29). This study used a quantitative and qualitative approach to analyze stories from the two main newspapers in Kenya, the Daily Nation and the Standard. Quantitative content analysis enables the researcher to determine the frequency of occurrence of various units of analysis. This suits the study because through the frequency, one can establish the representation of an agenda through repetition. Being the widely read papers in the country, they best represent the print media in Kenya.

This study also used qualitative content analysis. This is due to the fact that research based on media representations is mostly qualitative in nature (Ogenga, 2012). Here, focus was given on the context of the appearance of the texts to derive the message being conveyed. Ogenga (2012) used a similar approach when analyzing the coverage of the war on Al-Shabaab by the Nation and the Standard and Ogbimi (2012) when analyzing the coverage of the 2011 famine in Somalia by three Western newspapers, the Guardian, the International Herald Tribune and Hurriyet Daily.

The Standard newspapers can trace its origin to 1901, when an Asian trader Alibhai Mulla Jeevanjee set up The African Standard, becoming the first mainstream newspaper. It was published monthly. In 1905, Jeevanjee sold it to R. Mayer and A. Anderson who renamed it The East African Standard (Karanja in Odero and Kamweru, 2000). It was later renamed the Standard. The Daily Nation came into existence more than half a century later. In 1958, Taifa owned by East African Press began publication. It was later bought by Aga Khan. In 1960, he launched an English paper, the Sunday Nation and later the Daily Nation. Currently, the Daily Nation leads in terms of circulation and readership. According to the World Association of Newspapers quoting the Audit Bureau of Circulation, Daily Nation's circulation as at 1999 stood at 220,000 copies and readership 3,000,000 while the Standard circulation was at 60,000 and readership 1,150,000 (WAN, 2013).

3.3 Methods of Data Collection

This study used Content Analysis as a method of collecting data on the quantitative aspect of the study. The main data collection tool used was a code sheet. The researcher used codes to analyze the two newspapers on Somalia during the days sampled and their attributes which include

author, sources quoted in the story, key words used, length, page published and presence or absence of photographs accompanying the stories. The information was filled into coding sheets by the researcher with scores given for the absence or presence of an attribute and its kind.

3.3.1 Content Analysis

According to Severin & Tankard (2001, p. 35) Content Analysis is a systematic method of analyzing message content. It is a tool for analyzing the messages of certain communication. Instead of interviewing people or asking them to respond to questionnaires the investigator using content analysis examines the communications that have been produced at times and places of his own choosing. Berelson and Lazarsfeld, described it as “a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication (Berelson and Lazarsfeld, 1948, cited in Krippendorf (1967, p. 34)).

According to Stone (1964) cited in Krippendorf (1967, p. 36) content analysis has to be objective, systematic and quantitative. He defines Content analysis as any procedure for assessing the relative extent to which specified references, attitudes, or themes permeate a given message or document. Content analysis can be applied to the study of any book, magazine, newspaper, individual story or article, motion picture, news broadcast or television program (Tan, 1985, p. 49). After settling on the question to be investigated or a hypothesis to be tested, the content analyst must define the population he or she will work with in terms of publications, newscasts, time span etc (Severin & Tankard 2001, p. 36). If the population is large, a sample is drawn. Categories must then be defined for classifying message content and the content of the sample coded according to objective rules. If the content is to be related to other variables, the

scores can then be compared with them. The scores can then be analyzed, mostly by using data reduction techniques of statistical analysis and the findings interpreted according to the concepts or theories that have been tested (Ibid).

Content Analysis is held to be reliable and not unique to the investigator (McQuail, 2005, p. 363). The traditional method of traditional content analysis has limitations and challenges. Constructing a category system before applying it, for example, involves the risk of an investigator imposing a meaning system rather than discovering it. Even when care is taken to avoid this, according to McQuail (2005, p. 364) any such category system must be selective and potentially distorting.

3.3.2 Scope

This study focuses on stories published on Kenya's two leading newspapers Daily Nation, simply referred to as The Nation, and The Standard covering the period between 1st July 2010 and 30th June 2013 as the sample population.

3.3.3 Sample Selection

This study employs purposive sampling technique, picking all the Sunday edition of the two newspapers published between July 1, 2010 and June 30, 2013. The researcher settled on this because in most cases the weekend editions cover the week before that weekend and therefore can be representative of the stories and frames used during the week. According to (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003, p. 50), purposive sampling technique allows a researcher to use cases that have the required information with respect to the objectives of his or her study.

3.3.4 Coding frame

This study followed the line of research developed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), who identified five news frames: ‘conflict’, ‘human interest’, ‘attribution of responsibility’, ‘morality’ and ‘economic consequences’. The frames are mostly used in analyzing media coverage of conflicts. The conflict frame emphasizes on the conflict between individuals, groups, institutions or countries. The human interest frame on the other hand brings a human face, an individual’s story, or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue or problem.

The responsibility frame presents an issue or problem in such a way as to attribute responsibility for causing or solving to either the government or to an individual or group while the morality frame interprets an event or issue in the context of religious tenets or moral prescriptions. The economic consequences frame presents an event, problem or issue in terms of the economic consequences it will have on an individual, group, institution, region or country (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000 as cited in Vreese, 2005, p. 56). Operationalization of the conflict and the economic consequences borrowed largely from the frame scale adopted by Vreese et al (2001, p 112) and Brunken (2006, pp 90-94) and those used by Brandwein (2011, p. 56).

3.3.5 The Code Sheet

The main parts of the coding sheet (attached as an appendix) include the basic details about the story analyzed starting with the newspaper involved, the date of publication and the writer together with the headline of the article. These are to help in tracking the story and giving a wide

idea of what the story is about. A cumulative serial number was allocated to make referencing easier and keep count.

