

**EFFECTS OF MASS MEDIA ON CIVIL RIGHTS AGENDA SETTING IN  
MOGADISHU, SOMALIA**

**SIDALI NUR HASSAN**

**C153F/CTY/PT/27155/2018**

**A RESEARCH PROPOSAL SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF  
HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF  
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER  
OF ARTS OF KENYATTA UNIVERSITY**

**MAY 2021**

## DECLARATION

This proposal is my original effort and has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

**Signature** \_\_\_\_\_ **Date** \_\_\_\_\_

Sidal Nur Hassan

C153F/CTY/PT/27155/2018

Department of Public Policy and Administration

This proposal has been submitted for the review with our approval as the university supervisors.

**Signature** \_\_\_\_\_ **Date** \_\_\_\_\_

**Dr. Wilson Muna**

Department of Public Policy and Administration

School of Humanities and Social Sciences

Kenyatta University

## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS**

ACLU	American Civil Liberties Union
AALEP	Association of Accredited Public Policy Advocates to the European Union
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
KII	Key Informant Interviews
UN	United Nations

## DEFINITION OF TERMS

**Mass media** is a technology that is intended to reach a mass audience. It is the primary means of communication used to reach the massive majority of the general public. The most common stands for mass media are newspapers, magazines, radio, television, and Internet.

**Advocate** means public support for or recommendation of a particular cause or policy.

**Reporting** means give a spoken or written account of something that one has observed, heard, done, or examined

**Lobbying** seek to influence (a legislator) on an issue

**Civil rights**, assurances of equal social opportunities and equal protection below the law, regardless of race, religion, or other personal appearances

**Agenda setting** is a process or behavior to adopt social matter or problem as a policy problem; in the process, social issues or problems are chosen as a government issue. Also, it is the process by which problems and substitute solutions gain or lose public and elite attention.

**Agenda-setting theory** describes the "ability (of the news media) to influence the importance placed on the topics of the public agenda". The theory also recommends that media has a great influence to their audience by introducing what they should think instead of what they think.

## TABLE OF CONTENT

<b>DECLARATION.....</b>	<b>ii</b>
<b>LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS .....</b>	<b>iii</b>
<b>DEFINITION OF TERMS.....</b>	<b>iv</b>
<b>TABLE OF CONTENT .....</b>	<b>v</b>
<b>LIST OF TABLES .....</b>	<b>viii</b>
<b>LIST OF FIGURES .....</b>	<b>ix</b>
<b>ABSTRACT.....</b>	<b>x</b>
<b>CHAPTER ONE .....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Background of the Study.....	1
1.1.1 Mass Media in Mogadishu, Somalia .....	3
1.1.2 Media Advocacy, Reporting and Lobbying on Civil Rights.....	4
1.2 Statement of the Problem .....	6
1.3 Objectives.....	6
1.4 Research Questions .....	7
1.5 Justification of the Study.....	7
1.6 Significance for the Study .....	8
1.7 Scope and Limitation of the Study.....	8
<b>CHAPTER TWO .....</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>LITERATURE REVIEW.....</b>	<b>9</b>
2.1 Media and Civil Rights Agenda Setting.....	9
2.2 Media Advocacy and Civil Rights Agenda Setting.....	10
2.3 Mass Media Reporting and Civil Rights Agenda Setting .....	12
2.4 Mass Media Lobbying and Civil Rights Agenda Setting.....	13
2.5 Theoretical Framework.....	14
2.5.1 Agenda Setting Theory .....	14
2.5.2 Sense Making Theory .....	15
2.6 Conceptual Framework .....	15
<b>CHAPTER THREE .....</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>RESEARCH METHODOLOGY .....</b>	<b>17</b>
3.1 Introduction .....	17
3.2 Research Design.....	17

3.3 Variables / Categories of Analysis .....	17
3.4 Site of the Study .....	18
3.5 Target Population .....	20
3.6 Sampling Techniques and Sampling Size .....	20
3.6.1 Sample Size.....	21
3.6.2 Research Instrument.....	21
3.6.3. Pilot Study.....	21
3.7 Validity & Reliability .....	22
3.8 Data Collection and Procedures .....	23
3.9 Data Analysis Procedures.....	23
3.10 Data Management & Ethical Consideration.....	24
<b>CHAPTER FOUR.....</b>	<b>26</b>
<b>DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION .....</b>	<b>26</b>
4.1 Introduction .....	26
4.2 Demographics of Respondents.....	26
4.2.1 The demographic characteristics of the key-Informant interviewees .....	28
4.3 Mass Media and Political Representation .....	29
4.4 Mass Media Reporting on Civil Rights.....	32
4.5 Media Advocacy, Lobbying and there Impacts .....	33
4.6 Correlation Analysis of Media Advocacy, Reporting and Lobbying.....	35
4.7 Interview Guide Discussions.....	35
<b>CHAPTER FIVE .....</b>	<b>38</b>
<b>SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS .....</b>	<b>38</b>
5.1 Introduction .....	38
5.2 Summary of the Findings .....	38
5.2.1 Mass media Advocacy and Civil Rights Agenda Setting in Mogadishu, Somalia .....	38
5.2.2 Mass Media Reporting and Civil Rights Agenda Setting in Mogadishu, Somalia .....	40
5.2.3 Mass Media Lobbying and Civil Rights Agenda Setting in Mogadishu, Somalia .....	40
5.3 Conclusion.....	41
5.4 Policy Recommendations .....	42
5.5 Areas for Further Studies .....	42

<b>REFERENCES</b> .....	<b>44</b>
<b>APPENDICES</b> .....	<b>47</b>
Appendix 1: Survey Questionnaire .....	47

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1: Mogadishu District and Population Distribution .....	19
Table 4.1: Distribution summary of respondent's demographics .....	27
Table 4.2: Summary table of Journalist's Bio-data .....	28
Table 4.3: Forms of Mass Media .....	29
Table 4.4: Mass Media Used to Reach People .....	30
Table 4.5: Mass Media Reporting on Civil Rights .....	33
Table 4.6: Mass Media Reporting on Civil Rights .....	34
Table 4.7: Correlation Analysis of Media Advocacy, Reporting and Lobbying .....	35



## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework.....	16
---------------------------------------	----

## **ABSTRACT**

Empirical evidence of the effects of mass media on civil rights agenda setting is largely unknown, particularly in Mogadishu, Somalia. The study sought to establish effects of mass media advocacy; mass media reporting; and media lobbying on civil rights agenda setting. The study adopted a descriptive cross-sectional design where both qualitative data and quantitative data were collected. The study was anchored on the agenda setting theory and sense making theory. The semi-structured questionnaires and interview schedules were used in collection of data. The authorization to conduct this study was sought from Kenyatta University and Ministries in-charge of research in Kenya and Somalia respectively. The research instruments was developed by the researcher and appraised for validity. Pilot study was conducted in one of the selected locations of Mogadishu to assessment for the validity and reliability of the study tools. Qualitative data was arranged thematically and presented in narrative forms, while quantitative data analyzed through descriptive statistics infrequencies and percentages and then presented in tables and graphs. The findings showed that majority of the respondents hardly witnessed civil rights issues being mobilized in the social media. It also revealed that mass media reporting on civil rights issues reportage as very poor while, calling for the need to mobilize mass media actors around civil rights issues. It was also noted that majority of responses observed that lobbying activities of civil rights in Mogadishu greatly influenced the administration of civil rights' activities in Mogadishu.

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1 Background of the Study**

The media in general, has grown from a being a messenger to an active key policy player and shaper as it influences citizens perception about certain progressive beliefs and cultures. Page (1996) in her study explains that the role of the mass media in a political process over the recent decades has changed basically from a passive transmitter of messages to the political actor (Page 1996). Mass media has the ability to influence citizens' focus on attention by providing facts and views that shape perceptions on themes of the day such as civil rights. Herman & Chomsky (1998) opines that mass media is a stable platform by which symbols and messages are communicated to the public at large. The public makers and policy makers in government and non-government organizations rely on media messages about what is significant in the world of public affairs. As a result, public affairs issues such as civil rights, can increase importance among the public and government officials if frequently focused on by the media (Koch-Baumgarten & Voltmer, 2010). The topics introduced by the traditional and new media platforms are able to organize and declutter the minds of the citizens and therefore civil rights agenda setting would be most successful if propagated from the mass media. The agenda setting theory developed by Max McCombs and Donald Shaw emphasize that the media has a great influence to their viewers by implanting "what they should think instead of what they think".

The professionals in the mass media community such as journalists and bloggers can deliberately aim to capture the attention of the public and align it with the World's viewpoint on civil rights issues through advocacy, reporting and lobbying. Mass media advocates can steer the setting of public and policy agenda of civil rights through engaging their audience on what civil rights are, focusing on stories that highlight abuses of civil rights liberties, providing open space platforms that involve the masses in contributing to what should be done with regard to civil rights and campaign for the same issues in the political arena. On the same note, mass media reporters must be able to accurately report events that depict actual situations of civil rights abuses. As a result, public attention gets captured and therefore are able to change their opinion on the topics and issues highlighted. Bou-Karroum et al. (2017) explains that reporting in the media helps to notice public interests and legitimize them as a problem and hence founding political priorities in the public agenda setting. Mass media can also advocate for a certain policy change by pressuring policy makers into advancing the interests of their constituents by highlighting the issues at hand and in-depth understand of the implications for them and their constituents. By shaping the debate around civil rights, advancing for a policy change and getting the attention of the public, mass media can be a powerful tool for formulating a policy on civil rights in any nation (McCombs & Reynolds, 2002).

