

**THE ROLE OF KENYA MEDIA IN CONFLICT AND
PEACE-BUILDING PROCESSES:**

A CASE STUDY OF THE SOMALI CONFLICT //

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Fulfillment Of The Requirement Of The Degree Of Masters Of Arts In
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Declaration

I hereby declare that this project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University

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Date: 23 November 2006

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The project have been submitted for examination with my approval as University Supervisor

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Date: -----



23.11.06

Dedication

I would like to dedicate this work to my family and friends. Thanks for all the support and encouragement that you gave me throughout the whole period of my studies.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like express my sincere appreciated to my supervisor, Mr Patrick Maluki for his time and commitment throughout the development of the project. The advice and guidance he provided greatly contributed to the final completion of the project

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Much love and thanks.

ABSTRACT

The media occupies a unique position in the society owing to its power over mass consciousness and its ability to bring to the public's attention, issues that would otherwise have gone unnoticed. This role has been informed by the way in which they are able to shape our perceptions and our agendas. The mass media present the opportunity to communicate to large numbers of people while at the same time, the ability to target particular groups of people. Mass media are structured in a way that they are orchestrated by special groups of people (reporters), whose intention is to persuade potential audience of the benefits of their attention and gate keepers (editors), who monitor the information that flows to the potential audience.

Research acknowledges that people rely on media for information and uses this information to make decisions about their lives. However, today, the field of communications appears to be perpetually under construction, as concepts and challenges emerge. The current meaning of journalism has grown into an entirely news discipline under the general nomenclature of the new technology. Therefore, the intellectual discourses over the role of mass communication and hence the media reconciliation and peace building process is the product of the quest for building positive peace in the long term. These issues under write many peoples' understanding of the basis for a lasting peace. Therefore, the framing by the media of an event to a large extend, decides the framing of the public debate. In this situation, the media image of reconciliation and peace building event and processes is important. Historically, the agenda-setting theory, in this study is not a new phenomenon.

The media provides people with views of the world outside their immediate surrounding from which they form pictures in their hands. Media forces our attention to certain issues ignoring or giving less priority to others. Although difficult, and equally challenging , this study discusses how the Kenyan media establish and handle conflict events to main stream the notion of forgiveness and reconciliation, hence building positive peace in the long-term in Somali.

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

DPMF- Development Policy Forum

OSSEREA-Organization For Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa

IGAD-Intergovernmental Authority on Development

AU-African Union

CNN-Cable International News Network

BBC-British Broadcasting Corporation

IMS-International Media Support

NWIO-New World Information Order

EAMI-East Africa Media Institute

KBC-Kenya Broadcasting Corporation

DRC-Democratic Republic of Congo

NGO-Non-Governmental Organization

GDP-Gross Domestic Product

ICCPR-International Covenant of Civil and Political Rights

UNESCO-United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization

IT—Information Technology

ACHPR-Africa Charter on Human Rights and People Rights

UN-United Nations

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UNCED-United Nations Conference on Environment and Development

AU-African Union

OAU-Organization of African Union

ACRI-Africa Crisis Response Initiative

TNC-Transnational Corporation

NWICO-New World Information Communication Order

OECD-Organization of Economic Cooperation and Trade

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CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Introduction

1.1 Background Information

The Horn of Africa is a region of significant diversity and one that faces some of the most complex socio-economic issues. Prolonged conflict together with the low level of economic development, fragile environments, and series of natural disasters have turned poverty and economic stress into destitution, displacement of thousands of people, starvation and death for millions of people¹. The effect of this conflict has posed great obstacles for development in the region that has contributed to the chronic food shortage experienced in the Horn of Africa, which the world has been made aware of through media. The persistent violent conflict has also put pressure on resources and has collapsed economies, which have had negative spill over effects even on neighboring countries.

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Somalia, which is the main country of focus in this research, is one of the countries in the Horn of Africa that has suffered prolonged civil war since 1971. The war in Somalia has attracted international interest and intensified pressure for resolution of the conflict. Economic embargos imposed by the international communities as a strategy to enforce peace in region in the 1980's failed to restore peace. This led the international communities to seriously consider alternative interventions in order to facilitate successful mediation processes and help transform the region from violence into peace.

Somalia is the only country in the Africa that has one language, one religion and a population characterized by one ethnic group. Yet, clan wars have played a role synonymous in significance and magnitude to ethnic and/or religious wars experienced in some countries. The genesis of the Somalia civil war is said to be the consequence of a historical clan conflict.

The country has suffered under the mercy of warlords for the past 14 years since the overthrow of President Said Barre in 1991. Prior to this, Somalia had its last constitutional government in 1969 under President Ali Shamake who was killed that year by insurgence led by Said Barre. Following the latter's overthrow in 1971, the country was led by clans until June 2004 when a transition government was sworn in at Kasarani in Nairobi.

A number of peace building initiatives have been in progress since 1991 led by peace keeping agencies like IGAD, African Union, UN Security Council and African Governments that have tried to bring to together key warlord factions to the table. These initiatives largely contributed to the peace agreement that was signed in June, 2004.

The realities of prolonged conflict and the impact that they have had on neighboring countries including Kenya, stimulated African leaders to seriously consider the option of external interventions for settling what was considered to be a domestic dispute under International Law. According to a report published by Development Policy Management Forum (DPMF) in conjunction with Organization for Social Science Research in Eastern and Southern Africa (OSSEREA) in October 2001, one of the primary defining features

¹ Anthony Lake (1990): After the Wars Overseas Development Council, Washington, DC p.169

of post-Cold war era in Africa is the increase in the number, scope and intensity of domestic conflicts that have spilled, or that have the potential to spill-over national borders into neighboring states.

Kenya, a country that has enjoyed years of peace and relative political stability since independence, has suffered the effects of civil wars experienced by its neighbors. This has been the form of influx of displaced populations and refugees into Kenya from Ethiopia, Somalia and Sudan. Other effects of the civil wars have been the instability along the Kenyan borders, and the increase in crime which is associated with the proliferation of small arms through Kenyan borders. These and other factors contributed to the Kenya government's commitment to take a leading role in facilitating the process of third party mediation for Somalia and Sudan. Kenya has invested resources and leadership commitment towards supporting mediation processes in search of peace in the region. The Kenyan government further justified its investment in the peace building processes as a demonstration of her efforts to join the rest of the world in fighting terrorism. Recently Kenya has been a victim of terrorist threats in such incidence of attacks in 1998 of the Co-operative Bank Building and the 2003 Paradise Hotel bombing.

Intensified efforts towards the Somalia peace building process started two years ago. The African-driven process, has given the continent an opportunity to seek solutions specific to African conflicts. The key players in the peace talks included the regional Inter-Government Authority on Development (IGAD), the Clan representatives, and the Kenya Government. Other active supporters of the process included the international committee

under the auspices of the Co-ordination and Monitoring Committee comprising the African Union (AU), United Nations, the League of Arab States, the European Union and individual countries such as United States of America, United Kingdom, France and Denmark, as well as civil society agencies.

1.2 Problem Statement

Countries located in the Horn of Africa have undergone years of turmoil interspersed with ongoing peace building initiatives yet there is relatively little in terms of research is known about the role of media and conflict reporting. Indeed, the knowledge of a majority of people in the world about the Horn of Africa is drawn from pictorial images of 'naked or underdressed' emaciated women holding under-nourished infants.

Despite the immense potentiality of the local media in highlighting the Somalia conflict, their representation in the negotiation process has been limited. The provision of conflict information to media is an important prerequisite for media participation in any conflict reporting process in the Horn of Africa and subsequent peace processes.

The media's primary sources of information on conflict related issues are mainly drawn from first hand experiences and observations of the events being reported and from research on the areas, which the media perceives to be important to the audiences. The most common secondary sources of information include international news sources such as Cable International News Network (CNN), British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), and Reuters. The local media has also taken advantage of new technology as a major

source of information. Despite their comparative advantage in location and accessibility to key players in the Somali conflict, the Kenyan media has not taken a noticeable lead role in generating news on the issue. This has been due to a number of factors, some of which have been highlighted in this research. The proposed research study will attempt to identify other key factors that contribute to this limitation.

Most countries in the Horn of Africa have been engulfed in conflict in some form or other for the most part of the century. Conflict in the region has captured the interest of, and become a growing concern among the many nations. The media has the potential for active participation in promoting peace by leveraging its powerful influence. However, as mentioned earlier in the proposal, for this to happen, the provision of conflict information to media is an important prerequisite for media participation in any conflict reporting process.

There are possible reasons why conflict information flow is constrained. These could include, insecurity, political sensitivity, difficulties in accessing accurate information, logistical constraints, lack of training in conflict reporting and limited resources among others. There has also been relatively limited coordination between media institutions at African regional level. In addition to issues related to press freedom, media development in the sub-Saharan regions has been at different levels.

Historically, the State and media relations in most of Africa have been marked by suspicion, repression, harassment and intimidations by the state. In countries undergoing

political turmoil such as those in the Horn of Africa, access to information are further restricted. Government restrictions on media access to conflict zones; slanted news coverage of neighboring countries; the domination of government perspective in shaping public opinion on conflicts; all these and other obstacles to a free information flow obstruct peace. The better informed the populations are, the easier it is to build peace². The media in countries experiencing conflict such as Somalia become targets of rival parties that seek to influence their agenda using media. Constraints involving internal and external factors hence could affect the quality of conflict reporting. It is therefore necessary to carry out a study to identify the role of Kenya media in the Somalia Peace Building initiatives.

1.3 General Objective of the Study

The main objective of this research was to examine the role of Kenyan media in conflict and peace building processes using the Somalia conflict as a case study.

1.4 Specific Objectives of the Study

The study:

- 1) Examined the channels the Kenya media use to obtain information on the Somali conflict.
- 2) Evaluated the impact of new technologies on gathering, production and dissemination of news.

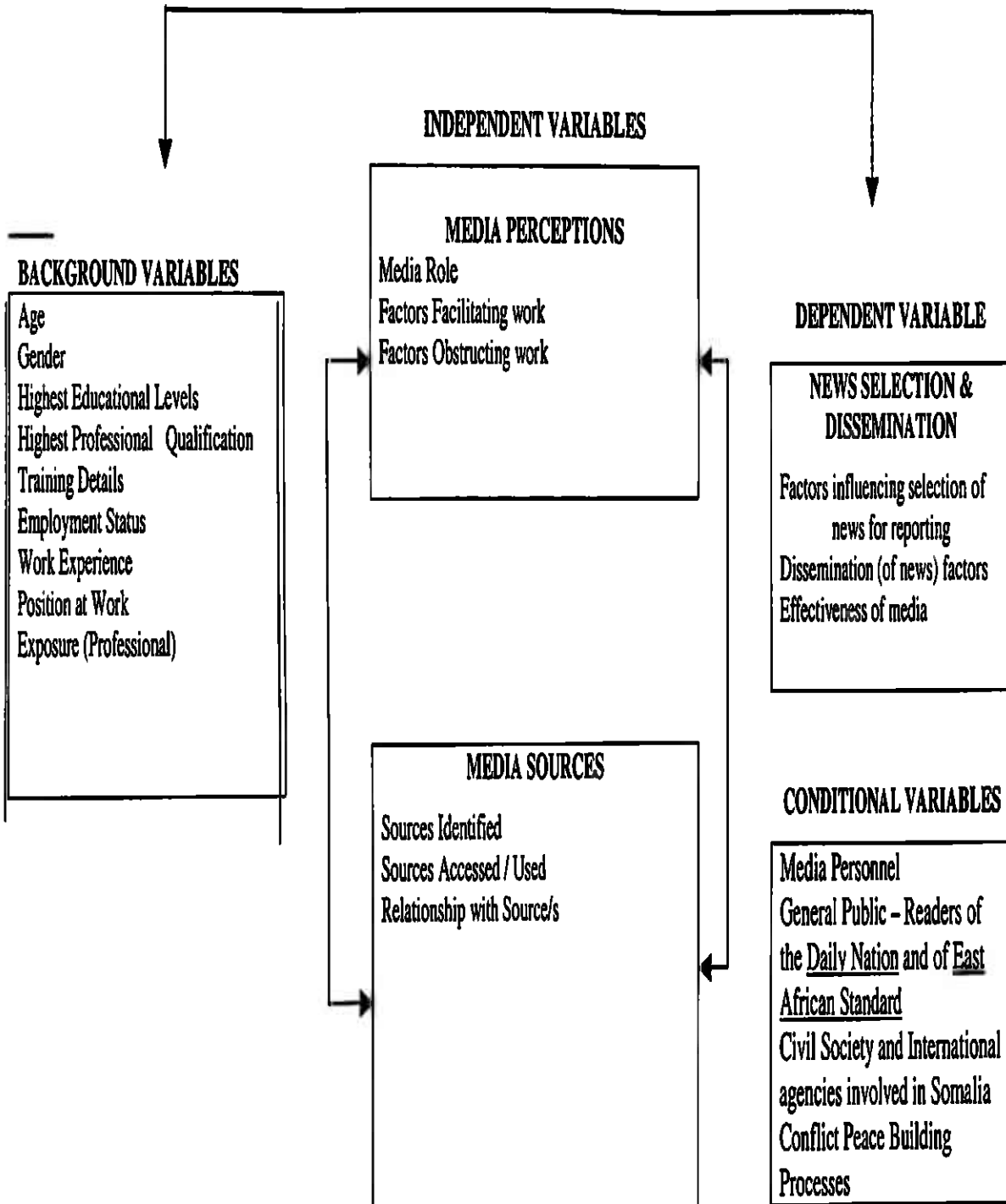
² International Media Support (IMS): Conflict, Peace and the Media in the Horn of Africa report (March 2003).

- 3) Identified the major obstacles that hinder the media from contributing to peace building processes.

1.5 Hypothesis

- 1) The effectiveness of Kenyan journalists' reporting on conflict issues is determined by their analytical capacity.
- 2) International agencies and foreign correspondence are more effective in reporting about conflicts than local media
- 3) New technologies have enhanced the local media capacity for effective collection and dissemination of news on conflict.

1.6 Conceptual Framework



1.7 Justification

Available education and research materials on the media's role in conflict reporting in Somalia are relatively limited. Indeed, relatively little is known about this role. There is need to examine the role that media can and do play in the conflict and peace building initiatives taking Somalia as a case study. The study aims to support previous studies that have sought to justify the need for capacity building for journalists with an overall objective of achieving accurate and constructive conflict coverage in the region. The study hopes to support the needs expressed by journalists for specialized training issues such as conflict analysis and reporting and other related areas such as human rights and human migration. This will enable media practitioners better respond to conflict issues and also enhance their contribution towards conflict and peace building initiatives.

1.8 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The research was not without a few limitations, which include a relatively small sample size and a non-experimental study design. By its nature and design, the study is a case study. Its sample size was too small to allow for generalization of the study findings to the wider Kenyan media population. The cross-sectional study design was perceived to be the most appropriate design for the study. While care was taken to randomly sample the readership of the two newspapers, this strategy was not feasible for the sampling of the media personnel. For the latter population, a non-probability purposive sampling strategy was adopted.

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1.9 LITERATURE REVIEW

For countries in transition or undergoing political instability such as those in the horn of Africa, (Somalia, Sudan and Ethiopia), the media has characteristically been less liberalized than countries in the rest of sub-Saharan Africa. This is caused by the long decades of instability in the region brought about by civil wars or ongoing internal conflicts. The instability in these countries has been mostly as a result of the absence of democratic governance. The various forms of authoritarian or dictatorial regimes have affected press freedom in these countries. The International Media Support (IMS) in its paper *Conflict, Peace and the Media in the Horn of Africa* reports that “The essence of state control translates into the use of state-owned media by governments as instruments of propaganda, authoritarian or dictatorial rule”³ While some communication specialists argue that only an enabling environment can guarantee a free and independent media, others like Elihu Katz (1992) asks if media ever be independent in the so called new world order. Katz’s argument is based around wars such as the Gulf war where the United States of America manipulated the war for its own means. Similar press manipulation was experienced during the Vietnam War.

According to a report by the *International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty* (December 2001), there is an emergence of new international actors such as the media who come with new voices, perspectives and interests. The report further states that a growing number of media and other actors have been responsible for the “forced

debate about intervention for humanitarian protection purposes to be conducted in front of broader public”⁴. Thanks to new technologies, conflicts and humanitarian atrocities have received worldwide media attention whether positive or negative. However media has been accused manipulating news, providing wrong information or exaggerating issues. As a result of this the media can therefore be justly accused of contributing to the conflict. Documentation on the roots of the Rwanda conflict and the role that the radio plays supports this opinion.

New technologies have made possible instantaneous global communication providing access to large amounts of information through out the world. These have been mostly dominated by first world countries. A study undertaken by the *World Association for Christian Communication* (1985) points out that the domination of news from the first world has raised the call for a *New World Information Order*. According to the study, this debate is “one of the longest running and most controversial issues that has engaged attention of the international community within the last decade”⁵

Media in Africa has developed in different stages yet continue to play an important role in monitoring conflict and peace processes in their respective countries. With respect the countries in the Horn of Africa, the International Media Support (IMS) report (March 2003), suggests that Somalia has progressed further than the rest of the region. In Mogadishu, there is both private broadcasting and newspaper businesses which are run

³ International Media Support (IMS): Conflict, Peace and the Media in the Horn of Africa report (March 2003).

⁴ ICISS Report December 2001): The Responsibility to Protect. IDRC Ottawa. Pg 4

commercially as well as community-type non-profit radio station.⁶ Despite the relatively better media status in Somalia, the media suffers constant interference from the warring factions making it a challenge for the media to work independently.

Media associations in the horn of Africa region are generally weak due to the unstable political environment that threatens press freedom. “This affects the development of regional groupings since the national entities are still struggling to secure their own survival and growth. The East Africa Media Institute (EAMI) whose headquarters are in Uganda is about the strongest attempt yet at forming a regional organization of journalists, but has not been as influential as anticipated. The most vibrant section of EAMI is the Somalia Chapter.⁷ Comprising an active pool of journalists, this Chapter has tried to work closely with other media in the regions by providing news related stories on Somalia.