The second main part of the coding sheet is the genre of the story. The researcher used eight main classes of stories namely, Hard News, News Analyses, News Roundup, News Brief, Feature Story, Editorial, Commentary, Questions & Answer and Letters to the Editor. The genre dictates the freedom that a journalist or an author has in presenting the story. Hard news are highly restrictive while editorials, letters to the editor and commentaries offer the writer wider freedom. The articles go through the gate keeping processes in a media house and can be used to pursue a specific agenda.

The other key part of the coding sheet looks at the page where the article was published, the size and the presence of lack of an editorial supplement. The page where a story is published shows the prominence attached by the media house. The prime pages are normally the front page and the back page and page one to three. The stories are bound to catch the reader's eye faster than stories published in the inner pages.

The presence of accompanying photographs, cartoons, maps and graphical illustrations also enhance a reader's experience by capturing his attention and also explaining what is in the story. The code sheet also looks at the main subjects mentioned in the story. This is the person whose story is being told. By looking at the person or side given prominence or mentioned favorably in a story, one can deduce whose agenda is being pursued. The same applies to the event covered, which can explain the circumstances under which the story was generated. A press conference is normally held by the subject whereas an interview is usually sought by a journalist.

The third section of the code sheet looks at the frames used in the articles on Somalia. The researcher used twelve frames to analyze the stories from the Nation and the Standard.

The first one is Civil War that covers the emphasis on violent conflict and fighting among various factions in Somalia. In the stories, the researcher looked for direct references to civil war such as “war-torn country” and “civil war” and other references that portrayed Somalia as a country that has been a state of perpetual war. The second is Humanitarian Crisis covering the painting of human suffering which comes out through presence of issue of refugees and displacements. The humanitarian crisis could be as a result of disasters such as drought or floods and even war. Local Peace Building Efforts, is the third, covering the various initiatives among the communities living in Somalia to restore or maintain peace. It covers any meetings held to try and stop conflict and promote peaceful coexistence. Warlords cover the presence military commanders and kingpins controlling areas of the country and in perpetual conflict with other commanders. It covers individuals who control fighting groups which are engaged in conflict.

The fifth is Terrorism (Al-Qaeda/Al-Shabaab) which is the wider frame covering the activities of Al-Shabaab, a group that has been linked to Al-Qaeda and listed as a terror group by the US and other Western countries. It also covers suicide attacks and threats issued by the group. Piracy on the other hand covers the hijacking of ships along the Indian Ocean for ransom. This started before the rise of the Al-Shabaab and though the group was reported to be profiting from the proceedings of piracy, the two are not necessarily connected.

Natural Disaster covers calamities such as drought, famine and floods. These sometimes also fall under humanitarian crisis when they cause people to flee their areas and move to camps. Islamic

Insurgency on the other hand focuses on the characterization of the conflict in Somalia as a religious one, with references to Al-Shabaab as an Islamist Group. It covers the portrayal of its operations as having something to do with Islamic fundamentalism. Peace Talks/Agreements is the frame that covers various initiatives undertaken to try and resolve the conflict in Somalia and establish a popular government. This is different from local peace building efforts in that the talks involve international players such as the AU, the UN or IGAD and neighbouring countries.

When the existing governance structures are trying to further their ideas democratically, this moves to the Democratic Processes frame. This includes elections for the president, speaker of Parliament and ministers. It also covers transactions by the democratically institutions such as passing laws or discussing the running of the country.

Peacekeeping Missions is the frame that covers operations by outside players to restore order in Somalia spear-headed by the AU. Intentionally, this frame has been used to cover too operations by the Kenya Defence Forces even before they officially joined the AU peace keepers, Amisom. The last frame is Economic Recovery which focuses on the revival of the Somali economy through reestablishment of businesses and towns and the expression of hope that comes with a stable country. By looking at the tone used in the reporting, the researcher classed the articles as positive, negative or neutral.

3.3.6. Key Variables and Definitions

In comparing the two newspapers and their coverage of Somalia, the importance of coverage accorded by each newspaper was determined. In order to determine the importance, the location

of each article in the newspaper as either ‘front page’ or ‘inside pages’, the length of the articles and the presence of accompanying photographs or absence was examined. Each article was labelled as positive, negative or neutral on the basis of the finding that will help define the tone pursued in the story. To do this, the key variables used were the lead domination and the paragraphs. A similar approach was used by Xinkun (2003) in his thesis *Media Ownership and Objectivity* which sought to determine to what extent bias can be found in the news coverage of the 2000 Presidential campaign by two daily newspapers in the US, the Boston Globe and the Boston Herald.

Lead Domination is a variable that gets the mention in the first paragraph of a story. News is stacked in paragraphs in order of descending importance. The lead summarizes the principal items of a news event (Xinkun, 2003 p. 19). Any newspaper article comprises of paragraphs each with a key idea. By looking at the number of paragraphs in the story and the side that is favorably mentioned in each paragraph, a decision will be made on whether the article is positive towards Somalia, negative or neutral. A neutral paragraph or story is one that simply tells the facts and doesn’t show any indications of leaning towards any side.

3.4 Procedure for data presentation and analysis

The unit of analysis will be an individual story, which will be analyzed in relation to the set frame scales. The researcher will use the mean scores and percentages from the codes to compare and contrast the coverage of Somalia by the two newspapers. According to Mugenda & Mugenda (2003, p. 119) the mean is the most frequently used measure of central tendency. To

compare the tone of reportage on Somalia by the two newspapers and the origin of stories, the Chi Square Test, a non-parametric statistical test was used.