The concept of creating awareness on salient issues about civil liberties in a war-torn and famine-stricken country seems a difficult task, though possible. Mass media is one possible way of influencing the citizens of such a nation into adopting civil rights issues into their culture and systems of governance. Researchers of agenda-setting theory such as McCombs & Reynolds (2009) and Wanta &

Alkazemi (2017), have argued that the executive together with the political class of a country, do influence the media coverage of certain topics and issues, and as a result the media shapes the public perception and policy fragmentation. For a successful intricate discourse on important issues such as civil rights, seamless interactions between the government, the political establishment and the media is important in order to influence policymaking around the important issues a greater understanding among the citizens. Political stability and peace are key guarantors for a unified frontier for a meaningful agenda setting initiative and sustenance.

### **1.1.1 Mass Media in Mogadishu, Somalia**

The BBC World Service Trust organization rates the Somali community are the most media literate society in Africa because of its rich love for poetry and a common language. In the modern history, Somalis are known to have an avid appetite for update and information. Obtaining information and evaluating its trustworthiness has, in this traditionally pastoralist and nomadic society, always designed not just politics, society and culture, but the chances of survival. According to a report by Human Rights Watch (2019) on Somalia, some of the challenges affecting the socio-economic development are; abuses by Government and Allied Forces, abuses by Al-Shabaab, abuses Against Children, movements and Access to Humanitarian Assistance, sexual Violence, freedom of expression, Somaliland and main International actors. These problems are a stumbling block to any meaningful agenda setting course to be championed by the media. Mogadishu is the country's capital and a constant battleground between the Federal government forces and the Al Shabab.

An overview of the Somalia media paints an advanced society full of active media actors but constrained by the geo-political sphere of the country. Radio is ranked the most significant channel of communication while other medium such as satellite television and internet are becoming increasing popular in urban areas. Media freedom is limited especially in areas controlled by the Al Shabab. Most media stations are controlled by different regional factions and therefore have broader influence over what the activities of the media.

### **1.1.2 Media Advocacy, Reporting and Lobbying on Civil Rights**

Media advocacy in the context of setting public and policy agenda revolves around what the media should influence through coverage. To achieve this, the media and the public must recognize what the alarms are around the topic such as civil rights and the general public must acknowledge that the issues are important and be able to freely and openly discuss them with their legislators. The media must first make the civil rights topic a media agenda for the public to get persuaded into talking and discussing it for it to gain ground among policy makers. Concrete connections between the issues of civil rights and the day to day happenings such as trafficking of children for war purposes must be highlighted for maximum public awareness and attention. When people understand that issue is a local one and could affect themselves, their families and friends, the media must be able to steer the discussion towards reporting on how to address the problem and present possible case by case scenarios of different countries and how they overcame the problem. The community will then get involved into involved since their consciousness has been raised. The media will influence the generation and reflection of public opinion on the issue of civil rights and as a result influence

the policy makers to act appropriately. Government bodies are subject to inertia and often essential push of a mass media effect that informs them of public opinion and demand for an action.

Media reporting is geared towards informing the audience of what the problem is and highlighting it for maximum awareness and education. The media focuses on giving tidbits of information about problems and possible solutions and thus reinforces the idea. The simplistic media picture regularly influences the general public believe that complex problems have solutions and they need to get involved. In order for the message to get maximum impact on the audience, the media will improve on the intensity and consonance of the messages they publish and report. (Linsky, 1986). This rise in public emotions raises different perceptions regarding the same and in the turn brings the topic for public debate. The reporting aspect thus shapes the debate about a particular issue such as civil right of children and thereby forcing the political class to get involved into formulating policy regarding the same.

Media lobbying is tasked with advancing a policy formulation, review or change and especially in an environment where there is an ambiguity in a certain topic of interest, through putting pressure on policy makers to take action. The media has to make sure that policy makers recognize the issue exists and understand its consequences for them and their constituents through constant recasting and amplification of messages and problems from the constituents, demonstrations, requests, and other public forms of direct achievement. Moreover, the media can also help to get the constituents progressive messages flowing on until it can't be ignored by the policy makers. According to Bennett &Entman (2001) mass media

has taken an active role in the public representation of politics by formative the agenda of the political discourse and by contributing their own partialities in political disagreements.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Mass media is a powerful means to initiating peace and development agenda among a contentious populace (Kamau, 2008). The purpose of mass media in the social and political structures of a nation cannot be doubted (Wanta & Alkazemi, 2017). Media has been used to escalate as well as deescalate tensions among contending political institutions. The public has used the media platform to initiate policy changes in several countries including the USA. The effects of media in shaping policy agenda setting remains undocumented and understudied in developing countries especially in Mogadishu, Somalia. However, media influence in agenda setting spheres in countries that are plagued by wars and conflicts such as Somalia cannot be fully assessed or evaluated due to limited literature (Hammond, 2007). The study sought to review and assess the gaps with regard to mass media influence in agenda setting space in Mogadishu, the capital of Somalia given its diversity and the concentration of media outlets. The researcher focused on the roles of mass media in general and their possibility in influencing the shaping of agenda on civil rights in the political sphere of the country. The media strategies in advocacy, reporting and lobbying was analyzed and how these strategies helped improve the shaping of many civil rights issues, such as lack of free press and child soldiers.

## **1.3 Objectives**

The research was guided by the following objectives;



- i. To establish the effects of media advocacy on civil rights agenda setting in Mogadishu
- ii. To explore the effects of media reporting on civil rights agenda setting in Mogadishu
- iii. To examine the effect of media lobbying on civil rights agenda setting in Mogadishu

#### **1.4 Research Questions**

The research questions of this study sought to react as follows;

- i. What are the effect of media advocacy on civil rights agenda setting in Mogadishu?
- ii. What are the effect of mass media reporting on civil rights agenda setting in Mogadishu?
- iii. What are the effect of mass media lobbying on civil rights agenda setting in Mogadishu?

#### **1.5 Justification of the Study**

The purpose the research was establish the influence of mass media on civil rights agenda setting in Mogadishu, the capital of Somalia. The key elements of mass media influence in the advocacy, reporting and lobbying strategies was discussed in details and how these strategies impart policy issues in the area of civil rights. The ability of the media to engage disintegrated communities and enlighten them on the civil rights issues was discussed in order to provide information on how to

formulate policies in such hostile environments. The availability of such media influences in developed countries helped provide a clear line of thinking and therefore a synopsis of the situation in Mogadishu was thereby documented.

Mogadishu was targeted owing to it being the capital of Somalia and has several media stations that would provide information regarding our topic. The broad topic of agenda setting in the city of Somalia has received little attention since the country is controlled by regional factions that are unable to unite in a single government system.

The study was useful in highlighting strategies that can be adopted the policy makers in such a geo-political landscape.

### **1.6 Significance for the Study**

The results of this project may provide insight into mass media strategies in shaping public perceptions around such crucial topics such as civil rights. The study provided strategies and tactics of using mass media to influence policies right from community level. The study equally provided knowledge on the status of media influence in countries that are not stable both politically and economically.

### **1.7 Scope and Limitation of the Study**

The researcher attempted to explain the role of the mass media in shaping the policy around civil rights through advocacy, reporting and lobbying in the city of Mogadishu only. This is due to the different geo-political landscape coupled by lack of freedom of speech in the country and therefore focusing the study in the capital captured the different perceptions about civil rights agenda setting of different Somalia communities.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

Setting the agenda on civil rights in a conflict prone country is a concept that seems unachievable. Challenges such as conflicts, unstable government structures controlled by different factions, clans with non-homogeneous cultures and unregulated media make the task of formulating policies that may not be favorable to existing community civil liberties are very difficult to maneuver about. The geopolitical forces in Somalia are independent and therefore not state actors are more likely to succeed in relying the messages of civil rights.

#### **2.1 Media and Civil Rights Agenda Setting**

The media has always been the agent for promoting civil rights and liberties across the globe. In the American civil rights movements for African Americans in 1950s for example, the protagonists relied on the media to spread the message about racism they were facing and a call for change. The supposition of Wanta and Dzwo (2002) that is traditional media run information on issues that are trending on the public arena and thus can influence policy makers to amend or formulate policies that are salient just like the one witnessed in the American history of race relations. Civil rights messages were framed to not only provoke the emotions of the public but also the political class. McCombs & Shaw, (1972) in their study opined that salience and agenda-setting initiatives depend on the media's focus on the issues. They showed in their study that more limelight there is to a matter and more public believes of it and the stronger the motivation for legislators to frame a answer to the issue. The setting and framing of agenda are therefore the most elaborate approaches which connect the debates on civil rights to awareness, attitude

and public reaction.