Over the past decade, media has been recognised as an important player in many international conflicts. This is mainly due to the fact that the impact of conflict has caused and continues to create massive destruction in the areas in which the conflict occurs. In Africa however, a less prominent role is played by media despite the fact that the continent has numerous experiences with conflict in its various forms.. Peacekeeping initiatives by IGAD have brought a number of important players in the Somali conflict together, who have also not regarded media as a key contributor to the peace process. The

⁵ Phillip Lee (1985): Communication For All. World Association for Christian Communication. London pg 57

⁶ ibid. 14

peace talks bring together contending forces negotiating their interests and positions. Primary among the concerns of these talks include: reuniting the divisions, a new constitutional order, power sharing, disarming the armed groups, and plans for a new institutions of state administration and security.⁸

The significant question that has been raised in a number of studies media and conflict is whether the media is used to bring societies together or apart through the way it manipulates information. In the case study undertaken by the Search for Common Ground on *Media as a tool for dialogue and reconciliation: The experience of Search for Common Ground in the Great Lakes Region* comments that the use of radio during the Rwandan genocide in 1994 in mobilizing the population to participate in violence was a striking example of the power of radio to serve destructive political interests by manipulating the hearts and minds. It also sparked a reflection by many international and local actors on how to harness this power of radio towards more positive aims, notably the promotion of peace and reconciliation.⁹ Another more recent and well-known example of how media can distort news was the 9/11 cases where American media manipulated CNN to report misleading stories about the Iraq war in order to gain American favour. According to Li Xiguangu in an extract taken from his book *Brave New World* comments that, the impact of 9/11 on journalism was so intense that certain phrases and terminology became global, while others were rendered extinct. The 9/11

⁷ International Media Support (IMS): Conflict, Peace and the Media in the Horn of Africa report (March 2003 p.21

⁸ International Media Support (IMS): Conflict, Peace and the Media in the Horn of Africa report (March 2003 p.9

⁹ Search for Common Ground Report on Media as a tool for dialogue and reconciliation: The experience of search for Common Ground in the Great Lakes Region.

stories became the main focus of global media replacing news about poverty and disease that affects a majority of the world's population.¹⁰ Similar sentiments have been expressed by writers Stig Nohrstedt and Rune Ottosen (2000), in their study on *Journalism and The New World Order, Gulf War, National News Discourses and Globalisation*.

¹⁰ Reporter Li Xiguangu, Brave New World: Daily Nation. Opinion page. 9

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 METHODOLOGY

Methodology refers to the system of explicit rules and procedures upon which research is based and against which claims of knowledge are evaluated. The rules in turn enables constructive criticism and scientific progress. According to Nachmias and Nachmias (1996) through its explicit (public and accessible) methodology provides a framework for replication in this study research. Thus by using logic as the foundation of scientific reasoning methodology, enhances the internal consistency findings, hence knowledge.

It is not worthy, that a major function of methodology in this study is to help the blind man 'see' the shared common experience.

The term research design as implied here refers to the total plan of the study Content(Nachmias and Nachmias,1996).

The proposed study design adopted cross-sectional study design with both explanatory and descriptive approaches. The design selected was in the view of the researcher, most appropriate for the case study, given that it was not possible to carry out a true experimental study. Once the sample was selected, and the interviews concluded, the researcher needed not meet the respondents again unless to disseminate the findings of the study.

2.1 Analysis

Content analysis is broadly defined as any technique for making inferences by “objectively” and “systematically” identified characteristics of Articles in the newspaper. Objectivity implies that all sessions must be guided by an explicit set of rules that minimize subjectivity. In other words, content analysis is “information processing” technique in which article information (in this case as regards Conflict Resolution and the role of the media) is “transformed” through objective and “categorization” rules into data that can be summarized and compared.(Babbie,1989).

This means, as a methodological tool in this study research use of content analysis involved making decisions on what categories to be used; what criteria used to decide the content with (word sentences, theme, topic, reference, story etc) hence divide copyright issues and freedom issues Articles.

Sampling procedure for content Analysis

According to E. Babbie (1989), Random selection, which is a precise scientific procedure with nothing haphazard about it, is the key to the sampling process.

Given the “scientific goal of generalization”, and the inherent variability of units of analysis”, if it is unavoidable in research to use this sampling theory which is a foundation of everyday practices. This Random selection process eliminates the bias in selecting cases in a study research and permits the application of mathematical probability for estimating sample accuracy, thus providing a basis for a representative sample.

A sample of size “n” from an infinite population is random if it consists of independent random variables having the same distribution. In random selection, each element has an equal chance of selection independent of any other event in the selection process. Probability sampling enhances the likelihood of accomplishing this selection process and also provides methods for estimating degree of probable success.

Ultimately, the purpose of sampling was to select a set of elements from a “population” in such a way that “the description of those elements” (statistics) accurately portrayed the “parameters” of the total population from which the elements were selected.

Prior to sampling writes Nachmias and Nachmias (1995) one must select the limits of analysis.

Sampling then begins with the description of the target population – “the collection of units about which one wishes to generalize”. This ensures a complete and correct sampling frame. According to Singleton and Bruce (1999), regardless of the direction it takes, the statement of a problem boils down to deciding what relationships among what variables, of what units are to be studied. For sampling to be feasible, the target population was defined by objective criteria, that clearly indicated its limits of inclusion. Population in this case refers to the total number of Daily Nation and The Standard Newspapers issues studied between years 2004 – 2005.

The population size in this study refers to a subject of the whole population (46) that was actually studied and whose characteristics were generalized to entire population. A sample of 20 issues (both from the Daily Nation and The Standard Newspapers) were picked through interval / systematic sampling, for the study period.

NB:

Since there are 52 weeks in a year then, 2004 – 2005 =2 year

Therefore, if one issue is studied every Monday, then, $1 \times 52 \times 2 = 104$ issues of The Standard and Nation each were studied.

Interval / systematic sampling

Interval / systematic sampling provided reasonable approximation to simple random sampling and consisted of selecting cases from available newspaper issues at a fixed interval, after a random start.

Since it was based on equal interval starting with a randomly selected element in the population of the newspaper issues, it was started with a determination of the length of the intervals thus:-

Length of interval (K) = N/n

Where: N = population size

n = sample size

In this case $208/8.32 = 25$ Articles studied.

2.2 Study Population

The study targeted a population that falls in several categories, which include groups of:

- a) key members of the media community who include editors, new writers and news reporters, writers from both Standard and Nation.
- b) key personnel in the Kenya Government and political systems involved in the Somalia conflict and peace building initiatives such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Office of the President
- c) key personnel from the civil society and international institutions involved in promotion of peace building initiatives such as IGAD, UNHCR
- d) readers of the Nation and Standard.

Several criteria determined the choice of the specific study population, and the most important of these is ease of accessibility. The media houses selected is influenced by the consideration that the two dailies - Daily Nation and The Standard have extensive coverage nationally and regionally. In Kenya, both newspapers are the most widely read dailies in the country.

The potential respondents targeted by the study were resident in Nairobi. The media houses were easily accessible from their headquarters in the city of Nairobi. The inclusion of readership as respondents was to enable the researcher to measure the impact the media has on its readership and its agenda setting function. These respondents provided with an insight into the effectiveness of the media in reporting about the conflict and peace-building processes.

The study of respondents from civil society and institutions involved in conflict and peace-building was to provide an insight into the strength and capacity of these institutions in the promotion of the role of the media in peace-building initiative. Their levels of activity in these processes are dependent on the levels of freedom and interest in collaborating with the local media.

The government institutions and political systems were included in the study population because, as mentioned earlier in the problem statement, they actively took a leading role in the peace-building processes. The Kenya government for instance, took a leading role in the peace building process due to the influx of refugees and the proliferation of small arms in the country through the Kenya- Somali border, which has contributed to the high insecurity levels. This indeed motivated the Kenya government's decision.

For the purposes of clarity to the reader, it is important to highlight or emphasize that all interviews were carried out in Nairobi city.

2.3 Sampling of Study Population.

A range of sampling techniques was applied to select the final sample for this research. The techniques to get the sample population included Double-stage clustering to select samples of the majority respondent who are scattered all over. Double clustering was not the main method used to select the final sampling units for the quantitative survey questionnaire. This technique involved random selection of clusters or primary sampling units, followed by a random selection of respondents. The group random selection of

respondents. The groups covered by this study were identified as the media personnel key officials in government and political institutions, personnel involved in peace building process, and the readership. The final respondents were randomly selected from the 20-55 year age group. The sample size was 5 percent for each of the identified clusters.

Quota sampling was used to reach large and scattered groups of readership that have no common point of assembly. Each interviewer was given a quota of the above group to interview. The final choice of whom to interview was made through 'quota control'. Those selected were approached through semi-structured interviews and questionnaires.

Chain sampling was used to select samples from the hard-to-get groups, like key officials in government and political institutions, personnel involved in peace keeping.

A sample size of 200 was in the view of researcher, sufficient for the purpose of the proposed study given the time and resources available.

The researcher undertook random sampling of the readers. It was difficult to randomly sample government officials and the personnel involved in conflict and peace building processes. The researcher therefore sampled these latter two groups, as well as the media personnel using purposive sampling.

2.4 Data Collection

The researcher collected both qualitative and quantitative data. The former was used in the descriptive discourse of various variables (highlighted in the Framework).

The qualitative data was collected from secondary data sources, which included News reports, from the Daily Nation and the Standard, of the Somalia conflict and peace building initiative. The content of the survey will measure the amount of “coverage” the two national dailies (including their respective Sunday editions and the Nation Media Group’s regional publication – the East African - over the study period covering January 1 2003 – June 30, 2005). The selected print media was chosen because of their geographical coverage, audience and distribution.

Other secondary data included journals and other publications from conferences/ meetings and reports from institutions involved in conflict and peace building issues. The secondary source also comprised reviews of other people’s research in this area. As there were limitations on data that is relevant and up to date, it was necessary to spend more time to investigate what materials exist and was available in this subject area.

The study also examined other sources of data that are not necessarily related to the Somalia conflict, but which would make a useful contribution to the research. The related stories were also useful in providing a wider and more comprehensive view of the dimension of the problem faced in conflict reporting.

Overall, the review of literature highlighted the relevance and importance of previous existing studies related to the Somali conflict.

The research data collection methodology applied included: 1) Content Analysis Research 2) Survey interviews was conducted using a questionnaire that were given to a sample population comprising of key stakeholders in conflict and conflict resolutions.

The content was examined in terms of

- 1) Number of articles,
- 2) Type- feature news commentary/editorial, photo feature or letter to editor,
- 3) Prominence main event or occasion
- 4) Placement and prominence– front page/page 2, back page, special feature or commentary edition lead, page lead,
- 5) Main subject – awareness, politics
- 6) Origin of the story – local, foreign or international agency, regional agency,
- 7) Contributor- editors, writers, reporters
- 8) Theme/main subject– political concerns, general awareness, human suffering, economic costs, peace building,
- 9) Balance, and
- 10) Technical competency.

These materials contributed significance to the research by complimenting the findings from the quantitative data. The quantitative data was collected with the help of a questionnaire (appended).

2.5 Ethical Considerations

The researcher committed and applied the ethics of research during the collection of data. This involved the treatment of research respondents with sensitivity, care and dignity. As far as it is possible, the researcher ensured that the respondents remain anonymous and one way of doing this was that no respondent was asked to write down their name in the questionnaire. At the beginning of the interviews, the researcher explained the purpose of the research and the rights of the respondents (i.e. that their participation in the study was voluntary and that they have the right not to answer any question and to stop the interview at any time). The information gathered from any individual respondents would not be relayed to their employer. The respondent was given the opportunity to ask questions before and during the interview. For security reasons, the researcher identified herself (showing a university identification card) before the interviews. The affiliation to the University of Nairobi, School of Journalism also commit the Institutions standards of research ethics.

2.5 Data Analysis

The study data was analysed in two different ways. The first one involved analysis of the content of newspaper reports about the Somalia conflict. The second type of data to be analysed was collected through pre-coded questionnaires. Immediately after these quantitative data were collected, the numeric codes were entered into the computer using the statistical package for social scientists (SPSS for windows). The researcher then undertook a univariate analysis of each of the variables. This will be followed by a bivariate analysis using the Theoretical Conceptual Framework as a guide of the variables (independent) the was correlated with indicators of the dependent variables. An attempt

was made to test the levels of statistical significance using the Chi Square tests. Both qualitative and quantitative data was presented using illustrations including; graphs, charts and tables. These tests were developed to test the research hypothesis presented and determine if it can be accepted or rejected.

2.7 Potential Threats to validity

The design selected for the study controlled the effects of the most common threats to the internal validity to which experimental studies are often susceptible. Because the respondents were only be interviewed once and no other meetings were organized between them and the researcher, factors such as, instrumentation, testing, history, etc. did not threaten the validity of the study. The researcher will pilot test the questionnaires before the interviews to ensure that the wording is clear and free of ambiguity.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE MEDIA AND CONFLICT

3.1 Opportunities and Limitations faced by African journalists in conflict reporting

War reporting for African journalists remains one of the most challenging occupations due to the limited resources available to support journalists covering conflict and also their limited training that is available to them. A comment made by long serving war correspondent David Mbugua a war cameraman who covered conflict in Somalia and Rwanda says I don't know how war correspondents do it for a decades, but covering war is horrifying and takes a great toll on journalists. (Daily Nation, April 2005 p.20).

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Other challenges faced by media are the many pressures in news making, which push media towards pleasing the audience rather than illuminating the truth of what is actually happening on the ground. Fierce competition in the commercial environment sometimes influences media to trivialize complex issues such as conflict. Journalists are constantly under pressure to meet deadlines leaving little time to investigate, research and reflect on complex issues. This gives the impression that journalists are not interested in analyzing geopolitical issues that face many countries in Africa, but instead tend to justify military interventions sometimes causing conflict to escalate.

Another issue constricting journalists is the limited space and airtime available to adequately present issues that are complex and that require clarity and analysis. This creates credibility issues for the media since their very omnipresence provides them with

the capacity to monitor and expose the impact of military action on civilians. The question of timing for media is therefore important and essential for them to be positively effective during conflict.

Institutional and legal frameworks that are supportive of press freedom and protective of journalists must exist if the press is to be considered effective in delivering reliable and credible information. In the absence of this, it becomes difficult for the media to be regarded as credible news sources. During the IPI World Congress meeting held in Nairobi in May 2005, the key issue under discussion was how African governments continue to interfere in the running of private media houses and the lack of democratic space to enable the free flow of information ¹¹

To measure the effectiveness of Kenyan journalists in the coverage of conflict issues such as the Somali conflict will require a critical examination of the broad factors that impede the development of an effective press. Issues such as underdeveloped technological infrastructure, limited resources low levels of skilled human resources, oppressive press laws and the uneven flow of information were suggested to be the main reason why media is considered as compromised. Several appeals by participants at the IPI World Congress, hosted in Nairobi in May 2005, were made to African journalists to be more responsive to originating their own stories about Africa rather than rely on foreign press to tell the African story. Giving the example of Al Jazeera TV, the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) Managing Director commended the initiative taken by Al Jazeera in reporting their own news on the Iraq war.” We saw from the western media the booming

through flashes we saw on the TV screens and the sounds we heard. It was Al Jazeera that brought the news of the death and destruction that was taking place in the homes in Iraq. Al Jazeera told the story until it became part of the global media agenda. We in Africa must set the pace by telling our own story.¹² “Arguably, positive change in the current status of journalism in Africa can only be achieved through increased collaboration with other African media and regional associations so as to enrich their network of information and contacts.

Media can play a variety of roles in promoting peace building initiatives. In 1983, UNESCO made a constitution guiding international journalists on how to operate and fulfil their professional role as ‘the 4th estate’. It laid down basic principles of professional journalism stressing the need for media to operate under the certain guidelines namely: independence, fairness, impartiality, freedom, decency, accuracy and responsibility. These guidelines are set to support the watchdog and social responsibility role of the media and also ensure that the profession maintains a high standard of integrity.

One of the UNESCO principles highlights identifies the need for media to adopt an ethical commitment to universal values, which journalists must uphold. It demands that media should guard against perpetuating violence through careless reporting and abstain from any justification for war. It must also guard against promotion of aggression. The

¹¹ Daily Nation, Thursday May 26, 2005.p20

¹² Daily Nation Thursday May 26, 2005. Nairobi pg.20

overall intention of these principles is to ensure that journalists promote impartiality and independence while reporting conflict.

The long history of armed conflict in the horn of Africa can provide opportunities for the media in the region to play a positive role in peace building initiatives. There are however obstacles that block media development in this area. One of the main issues is lack of access to information due to weak professional standards. Others include lack of press freedom, safety issues or threat of armed violence, which confronts media, lack of legal redress for journalists when faced with allegation of libel or punitive press laws press and censorship, and lack of institutional legislative frameworks to protect journalists.

Responsible news coverage in conflict situations requires that the media is fully conversant with the competing agendas of all interested parties. This can be achieved through training. Training would fill in the gaps identified in the current status of local journalists capacity to cover war stories. A report from a workshop training for Ethiopian and Eritrea journalists by the Media Peace Center titled "*The Media as Mediator*" confirms the benefits accrued from media training in conflict. Much time is spent on deepening journalists understanding of conflict. African journalists have been criticized in many cases for their reliance on foreign correspondence for news about Africa especially on conflict issues.

New information technologies have expanded the opportunity for conflict news reporting as well as increased media outlets, news volume/quantity and variety. The technology has

drastically reduced the actual real reporting time between the events. This has positively enhanced the media watch dog and social responsibility role. Comparative studies on Globalization, Information Technology and Conflict in the Second and Third Worlds carried out by Rockefeller Brothers Fund titled *Project on World Security*, concluded that globalization of IT has slowly eroded the sovereignty of states.¹³

The research undertaken by ICISS supports this observation by concluding that while the means and objective of waging war have changed dramatically during the last decade, the (international) press itself has also undergone a dramatic transformation. The information technologies that have been developed over the last decade no longer need the amount of time that was previously required during production of news. From 24-hour rolling news stations to the proliferation of online current affairs websites and blogs, the news-oriented public has a greater range of sources than ever before.¹⁴ There are sceptics who question the impact of new technologies especially in developing countries most of whom have state control of media.

Somalia media has however successfully battled a series of obstacles in order to be allowed to cover the peace negotiations in Kenya. Kenya's media has also demonstrated a keen interest in reporting the Somali conflict and peace building initiatives. This has been mostly influenced by the fact that Kenya has been a key player in the peace negotiation talks. Comparatively, progressive development in press freedom is not evident in Ethiopia where it is still unthinkable for the Ethiopia government to permit the media free

¹³ Ernest J. Wilson 111: Globalization, Information Technology and Conflict in the Second and Third Worlds. Rockerfeller Brothers Fund

and independent access to any peace processes it is involved in¹⁵. The countries media bill emphasizes strict confinement of information. Likewise in Sudan, the media local and international have limited access to information and there is little reason to believe that this scenario will be improved any time soon¹⁶

Despite the obstacles raised above, there are opportunities available for positive media support in conflict through publicity, awareness and education initiatives. A strong and independent media is however essential in the promotion of peace.