The researcher also used tables and charts to tabulate and present the data. This is to make it easier for interpretation and synthesis.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 DATA PRESENTATION AND FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

This section presents key data from the analysis of stories published in the Daily Nation and the Standard during the three year period between July 2010 and June 2013. Tables and charts are used where necessary to illustrate the findings. The Chi Square test was used to compare the tone adopted by the two newspapers when reporting on Somalia.

4.2 Number of stories analyzed, their origin and genre

A total of 558 articles with references to Somalia published in the Sunday editions of the two newspapers during the period under study, 335 in the Nation and 223 in the Standard were analyzed. A huge percentage of the stories analyzed were written by journalists or correspondents working for the two newspapers, 73% for the Standard and 79% for the Nation, while 25% and 12% respectively was from news agencies. The Standard used stories from Reuters, AP, BBC and Xinhua while the Nation published wire stories from AFP and Xinhua. The two newspapers occasionally used stories from the PPS, VPPS and PMPS.

Of the stories published in the Standard, 7 % were in a prime page (page 1, 2, 3, and back-page), compared to 12% in the Nation. Note however that the back-page for the Standard is dedicated to sports news as opposed to the Nation whose back-page is for general news. The Standard had

33% between pages 4 and 11 and 59% of the stories from page 12 onwards compared to the Nation with 16% and 73% respectively.

A big part of the stories published by the two newspapers on their weekend editions was hard news, followed by news analyses and commentaries. Letters to the editor, news roundup and question and answer stories touching on Somalia were minimal as shown by the bar chart below.

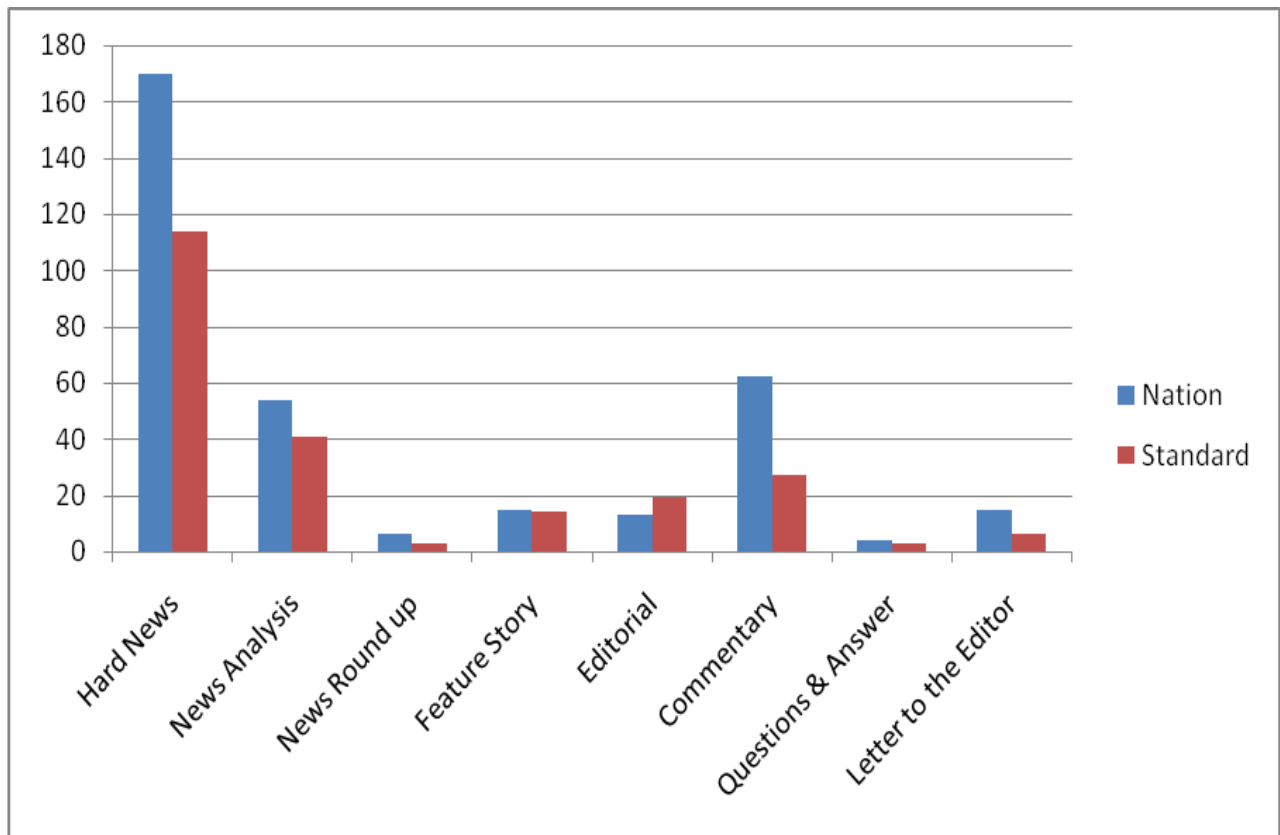


Chart 1: The genre of stories published by the Nation and Standard on Sundays from July 2010 to June 2013 touching on Somalia.

Origin	Newspaper		Total
	Nation	Standard	
Local authors	264	162	426
Agencies	39	54	93
Not indicated and hybrid by-lines	32	7	39
Total	335	223	558

Table: 3. The origin of stories published in the Sunday editions of The Nation and Standard (2010-2013) on Somalia.

Chi Square Test

H_0 = There is no difference in the origin of stories on Somalia published in the Nation and the Standard.

H_1 = There is a difference in the origin of stories on Somalia published in the Nation and the Standard.

The value calculated is 22.8140

df = 2

At the significance level of 0.5 (two tailed) $22.8140 > 5.991$. The null hypothesis is rejected. This shows there is a significance difference in the authors of stories published in the two newspapers on Somalia during the period under study.