In the African geo-political sphere, the evidence on the effects on media influence on agenda setting cannot be ignored. For example, the kidnapping of Chibok girls in Nigeria by Boko Haram attracted maximum global attention because of the coverage by the mass media, and the UN Security Council were forced to act due to the media pressure. According to Damien (2013), the full-scale atrocities of Boko Haram were brought to the attention of the world leaders through the mass media and as a result, the rebel group were declared as terrorist group, forcing the Nigerian government to pass legislations that are aimed at curtailing the group's activities. Cochran & Malone (2005) notes that a policy contains government decisions and actions that deal with matters of public interest. The culmination of the successful mass media campaign resulted in the Nigerian government responding to the dominant issue that had attracted public fury and demand for change. The deployment of military to combat Boko Haram was an action borne out of a sustained process by the Mass Media. The influence of the media therefore, impacted processes and outcomes of the political decision making with regard to Boko Haram's abuses of civil rights in the Northern state of Nigeria.

## **2.2 Media Advocacy and Civil Rights Agenda Setting**

The principle of advocating for a new course of recognition of human rights in a conflict prone country needs multi institutional support and political will. According to Wallack (1994), advocacy is the tactical use of mass media to promote initiatives of social rule. Media activism is the method of distributing information through social networks where the intention is to take action, such as a policy change or to improve the public's opinion of a question. Media engagement is

grounded in civic activism and its goal is to promote public policies especially those that are borne out of civil rights. State and non-state actors view advocacy as an emerging effective strategy that would advance new social tenets and courses that challenge the conventional social norms in a conservative environment. The advocacy that is rooted in mass media medium can shift the wavering attention from the personal level to the community and therefore can be used as a powerful tool for changing viewpoints or beliefs and behaviors of people. Mass media advocacy empowers the public to act and persuade policy maker into having a conversation about a perceived civil rights violation and a subsequent change in policy. The success of a policy change or formulation however cannot be entirely related to the preceding mass media campaigns. Wolfe et al. (2013) opines that while political scientists and communications scholars have long studied agenda setting dynamics by exploring patterns of attention, there has been a clear lack of connections between media studies and public policy process studies. Proponents of a civil change often use the mass media for advocacy hoping they attract massive publicity through engagements and feedbacks and be able convince or force the policy makers into action towards their course.

In the global arena, the UN bureaucracy and individual Member States in 2014 began an active and open advocacy for same-sex marriage as a basic civil rights issue through the mass media, in direct contrast to international law, Coleman (2016). At the time, there was no UN document that had been produced regarding the issue and several Member States strongly opposed the idea. The UN secretary general at the time, Ban Ki Moon, explicitly signaled his belief that similar sex marriage was a human right and said the following, “Human rights are at the core of the mission of the United Nations. . . . I am proud to stand for greater equality for all staff, and I

call on all members of our UN family to unite in rejecting homophobia as discrimination that can never be tolerated at our workplace”. The advocacy initiative garnered debate about the topic all over the world and policy makers were persuaded by the message. Mass media influence transcended that of individual member states that were opposed to the message. The success of the mass media advocacy was witnessed in the US Supreme Court’s decision in Obergefell v. Hodges case ruling that “Denying couples legal recognition of their relationship opens the door to widespread discrimination.” It remains to be seen what effect on international and domestic legislation will have on attempts by the UN to promote the concept of a "right" to same-sex marriage through mass media advocacy.

In Africa, the proponents of Anti-FGM have devised behavior change messages about the vice and are channeled mostly through the mass media platforms. Kiambati (2009) in his study observes that it is vital to use the mass media to facilitate awareness of FGM issues among the Meru Community in Kenya as it would pave way for effective open debates in deliberating on various FGM related issues. The discourse would charge the public into action and call for the abolishment of the norm, and pressuring the policy makers into formulating policies that address the challenge.

### **2.3 Mass Media Reporting and Civil Rights Agenda Setting**

Engaging the media in human rights agenda setting can be termed as an effective strategy for championing policy change across different population settings. According to a report by the Institute of War and Peace Reporting (2018), the media is one of the foundations of influence in our highly industrialized societies and as a result, engagement of journalists and news editors in giant media firms can foster a

culture of respect for civil rights. A report by Association of qualified Public Policy Advocates to the European Union (AALEP, 2018) opines that the media are complicit in the cycle of policy development and the ability to promote reform or sustain the status quo rests on their selection of civil issue and how they frame them in their reporting. Mass media influence policy outcomes by including or excluding certain social discussions from their platforms, thus set a boundary of a public debate.

International media platforms were successful in reporting the 2015 Rohingya refugee crisis. The reporting attracted global attention and the UN high commissioner for Refugees held a special sitting in order to address the crisis and pressure the Myanmar government to stop the brutality, (Al-Zaquan A. & Belford A., 2015).The reporting also attracted several Non-state actors into solving the humanitarian crisis and conducting research about the Rohingya plight.

Researchers from the International State Crime Initiative at Queen Mary University of London (2015), in their study revealed an organized genocide that was about to take place against the Rohingya people by the Myanmar government. The discovery provoked the international community to redress the condition with the urgency it needed.

#### **2.4 Mass Media Lobbying and Civil Rights Agenda Setting**

Lobbying is a method of persuasion intended to influence government decisions made by individuals or lobby groups and encompasses all attempts to influence politicians and officials, whether by other lawmakers, constituents or organized groups. Mass media can also represent the interests of a particular disfranchised group of persons by pressuring law makers into acting upon a civil rights issue. Journalists or bloggers can become part of lobby groups and participate in organizing workshop

thus become powerful lobbyists. For example, American civil liberties union (ACLU), recruit journalists and bloggers in order to champion their course in the media spectra. They use the mass media to recruit members, advocate and expand their followers' base and in order to garner maximum support, they create interactive social community platforms where reporting and feedback of events are instant and very interactive, thus very engaging. Mass media remain the primary informative guide for the social, economic and political elites and thus mass media lobbying has a direct effect on the issues they discuss and debate (Harris and McGrath, 2012).

A study by Smolak et Al (2017) show that lobbyists formulate policies that promote certain interests by disseminating their demands towards the political system and engaging in the processes of policies, discussions and public policy implementation through the mass media. The influence of media lobbying is very strong in industrialized countries.

## **2.5 Theoretical Framework**

The study was anchored on two theories namely: Agenda Setting Theory and the Sense making Theory

### **2.5.1 Agenda Setting Theory**

The proponents, McCombs and Shaw, in their research of the 1968 American presidential election revealed that the press affects the importance of public discourse issues (McCombs and Reynolds, 2002). The hypothesis suggests that media influence their viewers tremendously by engendering what they should believe rather than what they think by covering frequently and prominently salient issues that are



glaring in the public discourse, with a view of framing public agenda and generating debates about the challenging social issues.

### **2.5.2 Sense Making Theory**

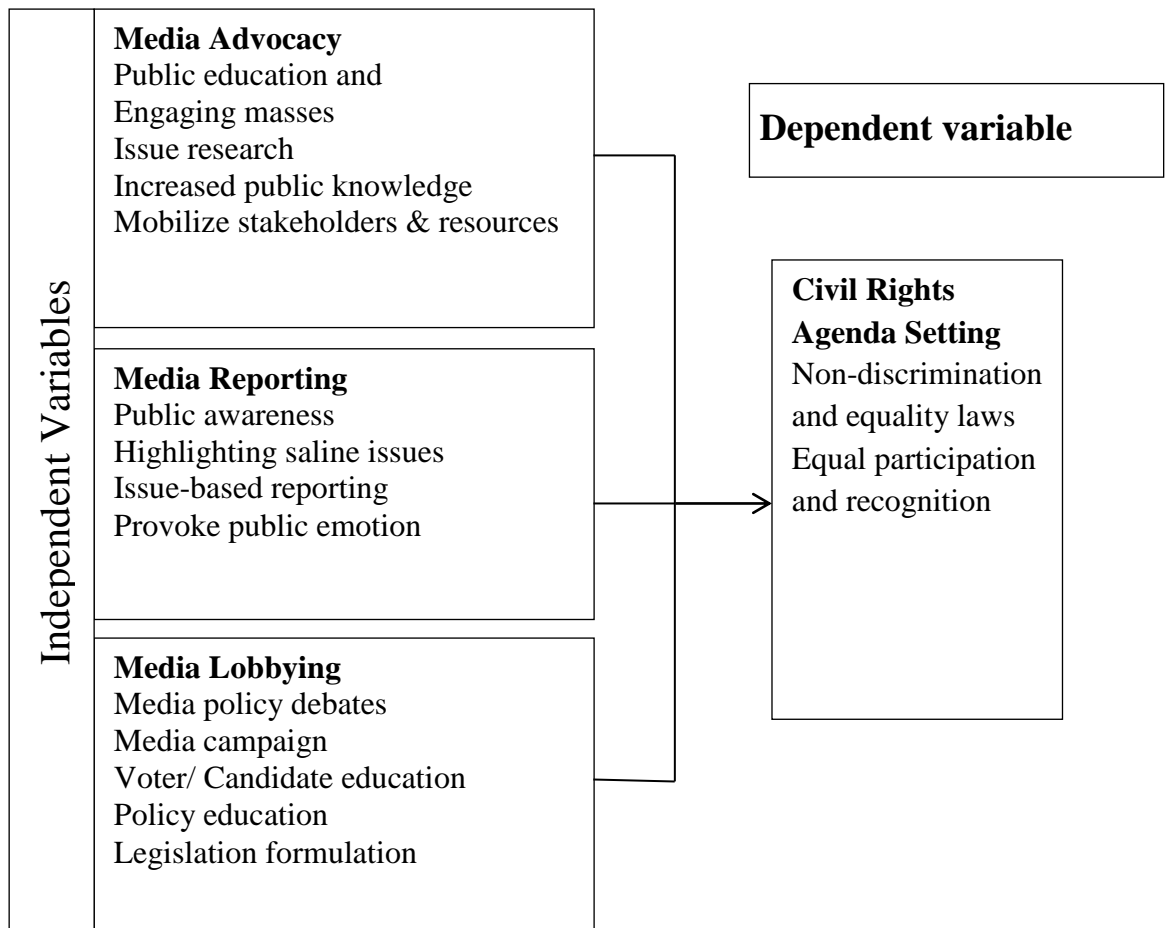
The fundamental idea in sense making theory is that making sense is continuing process that looks at how people announcement events, what those events mean, and how consensually shaped meanings for those events influence present and future behaviors. First, people have to notice rare or different set of circumstances for that event to record for them. Second, once people notice an event, then they typically want to know what that event means for them. People want to know, “What’s the story here? “when they knowledge significant events. Third, creating meaning for events can influence current and future actions and can help people stay in touch with their continuing flow of experience. Weick (1979) summarizes the theme of sensemaking with the question, “How can I know what I think until I see what I say?”