3.2 Essential Building Blocks for Consolidating Peace and Development in Post – Conflict Somalia:

In October 2000, about 3000 people, including the media from all parts of Somalia attended a peace conference in Arta Djibouti under the initiative of the Djibouti President and his inter- governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) colleagues. The participants were drawn from professionals, politicians, businessmen, and workers. The criterion for choice was “tribal lineage”, in other words, special attempts were made to ensure that all clans and ethnic mosaic of Somalia were represented. The six major participant parties, in balanced working groups, made the core of the delegates in the conference with the mandate to handle all pertinent issues. It is from this conference that a parliament was finally chosen and a government was crafted out that was eventually to

¹⁴ Kenneth Payne. (2005): Media as an Instrument of War. New York

¹⁵ *International Media Support Conflict, Peace and the Media in the Horn of Africa March 2000. Pg.27*

be set up in Mogadishu. The mandate of this Government was to be institutionalize peace and kick-start development in Somalia (Hassan Abdel Ati 2000). It is still very early to tell whether the Somali peace initiatives will work, and whether the government will stabilize, and bring back political order in Somalia. There are however few lessons to be learnt from the Somali peace and reconciliation initiative, especially with regard to the role of the civil society in such processes and the essential building blocks for consolidating peace and development in post conflict situation. The first lesson is that internal conflicts in African countries cannot be settled purely from within, they need external intervention. But the external intervention that comes in purely military form, whether by multilateral arrangement or otherwise, is less likely to succeed unless accompanied by other Civilian initiatives, hence the media also.

The second lesson is that civil society initiatives, by themselves are unlikely to go far unless supported by government that have some direct interest in an internal conflicts, this is where Kenya and Kenyan media plays a role.

Third, when such governments join forces with civil society actors (including the media), they are unlikely to go far unless they involve all the forces engaged in the conflict, including the representatives and surrogates.

Fourth, the choice of such representatives and surrogates can itself lead to failure or success of reconciliation and peace building process. In the case of Somalia the basic point of reference was the “tribal lineage”. Within this category, all social forces had to

seek representation. It emerged in the end however that many people complained in retrospect that they were not represented because they were in Djibouti.

Fifth a wide consensus of international actors is necessary for the success of a peace building and reconciliation process. Quite often, internal actors have their external support system who may even be against the peace process being institutionalized. In the case of Somalia, the total collapse of the state and extreme fragmentation of internal forces; such as the media, reduced the stakes that external interests may have had in supporting any particular faction in using force to maintain supremacy. Moreover, Somalia is not in the DRC where control of territory coincide with control of certain resources that are of vital interest to external forces. On the contrary, the European Union, USA, and United Nations Organization have all been interested in the peaceful settlement of the Somalia crisis after so many years of conflict and instability.¹⁷ But in all this, the role of Media is critical. The importance of education for prevention of conflict cannot be overemphasized .As Kuzwe (1999:38) points out, there is not a shadow illiteracy and lack of education provides the ideal cultural environment for the propagation of conflicts.” The media acts as a force in educating the public; and therefore a force in tangible and intangible ways. Readily identifiable ways include those in which visible outcome can be attributed to a particular news, story or series. Intangible effects are characterized by social change enhancing political pluralism, enlivening debate and heightening sense of peace building and reconciliatory resolutions among an informed public (Asha Hadji, 2000). The press contributes to peace by presenting the public with accurate information about the possible cause and effects of the conflict and the

perceived possible efforts or resolution to reform efforts. ¹⁸ Analytical articles present diverse viewpoints of reputable experts on the peace resolution prospects or initiatives. The press lets the public read debates and arguments of conflict management as issues of key importance for stability. It publishes or reports on the strides and set backs in a peace initiative and resolution deals or reforms so as to let the public be informed and be encouraged to take part in whatever sense of the situation. It facilitates increased attention to the resources passed and carry out an analysis and calculates the prospects of the future.

In analysis (Ati 2000) the involvement and active participation of the media in peace building is important .It is not only critical because of the conflict fatigue suffered by the warring parties and foreign sponsors of negation, it is critical because it guarantees a settlement on the basis of what information is available to the public what they want ,rather than what the warring parties perceive as what they want .

The media organization also provides an example of the society people are looking for .A stable and free media, such as envisaged in Kenya in the past few years is characterized by (Ati 2000)

- Co existence and cooperation of various ethnic and religious groups.
- Democratic foundation and system management.
- Transparency and clear system of accountability.
- Clear objectives and specific plan to realize them.

Societies that live in unstable and unpredictable condition (such as has been in Somalia) for long finally force their members to look for certain very fundamental things in life Security,

¹⁷ Prof. Anyang' Nyong'o, Member of Parliament Kenya.

predictability and order. Since the “Governments” they have lived under have hardly guaranteed this for long, a peace initiative that promises to deliver these will most likely be fully embraced by various members of that society irrespective of the belligerence of the “Government” (Abdi Mohammed 2000). The media reinforces public scrutiny, the legitimacy of these bodies and limits capacity of counter reformist. There is need for independence of such a society with the fundamental features in life, from vested interests within the power structure that might otherwise be tempted to interfere in their work. Media encourages people attention .The media therefore is obliged to provide full and reliable information and the opportunity to learn the various view points of different issues of peace and conflicts of public life. Hard-hitting, independent journalism;¹⁹ acts as indirect check on conflicts by presenting a variety of points on view and thus informing public debate in a way that enhance political and economic stability trends Having informed the public of the situation therefore and the right of opinion, the media crucially enhances participatory governance.

Engaging citizens in policy making through dissemination, allows governments to tap new sources of ideas, information recourses when making decisions. This is all fine in theory, but where does it start in practice? Within the principles of participatory governance, the citizens have an increasing role to play and are supposed to shape the manner in which they receive any service from the state. Indeed, the fact they are citizens gives them certain rights and puts upon the state certain obligations that it must accomplish for its citizenry. In this respect and view of the role played by the media to inform, citizens are seen as partners to the state rather than as mere beneficiaries who cannot choose the manner in which any service is given.

Where forces in conflict are reluctant to come to the negotiation tables because substantial benefits accrue to individual leaders of parties to the conflict, the strength of civilian organization

¹⁸ Asha Hagi Elmi (2000), Report on Somalia peace and reconciliation process, March- October 2000,Arti Djibouti.

can be the saving grace for peace building if the civilians themselves are for peace. External intervention needs to establish bridges through communication (media) with the civilians a head of any initiative to propose peace negotiations to the leaders. Civil society organizations and leaders will be critical in this regard.

In the case of Somalia peace initiative, Abdi Mohamed, notes that a delegation from the mediation committee visited PuntLand to resolve a dispute with the local administration over participation in the planned peace conference. Through the intervention of the traditional leaders the Punt Land president agreed to send a delegation to the elders meeting in Djibouti. ²⁰The population of Mogadishu, where traditional leaders had vehemently attacked Djibouti initiative hugely welcomed the visiting mediation delegation. Here the functional leaders had rejected the offer to attend the conference in Djibouti. The most difficult spot for the delegation was Somali land whose authorities refused the delegation to disembark from the aircraft.

The key ingredients for success in engaging citizens in policy making are close at hand, including information, consultation and public participation. Information provided by the media has to be objective, complete, relevant, easy to find and easy to understand .And there has to be equal treatment when it comes to obtaining information and participation in policy making .²¹

Precisely because the factional leaders had established forms of social and political order in their various regions and allowed for the civilian life, they include civil society to a certain amount of information and autonomy from the political leadership. Access to this civil society by the initiators of peace becomes very important in isolating belligerent military and political leadership in establishing dialogue bridges .In the case of the Somaliland, the factional leadership

¹⁹ Hassan Abdel Ati (2000): Prospects of peace and National Unity in Sudan: Is there a role for the Civil Society? Some thought for discussion. Paper delivered at the second conference on Towards a sustainable peace-civil society dialogue forum for the horn of Africa, Nairobi Silver Hotel

²⁰ Elphas Ojiambo; Programme officer researcher and advocacy, Kenya Human Rights Commission.

²¹ Abdi Mohamed (2000)'Djibouti Outcome; an Optimum disagreement, Paper delivered at the second regional conference on' Towards a Sustainable peace-Civil Society dialogue forum for the horn of Africa, Silver Hotel Nairobi Kenya.

denied any possibility of such bridges being established by simply stopping the plane carrying the negotiators from landing.

3.3 Media Agenda Setting In Conflict Resolution And Peace Building

Simon (1980:290) defined agenda setting as “ *the ability of the media to influence the public's perception of the important topics and issues of the day*”

Simon goes on to identify the origin of the concept in the works of journalist – philosopher Walter Lippman who was one of the first to observe the role of the press in forming “ the picture in our land” from the unseen world around us.

In his analysis of the role of the press in shaping foreign policy Bernard Cohen did not use the term “ agenda setting” but his description of the process fits our understanding of the concept in his words.

The press may not be successful in telling its readers what to think ...but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about... The editor may believe he is only printing the things that the people want to read, but he is thereby putting a claim on their attention powerfully determining what they will be thinking about, and talking about, until the next wave laps their shore(Simon 1980:290)

Since the 1970, there has been ever-growing interest in the functions of the media as agenda- setters, with researchers following the tracks beaten by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw. The emphasis is on the exploration of the different ways in which agenda for public discussion, knowledge, attitudes, opinions and ultimately behavior is set According to McCombs, through its pattern of selection and play of the daily news, the

press presents the public with a continuous stream of cues about the relative importance of various topics

And even Newspapers clearly communicate salience through page placement headline size and the amount of space accorded an item. Television news formats also provide cues about the relative salience of news events. Television news producer provide cues about the relative saliencies of the events they package for their news by not only the placement of news story within the news segment but a also the amount of time and the nature of illustrations. On most national news presentations on television, local news precedes international news unless the later is perceived to be the greater national interest .The power of the media in setting the agenda has the application of negative inferences when journalist try to redefine reality by their presentation of some news event as move salient, based on nothing more than arbitrary rules. This has led to some critics to argue that the media destroys reality. There is always the potential for a reporter to be misled. A reporter has to raise the question and pursue the answer that defines genuine issues in conflict before the public (Hage et al 1976:2002).

It is important to note that during the cold war period, the division of labor between the role of the sub regional, regional and international organizing were clear, while the traditional role of the...UN was to mount peace keeping operations and to deploy political, missions: regional and sub- regional organization concentrated largely on preventive diplomacy. However such operation were few and far apart since the early 1990s, UN has engaged a number of simultaneous, larger, and more ambitions peace operation such as those in Angola, Botswana and Herzegovina, Croatia, Mozambique and Somalia. The financial, personnel and time pressure on the UN to under take those

massive short-term stabilizing action impaired its overall ability to ensure timely and effective intervention measures. There are increasing worries about increasing the security ability to consistently address serious threats to international peace and security. The council credibility as the dominant actor for assuring international peace and security was in serious doubt. Empirical studies of press performance in these periods have tended to support the fact that in recent years a new international security management paradigm seems to be emerging. It consists of accepting co-responsibility and shearing the burden of peace themselves and consequently, a dilution of the central responsibility that the UN would pay in this regard. As will be discussed momentarily this agenda is primarily driven by the United Nations the media in this respect has offered set up agenda in demand for cooperation and agenda sharing by all others. The most recent and arguably, the most important indication of this trend is the United States as opposed to the trans-Atlantic identity. In fact this is a harbinger of what is evolving as a generalized global security management doctrine. The press has always sought to highlight the plight of Africa and more the Somalia conflict in the way that the rest of the world perceives the agenda setting phrase commonly respected is that Africans solution to African problems seems to be aptly capturing the news mood. The bias evidence in the way media cover conflict in Somalia on the contrary has a very positive implication on the influence of conflicts resolution and peace building in the region. The agenda set implies that the reader of report covered by the media often are expected to see only a certain perspective, hence call for the region to set agenda for peace resolution in their region without looking for foreign intervention. It bears repeating that with the conclusion of the cold war Africans importance and relevance in global political strategic concerns of the west

has diminished markedly. As Barry Buzan (1991:435) aptly argues African geo significance has become marginal to the vital interests of the west. European in particular seem to be gradually diverting its attention away from Africa in favour of those region of the world with which it has closer cultural, economic and strategic connection. The current intense Europe Union preoccupation with the security of the former Yugoslavia compares unfavourably with the relative inattention to the crisis in the Democratic Republic of Congo, Liberia, Rwanda, Burundi Sierra Leon and Somalia in particular. Relatedly, the Mediterranean states are likely to receive more attention and security resources in the years to come. The gist of the Agenda set by the media to the African state is that to be sure these state are close neighbours (Rugumamu, 1999).

Moreover and closely related to the first two arguments, African and so in Somalia, intrinsic political value as ideological spoil or diplomatic asset to the west has become of insignificant import. Previously, the cold war had created sufficient diplomatic and ideological space for African states to articulate and defend their respective national interests. The Soviet Union was a relatively reliable ally of African countries in the global struggle against imperialist exploitation, injustice and foreign domination by allying themselves with socialist countries in UN and other global forums, African voices through the media were heard and African votes were sought. In recent years, however, there has developed a visible tendency toward diplomatic isolation of the African continent. As reported by the media, this lack of concern and attention was evident at the UN Conference on Environment and development (UNCED), the European Union-Africa Caribbean and Pacific negotiations on development cooperation and at the Uruguay

Round on trade issues, where Africa's pressing development needs including conflict resolution and peace building needs were rarely given serious attention. In all the above instances hence the agenda setting by the media, the important that the question such as the pervasive political insecurity, dumping of toxic waste foreign debt, market access, commodity prices, foreign aid, the economic impact of globalization and desertification were given fleeting consideration. Fantu Cheru further noted that Africa's marginalization at these important meetings was further compounded by the inability of its delegates to organize themselves effectively at caucus level in order to articulate their demands (Cheru, 1996:150).

Following the end of the cold war, it was widely hoped that the UN would be able to adopt a more balanced and enhanced role as the world peacekeeper and peacemaker. In fact, the then UN Secretary General Boutros-Boutros Ghali's 1992 Report, *An Agenda for Peace*, provided far reaching recommendations regarding UN's intervention in internal conflicts and its programmes of humanitarian assistance (Ghali, 1992). In the previous year, UN had intervened in Iraq to protect the Kurds from genocide attack of president Saddam Hussein. This was the first time that UN had taken sides to define a country's domestic problem as an international security issue.

Subsequently the Council created two international criminal tribunals in the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda to prosecute those accused of war crimes or crime against humanity and genocide. In 1991, it also authorized virtual trusteeship of protectorates in Kosovo and East Timor in order to protect local populations.

However, the subsequent UN debate of its peacekeeping efforts in Somalia in October of 1993 radically changed western intervention policies in Africa. From that position; as envisaged by the media, the United States and other large contributors have required the UN Security Council to be more selective in its approach to conflicts, especially the internal variety that has been wreaking so much havoc in Africa; following the unfortunate Somali experience the west in general and the United States in particular, has gradually withdrawn from direct participation in Africa's conflict-management endeavors. From the watchful eye of the media there has developed in fact, a distasteful mood of "afro-pessimism" and "conflict management fatigue". Hence the need for the agenda setting by the media to sensitize about this development. Since, then, the Security Council's slow and sometimes feeble initial approaches to the internal conflicts in Burundi, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, the DRC and subsequently Somalia, have reflected the more cautious approach of the United States. The west like in Somalia, demonstrated inaction in the face of genocide in Rwanda, vacillations during the refugee crisis in DRC and reluctant to act even when the elected governments of Congo (Brazzaville) and the Ivory Coast were overthrown. Furthermore, it shows a willingness to accept governments with dubious electoral mandates and poor human rights records when such governments suited their interest in stability as the Ethiopia, Uganda and Gabon (Ottawa, 1999).

Coverage and highlights on this development and subsequently, as earlier pointed out, sets call for an implicit policy to emerge, which encourages the so-called "layered responses" to African conflicts: local and national organizations are expected to respond

initially followed by responses at sub regional level, and ultimately at the level of the broader international community. According to the architects of this policy, the aim is to encourage African initiatives like that seen in Somalia case that seek African solutions to African conflict. Accordingly, in recent years, OAU, now African Union (AU) as well as its sub-regional organizations have taken bold steps to develop their organizational capacities for managing regional conflicts. The agenda setting by the media, clearly shows how the media, particularly the Kenya press has contributed to conflict resolution back drop; it is little wonder then that instead of familiar UN blue helmets, peacekeepers in Sierra Leone fought under the banner of Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS). By the same token when the warring parties in DRC gathered in Lusaka, Zambia in July of 1999 to sign a cense fire pact, they endorsed an agreement initiated and mediated by the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) with UN playing a secondary role. In fact, similar coordination was incorporated in the Somali peace pacts. Africa is the only continent being called upon by its former cold war allies to set up its own international force for peace keeping and humanitarian assistance. (Clever and Mary 1995)

Agenda setting aspect of the media in political coverage and public affairs in many African countries, along side Kenya and Somalia, reflects the partisan approach of the that west does encourage objective needs of debates for conflict resolution. The mass media, in particular has provided the essential basis for enlightened political discussion with an emphasis on substantive issues of conflict resolution. Brutally stung by the Somalia escapade and prompted by the desire to reduce costly interventions in distant,

non-strategic locations of the world, the United States proposed, and later launched the idea of African Crisis Response initiative (ACRI) as a response to what it perceived to be “persistent political turmoil in Africa”. The substance of the initiative is to train and equip between 5,000 and 10,000 African troops for rapid deployment in Africa crisis. ACRI is not intended to be a standing force but rather a rapid response, contingency force that can be quickly assembled and deployed under UN and AO auspices. Its broad mission is to carry out humanitarian relief and peacekeeping operation, such as in Somalia its more specific aim are to establish and man “safe areas” in conflict zones and to ensure the delivery of humanitarian assistance, operating under the UN chapter 6 mandates.

In theory, the agenda set by the media has resulted into the passing of the African conflict Resolution Act in 1994, calling for the provision of material and technical assistance to help institutionalize African conflict resolution capabilities, a fact that is evident in Somalia, conflict resolution and peace building. The west would no longer be embroiled in complex, and never-ending African conflicts. The emerging international security management has several advantages and particularly as is evident in Somali now.

First member states are regional and sub-regional security arrangements are the ones who are likely to suffer the consequences of instability in their region most directly. Their nation will bear the cost of providing for refugees sanctuaries for insurrectionist actions, will have to spend more on defense, and will bear the cost of reduced economic growth. It is therefore in the interest of the regional organization to preserve their regional peace,

security and stability. This vital interest ought to translate into greater political will in order to ensure that stability is secured. Members of a regional or sub regional security organization are likely to be more in with the conflict at the hand as they share the same cultural background and often speak the same language; a similarly perfect case of the Kenya Somali and their kinsmen in the Republic of Somali who share almost if not particular same dialects and religion. In some cases, personal relationships have developed among the leaders, which undoubtedly result in greater understanding of the situation and may result into fruitful dialogue based in personal trust. Regional organization, in this case through the media as a tool of mass communication, and being in true with its own area of interest, may provide timely response based on better intelligence of a looming crisis. More often than not, the willingness to maintain sub-regional security is rarely matched with the ability to do so. Since the individual has such wide –ranging needs for information in order to live meaningfully in society if follows that he or she has a responsibility to be well informed by receiving and making effective use of the information which the media and professional communicators has a responsibility to provide.