4.3 Size of articles and presence of photographs

Most of the stories from the two newspapers during the period were briefs at 30 % for the Nation and 28% for the Standard followed by those that occupied half-pages at 25% for the Nation and 26% for the Standard. Those occupying full pages were the least though the Standard had more at 11% compared to 3% for the Nation. The high number of stories published on half-pages could be explained by commentaries which mostly occupied half pages. The distribution of the stories according to space occupied in the two newspapers is shown in Chart 2.

Of the stories published in the Nation, 72% had editorial supplements in the form of photographs, maps or cartoons compared to 53 in the Standard. Photographs were the most used, with maps featuring after the KDF incursion into Somalia mostly to show troops movement. The high number of stories with photos could also be a result of commentaries that were mostly accompanied by the photographs of the authors.

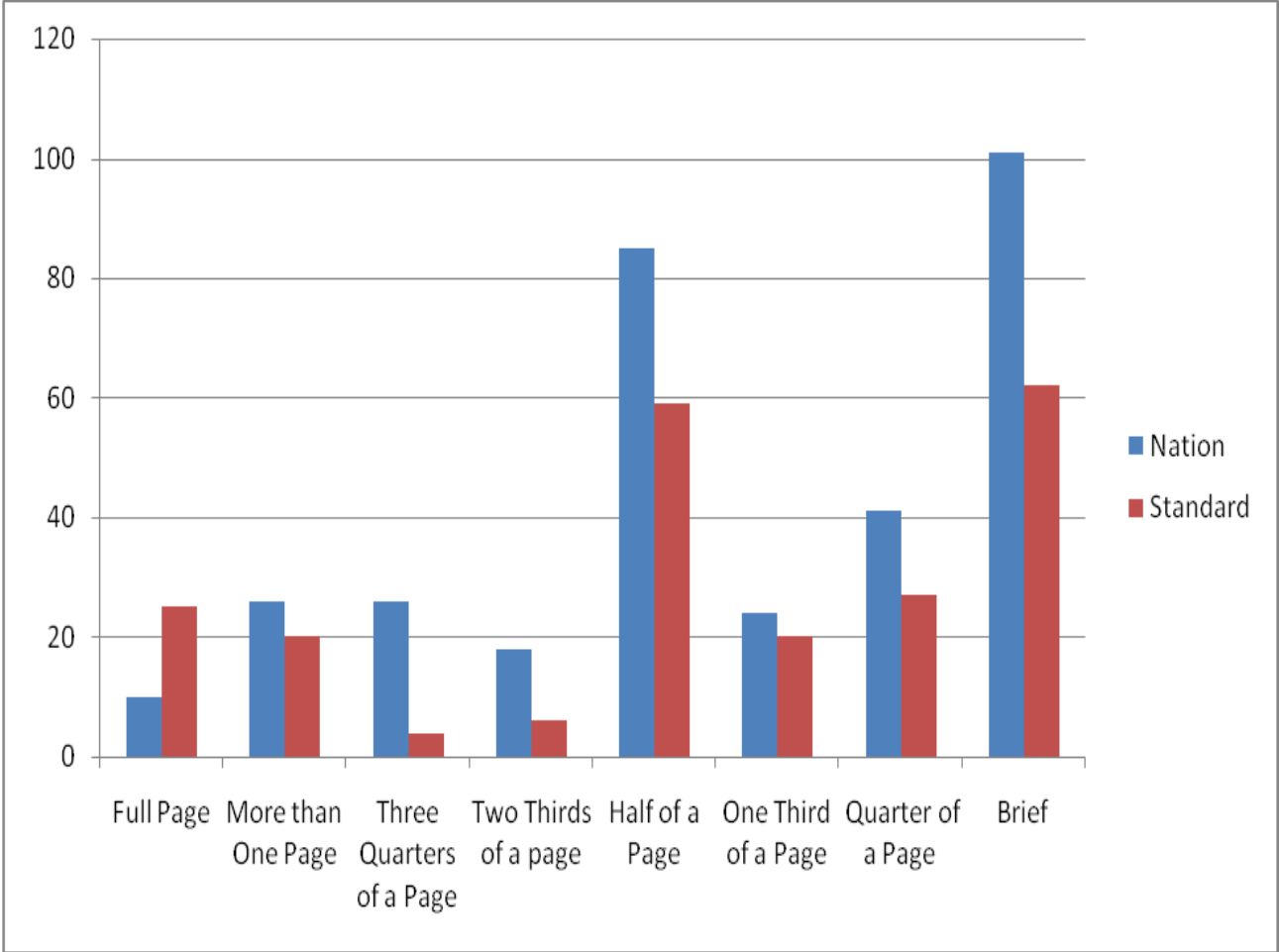


Chart 2: The size of stories on Somalia published in the Sunday editions of the Nation and Standard newspapers between July 2010 and June 2013.

4.4 Events covered and Subjects

Interviews lead in the events that were the source of the stories covered by the two newspapers during the period, for the Nation at 23% and the Standard at 31% (These include official interviews with newsmakers and civilians in most cases as witnesses to events). Media statements/Press releases follow at Nation (23%) and Standard (22%), then press conferences at

11% for the Nation and 14% for the Standard. Workshops and observations from the country have the least at 15% and 0.3% for the Nation and 1% and 1% for the Standard respectively. It was however difficult to identify the events covered in some stories, because this was never indicated in the story. This grouped with other events stood at 45% for the Nation and 36% for the Standard, in effect, the highest number of stories.

Government officials form the majority of the sources or subjects for the stories published by the two papers on Somalia during the three year period as shown by the table below.