The mass media is the medium of which people get to know and mirror events in their societal contexts as well as access deeper understanding of the issues. The mass media therefore is critical for informing and engaging people to discuss certain societal norms that they deem necessary for the socio-economic development. The media, in engaging the communities through debates, can advocate and report on civil rights issues and ultimately influence policy drivers into formulating relevant laws.

## **2.6 Conceptual Framework**

Massive influence of mass media on civil rights agenda setting strategies is expected to advocate report and lobby for change in the civil rights issues and

effective societal cohesion. In instances where civil rights issues are violated, the mass media is expected to focus on reporting the negative impact of such misconducts and thus provide a platform for meaningful discourse among community and policy influencers. Relevance of mass media is achieved when communities shift towards civilized social norms, organize and build capacity at grassroots level, strengthen alliances with stakeholder, enhance support at base community levels, advocate for better policies and subsequently elect leaders who are in cognizance with their course. Figure below shows the hypothesized relationship between mass media and agenda setting in civil rights issues.



**Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework**

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter describes how the requisite data was obtained, processed, analysed and interpreted to realise study objectives. The chapter included Research Design, Variables/Categories of Analysis, Site of the Study, Target Population, Sampling Techniques and Sample Size, Research Instruments, Pilot Study, Validity & Reliability data collection procedures, data analysis and ethical concerns.

#### **3.2 Research Design**

This proposal aims to adopt descriptive, cross-sectional study design using research methods to collect quantitative and qualitative data about the impact of mass media on the setting of agenda. Descriptive study design is, according to Bryman and Bell (2011), a scientific method involving observing and explaining a subject's actions without manipulating it in any way. This study assessed the role of the mass media on agenda setting on civil rights in Mogadishu by following concise survey designs. The descriptive survey gathered both qualitative and quantitative data when assessing the impact of the mass media on the agenda for civil rights, where the attributes of advocacy, reporting and lobbying were thoroughly combed through to highlight the true influence of the media medium.

#### **3.3 Variables / Categories of Analysis**

The study specifically categorized the themes as advocacy, reporting and lobbying with reference to mass media effects on civil rights agenda setting. The study

measured shifts in social norms; organizational capacity in government and non-governmental entities, structural changes in community and institutional relationships and associations; The breadth, depth and influence of support between the general public, interest groups and opinion leaders for specific issues provides a key structural condition for supporting changes in policies; the stages of policy change in the public policy arena; and the ultimate changes in social and physical lives and conditions,

### **3.4 Site of the Study**

Mogadishu, locally known as Xamar or Hamar, is the capital and maximum populous city of Somalia. Placed in the coastal Banadir region on the Somali Sea, the city has assisted as an important port for aeras. As of 2017, it had a population of 2,425,000 residents. As Somalia's capital city, many vital national institutions are based in Mogadishu. It is the seat of the Federal Government of Somalia recognised in August 2012, with the Somalia Federal Parliament serving as the government's legislative branch. Arba'aRukun Mosque is one of the first-born Islamic places of worship in the capital, built circa AH 667 (1268–69 CE). The Mosque of Islamic Solidarity in Mogadishu is the largest masjid in the Horn region. Mogadishu Cathedral was built in 1928 by the colonial authorities in Italian Somalia in a NormanGothic style, and served as the traditional seat of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Mogadiscio. The National Museum of Somalia is based in Mogadishu and holds many culturally important artefacts.

Mogadishu is home to a number of educational and media institutions. As part of the municipality's urban renewal program, 100 schools across the capital are arranged to be refurbished and reopened. The Somali National University (SNU) was

established in the 1950s, and professors from the university later founded the non-governmental Mogadishu University (MU). Benadir University (BU) was established in 2002 with the intention of training doctors. Additionally, the Port of Mogadishu serves as a major national seaport and is the largest harbour in Somalia. Mogadishu International Airport is the capital's main airport. Mogadishu is divided into 17 districts as follows.

**Table 3.1: Mogadishu District and Population Distribution**

<b>District</b>	<b>Population</b>
XamarWeyne	43,309
Hodan	71,590
Wardhiigleey	53,619
Boondeere	61,143
XamarJabjab	36,331
Waaberi	50,864
Wadajir	50,110
Kaaraan	123,171
Yaaqshiid	128,488
Shibis	79,751
Cabdulcasiis	22,153
HawlWadaag	39,114
Shangaani	24,368
Heliwaa	43,420
Dharkenley	40,983
Kahda	21,236
Dayniile	32,769
<b>Total</b>	<b>922,419</b>

### **3.5 Target Population**

Target population is the whole group of individuals, events or things of interest to a research study. As indicated by Sekaran and Bougie (2010), inferences are made from target population, during research, forming an aggregation of study elements. In this study, the target population comprised of 384 household heads, 17 community leaders representing each district, and 30 representatives of government, NGOs, religious, education and media fraternity. The entire study was informed by a total of 431 respondents drawn from different setups which were representative of the Somali opinion in regard to setting civil rights agenda using mass media in the region.

### **3.6 Sampling Techniques and Sampling Size**

In social science research, samples are subsets of the population that are not only observable, but also analyzable at a reasonable cost in order to estimate population parameters (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003). Notably, samples should represent key aspects of targeted populations as much as possible. When samples are either too small or too flooded with particular attributes of the population, studies end up with distorted findings due to sampling error. However, Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) advises that where a population is too small to be sampled, it's logical to include all its elements in a study, in accordance with the principles of a census (Parker, 2014; Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003). The study employed stratified random sampling to select 384 household heads in the 17 districts of Mogadishu. Given that Mogadishu is predominantly a Muslim community where a significant majority of household heads are Male, the researcher adopted adequate and sensitive measures that are in-line with the Somali culture so as to incorporate the opinions of

females into the study. Stratified random sampling was preferred because each district needed to be considered in achieving desired representation in the target population (Leedy&Ormrod, 2005). The study also applied purposive sampling in selecting other opinion leaders in Mogadishu such as the community heads, government representatives, religious, educations, media personalities and NGO officials. This is because the respondents are key persons in the society and have a wider perspective of knowledge on civil rights issues and how media influence those issues.

### **3.6.1 Sample Size**

The study applied Cochran’s formula for sample size determination (Cochran, 1963).

$$n_i = \frac{Z^2pq}{d^2} = \frac{1.96^2 \times 0.489 \times 0.511}{0.05^2} = 383.97 \dots\dots\dots(1)$$

Where:  $n_i$  = sample size,  $Z$  = confidence level: 1.96,  $p$  = proportion of respondents in Mogadishu

### **3.6.2 Research Instrument**

The study proposed to use three types of tools in the collection of data. The research tools used were self-administered questionnaire for household heads, KII guide for media and policy stakeholders and an FGD guide for community members. The tools were designed to capture data on the advocacy, reporting and lobbying structures with regard to mass media in agenda setting.

### **3.6.3. Pilot Study**

The researcher conducted pilot-testing to determine the applicability and effectiveness

of the proposed data collection approaches, methods, tools, as well as the duration and cost of data collection. Moreover, the activity also established the applicability of data processing and analysis techniques, particularly in terms of their effectiveness in fulfilling objectives of a study. As separately noted, Nachmias and Nachmias (1996), pilot-testing enables social science researchers to identify approaches, processes and procedures that are feasible and those unfeasible in order to make a study more focused in addressing its objectives at the least cost possible. Pilot-testing also highlights respondents' views on data collection tools, and thus enabling the researcher to improve on questions in terms of clarity, content and sensitivity, as well as adjust approaches used in data collection (Mugenda&Mugenda, 2003). The site for pilot test was selected randomly from the 17 districts and this familiarized the researcher with how to deal with boundary and cultural issues in Mogadishu.

### **3.7 Validity & Reliability**

Validity is the accuracy of the research tools in measuring the study objectives and themes. Orodho (2004) states that validity is the grade to which research instrument accurately measures what is proposed. The researcher involved his supervisors in constructing the study tools in order to capture all the relevant data necessary for assessing the effects of mass media in civil rights agenda setting.