When these two responsibilities are exercised effectively, man is enabled to exert meaningful control over his environment and interests of organized human society are well served in the process. In other words, the ultimate purpose of agenda setting is to affect public interest in some way regardless of whether or not press deliberately wants the effect to occur. The necessity of information as the fuel that keep the societal machine

in good functional order and the power of the media to determine what information to report and how and when to report it all guarantee this effect.

The developing world leaders argue that developed countries through their control of major international information channels, give a conceived and distorted view of their countries and the rest of the world. The third world countries have called for the overhand of the existing information order because structurally it has created a model dependency, with negative effects on the politics, economy and society of developing countries. Tunisia's former information minister Mustapha Masinous articulated these demand during he formation of New World Information Communication Order (NWICO) (Thussu, 200: 43) the chief complaint about media by the developing countries which led the calls for abolition of the old information communication and the formation of the new world information communication order were as follows.

- Owing to socio-technological imbalance there was, a one-way flow of information from the 'center' to the 'periphery' which created a wide gap between the "have" and "have nots";
- The information rich were in a position to dictate terms to the information poor, thus creating a structure of dependency with widespread economic, political and social ramifications for the poor societies.
- This vertical flow (as opposed t a desirable horizontal flow of global information) was dominated by the western –based transactional corporations;
- Information was treated by transaction a media as a commodity and subject to the rules of the market and

- The entire information and communication order was apart of and in turn propped up international inequality that created and sustained mechanisms of neo-colonialism.

Whether international agencies and foreign correspondence are more effective in reporting about conflicts than the local media is solely dependent on the above mentioned facts.

It is also useful to emphasize that conflicts are caused by an array of interrelated factors, involving many factors, and rarely follow any predictable standard pattern.

However, for analytical purposes, The European Commission (1996) and the Development Assistance Committee Task Force of The Organization of Economic Cooperation (OECD), 1998 have adopted a four-stage model of a conflict cycle. The first is referred to as the

“Normality and peace” state. At this stage, a country is apparently stable, but may structurally be prone to conflict. Risk assessment studies can identify the main background conditions and provide policy directions for long-term stabilizing measures. Stage two is called “rising tensions”. As conflicts become manifest, tensions and mutual suspicious rise high, but violence remains only sporadic. Conflict analysis should reveal the accelerating factors and show opportunities for short-term preventive initiatives. “Open conflict” is the third stage. At this stage, there is a high level of violence, and peaceful options are (temporarily) abandoned. Reactive measures seeking to contain violence and protect the civilians population is sought. Proactive measures should identify opportunities for peacemaking and address the factors perpetuating conflict.

the fourth and last stage is referred to as “post- conflict transition”. At this stage, hostilities have ceased, but political economic and social uncertainties prevail. Old and New Structural tensions need to be analyzed and addressed in reconstruction and long-term development programme.

Research on; international agencies and foreign correspondence; media coverage of Africa and the Africans show that Africa is among the least covered of the world’s region (Wilhoit and Weaver 1983). However, even when Africa is covered, there is a very narrow focus to the coverage.

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Reportage as earlier noted and analysis of events in Africa are often about “endless” political and military conflicts, ethnic violence, famine, diseases and persistence. Thus, for African and in this case Somalia, to be part of “all the news that’s fit to print”, as the slogan for the New York reads the stories must include three elements events, crisis and conflict. Conflict in Somalia seemingly fits this definition and therefore was newsworthy as far as the international agencies and foreign correspondences were concerned.

As CNN correspondent Peter Arnett predicted in Columbia Journalism Review in November 1999 “Today a foreign story that doesn’t involve bombs, natural disaster, or financial calamity has little chance of entering the American consciousness” (Margaret Bald, 1999:12). There is an awful lot of historical baggage to cut through when reporting Africa, and more so, Somalia in particular; the 21st century view of the continent is affected by the misconceptions and myths created in the 17th century. Richard Beston, the Diplomatic editor of the Times (of London) blames “the box – “the box contains pre-set ideas. Thus the story must fit the box, or made to fit it, or thrown out. In other words modern reporters have little or no chance to correct the wild misrepresentations in “the

box'. George Alagiah, a BBC reports calls it 'template reporting' which implies that there is a formulaic way of reporting. It conveys an impression that there is a set of number of ingredients and all a reporter does is... Pick this thing off the shelf and mix the recipe to prepare Africa (including Somalia) news (New Africa June, 2003:22).

3.4 Obstacles that hinder the media peace building process

Several other studies have examined the media ownership, characteristics of reporters and political influence on reportage. Herman and Chomsky explain why the media selects and frame stories the way they do. The news in the main stream national and international media systems passes through several 'filters', including the size, concentrated ownership and profit orientation of media firms, their heavy reliance on advertising and dependence on business and governmental sources of information and the overall dominant ideology within which they operate. Other studies have shown that the following factors affect media coverage and portrayal of conflict resolution and peace building.

3.5 Media framing

In telling the story the news media retell and reinterpret versions of that particular story, as told by other powerful social and political institutions. This further reinforces the argument that the media produce certain dominant notions of reality in a conflict situation. Like all propagandists, the media seeks to predetermine our perception of a subject with a positive or negative label. Some positive ones are "stability", "the Government firm leadership", " a strong defence" and "a health economy" mainly used to

refer to western governments and leaders. Negative ones are “impoverished, ” “famine plagued,” “full of war,” “backward,” “primitive,” “brutal,” “undeveloped,” “tribal,” “savage,” “corrupt,” “warlord,” “dictatorial,” “strongman,” “junta,” “regime” and are mainly used to refer to African states and their leaders (Gans Hebert, 1980).

It is important for communicators, especially in a volatile environment of conflict, to know that the way words are used is crucial to understanding the issue at hand. It is through language that people or societies comprehend, experience and act upon social reality. In the instance of the international media coverage of conflict in Africa, social reality is constructed through the shared space of language and discourse, which produce a collective perception, use and understanding of people, events, and issues in Africa.

Humpty Dumpty in Alice in the wonderland said that words meant whatever he wanted them to mean. Now their meaning is in the hand of the media and those who speak through the media. The media choose their own ‘label’ to describe people, countries and events.

The label predefines the subject without having to deal with actual particulars that might lead us to a different conclusion. A frame is the central organizing idea for making sense of relevant events and suggesting what issue is at hand. News and information have no intrinsic value unless embedded in a meaningful context, which organizes and lends it coherence. New stories can be understood as narratives, which include information and factual elements, to be sure, but also carry an implicit message. The information content of news reports is less important than the interpretive commentary that intends it. It is especially evident in Daily Nation and The Standard newspapers, which are stuffed with metaphors, catchphrases, and other symbolic devices that provide the rhetorical bridge by which discreet bits of information are given context and relationship.

The framing, in the case of conflict, or any other news coverage, is the ultimate message. Framing information theory states that media do not present an objective view of the

world. News frames exist at two levels as mentally stored principles for information processing and as a characteristic of news text. This shows how the media resulting in a completely different outcome can manipulate similar incidents.

The most effective national and international mass media agenda setting relies upon framing rather than on falsehood. By not bending the truth about conflicts and the consequences, rather by breaking the news, using emphasis and other auxiliary factors, both the national and international media creates a desired impression without resorting to explicit advocacy departing too far from the appearance of objectivity. Framing is achieved in the way the news is packaged, the amount of exposure, the placement (front page or buried within, lead story or last), the tone of presentation (sympathetic or slighting), the headlines and photographs.

Frames are developed by providing, repeating and thereby reinforcing words and visual images in reference to some ideas and not others. Frames work some ideas salient, other less salient and others entirely invisible. A frame, therefore, is defined as a central organizing idea for making sense of relevant events and suggesting what is at issue. Media frames, which are largely unspoken and acknowledged, organize the world both for journalists who report it and, to some important degree, for those who rely on their reports. There can be more than one frame in a single new story. The journalist in the lead sentence he or she chooses or the source quoted could sponsor this. The sources are also potential sponsors of certain frames and their statements depend on which frame they sponsor.

3.6 Background of journalists

Both Kenyan media, like their international counterparts, have embedded itself with powerful state and corporations. Journalists owe their position not to any election, to these media houses or otherwise, but to the allegedly rational internal bureaucratic worms of the sector of the employer for which they happen to work (Marris and Thornham, 1996:84). They follow the rules that were established by their predecessors.

Golding and Elliott (Marris and Thornharm 1996:411) argue that sometimes news is simply as a result of the individual journalists, committed either because of professional notions of how news should be structured or to social views of the ideas it should convey. This was summed up by David Brinkley, the American newscaster who said, 'News is what I say is.'

News is not merely a collection of facts put together in narrative form: it plays an important role by providing audience with ways of handling new and recurring problems like conflict such as that in Somalia. When it comes to reporting about Somalia; it is important to note that culturally, politically, socially and even economically, there are very significant differences. These differences are often not explained, on the contrary, news are socially determined where the reporters social interpretation of events take precedence. Stories are produced within an environment in which individual journalists and their organisation determine events, occurrences, or activities as newsworthy on the basis of both highly personal rationale and organisational imperative.

Beb Bagdikian, a Pulitzer-prize- winning journalist complain that the quest for "objectivity" tend to favour official sources of news and "factual" events such as conflicts and war, omitting the interpretation that readers often needs. The focus on the event may obscure the general trend that is the understanding and the result in a blunt diet for the news consumer. Journalists and other media workers, educational, social and cultural background influences the content of what they produce. In the international communication, correspondents who are paid on the basis of the article published disseminate most of the news. Another reason for the sparse of Somalia in the international media is the fact that there has been a reduction in the number of Africa-based correspondence working for trans national media corporations in Somalia. This reduction in number of correspondents combined with their location in centres like Nairobi, Cairo, Harare, and Johannesburg means that they are denied opportunity to get to know Somalia first hand by leaving the urban centres to visit rural areas and other regions when many stories break -up. Thus, they are unable to portray conflicts in Somalia anything but a superficial level, because their scope and perception are deliberated.

3.7 Reliance On “Legitimate” Source

The degree to which the newsmakers can be reliable is related to the individual media practitioner, his source and the issue being covered. The news deviates from reality because its power and its reality is more than just to serves any representative function. Domnic (2002) found that news is geographically biased, so that its more likely to originate from some centre than the others. Studies on the news source show that 72 percent of all sources were officials of government or politics or groups and institutions, and another 2.7 percent were former government officials commenting on are of official status or public relations personnel of multinationals commenting on corporate issues; or in this case the conflict. Despite the professional myths to the contrary public relation is necessary for sourcing media news and information. Even the largest and best international media like the *New York Times*, *CNN*, *Time* and *News Week* obtain over half of their materials from press realizes, press conferences and other routine channel created by the government agencies, corporations and interested groups. Only a small portion of news results from the initiative of the news organization (Dickinson et al;1998:32).In the case of Somalia, it usually exposes journalist to serious risks particularly in a situation of conflict. Another problem is that while there may be other sources of information, few may be tapped for an article. News agencies rely too much on a few opt-quoted sources, according to Jonathan Alter, senior writer at the News Week “the impression conveyed is of a world which contains only a handful of knowledgeable people....“Giving forth “. bland news.”

The abuse of the anonymous source can be seen, for instance, of the controversy over the accuracy of the US intelligence before the war in Iraq. Journalists, who quoted anonymous sources to support that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction had later to hyperventilate about the failure of the coalition to unearth Saddam Hussein's stock pile of chemicals and biological weapons. They now to this failure that Bush Blair administration "cooked" intelligence on Iraq weapon of mass destruction programs to justify attacking Iraq. In foreign news coverage the journalists often rely on each other for stories rather than go out and dig for them. This "pack journalism" result in "group thinking" and a rush of similar stories appear in the newspapers/press. Some lack of coordination between correspondence in the field and those at home is responsible for the media missing the "big picture". When there is conflict in interpretation, editors often favour their home capital sources over those in the field (Shanto and Kinder, 1987). In Kenya for example, foreign journalists and correspondents visit the same social places, share sources and stories. They also rely on a small number of experts to give them analysis about Somalia and Africa in general. This denies the audience the overall objective picture of the situation in Somalia.

3.8 News Selection

Mort Rosenblum (1979) avers that, "In a general sense, news is the exceptional, something of the ordinary which threatens, benefits, outrages, enlightens or titillates,"

According to Herman and Chomsky (1994) agenda setting system will consistently portray people abused by war or conflict as worthy victims, whereas those treated with greater or equal severity by its own government or client will be unworthy. The more

worthy the victim the more coverage they get. This may not necessarily determine the tone of the story during conflict, but depending on the event it can be either positive or negative. It is unfortunate that the US and other trans national mass media provide practical definition of what is worth and fit to portray of the political, military, or economic mood of the time. In this sense, however one may argue that events in Somalia being in Africa is not worthy mostly because it does not have much influence on politics, scientific, economic or cultural events of the world, but it is occasionally worthy when there is conflict, disaster because it offers bizarre entertainment or news that is too extreme to ignore. In other cases Somalia can be covered as an indicator of how worse things can get, or as the “best example of the worst”

3.9 Media Ownership and Profit Orientation

The media portrayal of conflict is done for specific reasons. It reflects the economic, political, racial, class, gender and religious bias of the owners and of the governing class. Herman and Chomsky (1988) contend that the media are drawn into a symbiotic relationship with powerful sources of information by economic necessity reciprocity of interests. The media need a steady and reliable flow of information to meet the daily news demands and imperative news schedules that they must meet. However they cannot afford to have reporters and photographers at all the places, like in the conflict areas such as Somalia, where important stories break. Therefore they are forced to concentrate “where important rumours and leaks are bound, and where press conferences are held” (Jarice and maxcy, 1996). There was time during Amin Dada’s regime when Kampala, capital of Uganda, was dubbed (probably unfair) as the worlds capital for rumours

capable of generating at least 20 rumours a day. Perhaps reporters based in Kampala had a field day then, relished every moment of it the same case could be reflected in the Somalia conflict. Unlike in Kenya, the four major news agencies of the world (Reuters, Agence France Presse, United Press International and the Associated Press) belong to only three 'nations but supply 90% of the international news which passes into the world news rooms. The third world has accused the west of cultural domination through its control of the major news collecting resources of the world, and through the financial power of its advertising agencies, its international newspapers chains, its news print company and its hold over the electro-magnetic spectrum on which broadcasting navigation, meteorology and much else depends' (MacBride, 1980)

If technology and the astonishing reach, immediacy and public appeal provides one reason for the media's growth as a powerful force in foreign policymaking, economic forces are another.

The number of independent owners has shrunk. Business mergers involving television, radio and newspaper have created larger "cross-media" chains and huge international conglomerates fighting for shares of national or global markets. The General Electric Company(GE),for example in 1991numbered among its holding companies producing everything from dishwashers and air-conditioners to aircraft engines included over 200 radio stations and the National Broadcasting Company(NBC).Westinghouse Electric Corporation, in addition to its many industrial holdings, owns the CBS the Columbia Broadcasting services(Jarice and Maxcy,(1996).In Kenya the Nation Group and The Nation Media Group both own radio station ,television channel and the print media.

As small subsidiaries of the corporations, many newspapers, radio and television networks must pay even greater than usual attention to circulation figures, ratings and other indications of profitability. The bottom line counts more than ever. To earn their pay, journalists are pressed to dig out the exciting or exclusive story, sometimes leaked by official or policymakers' immediate reaction to complex international events (Raymond Carroll 1997: 6)

Herman and Chomsky (1988) best describe this complex relationship between media owners and the government. They explain filters that affect news choices. The dominant media firms are quite large firms; they are controlled by the very wealthy people or by managers who are subject to sharp constraint by owners and other market -oriented forces; they are closely interlocked, and have important common interest, with major corporations, banks and government. This is a powerful filter that affects news choices.

Therefore if the management of most newspapers has common interests with corporate world, coverage is in a way expected to follow the corporate investment trail. This affects the operations of the media as a news-reporting agent. The relationship affects how the poor African countries are portrayed and particularly the conflict resolution and peace building in Somalia. This shows the freedom of the press is guaranteed only to those who own the media. Freedom of the airwaves, the cable systems, and so forth are guaranteed only to those who own the satellites, the cable delivery systems and the newspapers and magazines. The main issue is about democratic discourse and whether the news coverage is affected by the centralization of the mass media in a few corporate hands. I think we

are seeing here 'information and news from the US and Europe. At this point, we have got ten corporations, beginning with Time Warner at the top, that control most of the news and information flow in the world. Liberalization of the media to some extent in Kenya has positively however enabled covered the situation in Somalia

3.10 Advertising

In arguing for benefits of the free market as a means of controlling dissident opinion in the mid-nineteenth century, the liberal Chancellor of the British Exchequer, Sir George Lewis, noted that the market would promote those papers "enjoying the preference of advertising public"

The advertisers' choices influence media selection, coverage and framing of the news. the advertiser is the piper who calls the tune in the media industry. The advertising goes beyond placing an advertisement in the media. Whoever pays the piper calls the tune.

Africa is disadvantaged because most of the countries are smaller than the TNCs operating from there. Hence for instance, when it comes to environmental issues and mining the TNCs hire the best experts to allay fears of any environmental degradation. On the other hand Somalia cannot afford "think tanks" and experts to argue their case convincingly to the contrary nor can they get free publicity in international media.

Advertisement has accomplished what state taxes and harassment failed do to censor the news. This has given advertisers a "de facto licensing authority to filter media content and coverage since, without their support, media cannot be economically viable. Since

media exports are untimely dependent on sponsors for advertising, they endeavour not only to advertise their goods and services, but also promote the intended way of life. The media content, programming, selection and framing are affected by choice and taste of the advertisers who pay the bill for the media industry.

Somalia is not seen as a very important region economically and therefore very few advertisers are interested in Somalia news. An example of how this could change is South Africa. Because all the major corporations, starting with information communication technology and automobile manufacturers, went into South Africa, the number of stories about South Africa has increased significantly. The rest of Africa has continued to lose importance or their newsworthiness except in times of inevitable crises. The same story goes for Botswana and Tunisia where the international media are falling on each other trying to give free publicity for them because of their sudden wealth and development. Botswana has even attracted a state visit by the president of most powerful country in the world today. Research has found that media companies are sponsors or major advertisers. Africa and mostly Somalia is neither advertisers nor direct major consumers of major consumers of international products, so advertisers are interested in the Somalia news and thus the neglect or ignorance found in the reportage of Somalia in the media today.