Subject	Nation	Standard
Head of State (s)	10%	11%
Minister (s)	12%	12%
Other Prominent Government Officials	19%	13%
Regional/International Organization Head	4%	3%
Military Official	16%	21%
Humanitarian Organization Senior Officers	3%	2%

Al-Shabaab personnel	5%	4%
Clan leader / Spokesman	0%	0%
Civilian	20%	24%
Security Official (Police)	9%	11%
Other	38%	34%

Table 3: The percentage of people* mentioned in the stories on Somalia in the Nation and Standard Sunday editions between July 2010 and June 2013.

*Note, several persons can be mentioned in one story, and as a result, the percentages are more than 100%.

4.5 Framing of Somalia

From the stories analyzed, the majority of the stories on Somalia covered the frame of terrorism, revolving around Al-Shabaab and Al-Qaeda. This was experienced in both papers as shown in the Table 2. Some stories, 8% for the Nation and 6%, branded the group as an extremist Islamic group. Phrases such as “*Islamist militia*”, “*Islamic militants*”, “*Radical Islamist group*”, “*Ragtag militia*” were used in the stories. Syson (2012) referred to Al-Shabaab as “Islamic fundamentalists” whereas Kiberenge (2012) referred to the group as “*Ruthless extremist group linked to al Qaeda.*” Aluanga (2011) in a story on Al-Shabaab quotes an international relations lecturer, David Kikaya, who in trying to explain involvement of Al-Shabaab in kidnappings in Kenya says the intention of the group was to seek attention from the international community. He says: “*Terrorism thrives on negative publicity. Al-Shabaab has moved away from hotspots like Mogadishu to avoid protracted battles with Amisom, to the outskirts. It however remains active to remind the public that it’s still around hence the kidnappings witnessed in Lamu.*” After the KDF crossed into Somalia to fight Al-Shabaab, in a commentary by former Kenyan minister Dr Mukhisa Kituyi under the headline “*World must support Kenya in war against al Shabaab*”, he makes reference to threats by depots in comparison with threats by Al-Shabaab saying: “*Their threats coached in flowery language reminiscent of the last days of Saddam Hussein and Muamar Gaddafi were as predictable as they were chilling.*” (Kituyi, 2011).

An editorial in the Sunday Nation of October 16, 2011 while supporting the war by KDF against Al-Shabaab in Somalia reads: “*There is no greater external threat to Kenya’s stability than the*

al Shabaab, a loose gathering of radical extremists and rootless youth that was routed from Mogadishu by Ugandan and Burundian troops in the second week of August.”

Some stories portrayed Somalia as a country of perpetual war and a collapsed country.

Adjectives such as “*War-stricken country*”, “*War-torn country*”, “*Lawless country*”, “*Failed state*”, “*War-ravaged*”, and “*War-weary Horn of Africa country*” were commonly used to refer to the country. While providing background information to stories on Somalia, many stories made reference to the country having not had a stable government since 1991 or simply for 20 years further portraying Somalia as a failed country. An example is the following statement for The Standard of March 3, 2011 by Reuters: “*Somalia has been without an effective central Government since President Siad Barre was overthrown in 1991*” Reuters (2011). An editorial published in the Standard of the same day, October 16, 2011 under the headline “*Kenya must defend its territorial integrity*” says: “*(The) highly ineffective and quarrelsome Transitional Federal Government that has been propped up by the international community ... has not achieved the desired results because it lacks public goodwill*” (The Standard, 2011).

Stories about famine in Somalia and refugees are also many in the stories analyzed. One of the stories in the Sunday Nation, on July 31, 2011 page 42 has the headline: “*Starving Somalis move top American musician to tears*” with an accompanying photo of the musician in tears. The intro reads: “*Popular American singer Mama Soul shed tears after seeing malnourished children and mothers when he visited camps for those displaced by famine in Mogadishu. She had a strong message for the rest of the world. “Why are you watching at the crippling situation?” Mama Soul asked.*” (Khalif, 2011). Another story on April 10, 2011 had the headline: *Seven starve to*

death in Somalia drought.” On May 12, 2013, there was another story still on a disaster but caused by a different situation. A story by Xinhua in the Sunday Nation is headlined: *“Floods kill 7, displace 50,000 in Somalia.”* Kelley (2011) in a story on the Nation also highlights the problem of refugees when reporting on the address by the then Kenyan president Mwai Kibaki to a United Nations (UN) mini-summit on Somalia convened on the sidelines of the UN General Assembly meetings. He quotes President Kibaki saying: *“Kenya is receiving as many as 2,000 Somali refugees daily.”*

Frame	Nation	Standard
Civil War	17%	29%
Humanitarian Crises	17%	22%
Peace Building	2%	3%
Warlords	3%	7%
Terrorism	69%	70%
Piracy	8%	16%

Natural Disaster	5%	2%
Islamic Insurgency	8%	6%
Peace Talks	5%	3%
Peacekeeping Missions	43%	37%
Economic Recovery	5%	7%
Democratic Processes	6%	11%
Collapsed State	18%	32%

Table 4: The frames* adopted on Somalia in stories published in the Sunday editions of the Nation and Standard newspapers from July 2010 to June 2013.

*Note: Stories had several frames and hence the percentages are more than 100%

4.6 Tone of reporting

An analysis of the stories showed most had a negative tone in relation to Somalia in both the Nation and the Standard, as shown in the chart below. The Standard however had a bigger proportion of its stories portraying Somalia in a positive tone at 16% compared to the Daily Nation at 9%. The stories that took a neutral tone in the Nation were close but slightly more than those in the Standard, at 16% compared to 14% from the Standard. The Nation had 76% of its stories with a negative tone and the Standard 70%.