Reliability is the potential of research instruments producing consistent results on repeated trials. In this research a test-re-test procedure was adapted to establish reliability of research instruments. Ghauri and Grenhaug (2010) asserted that test-re-test procedure involves estimation of the degree to which the same results could be gained with a repeated measure of truth of similar concept using the instrument. In



order to establish reliability, the pre-school teachers' questionnaire which was the key research tool was managed to the same pilot sample twice in an interval of two weeks. As noted by Creswell and Piano Clark (2011) the two-week interval was suitable to avoid the impact of repetition and disuse by respondents. The two sets of scores obtained were used to calculate reliability coefficient of 0 to +1 and above was acceptable using the formula below:

After carrying out the pilot study, Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SSPS) was used to generate reliability coefficient for pre-school teachers' questionnaires which obtained  $r = 0.97$  an indication that there was a consistency of 97%, for parents' interview schedule  $r = 0.98$  and for head teachers' interview schedule  $r = 0.97$  that there was a consistency of 97% respectively.

### **3.8 Data Collection and Procedures**

Before the onset of data collection, the investigator acquired the necessary documents to facilitate the process, as required by law. In this regard, the authorization letter for data collection was obtained from the University department. This was supported by an introductory letter from the Department. Copies of both letters were used for consenting. The data collection process involved holding meetings with the respective community heads and other key persons in Mogadishu as well as household visits by trained research assistants. The community leaders were crucial for planning and mobilization exercises. The researcher trained the research assistants on the instruments of the study, consent and other ethical issues of research.

### **3.9 Data Analysis Procedures**

The investigator involved systematic procedures in managing quantitative data. Such processes include coding open-ended data, digitalization, cleaning to locate and correct missing or misplaced codes, transformation of scales of measurement where necessary, as well as aggregation of perceptions, to ensure excellence of the data. Furthermore, the qualitative data sourced through FGD with community persons and KII with key persons was processed and analyzed by following the three steps; entry according to themes, coding then analysis using quantitative methods. Correlation analysis was done in order to determine the relationship between the factors of mass media effects in agenda setting in Mogadishu.

### **3.10 Data Management & Ethical Consideration**

The study was conducted in accordance with ethical values of social science research, including respect for participants' rights to self-determination, unpaid participation, and confidentiality (Silverman, 2010; Dench, Iphofen & Huws, 2004). In this regard, the investigator was in cognizance that human subjects targeted by research studies have the right to decide on whether to participate or not. The investigator guided the respondents through the consenting process, by explaining purpose of the study, its potential benefits to the learners in their professional development and the importance of voluntary participation. Participants were further informed about their right to withdraw consent of participation at any time before or during data collection, without affecting the services provided to them by the Department.

In addition, the study was conducted with the knowledge that participants in a research process have the right to be protected from physical, social or psychosocial harm that may be caused by, or emerge spontaneously as a result of their

participation in a research process. In view of this, the investigator assured all participants that their data was kept confidential, and used for the purpose of the research only. Also, in the self-administered questionnaire, the respondents did not indicate their names anywhere on the data collection tools.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION

#### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides information on analysis of data collected encompassing the following themes: demographics of respondents; media advocacy; media reporting; media lobbying and correlation analysis for independent and dependent variables.

#### 4.2 Demographics of Respondents

The respondents in the study were drawn from different localities of Mogadishu with some areas having more responses than others. Then uneven distribution of the respondents along the localities was due to different population densities and size of each administrative area. As such, the General Daud street had the highest number of respondents (48, 13%) while Via Liberia had the lowest of 11 (3.2%). The distribution of gender indicated that the survey captured more females of 221 (64%) as compared to males who were 126 (36%). The results show that majority of the respondents were married (250 , 72%) while those divorced and separated were only 26 (7%). However, majority of the respondents comprising 57.9% had primary level education while those with secondary education were 131 (37.8%).

Regarding the relationship to household head, the analysis indicate that majority of the respondents were head of the household (161, 46%) while spouses to the household head were 127 (36.6%). The sons and daughters of household heads were 37 (10.7%). The results indicate that 111 (32%) of the respondents worked in private enterprises while those employed in the government offices were 36 (10.4%). The results show that private enterprises were the main employers of the resident of

Mogadishu.

On the living period in Mogadishu, majority (93, 26.8%) of the residents had spent between 4 to 6 years in Mogadishu followed by those of between 6 to 10 years (87, 25.1%). The least category of the stay period was below 1 year which was accounted for by 14 (4%). The respondents who indicated to have lived for 10 years and above were 75 (21.6%). The results indicated that many respondents had spent considerable time in Mogadishu to warrant responding to the research questions. The demographic results of the respondents are tabulated in table 4.1.

**Table 4.1: Distribution summary of respondent's demographics**

<b>N=347</b>			
<b>Variable</b>	<b>Values</b>	<b>n</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>locality</b>	Wadnaha	18	5.2
	Warshadaha	29	8.4
	30 KA	14	4.0
	Maka almukarana	30	8.6
	Madina	31	8.9
	Airport	33	9.5
	General Daud	48	13.8
	Kpp.	23	6.6
	Sayidka	30	8.6
	Zoobe	19	5.5
	Dabka	28	8.1
	Via Roma	21	6.1
	Via Liberia	11	3.2
	Parliament	12	3.5
<b>Sex</b>	Male	126	36.3
	Female	221	63.7
<b>Marital Status</b>	Never married	51	14.7
	Married/living together	250	72.0
	Divorced /separated	26	7.5
	Widowed	20	5.8
<b>Highest level of education</b>	Adult Literacy	2	.6
	Primary	201	57.9
	Secondary	131	37.8
	University education- degree	11	3.2
	University education- master's degree	2	.6
<b>Relationship to HHH</b>	Head of Household	161	46.4
	Spouse to HHH	127	36.6

	Son or Daughter	37	10.7
	Sister/Brother	5	1.4
	Son or Daughter in-law	4	1.2
	Grandchild	6	1.7
	Parent	2	.6
	Not related	5	1.4
<b>Main occupation</b>	Private business	111	32.0
	Government	36	10.4
	NGOs/ Humanitarian	69	19.9
	Homemaker	57	16.4
	None/ Seeking work	64	18.4
	Student	10	2.9
<b>Period of living in Mogadishu</b>	2-3 years	78	22.5
	4-6 years	93	26.8
	6-10 years	87	25.1
	Below 1 year	14	4.0
	greater than 10 years	75	21.6
<b>Common means of mass media</b>	Radio	159	45.8
	Television	87	25.1
	Newspaper	51	14.7
	Mobile phones	48	13.8
	Cyber cafes	2	0.6

#### 4.2.1 The demographic characteristics of the key-Informant interviewees

The characteristics of the journalists indicate that four worked in radio stations while 3 were from TV stations. Most of them worked as news reporters (3, 43%) while 2 worked in the productions segments of the media stations. Three of the journalists have worked for at least 2 and 5 years each.

**Table 4.2: Summary table of Journalist's Bio-data**

<b>Type of mass media</b>	Radio station	4	57.1
	TV station	3	42.9
<b>Position/ Role in mass media</b>	New Production	2	28.6
	News reporter/ anchoring	3	42.9
	Marketing	1	14.3
	Editing	1	14.3
<b>Period worked in current station</b>	Less than 2 years	3	42.9
	2 to 5 years	3	42.9
	More than 5 years	1	14.3

The study also captured the views of 4 civil rights activists working in some NGOs in Mogadishu including Coalition for grassroots Women Organizations (COGWO), Daryeel Women Organization (DAWO), We are Women Activists (WAWA) and Save Somali Women and Children (SSWC).

### 4.3 Mass Media and Political Representation

The study inquired what type of mass media was common among the households of Mogadishu and results presented in table 4.2.

**Table 4.3: Forms of Mass Media**

N=347			
Variable	Values	n	%
<b>Common means of mass media</b>	Radio	159	45.8
	Television	87	25.1
	Newspaper	51	14.7
	Mobile phones	48	13.8
	Cyber cafes	2	0.6
	Total	347	100

The results further indicated that radio was the most common means of mass media, followed by television, newspaper and mobile phones. The results indicate that while mobile phones and internet were increasing become popular among the residents of Mogadishu, radio remained the major means of mass media communication. The results support the Human Rights Watch (2019) report which ranked the radio as the most significant channel of communication while satellite television and internet forms were becoming increasing popular in urban areas such as Mogadishu. Further, the results in table 4.3 presented the respondents opinion on the extent of mass media influencing decision making by the government.