The bottom line is the power of advertiser over the media content stem from the fact that they buy and pay for the content, they provide the subsidy. Thus, the media compete for advertisers patronage developing the content to serve their needs and of the readers.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

The following tabulation provides details about the sample and the size

No.	Potential Respondents	Sample Size	
1	Media personnel -Editors -News reporters Journalists	10 24 10 44	
2	-Key officials in Government ,Political Institutions and Ministry of Foreign Affairs, -Office of the President,	10	20
3	<input type="checkbox"/> Personnel involved in Peace building processes Civil Society <input type="checkbox"/> International organisations. (UNHCR, IGAD, AU etc	10 10 20	
4	-Kenyans & -Somalis	58	60
Total		200	

East Africa Standard 2004

DATE	SIZE COVERAGE			NEWS	FEATUR E	EDITORIAL	OPINION	ANALYSIS	LETTER TO EDITOR	COMMENTARY	% OF COVERGE
	L	W	AREA								
5,1,2004	23.8	19.4	461.72					X			2%
15,2,2004	13.5	8.5	114.75			XX					2%
10,3,2004	29.2	26.3	767.96			XXX					2%
12,3,2004	28.9	19.4	560.66	XXX							2%
29,3,2004	14	39.5	553	XXX							2%
24,5,2004	28.6	3.5	100.1	D							2%
2,7,2004	9.5	13.8	131.1	DD							2%
29,7,2004	28.5	15.2	433.2	DDD							2%
23,8,2004	28.6	10	286	*							2%
24,8,2004	28.8	11	316.8	**							2%
30,8,2004	14.1	16.5	232.65	***							2%
3,9,2004	24	18.5	444	****							2%
20,9,2004	28.6	15.1	431.86	Y							2%
26,9,2004	28.8	19.9	573.12	YY							2%
27,9,2004	10	24.5	245	YYY							2%
7,12,2004	28.8	19.9	573.12	YYY							2%
Total			6225.0	13(26%)		2(4%)		1(2%)			16(32%)

East African standard 2004

Key article title

- X Kenya Warn War Leaders – Respect Peace Agreement
- XX Kalonzo Ask Ethiopia To Back Somali Peace Talk- Kenya Has Asked Ethiopia To Support Faltering Peace Efforts In The Neighbouring Somalia
- XXX Hitch In Somalia Peace Talk
Delegates Accuse Kalonzo Of Dictatorship
- XXXX Hope, Fear At Somalia Talks
Grumbling Threaten Meeting, But Hussain Aided Is Confident Of

Success.

- XXXXX Somali Peace Talks Stall At Critical Stage
The Chicken Seemed To Be Coming Home To Roost On Somali Peace Talks As The Biter Fruits Of The Incessant Wrangles That Have Hit The Process In The Recent Past Started Showing On Thursday Last Week.

D Somali's In Historic Election

DD Kenya Hailed For Role In Somalia Peace Efforts

DDD Somali Edges Wear Peace

* Somalia Transition Parliament Sworn In At Girgiri

** Order At Last In Somalia

But Clan Dispute Threaten To Scattle Peace Efforts

*** 275 Member Somalia Parliament Inaugurated

**** Split Threatens Peace, As Ministries Tussle Over Somalia Sockets

Y Somalis Flee Fresh Fighting

YY Fleeing War Load Embrace Peace

YYY Somalis Reject Morgan

Morgan Is A General Without Any Army And That Is Why His Only Option Was To Revert To The Talks.

YYYY Somalia Suffering Ignored, Senior Un Envoy 'Somalis Must Themselves Put An End To The Senseless In Fighting. '

They Must now embark on the process of reconciliation.

East Africa standard 2005

DATE	SIZE COVERAGE			NEWS	FEATURE	EDITORIAL	OPINION	ANALYSIS	LETTER TO EDITOR	COMMENTARY	% OF COVERAGE
	L	W	AREA								
29,1,2005	39.5	28.5	1125.75					OO			2%
19,1,2005	12.5	39.5	493.75	O							2%
13,2,2005	28.8	21.7	624.96		OOOO						2%
14,2,2005	28.8	30	864			N					2%
24,2,2005	28.8	19	547.2	V							2%
5,5,2005	17	23.1	392.7	VV							2%
15,5,2005	28.8	23	662.4				VVV				2%
20,5,2005	19	18.6	353.4	VVVV							2%
23,5,2005	28.8	14.2	408.96	N							2%
Total			5473.12	5(10%)	1(2%)	1(2%)	1(2%)	1(2%)			9(18%)

East Africa Standard 2005

Key article title

OO Media Report On Fights Should Be Balanced Media Both Print And Electronic An Play A Big Role In Diffusing Tension, Reducing And Containing Conflicts.

,

O We Go Back Home, Two Weeks, Say Somali

OOO Crossing The Mogadishu Line

OOOO Fear Of Chaos As Somali Government Plan To Relocate

V UN Warn Of Nuclear Waste In Somalia

VV Africa Peace Keepers Would Worsen Somalia Crisis – Faction.

VVV Somali Government Split Down The Middle

VVVV Somali Cabinet Will Relocate On May 13

N NGO's Give Hope In War Torn Somali Desert

DAILY NATION 2004

Date	SIZE COVERAGE			NEWS	FEATURE	EDITORIAL	OPINION	ANALYSIS	LETTER TO EDITOR	COMMENTARY	% OF COVERAGE
	L	W	AREA								
5,2,2004	19.9	11.5	228.85	D							2%
20,2,2004	39.5	28.8	1137.6			DD					2%
16,5,2004	28.8	25	720	DDD							2%
26,5,2004	39.8	29.7	1182.0	DDDD							2%
14,7,2004	23	14.5	333.5	X							2%
19,8,2004	12.8	20.5	262.4	XX							2%
1,9,2004	9.2	28	257.6	XXX							2%
3,9,2004	23	13	299	XXXX							2%
6,9,2004	11.5	14.5	166.75	XXXX X							2%
13,9,2004	28.6	39.5	1129.7	*							2%
28,9,2004	23	25	575	**							2%
10,10,2004	28.8	29.3	843.84	***							2%
12,10,2004	22	17	374	P							2%
14,10,2004	5.5	18.5	101.75	PP							2%
15,10,2004	29	27.5	797.5	PPP							2%
16,10,2004	28.8	39.5	1137.6	PPPPP							2%
18,10,2004	28.8	8.39	241.63								2%
Total			9788.78	30%		4%					34%

Dairy nation 2004

Key article title

D	Keep Peace Kalonzo ,Urges Somali Bosses
DD	Dilemma Facing Somali President
	The Danger Of Crossing Mogadishu Line
DDD	Soldier On Despite Years Of War
DDDD	How Somalia Aided Secured His Freedom
X	Cabinet To Pick Somali Peace Talks
XX	US Troops On Kenya Somali Border Watch
XXX	Sore Losers May Threaten Somali Peace Agreement.
XXXXX	Key Somali Leader Faults Law Guiding Peace
*	Prosperity Hope As Somalia Prepares To Elect President
**	Rebel Leader Gives Somali Talk A Boost
XXX	By Step For Somali Peace Is New Parliament Sits.
***	28 Join Race To Pick President For War Ravaged Somali
****	New Lender Vision for Somali
P	Peace Dividends Worth The Dear Cost Of Talk
PP	Karibu Mr. President
PPP	We'll Back You, Somalia Assured
PPPP	Quiet Somali Job Haven For Kenyans
PPPP	How New Somali Will Help Kenya
Y	Donor Meet To Consider Funding Somalia

Daily Nation 2005

DATE	SIZE COVERAGE			NEW S	FEATURE	EDITORIAL	OPINION	ANALYSIS	LETTER TO EDITOR	COMMENTARY	% OF COVERGE
	L	W	AREA								
20,2,2005	25.9	39.2	1015.28					O			2%
19,3,2005	24.7	6.6	163.02	*							2%
24,3,2005	28.8	11.2	322.56	**							2%
13,5,2005	28.8	39.3	1131.84	***							2%
23,5,2005	22.2	19.5	432.9	****							2%
6,6,2005	19.6	28.8	564.48	Y							2%
29,6,2005	29.4	39.5	1161.3			YY					2%
14,6,2005	24	13	312			YYY					2%
Total			5103.38	10%		4%		2%			16%

Daily Nation 2005

Key article title

- O Dilemma Facing Somali President
The Danger Of Crossing Mogadishu Line**

- * Uganda And Sudan Troops To Keep Peace In Phase On**
- ** Somali Government Leaves In May**
- *** Rude Home Coming Awaits Exiles.**
- **** Somali Conflict Is All About Money**

- Y The Truth And Myths About Somali Land**
- YY Who Will Stop Somalia Warlords**
- YYY Somali President And Its Team Leave For Home.**

Somali Coverage Reported On The Same Date (Data for making the contingency table)

The standard

Date

Daily Nation

18th Nov 2004

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} L = 13 \text{ cm} \\ W = 10 \text{ cm} \end{array} \right\} 130 \text{ cm}^2$$

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} L = 14 \text{ cm} \\ W = 23 \text{ cm} \end{array} \right\} 322 \text{ cm}^2$$

A nation history of violence

Somali presidents home attack

16th Oct 2004

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{pg1, } L = 29.9 \text{ cm} \\ W = 8.0 \text{ cm} \end{array} \right\} 239.2 \text{ cm}^2$$

War lord who call Nairobi home

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{pg1, } L = 12.6 \text{ cm} \\ W = 7.6 \text{ cm} \end{array} \right\} 95.76 \text{ cm}^2$$

Somali home coming

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Pg4, } L = 39.5 \text{ cm} \\ W = 27.7 \text{ cm} \end{array} \right\} 1094.15 \text{ cm}^2$$

Nairobi is a war lord haven

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{pg4, } L = 28.8 \text{ CM} \\ w = 39.5 \text{ cm} \end{array} \right\} 1139.6 \text{ cm}^2$$

We will back you, Somalia assured

Pg5, L = 28.8 cm

W = 20.3 cm

Aideed Gives President Success Tips.

15th Oct, 2004

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{pg1, } L = 25.7 \text{ cm} \\ W = 28.6 \text{ cm} \end{array} \right\} 735.02 \text{ cm}^2$$

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{pg1, } L = 28.5 \\ W = 39.5 \end{array} \right\} 1125.75 \text{ cm}^2$$

A Nation Reborn

Pg 2, L = 19 cm
W = 39.5 } cm²

Somali Takes First

Pg 3, L = 28.8
W = 39.5 } cm²

Steps Towards Democracy, Peace.

Pg 17, L = 28.8
W = 39.5 } cm²

Will Somalia Attempt At Democracy Succeed

L = 11.2 cm } cm²
10th Oct, 2004

Karibu Mr. President

pg 2, L = 14 cm
W = 27 cm } cm²

Somali Rebirth

pg3, L = 28.6 cm
W = 25.5 cm } cm²

Steps Forwards Democracy, Peace.

pg 4, L = 28.5 cm
W = 39.5 cm } cm²

L = 28.5 cm } cm²

$$W = 13.2 \text{ cm}$$

$$W = 39.5 \text{ cm}$$

Somali gets a new president

28 join race to pick president

23rd May 2005

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} W = 14.2 \text{ cm} \\ L = 28.8 \text{ cm} \end{array} \right\} 408.96 \text{ cm}^2$$

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} L = 22.2 \text{ cm} \\ W = 19.5 \text{ cm} \end{array} \right\} 432 \text{ cm}^2$$

War torn Somalia

Somali conflict is all about money

24th Mar 2005

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} L = 13.5 \text{ cm} \\ W = 39.5 \text{ cm} \end{array} \right\} \text{ cm}^2$$

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} L = 22.2 \text{ CM} \\ W = 19.5 \text{ cm} \end{array} \right\} \text{ cm}^2$$

Somali cabinet now divided over relocation

Somali Government leave in May

To test independence of reportage and coverage by the two Dailies using the Chi - square a contingency table was made from the values of the Area covered in square centimeters of the first of the first two dates of 2004 and 2005, all having been reported / covered concurrent on similar days, of the date indicated.

Year	The standard	Daily Nation	Total
2004	130.00 cm ²	322.0 cm ²	452.00 cm ²
2005	408.96 cm ²	432.9 cm ²	841.86 cm ²
Total	538.96 cm ²	754.9 cm ²	1293.86 cm ²

$$11 = R_1C_1 = \frac{452 \times 538.96}{1293.86} = 188.28151 = 12R_1C_2 = \frac{452 \times 754.9}{1293.86} = 263.71848$$

$$21 = R_2C_1 = \frac{841 \times 538.96}{1293.86} = 350.32025 \quad 22 = R_2C_2 = \frac{841 \times 754.9}{1293.86} = 490.67974$$

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O	E	(O-E) ²	(O-E) ² / E
130	188.28151	- 3396.7344	- 18.040722
408.96	263.71848	21095.099	79.990977
322	350.32025	- 802.03656	- 2.2894381
432	490.67974	<u>3443.3118</u>	7.0174321
		20,339.64	66.678249

If function of $\chi^2 = \sum \frac{(O-E)^2}{E} = 66.678249 = \text{Calculated value}$

Then the degree of freedom

$$v = (r-1)(c-1) = (2-1)(2-1) = 1$$

For $v=1$, $\chi^2_{0.01}=6.63$ =table value

The calculated value of χ^2 is the formula larger than the table value.

The reportage and coverage of Somalia events in the two Dailies, The Standard and The Daily Nation are independent of each other. According to the findings of this test of independence in space given to each coverage distribution of one article space in square centimeters is no way dependent on the distribution of the other.

Giving a postulated view, and as indicated in this test, the research finding may observe that the effectiveness of local journalists reporting on, conflict issues is determined by individual media house, analytical capacity as how important the information is and hence prominence in space in square centimetre allocated to that type of information.

4.1 Content Analysis Discussion

It may be argued the publishers or editors rather than the journalists or reporters are likely to have made decision relating to these articles. However, such influences present in all media, relates to dynamics of individual media institution that are beyond the scope of this study research. Whether the decision makers are considered journalists does not deflect from the fact that these are journalistic options. Provisions of in-depth report in particular could be seen as a feature of the two dailies. However the difference should not be overstated. The analysis indicates that events in the Somali conflicts, resolutions and peace building process formed a significant proportion of the total content in both the Daily Nation and The Standard. In all the reportage and coverage of Somali 74% of the articles were placed as news, 16% appeared under the editorial, 2% as features and opinion respectively, while 6% were under analysis of the events and the situation thereof. This findings implies that the situation in Somali is significantly important to the Kenya

media hence a huge reportage of up to 74% information as news. Further calculation of the actual area of space given to each individual article in square centimetres show that quite some space was spared for Somali conflict information. In both the dailies studied from the year 2004-2005, the total area covered in square centimetres was 26590.322cm² and as the readily discussed sampling procedure.

Assuming that the usual area coverage of a page in each of the dailies measures; L=37.0cm, W=26.5cm,

$$\text{Then } (26.5)(37.0)=980.5\text{cm}^2$$

For 50 Articles studied, the coverage should be

$$980.5\text{cm}^2 \times 50 = 49025.00\text{cm}^2$$

but the Somali coverage was as indicated 26590.322cm²

$$\text{Therefore } \frac{26590.322}{49025} \times 100 = 53.62\%$$

If divided by 50 Articles

$$\text{Then } \frac{53.62}{50} = 1.0724 \approx 1.1\% \text{ space on a page for Somali events per day}$$

50

4.1.1 Placement Of Articles In Newspaper

Most of the Somalia issues and reportage has appeared on the front pages of the two dailies as headlines.

Headlines are meant at giving the perspective reader accurate and complete information about an event and aims at giving the information in a quick and easy form and at presenting it so attractively that the reader will be impelled to form an attachment for the necessity. The headline design develops a news lead through the opening of a story which packs into a paragraph or two all the essential information contained in the article. The

headline carries the condensation process a step. Further where the lead speaks in terms of sentences and paragraphs the headlines speaks in terms of words. Headline is a super lead and facilitates rapid reading and primarily they are employed to help the reader get a glance what he wants to know. As many readers keep posted on daily happenings, headlines often do incorporate as much information as possible and do present it with answering accuracy and emphasize the most important points; or points of the news. This means that Somalia news and events had a particular point of emphasis.

Also noted from the content analysis were titles for articles or captions, which clearly marked off where the Somali news article started. The titles serve to give the readers an inkling of the information contained in the articles but generally they accomplish this merely by labeling. The titles are deliberately mysterious allure seeking to tempt the reader into perusing what follows. In the analysis, aside from the obvious objection that these items do not head articles they could in no sense be formed headlines. They do not divulge information, they tell about it. It is noted that the headlines made a statement while the captions called names in Somalia events reportage.

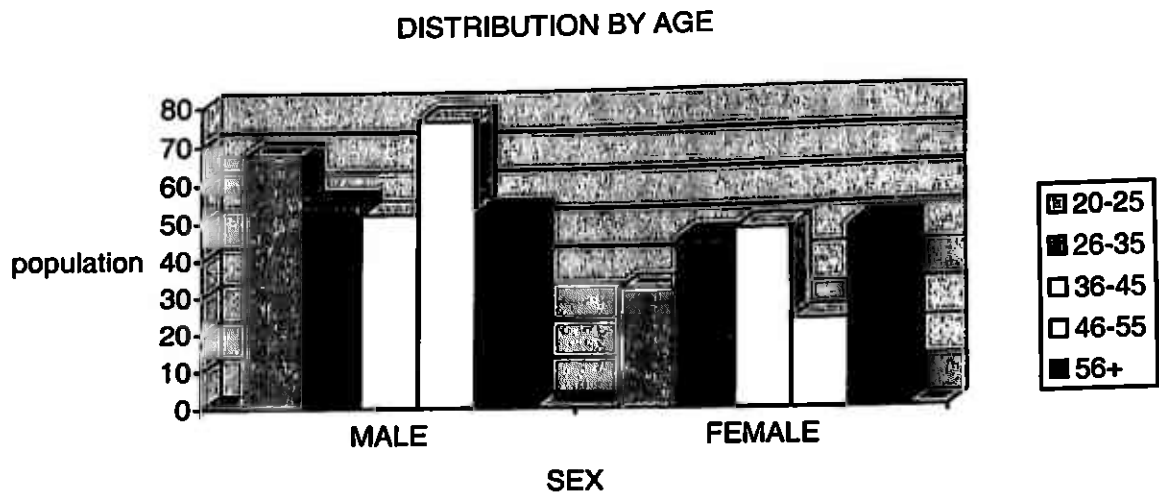
Headline space is too precious to be wasted on vague words and generalities. In presenting the Kernel of the news, the top must tell the story at hand and tell no other. This is another way of saying the media was specific about Somalia issues and had a committed "rose for news" in the events of Somalia peace building and process.