An intro to a story published in The Standard on July 11, 2010 makes reference to Somalia thus: *“Tucked between pirate-infested Gulf of Aden to its north and terrorist-controlled Somalia in the South...”* Weru (2011) writing in the Sunday Nation of March 13, 2011 portrays Somalia as country where everyone is at war. He writes: *“A detractor considers me spineless for commenting about Somalia without daring to visit the country. As a matter of fact, I have no problem doing exactly that. The last time I was there, I had a rocket propelled grenade-toting goatherd for a guide. Not very comforting though.”*

There is however some stories which portray a different side of Somalia. An example is a brief story in the Sunday Nation of May 1, 2011 with the headline: *“Somali varsities to set up association”*. A commentary by the Somali ambassador to Kenya Mohamed Ali Nur and also to the Unep and UN Habitat on July 1, 2012 in the Standard with the headline *“Renewed optimism as Somalia marks 52 years of independence”* also portrays a Somalia full of hope. He says: *“...today the atmosphere is charged with hope and expectation following the remarkable achievements that have been realized on the security, economic and political fronts.”* He

concludes by saying: “...as Somalia marks 52 years of independence, we the people of Somalia once again stand at the dawn of a new era of stability and prosperity. Together with our friends in the international community, (we) must rededicate ourselves to ensuring that anarchy and chaos at home will never again mar our observance of this great occasion” (Nur, 2012).

On August 19, 2012, the Standard in its editorial headlined “A chance for Somalia to rise from the ruins” also offers hope. Focusing on the election of a new president to take over from the TFG, the intro says: “After over two decades of conflict, Somalia is this week expected to open a new chapter in its administration.” The editorial is however cautiously optimistic, saying: “Already, there is cautious optimism the election in Somalia will usher in a new era.” The fear outlined in the editorial is of the Al-Shabaab and other stakeholders who might not be satisfied with the developments. Referring to clan politics, the editorial says “At least 20 candidates have expressed interest in the seat, but only four have mettle and clan support to go all the way” (The Standard, August 19, 2012). On the same day, the Nation had a story with the headline “Optimism as Somalia goes to polls” by Njeri Rugene and Emeka-Mayaka Gekara terming the elections as a golden moment for peace and renewal. It however also makes reference to clanship, saying: “The historic elections, to be conducted by the clan-influenced Parliament, come a year after the withdrawal of Al-Shabaab militants from Mogadishu.” Though expressing hope, it portrays Somalia as a country under the mercy of clan politics. An analysis by Mwagiru (2012) published by the Nation on February 26, 2012 under the headline “Guarded optimism as leaders fail to tackle Somalia’s humanitarian crisis” also shows scepticism saying an

international conference on Somalia held at Lancaster House in London didn't offer certainty over the way forward for Somalia..

Tone	Newspaper		Total
	Nation	Standard	
Negative	254	157	411
Neutral	51	31	82
Positive	30	35	65
Total	335	223	558

Table 5: The tone of reporting on Somalia in the stories published in the Nation and the Standard.

Chi Square Test

H_0 = There is no significant difference in the tone of stories on Somalia published in the Nation and the Standard.

H_1 = There is a difference in the tone of stories on Somalia published in the Nation and the Standard.

The value calculated is 5.5786

df = 2

At the significance level of 0.5 (two tailed) $5.5786 < 5.991$ hence there is no adequate evidence to reject the null hypothesis.

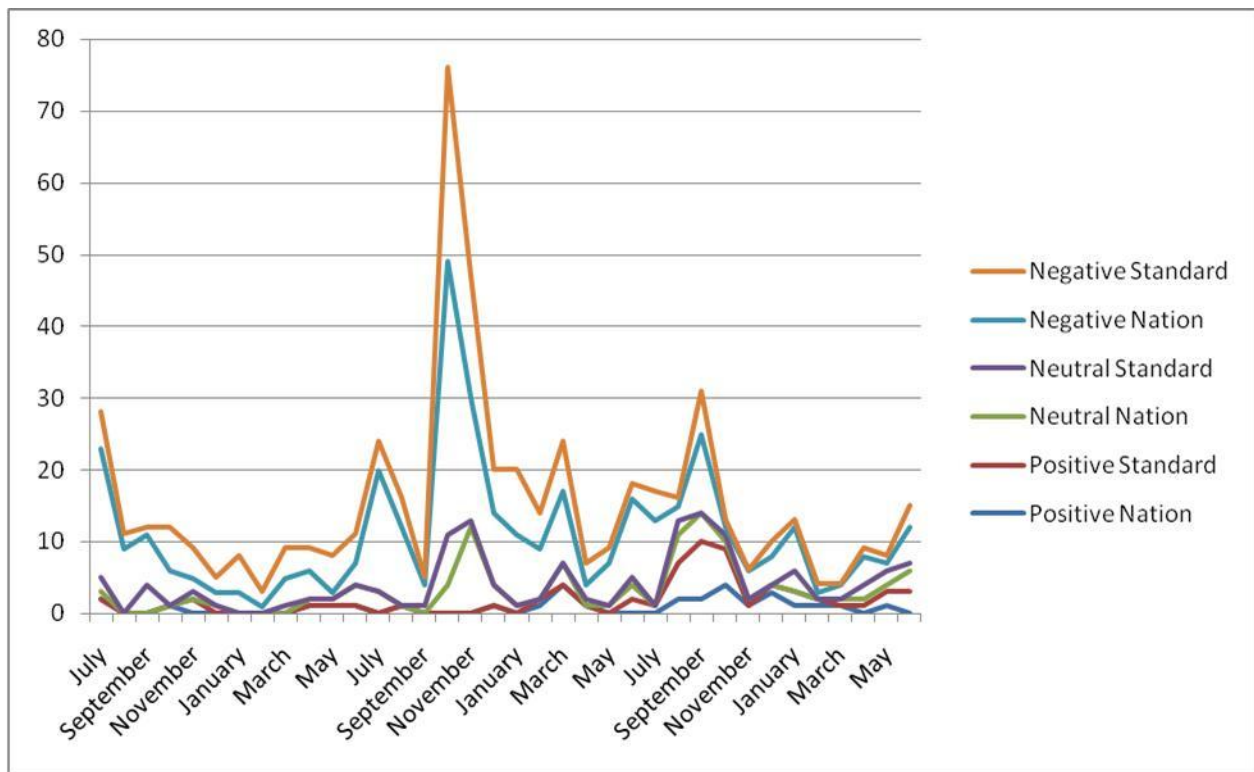


Chart 3: The tone of reporting in stories published in the Standard on Sunday and the Sunday Nation.