**Table 4.4: Mass Media Used to Reach People**

		Mass media used to reach people					Total	X <sup>2</sup>	d	P- f Val ue
		Radio	TV	Newsp aper	Mobile phones / Interne t	Cyber cafes				
<b>Has the mass media influenced decision making by the government in anyway?</b>										
<i>Yes, bigger percentage</i>		24	12	6	14	0	56	19.49	16	.244
		6.9%	3.5%	1.7%	4.0%	0.0%	16.1%			
<i>Yes, half percentage</i>		38	28	13	13	1	93	26.8		
		11.0%	8.1%	3.7%	3.7%	.3%	26.8%			
<i>Yes, small percentage</i>		56	26	17	17	0	116	33.4		
		16.1%	7.5%	4.9%	4.9%	0.0%	33.4%			
<i>Not at all</i>		14	6	7	3	0	30	8.6%		
		4.0%	1.7%	2.0%	.9%	0.0%	8.6%			
<i>No, Govt. using mass media to change the mindset of people</i>		27	15	8	1	1	52	15.0		
		7.8%	4.3%	2.3%	.3%	.3%	15.0%			
<b>Total</b>		159	87	51	48	2	347			
		45.8%	25.1%	14.7%	13.8%	.6%	100%			

The results show that 56 (16%) believed mass media influenced government decisions greatly while 93 (27%) said mass media only affected half the percentage of government decision making processes. The majority of 116 (33%) however said it affected government decisions at a small scale, indicating that majority of government decisions were not influenced entirely by the mass media. This showed that many political decisions were heavily influenced by the clan dynamics perpetuated by the overlapping groups. On the same note, 15% of the respondents believed the government was instead using mass media to change the mindset of the Mogadishu people. The results support Wanta and Dzwo (2002) supposition that since the media run information on issues that are trending on the public arena, they also influence



policy makers to amend and formulate related salient policies. In addition, the findings also echo the McCombs & Shaw, (1972) observations which posit that Civil rights messages are framed to provoke the emotions of both the public and the political class, thus influence the agenda-setting initiatives. As such, the more media focus on an issue, the more public limelight and stronger motivation for legislators to frame an answer to the issue.

The findings were confirmed by the interviews from journalists and civil rights activists who linked the mass media roles in advocacy, reporting and lobbying with political activities such as campaign messages, voters demands and government actions in political undertakings in elections. The responses showed that the politicians used the mass media to promote their political views and agenda. On the same note, the politicians used the mass media to communicate their vision and leadership priorities to the electorates. The mass media therefore plays a huge role in defining and shaping political agenda, and thus shaping civil rights agenda among the Somali communities in Mogadishu.

The interview participants also observed that mass media was an essential tool for community mobilization and awareness regarding both political and civil rights issues in Somalia. The journalists educated the public on democratic and civic rights via the mass media. The mass media also provided the public with an avenue for voicing their ideas and needs to the political and government institutions. The analysis therefore reveal that mass media reporting is essential in sharing the plight of the citizens across the country, which influence government activities and actions on salient issues such as media freedoms and social-cultural issues that affect the vulnerable and minority groups. The government used the media to promote

tolerance and peace among the diverse before and after elections. The results confirm Bennett & Entman (2001) study which realized that mass media had taken an active role in the public representation of politics by steering the agenda of the political discourse and contributing partialities in political disagreements.

The responses also noted that mass media was used to report and scrutinize the election processes and results. The journalists noted they covered the voting processes on their media platforms thus enhancing transparency and accountability on the developments. The results observed the mass media acted as an overseer of many political processes. The effect of mass media in shaping civil rights agenda in Somalia therefore is huge, particularly in determining the outcomes of many political process which shape the related laws and policies that affect the populations. The results confirm the findings of a report by Association of qualified Public Policy Advocates to the European Union (AALEP, 2018), which noted that mass media were complicit in the cycle of policy development including promoting reform as well as sustaining the status quo on civil rights issues.

#### **4.4 Mass Media Reporting on Civil Rights**

In terms of mass media reporting on civil rights, the respondents shared observations relating to extent of reporting and related influence on the administration of civil rights in Mogadishu. The results show that 29 (8%) rated the civil rights reportage as very poorly, 52 (15%) said poor, 55 (16%) said fairly and 138 (40%) felt that media was doing well in reporting issues of civil rights. In addition, 40 and 33 responses rated the media events as very well and excellent respectively. Regarding media's influence in the administration of civil rights in Mogadishu, majority (190, 55%) of the responses noted it changed by a bigger percentage when reported by the relevant

authorities. About 64 (18%) stated it changed moderately while 1% felt it did not change anything at all. The results therefore show that the probability of action in terms of responding to civil rights issues when reported by the relevant authorities by the local government in Mogadishu was high, thereby confirming that mass media influence government decision making.

**Table 4.5: Mass Media Reporting on Civil Rights**

<b>Variables</b>	<b>Values</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>N=347</b>			
<b>How could you rate mass media reportage on civil rights issues?</b>	Very poorly	29	8.4
	Poor	52	15
	Fairly	55	15.9
	Well	138	39.8
	Very well	40	11.5
	Excellent	33	9.5
<b>From your own point of view has the mass media change civil rights administering in Mogadishu after being reported by the relevant authorities?</b>	Not at all	5	1.4
	Yes somehow but below 50%	53	15.3
	Yes moderately	64	18.4
	Yes at a bigger percent	190	54.8
	Yes very much	35	10.1

#### **4.5 Media Advocacy, Lobbying and there Impacts**

The table presents responses regarding the perception of mass media in advocacy and lobbying activities.

**Table 4.6: Mass Media Reporting on Civil Rights**

<b>Variable</b>	<b>Values</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>N=347</b>			
<i>How often do you come across civil rights being mobilized and sensitization in social media?</i>	None	70	20.2
	Hardly	174	50.1
	Regularly	103	29.7
<i>Have civil rights lobbying changed its administration in Mogadishu?</i>	Not at all	28	8.1
	Lightly	73	21.0
	Moderately	108	31.1
	Greatly	138	39.8

The analysis show that 174 (50%) indicated they hardly came across civil rights activities being mobilized in the social media, while 103 stated they regularly witnessed issues of civil rights being sensitized in social media. In addition, 70 (20%) of the respondents stated that they had not witnessed the mobilization and sensitization of civil rights in Mogadishu. On the same breadth, 138 (40%) of the respondents noted that the lobbying for civil rights greatly changed its administration in Mogadishu. About 28 (8%) however noted that the lobbying events of civil rights did not change at all its administration in Mogadishu.

The results reveal that even though only a third of the respondents had seen regular occurrence of sensitization and mobilization activism on social media, the lobbying events greatly changes the administration of civil rights issues in Mogadishu. The findings confirm the Smolak et Al (2017) report finding which indicated that lobbying initiatives influenced greatly the formulation of policies by promoting interests that are deemed popular by the public. The mass media aids lobbyists in the dissemination of public demands to an accountable political system and therefore strengthens the processes of policies, discussions and public policy implementation.

#### 4.6 Correlation Analysis of Media Advocacy, Reporting and Lobbying

The correlation results presented in table below show that the three predictor variables of civil rights agenda setting were significantly and positively correlated. The factor of advocacy had weak correlation with both reporting ( $R=0.318^{**}$ ) and advocacy ( $R=0.323^{**}$ ) of civil rights agenda setting. The factor of reporting had a moderately strong correlation of  $0.523^{**}$  with lobbying metrics. The results therefore show that the concept of advocacy positively impacts the reporting and lobbying of civil rights issues. On the same note, reporting salient issues greatly influences the lobbying of related laws and policies.

**Table 4.7: Correlation Analysis of Media Advocacy, Reporting and Lobbying**

<b>Correlations</b>				
		Advocacy	Reporting	Lobbying
<b>Advocacy</b>	Pearson Correlation	1	.318 <sup>**</sup>	.323 <sup>**</sup>
	Sig. (2-tailed)		0	0
	N	347	347	347
<b>Reporting</b>	Pearson Correlation	.318 <sup>**</sup>	1	.523 <sup>**</sup>
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0		0
	N	347	347	347
<b>Lobbying</b>	Pearson Correlation	.323 <sup>**</sup>	.523 <sup>**</sup>	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	0	0	
	N	347	347	347

**\*\*.** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

#### 4.7 Interview Guide Discussions

The responses from the journalists indicated that the Somali media stations in Mogadishu reported more of political and business issues as compared to matters of civil rights. Majority of journalists and media stations paid attention to news details that resonate with the public. As such, the public were the main creators of media agenda. The journalists also noted that the media in Mogadishu was mostly influenced by political factors and that many politicians used the stations to sell their agenda to

the people. Political news reverberate the Somali public and therefore attract the attention of many. As a result, media played a great role in influencing political outcomes. Many media stations also attracted a lot of activities during political seasons as compared to normal times. However, the journalists admitted that some politicians accused media of bias reporting, a perception that has continued to sour the relationship of certain media stations with the political elite. In supporting this assertion, one of the responses said the following;

“Media in Mogadishu is very bias because it gets information from very casual sources who cannot be trusted. The news brokers are the biggest scam, they sometimes blackmail politicians via the media...”

The response indicate a lack of a standard procedure for news media in seeking information, thus they are vulnerable to misinformation and bias reporting. In addition, the responses noted the media has the capacity to contribute to good governance in the country. Radios and newspapers were highlighted as “trustworthy” as their content were well researched and accurate as compared to radio stations and social media platforms.

With regard to reporting civil rights issues, the responses admitted they had reported the salient issues in their networks, though not frequent. They also believed their reporting had an impact in the government decisions. For instance, the media’s role in influencing Somalis to participate in the upcoming elections has had massive impact in the preparation and sensitization of the electoral processes. In addition, more women have expressed interest in vying for the political seats courtesy of media reporting and lobbying. Media is a great catalyst in Somalis societies and would have a significant impact in issues of community mobilization and awareness.

When asked whether they had participated in civil right lobbying, all of the responses

admitted to have called for media freedom and ethical reporting in Somalia. The participants noted that media freedoms in Somalia was lacking given the unstable state of the nation, and it was their duty to challenge the government to offer protection and safe environment for media practitioners. They have also challenged the Somali government to stop interfering with the media since it jeopardizes the ethics of journalists. The respondents reckon that the media space in Somalia was an open market where anyone could sell any news, and as such the need for a strong bill and policy that regulated the professionalism was needed. The lobbying activities by the Somalia journalists enabled the establishment of the disinformation lab by the federation of Somali journalists to ensure that journalists remain professional and don't spread fake news and propaganda.