Age distribution of the respondents

Table 1

No.	Age	Male		Female		Total count
		count	%	count	%	
1	20-25	23	67.6	11	32.4	34
2	26-35	28	55	22	45	50
3	36-45	33	52.3	30	47.7	63
4	46-55	26	76.4	18	23.6	34
5	56 plus	10	52.6	9	47.4	19
Total						

Chart 1



52% of those interviewed were male, forming the majority of the respondents

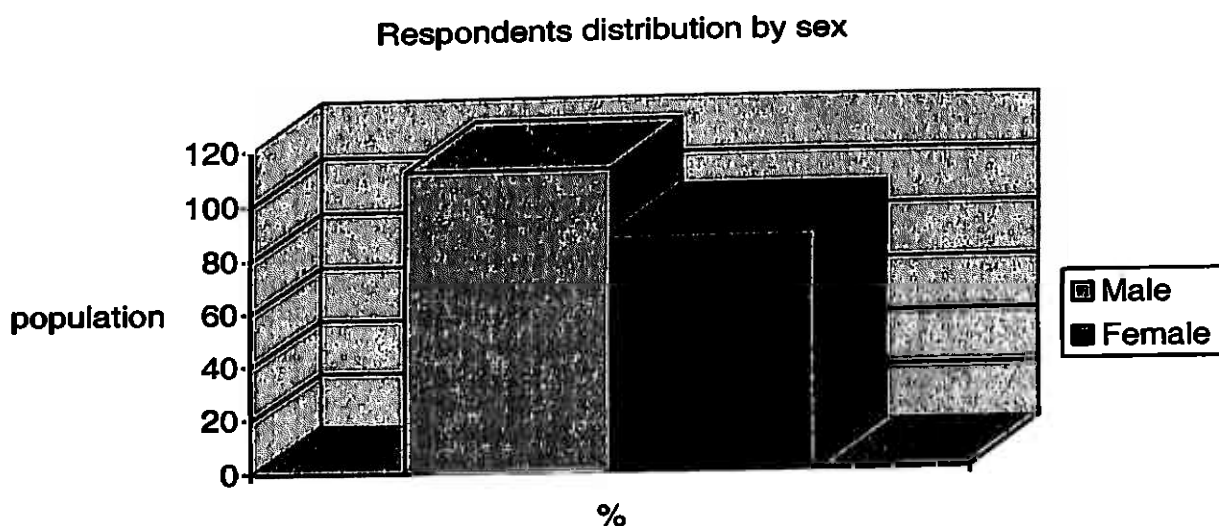
Age group 36-45 represents the largest category of the respondents in both the male and female representation of 52.3% and 47.7% respectively. The majority population of the

respondents is spread between age group 25-45 reflecting an active period for individual achievement, self-actualization and need of information for development. At this period knowledge and awareness of issues that are happening is vital, and hence conflict. This will include those in the warring areas and those outside. At this time in age people have life goals and need stable environments to achieve their lifetime ambitions. To such people reports on conflict such as that in Somalia is sensitive and catching.

Table 2: Distribution by sex of the respondents

No.	Item	Count	%
1	Male	112	63
2	Female	88	38
Total		200	100

Chart 2



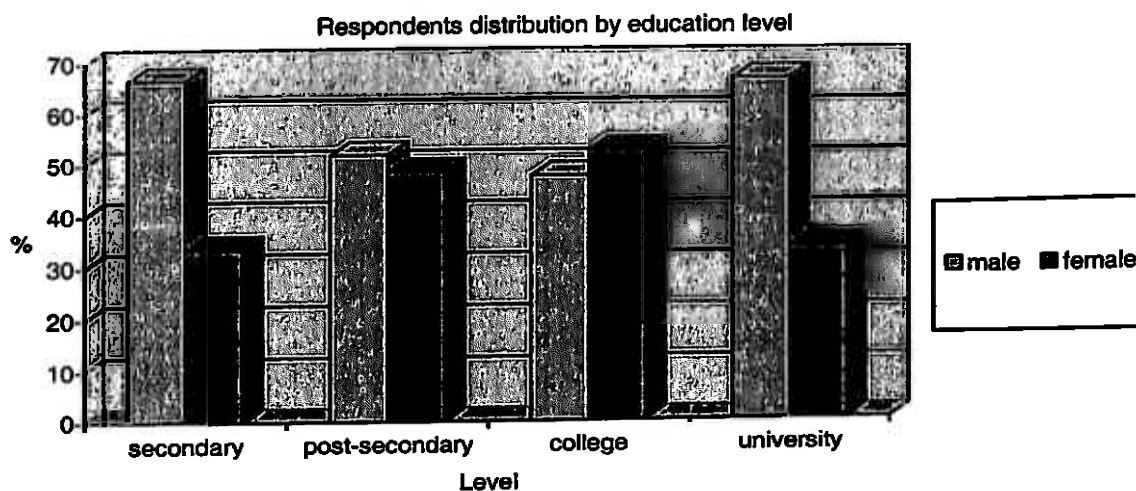
The findings shown in table 2 indicates that majority of the interviewees were male representing up to 63% while the female represented on 37 %.

Distribution of respondents by the level of education

Table 3

No.	Level	Male		Female		Total
		Count	%	Count	%	
1	Secondary	16	66.6	8	33.4	24
2	Post secondary	29	51.7	27	48.3	56
3	College	39	47.5	43	52.5	82
4	University	24	66.6	12	33.4	36
Total						200

Chart 3



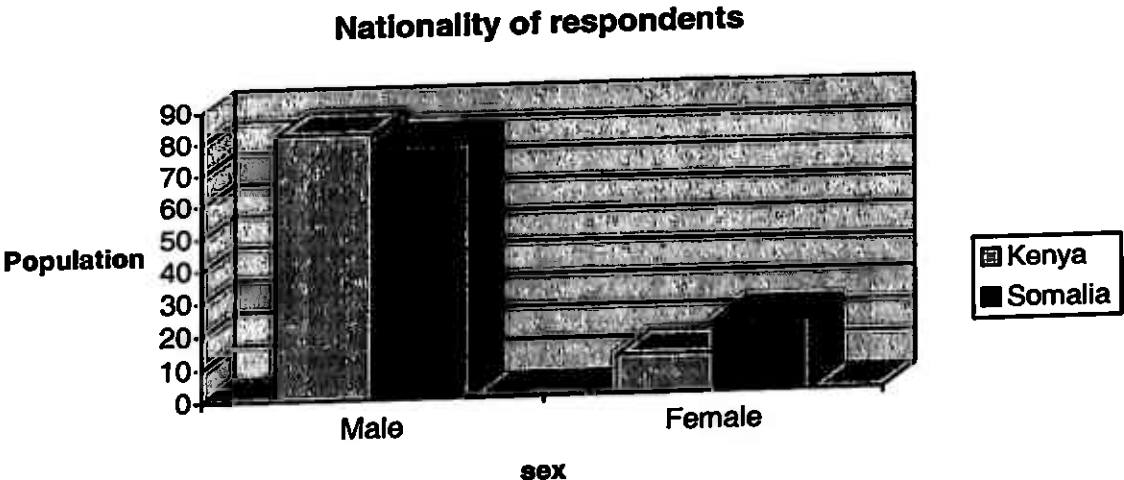
The level of education as represented in table 3 indicates the literacy level of the respondents. This also implies the ability of the respondents to access and actually read and understand information conveyed through the print media. The tabulation shows that all the respondents had access to at least secondary education. Having noted that the male

respondents were the majority 66.6% of those interviewed had the university education while only 33.4% of the females interviewed had the same. In this study research education is important as regarding to the issue of readership, awareness and knowledge of the conflict situation the Somalia. Education predisposes one in a readership position awareness and hence knowledge about the events in Somalia conflicts. Higher levels of education also may imply more readership position hence more awareness and knowledge. This also implies need for readership need and access the print media hence the dailies.

Table 4: Distribution of the respondents by nationality

No.	Item	Male	Female	Total
1	Kenya	117(82.3%)	83(11.7%)	142
2	Somali	44(78.5%)	14(21.5%)	58
Total		161	97	200

Chart 4

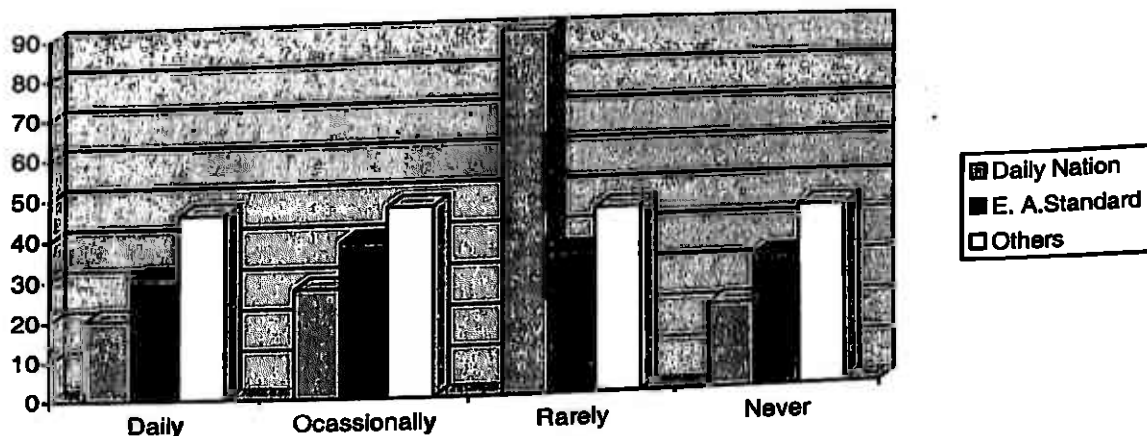


Due to the sampling methodology only few Somali were interviewed in this research study. The study indications in the chart 4 clearly show the variance of these facts. Only count of 58 out of 200 represents the respondents of Somali origin for male and female each representing 478.5% and 21.5 % respectively. The study shows that almost A third of population interviewed were Kenyans.

Table 5: Distribution of Readership

No.	Item	Daily	Occasionally	Rarely	Never	Total
1	Daily Nation	96(48%)	51(25.5%)	29(14.5%)	24(12%)	200
2	East African Standard	83(41.5%)	40(2%)	47(23.5%)	30(15%)	200
3	Others (specify)	21(10.5%)	59(29.5%)	81(40.5%)	39(19.5%)	200

Chart 5



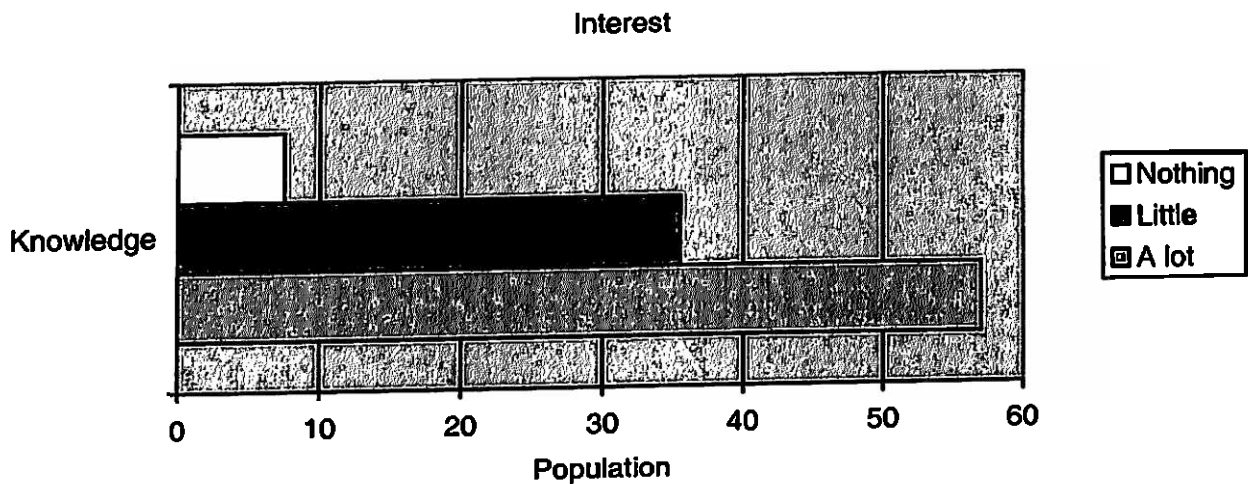
The majority of those interviewed, 48% and 41.5% read Daily Nation and The Standard newspapers every day respectively. 81% of those who read the two dailies in this study research rarely read other news papers. This mean that information placed in the two dailies has a higher percentage of readerships, meaning it is likely to reach a larger audience. While it is the work of the media to report, agenda-setting aspect of the media

is a significant factor and particularly where the number of those concerned are many, the mass influence there of would result into massive reaction to the issue at hand. Observation of the occasional readers of the Daily Nation also indicate population of that up to 25.5%. Minimal is also the 12% representation by the population of those who rarely read the Daily Nation

Table 6: Level of knowledge of Somalia issues

No.	Level	Count
1	A lot	114(57%)
2	Little	71(35.5%)
3	Nothing	15(7.5%)

Chart 6: Interest/ most read articles



Over 57% Of the readership respondents admit to know a lot about reportage of the issues of Somalia conflict only a minimal number of 7.5% admitted not knowing anything about

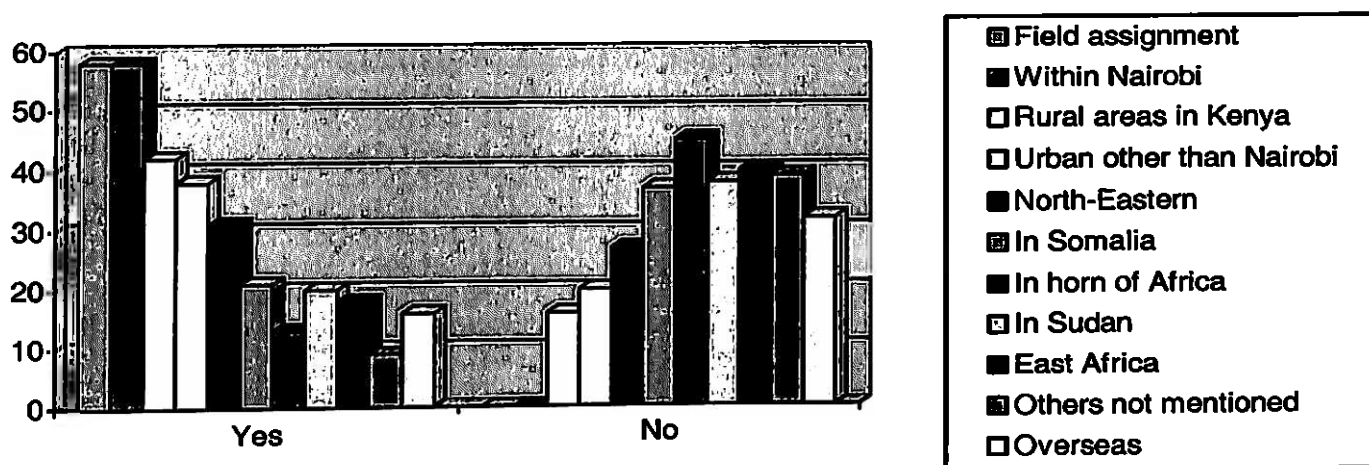
the Somalia issues. 35.5%, who claim to know something about the issues of Somali conflict, aver that their knowledge is little. These findings about the level of knowledge indicate that the media is accredited with the imparting the information to those who have acknowledged this.

Table 7: Assignment for media personnel

No.	Assignment	Yes		No	
		Count	%	Count	%
1	Field assignment	58	100	Nil	Nil
2	Field within Nairobi	58	100	Nil	Nil
3	Rural areas in Kenya	42	58	16	42
4	Urban areas in Kenya other than Nairobi	38	65.5	20	34.5
5	In the North –Eastern Province of Kenya	31	53.4	27	46.4
6	Have you worked in Somalia	21	36.2	37	63.8
7	Other countries in the horn of Africa	13	22.4	45	77.6
8	In the Sudan	20	34.4	38	65.6
9	East African region (outside Kenya)	18	31.0	40	69.0
10	In other African countries not mentioned above	9	15.5	39	84.5
11	Overseas- out of Africa	16	27.5	32	72.5
12	Total				

36.2% of the reporters /journalist have been assigned, as indicated in the table above, at least duty in Somali. All those interviewed as media personnel have had assignment within Nairobi. In spite the fact that a small number of journalists were assigned in Somalia as evident from the table and the Chart 6 below, there is sufficient evidence of the information covered as from the content analysis done in this study research and also the acknowledgement by the readership population studied in table 6. While 31% have worked in East African region outside Kenya 77.6% of them have never had assignment in the countries in the horn of Africa

Chart 7: Assignment distribution by respondents

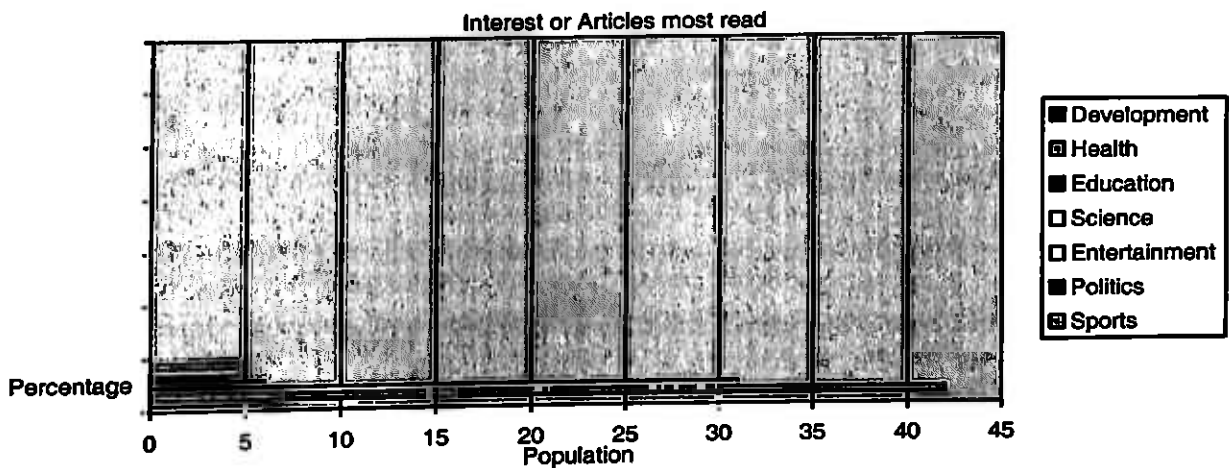


Majority of the media employees, particularly the reporters, journalists and editor are home bound 100% operators, with a mere 15.5% having worked in other parts of Africa. As evident from chart 6, like in Nairobi man have assigned duty in the Northeastern.