4.7 Kenyan print media compared to Western media

From the findings, when compared to the Western media, the Nation and Standard in their coverage of Somalia seem to follow the same path. The study by Brandwein (2011) found that the dominant frame in the coverage of Somalia by The New York Times was terrorism/Al-Qaeda with 45% of the stories having it. This study shows a similar frame of Terrorism (Al-Shabaab/Al-Qaeda) was also dominant in the coverage during the three years under study. For the Nation at 69% and the Standard at 70%. Humanitarian Crises, Civil War, Peacekeeping and Warlords follow in that order for the NYT at 18%, 16%, 15% and 13% respectively. For the Nation and the Standard, Peacekeeping comes first at 43% and 37% respectively, most likely because of the involvement of the KDF in the war on Al-Shabaab and later the incorporation into Amisom. Civil War follows with Nation having 17% and Standard 29% then Humanitarian Crises where Nation has 17% and Standard 22%. The stories in the Nation with Warlords as a frame were 3% and 7% for the Standard.

The tone of reporting adopted by the two newspapers on Somalia also mirrors that of the NYT while covering Africa over a period of four decades as shown by the study carried out by Schraeder and Endless (1998). They found out that 73% of the stories on Africa published by the US newspaper were negative. This study found out that 76% of the stories published by the Nation and 70% of those published by the Standard in the three year period adopted a negative tone on Somalia.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary and Conclusions

From the analysis, there is no significant difference in the way the Nation and the Standard have covered Somalia and the tone adopted. Consistently, Somalia is portrayed as an unstable country, ravaged by war, drought and floods with Al-Shabaab terrorizing Somalis and Kenyans. The number of stories and the prominence given to the stories on Somalia followed a pattern for the two newspapers, hiking after the occurrence of a major event and dropping when the event passed as shown in Chart 3.

In July 2010, the effects of the terror attack in Kampala on people watching the World Cup final led to a surge in the number of stories in the two newspapers. The number of stories rose again after KDF crossed into Somalia in pursuit of Al-Shabaab members. During this period, the stories occupied prime pages, occasionally being page-one stories. This continued until the effect and excitement of the war wearied off around March, the following year. The stories later picked towards October 2012. During the early weeks of 2013, most prime pages were occupied by political stories owing to the General Election that was slated for March 4. This pushed Somalia to the periphery. After the elections, the stories started surging again, reporting discord in Kismayu in Jubaland over plans to make the region autonomous, a move supported by Kenya. During this period, there are stories of fighting between different factions laying claim to the region.

The two newspapers seem to buy and propagate the government's agenda on Somalia. After KDF crossed into Somalia, the Standard ran an editorial on October 16, 2011 headlined: "*Kenya must defend its territorial integrity.*" In the editorial, it is stated: "*But with Somalia's anarchy now being exported to Kenya and threatening to paralyze the same economic gains the Government has been trying to safeguard, it is time to make tough choices... We support any move that would help secure and restore Kenya's integrity.*" On the same day, October 16, 2011, the Sunday Nation had an editorial titled: "*Time to confront the al Shabaab militia.*" Its intro reads: "*The decision to deploy the military to tackle the growing menace of al Shabaab militants is the right one. There is no greater external threat to Kenya's stability than the al Shabaab...*" A week later, on October 23, 2011 the Nation published another editorial where it praised the Kenyan military and even offered advice to the communication of the forces. The intro starts by saying: "*Apart from diehard members of al Shabaab militia group few people can credibly question the merits of the Kenyan military incursion into Somalia.*" Then it states that: "*By forcing al Shabaab into a swift retreat, Kenyan forces have demonstrated their capacity on the battlefield in the towns which have been contested so far.*" After that, the editorial notes that al-Shabaab seemed to be winning the propaganda war and thus calls on the government to improve its communication strategy. "*The communications department of the military and the other ministries handling this conflict must show similar skill in fighting back against the propaganda that the Shabaab are purveying in the battle for hearts and minds,*" it says (The Nation_b, 2011).

The agenda pursued by the two newspapers could be explained by the media ownership model in Kenya. The two newspapers are privately owned and commercially motivated. The newspapers

attract much readership from the emerging urban middle class, and revenue comes from advertising that targets those groups (Ogenga, 2012). By attacking business interests in Kenya, the Al-Shabaab group was posing a threat not only to Kenyans but also to the interests of the business class. It was thus very easy to buy into the narrative of the government viewing the group as a common enemy. The government also controlled the flow of information for most of the period. Other than news items from agencies, it was hard for the Kenyan journalists to independently get stories on Somalia without going through the government. Stories from weekly briefings by the KDF communication officers prominently feature in the stories published on Somalia. After the start of the incursion by the Kenyan military into Somalia late 2011, the military embedded some journalists to go into Somalia and cover the war. Under the military, it was hard to freely move in Somalia and hence the stories from Somalia filed by the journalists appear to be from military officers from KDF and Amisom and Somalis who were helping the KDF in their campaign, an example being the Ahmed Mohamed Islam also known as Madobe in Kismayu whose Ras-Kamboni Brigade fighters fought alongside the KDF.