Similarly, the responses of the four civil rights activists revealed that some NGOs were involved in civil rights advocacy and lobbying in Somalia. The majority of their work was broadcast on radio stations, which had a bigger audience in both urban and rural areas. One of the respondents noted that the Coalition for grassroots Women Organizations (COGWO) for instance, have been active in lobbying for equal land rights for both women and men in Somalia. In addition, salient issues such as rights to equal education, employment and decision making, have been broadcasted in the Somali media over the years. The impact of lobbying though on formulation of laws have been curtailed by the strong Sharia law that govern many government systems in Somalia. The respondents were however optimistic that their call for equal rights across issues of land, education, water, food and health would help the Somali people live a better life.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter summarizes the findings and draws conclusions in line with objectives of the study. Also presented herein are recommendations for appropriate interventions that should be considered by the Department of Public policy and administration in furthering studies of mass media and civil rights shaping in unstable nations. The chapter also highlights contributions of the study to knowledge. Details are provided in the following sub-sections.

#### **5.2 Summary of the Findings**

The aim of the study was to investigate effects of mass media in civil rights agenda setting in Mogadishu, Somalia. The study was intended to offer greater understanding of how mass media strategies shape public perceptions around topics of civil rights, and by extension, provide evidence of how mass media influence policies at both community and national levels, especially in countries considered unstable such as Somalia. The information generated by the study may also spur further research on the nexus between mass media and civil rights agenda shaping, in terms of advocacy, reporting and lobbying. The findings have been summarized under the following sub-sections, in accordance with objectives of the study.

##### **5.2.1 Mass media Advocacy and Civil Rights Agenda Setting in Mogadishu, Somalia**

The findings show that over 50% hardly witnessed civil rights issues being mobilized in the social media, while 103 noted regular happenings of sensitization on social media. Equally, 70 (20%) of the respondents did not witness the mobilization and



sensitization of civil rights issues in Mogadishu. The results show that while advocacy was somewhat active in mass media, the same did not translate in gatherings and sensitizations in public spaces. Somalia is an unstable country and therefore activism may easily be done in mass media space and not social gatherings owing to security reasons. The findings imply that the effectiveness of mass media in advocacy activities of civil rights in unstable country such as Somalia can easily be actualized in media space as compared to open forums.

The findings confirms Wallack (1994) study that noted media advocacy activism is used to disseminate information through social media networks with the intention of provoking action, in both policy and public viewpoints. Media activism is also used in stirring a conversation about a perceived civil rights violation and a subsequent change in policy, as seen in the Somali media space. The findings also confirm that even though media advocacy is useful in setting the pace for a certain public discourse, its usefulness in changing a related policy is a tall order. Wolfe et. Al (2013) lectures that the complexities of agenda setting make it difficult to comprehend the connection between media advocacy and policy processes. As such, the study realizes that effect of media advocacy in shaping debates in public spaces was difficult owing to security challenges. As such, the true effect of media advocacy in agenda shaping processes is curtailed. Media activism is useful in attracting a massive publicity through engagements and feedbacks which can be used to convince policy makers into action towards their course. However, in states that are less stable and volatile, this role is limited and can only be practiced in closed spaces such as in social media.

### **5.2.2 Mass Media Reporting and Civil Rights Agenda Setting in Mogadishu, Somalia**

The findings reveal the mass media reporting on civil rights issues show that 29 (8%) of the responses rated the civil rights reportage as very poor while 138 (40%) rated it well. Also, majority (190, 55%) of the responses noted the media influenced the administration of civil rights in Mogadishu by a bigger percentage. The results show that the authorities were likely to act upon a civil rights issue upon reporting by the media to the relevant authorities. The study results confirm that media reporting activities of civil rights issues greatly impacted the government's decision making.

The concept of media reporting in shaping public agenda is an effective strategy for championing policy change, (Institute of War and Peace Reporting, 2018). Media reporting engages journalists and media personalities into respecting civil rights. The results confirm this since media stakeholders and civic personalities noted they reported civil rights issues so as effect policy changes. The results also confirm that the relevant authorities were likely act upon reporting, thereby revealing the true influence of media reporting in shaping the civil rights agenda. The findings confirm the report of the Association of accredited Public Policy Advocates to the European Union (AALEP, 2018) which stated that the media were complicit in the cycle of policy development and promotion of reform of civil issue. In addition, mass media influenced policy outcomes by including certain social discussions in their platforms, thus setting a boundary of a public debate.

### **5.2.3 Mass Media Lobbying and Civil Rights Agenda Setting in Mogadishu, Somalia**

The findings indicate that the majority of responses (138, 40%) observed that

lobbying activities of civil rights in Mogadishu greatly influenced the administration activities in Mogadishu. Then results indicate that lobbying had greater influence in bringing change in the government programs. The correlation analysis also confirmed the strength of media lobbying in changing government actions in civil rights agenda setting. The correlation between media reporting and lobbying was moderately strong ( $R=0.523$ ), implying that both reporting and lobbying in the mass media greatly influenced how the people and leaders react to a civil rights issue.

Lobbying is intended to persuade the person of influence to reconsider the status quo position and be considerate of the vulnerable. Mass media lobbying presents the interests of the disfranchised group and thus pressures the law makers into acting upon a civil rights issue. The results confirm the position of Harris and McGrath (2012) which stated that mass media remained the primary informative guide for the social, economic and political elites and the lobbying had a direct effect on the issues they discussed and debated. In addition, Smolak et Al (2017) noted that lobbyists formulate policies that promote certain interests to the political system, thereby promoting development and peace.

### **5.3 Conclusion**

Mass media agenda setting is done for various reasons including civil rights action and promotion of peace and justice. The concept can be used to provoke debate and discourse over a particular pertinent issue. Mass media reporting and advocacy can be used to prevent a war or a conflict, as well as dissolve community tensions and hatred. Despite this, the conceptualization of mass media agenda setting in many African nations is mostly overrun by political events and affairs. As such, the media impact in bringing lasting change in Somalia is far from satisfactory. The correlation

analysis indicate there is moderate correlation between media reporting and lobbying and thus other factors are also needed to actualize this reality. The factors of media freedoms and ethical reporting are some cross cutting issues that must be realized first before the public can appreciate the concept of agenda setting in the media space.

#### **5.4 Policy Recommendations**

The demand for unbiased reporting in Somalia is gaining momentum and the federation of journalists has also realized there is a need for a standard practice among its members. Media freedoms in the country is also lacking. Based on this, the study suggests enactment of policies that will guarantee media freedom and ethical reporting in Somalia and Mogadishu. Similarly, the study calls for enhancement of strategies that could further promote a healthy media environment where journalists feel safe and the public have better confidence in the reporting. This would prevent the killings of journalists perceived to be unbiased and thus cultivate a culture of respect for the professionalism.

Since the level of advocacy was significantly lower in the public space as compared to the social media, the study calls for the development of awareness programs over the media stations so as to further expand the degree of freedoms of participants. All the Somali people should enjoy equal rights of engagement and debate in national discourses. Further, more reporting on civil rights should be encouraged so as to pressure the political elites into addressing the core issues that affect the Somali people, including women and youth.

#### **5.5 Areas for Further Studies**

The study has mainly focused at establishing the relationship between media

advocacy, reporting and lobbying and civil rights agenda setting in Mogadishu, Somalia. The study was limited to measuring perceptions of the residents of Mogadishu. The study therefore suggests a similar study be carried out in the autonomous states of Somalia as well as the entire country.

## REFERENCES

- Al-Zaquan A. & Belford A. (2015). "Pressure mounts on Myanmar over Asia 'boat people' crisis". Reuters. Retrieved 22 May 2015.
- Bennett, W. L, Entman R. M. (2000). *Mediated Politics: Communication in the Future of Democracy (Communication, Society and Politics)*. Cambridge, New York. Cambridge University Press
- Bou-Karroum, L., El-Jardali, F., Hemadi, N. *et al.* (2017). Using media to impact health policy- making: an integrative systematic review. *Implementation Sci***12**, 52
- Bryman, A., & Bell, E. (2011). Reliability and validity in qualitative research.
- Cochran, C. L., & Malone, E. F. (2005). *Public Policy: Perspectives and Choices. Columbia: Lynne Rienner Publishers.*
- Coleman, L. J., Manago, S. M., & Cote, L. (2016). Challenges and Opportunities for Social Media in Emerging Markets. *Journal of Marketing Development and Competitiveness*, 10(3).
- Dench, S., Iphofen, R. & Huws, U. (2004). *An EU Code of Ethics for Socio-Economic Research [interaktyvus]*. Great Britain: Institute for Employment Studies
- Drake, S. A., & Linsky, J. L. (1986). Radio continuum emission from winds, chromospheres, and coroneae of cool giants and supergiants. *The Astronomical Journal*, 91, 602-620.
- Ghauri, P., & Gronhaug, K. (2010). *Research Methods in Business Studies: A Practical Guide*. (Fourth Edition ed.) FT-Pearson.
- Hammond, P. (2007). *Media, war and postmodernity*. Routledge.
- Harris, P., & McGrath, C. (2012). Political marketing and lobbying: A neglected perspective and research agenda. *Journal of Political Marketing*, 11(1-2), 75-94
- Herman, Edward S., and Noam Chomskym (1988). *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*. New York: Pantheon