Table 8 :Interest or articles most read

No.	Item	Count	%	Total
1	Sports	12	6	200
2	Politics	84	42	200
3	Entertainment	62	31	200
4	Science	12	6	200
5	Education	8	4	200
6	Health	10	5	200
7	Development	10	5	200

Chart 8: Distribution of respondents by interest / article most read



Majority, of the interviewees prefer reading information about politics, which accounted for 42%. 31% of them like entertainment, while 5% of them seek for information on health and education respectively. Somali conflict, reconciliation and peace building process issues, are intertwined with politics due to the fact that they are often consequences of governance and democracy.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

First it's important to mention that, as purveyors of information and peddlers of influence media play very vital roles with respect to those who are directly or indirectly involve and affected by conflicts. Such roles include dissemination of essential and relevant information to the right publics, at the right time and in proper contexts; inculcating a set of desirable values to serve as the necessary inputs for the ultimate goals of attitude change and behavior modification; setting the agenda for public opinion and discussion through the selection and packaging of particular materials, so as to achieve the desirable objectives of the conflict resolution and peace building initiatives. The media provide surveillance mechanisms for the masses, interest groups and the governments.

Secondly, media operations are necessarily guided by the expectations of media audiences, among other factors. Since media audience are not a homogeneous group, it is expedient that they be segmented for greater effectiveness improved efficiency and success. Various attributes can be used in audience segmentation. Among the common ones are demographics (age, sex, educational level) psychographics (attitudes, preferences, dislikes) and sociographics (group characteristics) perhaps the most basic attributes in geographic or location of the target public. With respect to these attributes, the commonest question is; Do the people live in the rural or urban area. In regard to our study research, findings were obtained after interviewing, through questionnaires, the urban residents.

Thirdly, that there is less perfect parity in the coverage of the news among the international media is not surprising, nor is it contestable (Okigbo 1985). What is less well known, however is that the imbalance is as characteristic of international journalism as it is of the practice at national levels. The rancor created by our demands for a New World Information Order (NWIO) reaches a feverish weight in the mid 1980's. Since then, the search light of international criticism has been focusing most intensely through that self-scrutiny on individual nations and their press systems. John Merrill (1983:14) noted at the weaf of NWIO controversy that "hardly a day goes by that some editor or political leader in the Third World does not take a public swing at Western journalism for its injustices in the area of news coverage."

The trend these days, suggests that both third world and western journalists are beginning to realize, much to their chagrin, that imbalance is in the nature of the news business. No matter how hard a journalist might to be objective, he is a slave to his personal taste, his media organization and the prevailing cultural value of his society. These make it inevitable that some bias must show through, even when there are no deliberate attempts to take one side.

As Merrill (1983:15) rightly noted of international journalism "certainly much global coverage can be said to contain bias but all reporting can be so indicted."

There is abundant empirical evidence "that journalism in every part of the world is biased in favor of the immediate location" (Okigbo 1988:97). With respect to international news coverage in national media systems, Oso (1978) Pratt (1974) and Nisuneli and Uson

(1982) have found separate research projects that the Nigerian press is biased in its treatment of international news which given minimal alteration compared to local news. This pattern of news presentation has been confirmed by Sreberny-Mohammadi (1984:127) who reported from the extensive UNESCO / IAMCR study of the world press that “every national system devoted most attention to events happening within and to actors belonging to its immediate geographical region.” There is strong evidence that local papers not only emphasize local coverage, but do so in a favorable and positive tone.

According to study findings there were 25 articles in the Daily Nation and 25 articles in the Standard newspaper studied with issues of Somalia conflicts. Besides, the analysis of the stories publish in the two papers showed proportionately more Kenyan stories were favorably treated in term of space legitimately this means that the paper report more about local events and personalities, with sparse foreign news.

In this study research, the number of the articles sampled from articles sampled from the papers included news reports, features articles, commentaries opinions, editorials, analysis and letters to the editors.

It is neither unfortunate nor accidental that national media systems pay more attention to local news at the expense of international coverage. The so-called “world media” are nothing but individual media institutions that are founded for the purpose of programming for local audiences, except in few really international institutions such, as

the Cable News Network (CNN) British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) Voice of America (VOA). It is therefore not surprising that most national media houses focus most on local (i.e. national) events. The picture within individual national borders, especially with respect to the coverage of public affairs is also interesting, focusing on big actors, usually the government and big businesses; meaning, there seems not to be any attempt to balance the coverage. Findings of this study shows that sources of all the articles studied were clearly drawn with adequate background information. The articles were observed to have quite a diverse sources, authors, reporters with diversity in tone of the story, attitude of graphics. Evidence from the measurements taken shows that some articles on conflict resolution and peace building process occupies larger proportion of the newspapers – Section page.

The study shows that up to 48% of the people interview could afford or access the two newspapers on a daily Basic. Up to 56% of the respondents were interested in local news, with 52% devoted to reading politics.

Only 23% were interested in news specifically about the horn of Africa, meaning and or including Somalia, Sudan, and Ethiopia. If the space for the Somalia conflict report is calculated against the total space for the 50 articles of the newspapers 74% information for Somali was news content. 1.1% of space on a page is provided for events in Somali.

The bulk of Somalia news centered on reconciliation efforts, challenges and possible way forward among the faction leaders and among other players.

It was noted that news about East Africa attracted even more attention after the local news, up to 23 percent of the readers confirmed sought out for East African news. Foreign news or international news like of the USA and Europe featured among those respondents who had interest especially in foreign trade.

Similarly, it was observed that a majority of the readers were interested in local sports obituary jobs and other advertising in disregard to foreign and funeral announcements.

In the study, those readers who liked politics more appeared to know more about conflicts in Somalia. Dominance of political issues and higher count of readership in the two Dailies reflects on how politics and governance touches on all aspects of life in the society and as indicated from the analysis of the Daily Nation and The Standard newspapers articles on Somali and related events as regards reconciliation and peace building, also directly embraces the role of media houses, which clearly, have an important presence in a democratic set up and governance. By selecting certain events as news, in the case of situation in Somalia conflict resolutions; and omitting others as non-news; journalists are daily reconstructing the social reality of their audiences. If they present a biased picture of reality by providing unbalanced and unrealistic coverage of conflict resolution events, they can contribute immensely to the formation of misleading images.

As Patterson (1979:116) aptly expressed it if newsmen share a pattern of preference as to what is newsworthy and that pattern does not represent reality, they will present a

distorted image of the world which may contribute to inappropriate decisions and policies.

Does the media, more so, the journalist work embrace this?

It can be considered that journalism has already brought an increase in news, and hence information on conflict and conflict resolution events in Somalia. In other words, the media has seen to it that, there are at least apparently new news and information on the events; But the question of the study research, that it attempts to address is whether there is evidence that the seeming plethora a real important role in conflict resolution and peace building and or that increase in the reach breadth, depth and diversity of journalistic activities are a public discourse? Nor can we assume that merely having new features of news on Somalia enabled by technology necessarily implies a media commitment to such enhancement, on part of either journalists or publishers. Remediation of information in the media and / with media practitioners; including journalists is a common technique used to provide news feeds to others so long as they retain a link to their own. And so, few of the news have been the originally generated news with regard to the audience and public affairs content.

This is not to argue that newsmen deliberately aim at distorting the news by providing unbalanced and unfair coverage.

In this study finding an editor confers that, in their task of selecting news for inclusion on the daily package, journalists as gatekeepers are guided by news evaluation criteria, organizational factors, and the socio-cultural context of their particular media organizations. A combination of these factors leads the journalist into making a particular

selection of materials from the available particular selection of materials from the available news menu. Incidentally conflict is a very sensitive issue with the result that it gets dominant attention. In the first place certain topics lend themselves very easily to media coverage. Stevenson (1992) has reported that the world's news agencies (and by extension the media) adopt the same kind of uniform narrow definition of newsworthiness. The dominant Topics are about politics, military/defense and economics. These accounts for as much as 75% of total news in all parts of the world besides the dominance of public officials mostly members of the executive branch (e.g. the different factional leaders in the case of Somalia conflict resolution and peace building membership as news makers. The president, the prime minister and occasionally other public officials, are people who fill our newspapers and television newscast.”

According to the editor, in the content; sites that provide imported news from an outside source or sources was classified as having partial contents.

The study observed differences of opinion as to the capacity of the media to influence conflict resolutions.

Overall, the test as to whether the media can enhance and or have a significant role to fulfill in creating awareness and influencing public opinion depends on the news and placement in the newspaper. Whether a site provides full or partial content necessarily is applied relative to the terms -, regional title, National title or contents being less or more. Of course, prominent government and business leaders are more newsworthy than ordinary citizens and more newsworthy than ordinary citizens and thus journalists go

after them. Not only do they make news by what they say, they can make news also by what they do not do-for instance about conflicts in Somalia and what the world, the local leaders and the faction leaders are doing and not doing. Occasionally, they make news also by not saying anything.

Although the local news accounts for over 70% coverage in the local dailies, foreign news such as conflict related issues in Somalia attracts the greatest attention to themselves through the big act they provide.

This information however is the key to proper decisions. Its availability does not necessarily lead to good decisions; but where it is lacking, good decisions are nearly impossible except by chance. According to King (1977:5) “ Information is of central importance to good management.” He goes to explain this further by adding, “Indeed, virtually everyone would agree that the quality of the available information largely determines the equality of decisions which people are able to make”

The journalist is a manager of information in preparing his news, features, editorials or opinion essays. He is also a producer of information because his end product (the individual news story or features articles e.t.c.) Can be employed as an input in the process of making sense of the social environment. While a few journalists were enthused by the topic relating media and their role in conflict resolution, some journalists were skeptical of the potential, awareness creation, democratic campaign and otherwise of reportage of conflict issues as far as it related to their work. Others seemed not to be keen

whether their work and coverage of events in Somalia had a positive effect to the course of peace.

In the coverage of the Somalia conflict; one reporter avers that the media not only set the agenda for public opinion, but also can decisively affect what people do; for instance the leaders and all stakeholders in Somalia conflict resolution; especially in the realm of public affairs. This potential for casual influence places a heavy burden on journalists who must be socially responsible and operate from the point of view of public interest.

Do journalists share, however, specifically or vaguely, the idea that reportage of conflict issues might evolve that essentially redefined their role? Or do they hold the view that however frees it may be, the exchange of ideas does indeed demand moderation, filtering and interpretations? Some journalists are all too eager to help people internationally by willingly and deliberately providing certain information as a platform for more or less better effects. This depends on how they manage information they receive. Providing misleading information or false information cases illustrates mismanagement of information for dubious purposes. The question here, not merely ask whether the media approves of accuracy, but what they think its implementation within the context of peace building in situations such as that in Somalia, will bring to the public communication, to actual contents and its formats, placement in the newspaper as a feature story, news analysis, opinion and commentary. Not to manage information is to invite failure, as one will be leaving too much to chance. Conflict reportage offers rich and complex communication environment and communication potentials. Media role in conflict

resolution and peace building process as envisaged in the given contextual literature gives a much wider range of possibilities for carrying out debates on public issues. Although at times the participants do not share ideas and beliefs, they can still come together on the basis of the information received, to discuss issues of common interest. Conflict in the Horn of Africa is a threat to the security and political stability of neighboring countries such as Kenya. In the light of this, the local print media, from utilitarian perspective (the greatest good for the greatest number), and in compliance with the rules and principles of market segmentation our journalists had to divide the heterogeneous Mass market into smaller subgroups to achieve greater effectiveness. Particular information is significantly related to and hence important to certain groups of people. Management of information requires the setting of objectives selection of efforts based on rational principles, for meeting those objectives It seems, however that the question of communication practice, being formed by journalists and their probable effects on enlarging the conditions of public expression, publicity, and public opinion in a situation of conflict, taking into consideration the criteria of audience size and type of enabled reciprocity between communicators; It is often argued that; such mediated communication provides one-to-one, and one-to-many code of communication. In this way, the media and conflict reportage, in peace building process play with boundaries that have traditionally delineated personal, interpersonal and mass communication (Burnett and Marshall 2003; 48; Rice, 1999:26)

The most essential aspect involving managing information is to favorably predispose the citizens to supporting peace building in a particular way. Journalists have to be on their

guard so as to properly discharge the public duty on them for objective and accurate reporting of public affairs, even as they relate to conflict resolution and peace building issues.

The coverage of conflicts is inevitable and reflects the reading, listening and viewing interests of the average media user. Reporters and editors have not made any deliberate decisions to provide only particular events or sketchy issues in conflict coverage. Rather, they are guided by co-orientational factors that suggest to them the interests of their audience. “With respect to media coverage during conflict, they should try to go beyond programming for the interest of their immediate audience. They should provide for meeting the need of the public information, one editor confers. “This should mostly be the case in those situations where a large segment of the stakeholders in the conflict situation or peace and reconciliation and wants of the audience or the affected parties have to be balanced with their needs for information of the steps and process. Where interests and wants dominate, journalists will be over driven by the commercial motive. Where the needs dominate, they will be attentive to social responsibility. What is needed is a balance between the two critical and not necessarily mutually exclusive motives. These three guidelines can serve as foundation on which to build the edifice of media coverage of conflicts, especially with respect to creating objectivity rather than subjectivity during the reconciliation process and eventual peace building.”

Media coverage of conflict should emphasize the key issues of the conflict with a major platform being a summary of agenda for most of the critical issues for conflict resolution and peace building.

Journalists should go beyond merely chronicling and reporting, to emphasize analysis and interpretation, without necessarily betraying the public trust on them. By doing so, they will provide guidance for the public, and both the conflicting parties on agenda set and anticipation. The media should assist the various government interested in the conflict, the mediators and the public in playing surveillance function/roles as far as the conflict resolution and peace building process activities of interest groups are concerned. Ordinarily the media fulfill surveillance functions by providing the daily intelligence necessary for the correlation of parts of the society or stakeholders.

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These functions assume greater proportions in the reconciliation and peace building process or period, because of the need for various interest groups to be only informed of what other groups are doing. In this respect, people afflicted and in the conflict situation, as well as their counterparts in the Diaspora or in flight (Refugees) need accurate information about the reconciliation and peace building progress, the associations and parties involved as well as interested governments and their performance and therefore the progress.

In this situation, in the course of conflict resolution and peace building process, the media need to serve as feedback mechanisms that facilitate two way communication between

the conflicting parties or among the factional leaders, the factional leaders and the mediators, the mediators and the public e.t.c and other relevant stakeholders.

Coverage and reportage of conflicts and subsequently the resolution and peace building of Somalia by reporters indicated from the content analysis and is a viable proof of the media recognition of its social responsibility to provide necessary information to meet the needs of its audience wherever they are located and with whatever the interest they may have. Where as one would not expect the conflict news such as in Somalia to dominate in the media, its only fair to direct some of the searchlight of public affairs governance and democracy reportage to important phenomena of reconciliation and peace building in a conflict situation. When one thinks of conflict they unduly focus on war, death, starvation, discrimination and or any other form of human suffering. However there is much to conflict that can be given a significant news twist by the media who understand how to spin a good story from some unexpected positive development like in the bid to set agenda towards reconciliation and peace. Either negative or positive propaganda styles is a temptation that many journalists cannot easily resist. However, it is easier to encounter journalistic objectivity in such situation.

One journalist volunteered a view that; “in covering conflict, like any other big event or actor, this common pattern has been found to obtain.”

1. Something happens in a conflicting situation
2. The local authorities decide how to share this with the outside world.

3. The central authorities may interfere, leading to some distortion between (1) and (2)
4. Externally-based journalists now get in the drama of announcing this to the nation or world, often providing new twist that may be different from (1), (2) and (3).
5. Different media institutions, depending on their ideology interest, many present different versions of what happened, with the result that the ultimate picture that emerge are confusing to say the least. Quoting, Dr. Charles Okigbo in the book, *Reporting politics and public affairs*; on the title; 'Rural-Urban imbalances in media coverage,' The same journalists avers that, like stories about the government, conflict often reporting often involve four hurdles comprising of "the factional officials responsible for the news making events, the press secretary," "the journalists" and the editor (Atkins and River 1985:102)
6. Those "hurdles" are like the "gates" through which the stories have to pass before they are published or broadcast. In spite of this complexities- the reporter should cover conflicts in the best traditions of objective news journalism.

Another journalist volunteered a view that anticipated a radical transformation far from the function of reporting straightness: 'We are fighting for relevance ...'

However, this radical perspective represented and exceptional judgment at the odds with most of the opinion expressed, The clearest articulation of the no-nonsense, pragmatic approach of many journalists, grounded in traditional editorial culture, came from a newspaper print editor who said: 'Everyone who works for a newspaper follow policy having been set by the editor. So it is not really anything to do with reconciliation or

peace building in a response to expression over skills and standards in newspaper journalism and as related to appreciation of the role of media in coverage of Somalia conflict. 'Too much was being made of the novelty of reporting news and publishing; I think it is for immediacy created dangers, this was not unique to journalism. In reporting or covering events, he said 'you are not unique to journalism. In reporting or covering events, he said 'you are not creating the wheel here. You are trying to put it all in one place and represent it as objectively as possible. You are a news reporter: The sense of the journalist as an information manager was also present in comments that there is need to be better trained in order to keep control of content. 'A reporter is a reporter' but in editing revising and sub-editing necessary skills are important. The latter lacked understanding of information architecture.

On perception of civil service, one expert regards and reporting conflict events by the media as invariably entwined with what has now become known as development journalism. It has often been argued by politicians that the continent journalists should concentrate their efforts or reportage that tries to alleviate poverty, hunger and diseases which have bedeviled the vast majority of the population, instead of encouraging political bickering that eventually, degenerate into conflicts. That development journalism is required for Africa and indeed the rest of the Third and indeed the rest of the Third World has now been established beyond dispute. What is not resolved, however, is what constituted development journalism. Development journalism is reportage that avoids divisive news and information. According to this view, and particular as conflict is concerned, the various groups, including ethnic and tribal ones should be reported as

being in agreement in everything and working together amicable. Some countries have even passed laws forbidding the expressing or showing of hatred, ridicule or contempt for persons because of race, tribe, place of origin or colour (In Kenya it is in section 70 of the penal code) with such a law in place, some journalistic opinions may be interpreted as ridiculing or being contemptuous of persons because of their race, tribe or place of origin. In democracy, and situations such as in conflict resolution in Somalia in the event of need to build peace, journalists have a responsibility to report differences of opinion and even fights among the various groups in the society. It is more developmental to reflect these differences in the media so that the people are made aware of them than to give the impression that all is well until they get a shock of their lives when there is suddenly explosion in society as in Bosnia and Rwanda. Differences of opinion should not be always looked at as negative and non-developmental. They can also be positive and developmental oriented.

Genuine developmental journalism does not shun away from telling it as it is. The truth should be told to the people so that if it is unpalatable they can do something to put things right rather than live in a fool's paradise. Genuine development journalism is not "government-say-so reporting. On the contrary, it highlights government; and Somalia Government failures rather than success. This way, the media is dealing with people butter and bread and must report per excellence, hence practicing development journalism. In this light the local media has fully played and active role in the Somalia peace building.