The two newspapers don't focus much on the plight of people displaced as a result of the war and disasters, most of them fleeing to Kenya. Instead, they support calls to repatriate the refugees to some parts of Somalia. The editorial of Sunday Nation of October 16, 2011 quoted above at one point says : “...*the government must also explore ways in which the international community can relieve the disproportionate burden Kenya is bearing from the sprawling refugee camps in North Eastern Province including serious exploration of the idea that these camps should be built in stable parts of Somalia.*” At the height of the war on Al-Shabaab, the two newspapers

published stories and photos of KDF soldiers offering medicine and food aid to Somalis, in effect exploiting the humanitarian crisis to paint the soldiers as ‘saviours’, a frame also adopted by the Western media when reporting on Africa.

The largely negative tone adopted by the two newspapers when reporting about Somalia disproves the notion that Africans can report about Africa in a different way from the Western media that has been accused of reporting negatively about the continent. This could be as a result of the mode applied when sourcing for the stories on Somalia. During the period under study, the two newspapers used nearly similar modes of sourcing for stories, through their reporters and from news agencies. Though a large proportion of the stories were done by staff reporters, surprisingly, very few indicate that the reporters went to Somalia. This affects the level of understanding of the issues under play and the capacity to report objectively. The few staff reporters who went to Somalia went under the umbrella of the military, thus faced impediments on how freely they could have moved and interacted with Somalis. Another group of reporters got their stories through interacting with Somali newsmakers such as politicians who had visited Nairobi. Whereas this enabled the journalists to interact with people from Somalia, it limited the stories to a ‘one voice’ story where there was no way to tell the ‘other side’ of the story. In effect, the journalists just acted as tools of passing the agenda of the politicians and other key stakeholders in Somalia. The proportion of stories from news agencies (25% for the Standard and 12% for the Nation) could also have affected the portrayal of Somalia. The agencies mainly serve the Western media and are tailored for the Western audience. By consuming their stories the two newspapers contributed in perpetuating the ‘negative’ perception of Somalia.

5.2 Recommendations

The coverage of Somalia by the Nation and Standard disproves the notion that Africans can report differently about Africa. It also raises questions over the newsgathering techniques of the Kenyan print media. Though a huge percentage of the stories were from staff writers, very few show evidence that the reporters were actually in Somalia. This affects the credibility of the reportage. For better reporting, the newspapers should consider stationing reporters in Somalia or independently sending reporters to the country. The Nation seems to have noticed this, with most stories towards the end of the period under study coming from Abdulkadir Khalif, stationed in Somalia. The country is however vast and it is hard to cover from one point. Though economical, the overdependence on news agencies, at 25% for The Standard is alarming for it only assists in furthering the agenda of the news agencies.

The debate on whether Africans can report on Africa differently also need to be further investigated. A better way to do this could be to look at the coverage of a country that is not famous for negative things, for example Tanzania and see how the Kenya media frames it. It would also be interesting to see how the print media in Somalia reports about Kenya to the Somalis at home. Further research could also delve deeper and look at the factors that influence the framing of news from outside countries. These could explain the negative reporting.

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APPENDIX I

NEWSPAPER CONTENT ANALYSIS CODE SHEET

SERIAL NUMBER _____

SECTION A: DESCRIPTION

1. Date of Publication: _____

2. Newspaper:

A] The Daily Nation

B] The Standard

3. Name of Writer: _____

4. Title of Article:

5. Genre of Story:

A] Hard News

B] News Analysis

C] News Round up

D] News Brief

E] Feature Story

F] Editorial

G] Commentary

H] Questions & Answer

I] Letter to the Editor

SECTION B: MEASURING THE LEVEL OF PROMINENCE ACCORDED TO SOMALIA IN EACH ARTICLE

(Tick alongside the right option)

6. In what kind of page is the story located?

A] Prime Page: a) Page 1 b) Page 2 c) Page 3 d) Back-Page

B] Others, Please Specify _____

7. What is the size of the article regarding Somalia?

A] Full Page

F] One Third of a Page

B] More than One Page

G] A Quarter of a Page

C] Three Quarters of a Page

H] Other, Please

D] Two Thirds of a page

Specify _____

E] Half of a Page

8. Does the story have an editorial supplement?

A] Yes B] No

9. If yes, what is it?

A] Picture

B] Pictures

C] Cartoon

D] Visual-Graphic Tool (Specify) _____

1. Which prominent character or characters are mentioned in the article?

- A] Head of State (s)
- B] Minister (s)
- C] Other Prominent Government Officials
- D] Regional/International Organization Head
- E] Military Official
- F] Humanitarian Organization Senior Officers
- G] Al-Shabaab personnel
- H] Clan leader / Spokesman
- I] Security Officer/Police
- J] Civilian
- K] Other, Please Specify_____

2. What event is covered by the article?

- A] Press Conference
- B] Media Statement (Press Release)
- C] Workshop
- D] Interview
- E] Observation from the country
- F] Other, Please Specify_____

SECTION C: MEASURING THE FRAMES ADOPTED ON SOMALIA

A. What is the general frame adopted on Somalia in the article?

- 1] Civil War
- 2] Humanitarian Crisis (Refugees and Displacements)
- 3] Local Peace building Efforts
- 4] Warlords
- 5] Terrorism (Al-Qaeda/Al-Shabaab)
- 6] Piracy
- 7] Natural Disaster
- 8] Islamic Insurgency
- 9] Peace Talks/Agreements
- 10] Peacekeeping Missions
- 11] Economic Recovery
- 12] Democratic Processes (Elections and Legislation)

B. What tone does that article adopt in representing Somalia?

- 1] Positive
- 2] Negative
- 3] Neutral

xxx End xxx