- Hollander, M., Wolfe, D. A., & Chicken, E. (2013). *Nonparametric statistical methods* (Vol. 751). John Wiley & Sons.
- Kamau, L. (2008). Role of the media in conflict transformation in Somalia: A case study of radio Galka Yo (Doctoral dissertation).
- Kiambati, S. (2009). The Role of Mass Media in Behaviour Change among Female Proponents of Female Genital Mutilation in Meru North District. University of Nairobi.
- Koch-Baumgarten, S. & Voltmer, K. (2010). Public Policy and Mass Media: The Interplay of Mass Communication and Political Decision Making. New York, Routledge.
- McCombs, Maxwell E., and Donald L. Shaw. (1972). "The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 36:176-87.
- McCombs, M; Reynolds, A. (2002). "News influence on our pictures of the world". *Media Effects: Advances in Theory and Research*. New York; Routledge.
- McCombs, M; Reynolds, A. (2009). *How the News Shapes our Civic Agenda*. New York; Routledge
- McElroy, Damien (6 July 2013). "Extremist attack in Nigeria kills 42 at boarding school". *The Daily Telegraph*. Retrieved 3 October 2013.
- Mugenda, O.M. & Mugenda, A.G. (2003). *Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Nairobi Kenya: African Center of Technology Studies (A.C.T.S).
- Nachmias, C. F., & Nachmias, D. (1996). *Research methods in the social sciences*, 5th. Edward Arnold, New York.
- Orodho, J.A., Wenceslas N., Odundo, P. & Ndirangu, P. (2016). *Quantitative and Qualitative Research Methods: A Step By Step Guide to Scholarly Excellence* (1st Ed), Nairobi: Kanezja Publishers and Enterprises

- Page, Benjamin I. 1996. *Who Deliberates? Mass Media in Modern Democracy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Rea, L. M., & Parker, R. A. (2014). *Designing and conducting survey research: A comprehensive guide*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Roberts, M. S., Wanta, W. & Dzwo, T. H. (2002). Agenda Setting and Issue Salience Online. *Communication Research*, 29 (4), 452-465.
- Sekaran, U. Bougie (2010). *Research methods for business: A skill building approach*.
- Silverman D. (2014). *Interpreting Qualitative Data*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Ed. London: Sage Publications.
- Smolak, E., Fernández, A. & Castillo-Esparcia, A. (2017). Lobby and communication in Spain. Analysis of the presence of lobbies in Spanish prestigious press. *Revista Latina de Comunicacion Social*. 72. 10.4185/RLCS-2017-1192-42.
- Wanta W, Alkazemi M (2017) Agenda-setting: history and research tradition. In: Rossler P, Hoffner C, van Zoonen L (eds) *The international encyclopedia of media effects*. Wiley, Hoboken, pp 1–14
- Wallack, L. (1994). Media Advocacy: A Strategy for Empowering People and Communities. *J Public Health Pol* **15**, 420–436.
- Weick, K.E. (1979). *The social psychology of organizing*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.



## **APPENDICES**

### **Appendix 1: Survey Questionnaire**

#### **Section 1: Introduction**

My name is Sidali Nur Hassan; a student in the department of Public Policy and administration at Kenyatta University, Kenya.

I am currently pursuing a Master's degree in Public policy and Administration. In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the MPPA award, I am undertaking a research on "Mass Media and its effects on Civil Rights Agenda Setting in Mogadishu, Somalia".

I am currently collecting data and I would be grateful for your cooperation in this important piece of research work that will provide important information for the study. The information collected in this survey will be treated confidentially and used for the purpose of the study only. This will take you approximately 5 to 10 minutes to complete.

Thank you in advance for your cooperation and support in this project

#### **Section 2: Identification**

Name of Enumerator	
Date of interview	
Name of respondent	
Name of your estate	
Name of the street	
Name of the section	

### Section 3: Respondent Demographic Characteristics

3.1 Sex	3.2 Relationship to HHH	3.3 Age	3.4 Marital status	3.5 Highest level of education completed	3.6 Employment
1=M 2=F	1=HHH 2=spouse to HHH 3=Son/daughter 4=parent 5=Sibling 6=Other relative 7=No relation	1=<20 2=21-29 3=30-39 4=40-49 5=50-59 6=60 +	1=single 2=married 3=separated 4=divorced 5=widow/widower	1=none 2=Adult literacy 3= some primary 4=completed primary 5=some secondary 6=completed secondary 7=some university 8=completed university 9=Vocational training	1=none 2=Own business 3=Others business 4=Civil service 5= Parastatal 6=Private 7= NGOs 8=Faith based Other(specify)

(3.3). How long have you been living here in Mogadishu?..... years

**Section 4: Mass media and Political representation**

4.1. Which is the most common mass media being used to reach many people?

Radio ( )

Television ( )

Newspaper ( )

Others (specify).....

4.2. Has the mass media influenced decision making by the government in anyway?

Yes, in a bigger percentage ( )

Yes, at half percent ( )

Yes, at a smaller percent ( )

Not at all ( )

No, the government is using media to change the mind set of people and violet their rights ( )

4.3. How has mass media influenced voting pattern during election of people representatives at any level of governance in any way? Elaborate it

.....  
.....

**Section: 5 Mass media reporting on civil rights**

5.1 How could you rate mass media reportage on civil rights issues?

Excellent ( )

Very well ( )

Well ( )

Fairley ( )

Poor ( )

Very poorly ( )

5.2 From your own point of view has the mass media change civil rights administering in Mogadishu after being reported by the relevant authorities?

Yes very much ( )

Yes at a bigger per cent ( )

Yes moderately ( )

Yes somehow but below 50% ( )

Not at all ( )

5.3 Please from your own how would you like mass media to report matters of civil rights?

.....

**Section 6: Media advocacy, lobbying and there impacts**

6.1 How often do you come across civil rights being mobilized and sensitization in social media?

Regularly ( )

Hardly ( )

None ( )

6.2 Have civil rights lobbying changed administering of civil rights in Mogadishu?

Greatly ( )

Moderately ( )

Lightly ( )

Not at all ( )

6.3 From your own perspective of how civil rights lobbying is done in Mogadishu, what have you seen that has not been done correctly and how you think social media should do in future

.....

**Section 7a: Interview Schedule for Journalist**

1. Name
2. Which type of mass media I you working in?
3. What is your position/ role in mass media?
4. For how long have you worked in your media house?
5. What do your media deal with?
6. Do you support civil rights lobbying in Mogadishu?
7. Have you ever been involved in civil rights lobbying agenda setting in Mogadishu?
8. What has been the impact of civil rights lobbying agenda setting in Mogadishu?
9. Have you ever reported any civil rights in your media and what was is it about?
10. From your reportage did it affect civil rights civil rights advocacy in Mogadishu?
11. What was the specific effect on civil rights?

**Section 7b: Interview Schedule for Civil Rights Activist**

1. Name
2. Which organization I you working for?
3. What is your position/ role in your organization?
4. For how long have you worked for your institution?
5. Which area of specialization is your institution major in?

6. Have you been involved in lobbying of civil rights agenda setting in Mogadishu?
7. Which media did you used in lobbying of civil right agenda setting?
8. What was the effect of civil rights agenda setting?
9. Did your lobbying involved law setting?
10. Has your lobbying change political administration in Mogadishu?

**Section 7c: Interview Schedule for Elected Leader**

1. Name
2. Which position have you been elected to in Mogadishu?
3. During your campaign for your position which media did you use to reach your supporters?
4. How effective was that media?
5. Was your campaign policy involved civil rights agenda setting of the people of Mogadishu?
6. If so how did it affects voting pattern in your campaign?
7. In your day to day representation to the people of Mogadishu do you usually receive civil rights issues from media?
8. If so how do you handle it?
9. Has mass media reportage changed your personal thought on how you had plan to administer certain civil rights agenda setting in Mogadishu?
10. What are your concerns of civil rights setting in Mogadishu?

JAMHUURIYADDA FEDERAALKA SOOMAALIYA  
Dowladda Hoose ee Muqdisho  
Maamulka Gobolka Benaadir



جمهورية الصومال الفيدرالية  
بلدية مقديشو  
إدارة محافظة بنادر

Federal Republic of Somalia  
Local Government and Benadir Region

Taariikh: 28/06/2021

التاريخ: 28/06/2021

Summad: DH/MG/GGDM/07/2133/2021

رقم:

To: Whom it My Concern

Dear Sir/Madam

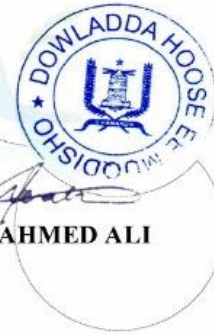
RE: Authorization for SIDALI NUR HASSAN Reg: C153F/CTY/PT/27155/2018 I write to inform you that SIDALI NUR HASSAN who is Postgraduate Student in Public Policy and Administration Department at Kenyatta University.

Sidali has Authority to conduct his Research Data Collection in all the 17 Distracts in Mogadishu Somalia.

Thanks



G. BANAADIR



MOHAMED AHMED ALI