5.1 SOURCES OF INFORMATION

Together with the undeniable importance of the incidences in Somalia conflicts, many victims of war, thousands of injured, devastation in one of the most significant states in the horn of Africa, there are other circumstances which have contributed the parts of conflicts, hence reconciliation and peace building process even more as news. Somalia like all other Africa state assume maximum exposure for the media even for braking news given the fact that African states have been characterized with conflicts hunger, dictatorship and rampant poverty. Event Somalia have taken quite sometime for the world and particularly the media to anticipate conflict oriented incidences or outbreak of conflict and allowed the journalists; locally regionally and internationally, to get ready, access the affected areas in such a way that the events could be watched observed literally, live as it unfolded and happened from multiple point of view. The pace of development of events in Somalia contribute to spectacular nature and their media impact; coverage not only broadcasters and online media; but also the newspapers who have had among time to prepare special editions about the events and many, both in America and Europe, publish extra event editions on Somalia.

From a purely narrative point of view the rhythm of Somalia development of the conflict events produce an information beat. “Briefly the spatial and time factors, along with other factors economic, political, etc, help to rapidly spread the information of events in Somalia among the citizens, and all over the world, “ areas one journalist.” With technology, speed images and news can circulate everywhere through multiple channels”.

Newspaper content analysis carried out in this study research indicates that, all the media national, regional and international, provided the most relevant needs content about Somalia; providing in-depth reports, background contextualizing or summarizing features that expands on raw news about Somalia. A series of semi-structured in-depth interviews with journalists both foreign and local-some well known and some known only to other practitioners; technical and non-technical; online and in traditional media; frontline and backroom; reporters and editors, indicates that sources of information is a complex. Milliard of events interactivity and hypertextuality. The question of information source (Ess, 1994: 226) represents an important further step in conceptualizing the relation between content producer (journalist) their informational source origin of stories) and connected narratives that results from this news risking process. Hypertextuality; theory and finding (Burnett and Marshall, 2003:83-4) indicate (as analyzed by Bolter, 1991; 29) that, hypertext, however is itself a find concept, it is closely related to global communication network in which no one writer or reader has substantial control and consequently no one has substantial responsibility over news source (Bolter, 1991:29)

It seems that within communication theory and more precisely within the debate on changing features of journalism, information source is conceptualized within the larger sphere of cyberspace (Dahlgren 1996;) As a textual domain today, he claims, cyberspace operates via associational linkages. In line with hypertext and interactivity, source as it appears in practice – this means that information hypertext disperses the fundamental linearity, which has characterized written and printed texts from the very beginning. One

need no longer follow a text from its beginning to its end, but can now use key words within it as jumping off point to look at other text sources (Dahlgren, 1996:64)

New entry of free information providers and horizontal competition has availed information from the civic societies that advocate for peace. These groups use the Internet to highlight on issues of conflicts intervention and human rights. Such information sometimes are important sources of editorial summary and in part analysis, particularly, in online version of the local dailies as been volunteered by one respondent. What characterizes many of these news sources and entrants is that their frequent online publications often revisit conflict events, not for business, purposely, but as research, consultancy in public interests and policymaking and documentation. Majority are the government's regulatory bodies and legal background information and policy documents. For instance, as relates to issues of conflict resolution and peace building issues; such as: the United Nations Charter on state sovereignty, intervention and its meaning concepts of intervention conflict prevention, and recent development, dynamics of intervention, mandate, legality and humanitarian assistance. These informants give a clear basis for event analysis and commentary by the editors of the newspapers under study.

In our case study, we first tried to trace some main differences between different media formats in relation to this last issues for this reason the questions of a more direct relationship between the sources producer and readers was measured at different levels. One way of interpreting the amount of interactivity offered through different types of news media discussed is to compare the editorial distance between them. Usually the

argument would be that media activities enable the distance between the readers and professionals to shrink due to new technical potentials and the technological development especially with the advent of online media format. Relevant indicators of editorial distance are seen in the provision of a general email address, general editorial information and the email address of the editorial all to be found on the pages of its newspaper or sites. The availability of these relationship and practices in relation to specific medium type presented as general origin or source of news include; General editorial information from other professionals of print Dailies, Dailies online and their General email addresses particularly editorial email address for online news interaction.

A general observation is that the editorial distance is quite wide in all the three news agencies categories and their media formats and that the amount of the available editorial information, however, rises in pure online news interaction: 33 percent of the online news sample offers editorial email addresses and general email addresses; in print media this information is offered on just 25 percent of first pages. Kenney et al. (1999) following a study by Mc Millan (1998), found out that there are at least six conditions that influence the difference in interactivity as information source of media. In their opinion the interactivity as a source increases: -

1. When the goal of communication is more to exchange information than to persuade;
2. When participants have greater control of communication environment;
3. When they take an active role to benefit fully from the communication;

4. When they act and react to messages via two way communication;
5. When timing of information is flexible and responsive to demand of the participants;
and finally
6. When the communication environment creates sense of place (Kenney et al, 1999:4)

These conditions should be thus understood as information source stimulating factors that consequently differentiate media correspondence on line platforms in their interactivity. The question interactive sources of information is thus very complex – it is not just a question of technical implementation of specific interactive mechanism but it also implies import on effects of more general communication aims and preferences on the sides of the correspondent and news producer and also the target and audience use. These contextual dimensions therefore play an important role in the construction of the interactive source image of the web as far as availability of information is.

Dynamic field of research and field assignments is an obviously and vividly extended source of news. Comparative analysis of the contents of the daily news presented by each publishers of a print edition of a single daily, and then articles appearing in another edition if analyzed in detail, usually provide a source for commentary information. Usually the editor of such an analysis uses both qualitative and quantitative notes in coding source interactivity as a conversational concept. Fleeter (1989) identified six

dimensions of source interactivity: complexity of choice available, effort the information gatherer must exert, responsiveness to the user, monitoring information ease of adding information and facilitation of interpersonal communication between the correspondents (also et al. 1999) news agencies, local, regional and international do exchange information through corresponding complexity of choice is usually constructed as an index measure of choice of language, choice of frame and news story placement . Responsive to users is often as a result of reporters, and addresses and web master emails. Facilitation of interpersonal communication at such a time do compose availability of chat rooms, discussion groups, feedback mechanisms and at least one email address on the home page.

This multidimensional operationalization of source interactivity, connectivity and possible interdependence of these source and communication potentials often do exclude other sources services. It is probably that in some cases certain source communication forms are more connected than other and therefore calls for actual hitting the ground by the news gatherer to navigate and functionally obtain the information as it is and at the actual spot of the action.

Some interviewees' linked ideas of trust and credibility with standard skills and training in actual gathering news in the field. The question of trust as regards news source in media arose in the context of information overload, which most reporters and some journalists believed would cause people especially the affected, to seek out established and reliable media operating to professional norms. These groups insisted of actual ground operation in news gathering and sourcing for events through having or recording

verbalizing transcripts. For instance high profile reconciliation and peace building initiative meeting or attending and recording resolutions initiative meeting for the way forward. They quipped that the role of journalists as navigators of a sea of data would thus be enhanced, rather than diminished, confirming the emphasis on the continued function of gate keeping that has been noted elsewhere (singer, 1997) within that set some of the journalists saw the emphasis in the role of journalists shifting from providing information (e.g. hard on headline news) to providing order, interpretation or identification with particular, even partisan, perspective to conflict to resolution. Information got from the point of event is often grounded in some kind of integrity, in a set of rules and structures, which we are happy to accomplish for. By removing the simply need to report events in an insensibly objective way, reporters on the ground would remove the mystique of journalism and place a premium on journalists intelligence, so that they could provide meaning. Reporting from the field is both bracing and liberating it is an important check on the journalists who previously enjoyed privileged access to information and whose reports were inevitably influenced by other parties' perception, rather than spend time in interpreting events and issues in the field. Some respondents reiterated that dependence on others and particularly the online, sources do not represent exceptional judgment of opinion grounded on traditional editorial culture. Much of the use of the net as the source in related to doubts over standard in online journalism. Such sentiments resonate with those already registered by journalist who had moved into new media elsewhere (Houston, 1999) unanimity on an endorsement of the role of traditional journalism moving to the point of events or prospective news break an idea that was put forward with some force. Need for technical

skills was acknowledgeable but most still emphasized the need for old fashion journalistic skills, because issues of conflict is rawness the use of syndicated material and of aggregation of other media content was, however not marked in the on-line category as long as new was life correspondences information.

Modern communication and media coverage also influences intervention in that there is a new capacity for the public to monitor the effectiveness of intervention activities and operations impact and actions on civilians. Intervention is likely to receive wide spread public support if the intervention events applied are visionary and setting agenda platform towards reconciliation and peace. The fall out from media coverage of civilian suffering is a result of issue such as sanction is an element in circumscribing conflicts.

Beyond contributing unevenly as a stimulus to intervene in a particular emergency (issues of where and when) the media also has an impact on the questions of how to intervene. The media are much better of focusing on the consequences of political decisions and the rationale behind them. They are relatively coherent when attempting to explain the political or diplomatic context in which humanitarian disaster war crimes, comes against humanity or famine takes shape. The media focus of gun bombs rather than strategic operational plans and orders secures its place in strategic context to highlight human suffering with regard to protection of civilians in armed conflict.

The media do not like to depict misery without also showing that someone is doing something about it. The presence of outside aid workers in the zones of deadly conflicts

mitigate the horror, by suggesting that major power is doing something. Media coverage of such a kind suggest intervention hence perception of effective engagement to mediation.

According to Laurie Nathan concept paper (2002) and presentation at center for conflict resolution (CCR) at the senior government conflict resolution training workshop in September / October 2002 for IDRC mediation definition adopted stated that is a process of dialogue and negotiation in which a third party assists the disputant parties, with their consent, to manage or resolve their conflict.

The key to effective mediation has in understanding managing and transforming the political and psychological dynamics of serious conflicts that make the parties resistant to negotiation. The media through combining the events and reportage puts in the light the prospective contentious issues that may be revisited during a reconciliation session. The media as an information manager has in record the sequence of all events to and by virtue of confidence building by the massive readership, it reflects a process of facilitated dialogue, and negotiation during its coverage and reporting of the would be the conflicting parties, fears suspicion, and need of knowledge of the substantive issues in dispute. A free media reports freely and openly without bias. Confidence building mediation is a style of mediation that is oriented towards raising the parties' confidence in each other with emphasis on facilitating dialogue and joint problem solving. The media through its coverage provides a form for acquiring of information on trends of events in the reconciliation process.

According to Nathan (2002), a high intensity conflict evokes and is fuelled by a range of visceral emotions: fear, insecurity, anger, agreement and suspicion. These emotions make the parties resistant to negotiations and inhibit progress once talks are underway. The media through such activities as investigative journalism can give a well researched disclosure of these drawback events by accurately reporting the same to further ease tensions of uncertainty among these parties.

Agenda setting by the media can, as a psycho-political dynamics force against conflict mitigate the concern through the presence of the media support as an intermediary peacemaker who is not party to the conflict who enjoys the trust of the disputants, (through readership following) and whose goal is to help them forge agreements they find acceptable. The parties' common trust in the mediator offsets their mutual distrust and raises their confidence in negotiations.

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ANNEXURE

ANNEX 1 QUESTIONNAIRE

Introduction

Good morning/afternoon. My name is Vivian Ngugi, a postgraduate student at the University of Nairobi's School of Journalism. I am carrying out a research study for my thesis on the role of Kenyan the media in reporting about the Somalia conflict and the related peace building processes. The proposed study focuses specifically on the two newspapers – Daily Nation and East African Standard - with the widest daily circulation in Kenya. May I invite you to participate in the interview by answering the questions in this questionnaire? The information you provide will be strictly confidential and will only be used for the purpose of this study. You do not have to write your name in this questionnaire. Your participation in the interview is also voluntary.

Do you have any question before we start?

SECTION A: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

I would like to begin by asking you some questions that enable me to know you a little better. Please tick your responses in the spaces provided.

1. What is your age? _____ years.
2. What is your gender? Male [1] Female [2]
3. What is your highest level of formal education?
Secondary School [1]
Post-Secondary: College [2]
University [3]

Other (Please specify) _____

4. What is your Nationality? _____

SECTION B: NEWSPAPER READERSHIP

This section asks you some questions about your readership of specifically two newspapers - Daily Nation and East African Standard. Please tick the box that best describes your answer.

1. How frequently do you read the following newspapers?

	Daily	Occasionally	Rarely	Never
Daily Nation	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
East African Standard	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
The Sunday Nation (specifically)	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
Sunday Standard (specifically)	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]

SECTION C: SOMALIA CONFLICT NEWSPAPER REPORTS

This section asks you questions specifically about the coverage of the Somalia conflict by the Daily Nation and East African Standard. Somalia is the country that lies to the North East of Kenya.

1. Have you ever read about the events taking place in Somalia? Yes [1] [2]

a) If you have read and know, a lot or a little about the conflict, from where have you obtained this information? (Tick all that apply.)

From:	Yes	No
My neighbors	[1]	[2]
My colleagues at place of work	[1]	[2]
My friends from Somalia	[1]	[2]
The Radio	[1]	[2]

The Television	[1]	[2]
The Daily Nation	[1]	[2]
The East African Standard	[1]	[2]
Other Newspapers	[1]	[2]
Don't Know/Remember	[1]	[2]

2. How frequent have you read about the Somali Conflict from ?

	Very Frequently	Occasionally	Never
The Daily Nation	[1]	[2]	[3]
The East African Standard	[1]	[2]	[3]

i) Briefly write in the space below what you remember reading about the conflict (in one or two sentences only please) in one of the two papers.

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Other (Please specify) _____

SECTION D: PERCEPTION OF CIVIL SERVICE

1) What is the relationship between your organisation and the Kenyan media, specifically Daily Nation and The Standard?

2) Media professionals have the responsibility in ensuring accurate and relevant reporting on issues going on around us. In your opinion, has the media played a significant role in highlighting key issues related to the Somalia conflict? YE/NO

(Please give details supporting your view)

3) What role has your organisation played in assisting /facilitating the media on reporting about the Somalia conflict?

4) The mass media have a significant role to fulfill in creating awareness and influencing public opinion. The media can expose or highlight issue that would help facilitate peace in the Horn of Africa. In your opinion, has the local media played an active role in the Somalia peace building initiative? YES/NO

(Please give details supporting your view)

18. How much do you know about the role Kenya played in the Somalia peace building process.

Please indicate one.

- a) A lot b) Little c) Nothing**

5. In your own view, do you think that the media has played a key role in educating you on the Somalia conflict and peace building initiative? Tick one YES/NO (Please explain your answer)

6. Conflict in the Horn of Africa is a threat to the security and political stability neighbouring countries such as Kenya. In the light of this, do you feel that the local print media gave the Somalia conflict and peace building initiatives the priority in coverage that the issue deserved? Tick one. YES/NO. (Please explain your answer)

7. What issues about the Somalia conflict do you feel should have been given more attention by the media

b) What issues do you feel should have been given less attention by the media

c) Since you started working with the media, which of the following assignments have you been involved in? (Tick all that apply.)

	Yes	No
i) Field (outside office) assignments?	[1]	[2]
ii) Field assignments within Nairobi	[1]	[2]
iii) Rural areas in Kenya	[1]	[2]
iv) Urban areas in Kenya other than Nairobi	[1]	[2]
v) In the North-Eastern Province of Kenya	[1]	[2]

vi)	Have you worked in Somalia?	[1]	[2]
vii)	Other countries in the Horn of Africa	[1]	[2]
viii)	In the Sudan	[1]	[2]
ix)	East African region (outside Kenya and the Horn)	[1]	[2]
x)	In other African countries (not mentioned in (i – ix)	[1]	[2]
xi)	Overseas - outside Africa	[1]	[2]
i)	f)		

SECTION E: SOURCES OF INFORMATION

This section asks you questions about the sources of information that you and your media house most commonly rely upon

9. a) What is the relationship between the media house where you are working presently and the following:

i) News Agencies local and international

ii) Regional media Agencies

9. b). What sources related to the Somalia conflict has your media house frequently used? #

i) Local sources

ii) International sources

iii) Regional sources

SECTION F: MEDIA PERCEPTIONS

I would now like to learn a little ask you a few questions about your views with regard to the role of the media

- **Media Role**
- **Factors Facilitating work**
- **Factors Obstructing work**

The role of media is perceived to be that of the main source of information about events happening around us.

- a) **In what areas, outside your office, have you had the field assignment? Experience?**

In your opinion, in the last three (3) years, has the media played an active role in educating the public and creating awareness about?

Issues in general. Tick either YES/NO. (Please explain your view)

- i) **Reporting about the Somalia conflict. Tick either YES/NO. (Please explain your view)**

ii) Reporting on the peace building process. Tick either YES/NO. (Please explain your view)

b) In your own view, in the last three (3) years, what are the factors that have influenced or facilitated your work in reporting about the Somalia conflict? Example of these factors includes financial, legal or political environment, government policies, training on conflict reporting, and accessibility to news. (Please explain your views)

c) In your own view how has your professional training helped you in i) Researching and ii) reporting on the Somalia conflict. (Please give details)

2) How much do you know about the role Kenya played in the Somalia peace building process. Please indicate one.

b) A lot b) Little c) Nothing

3) In your own view, do you think that the media has played a key role in educating you on the Somalia conflict and peace building initiative? Tick one YES/NO (Please explain your answer)

4) Conflict in the Horn of Africa is a threat to the security and political stability neighboring countries such as Kenya. In the light of this, do you feel that the local print media gave the Somalia conflict and peace building initiatives the priority in coverage that the issue deserved? Tick one. YES/NO. (Please explain your answer

a) what issues about the Somalia conflict do you feel should have been given more attention by the media

b) What issues do you feel should have been given less attention by the media

Question to demonstrate the local journalists initiatives in the conflict reporting

Were the news stories about the Somalia conflict a product of local writers i.e did newspapers rely mostly on local writers as the main source of information

Were news stories reported on the Somalia conflict mainly from local sources supplemented by foreign and international syndicate/feature services?

How have the legal and political environment within which local journalist operate affect your work. (This will demonstrate the implied lack of freedom or hostile environment)

Government laws Or policies that threaten the press (laws/fines

Issues of structure ownership of media

SECTION G: NEWS SELECTION AND DISSEMINATION

The questions in this final section, seek to

- **Factors influencing selection of news for reporting** Issues of time constraints/deadlines that will affect the time allocated to conflict reporting
 - **Dissemination (of news) factors**
 - **Effectiveness of media to measure human resource development productivity issues** investment in professional development
 - **Training facilities available**
- Concern about accurate