Western Media Coverage of Somalia Famine

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines Western media coverage of Somalia famine in 2011. It examines how the food crisis was represented in the media in view of past sentiments around inequalities of international news flow and coverage, alleged to favour Western nations and sparking off the   debate more than 30years ago, against Western news organizations for alleged bias and stereotyped treatment of news coverage from developing regions.

 This study uses international news flow theory as the theoretical framework. Two hypotheses guided this research, the first being that Somalia famine became salient on the global media only upon Western involvement, and secondly, that media coverage of the famine was stereotyped in news presentation. The research covered a period of 3 months from June 20th to September 20th, 2011 during which reports of the famine gathered from three selected Western dailies which include the Guardian, the International Herald Tribune and Hurriyet Daily newspapers   were content-analyzed   using the combined research methods of content analysis and framing technique .

 It is found out that coverage was scanty at the beginning of the famine and only improves during Western involvement. It also reveals the self and other dichotomy which is used by the media in the representation of other identities. This study also affirms that international news values are based on perceptions from the West.

 Keywords: Western news media, stereotype, famine, Somalia, and news coverage

ÖZ

Bu tez 2011 yılında Somali'deki kıtlığı batı medyasının nasıl işlediğini incelemektedir. Bu çalışma, gelişmekte olan bölgelerle ilgili Batılı haber kuruluşlarının taraflı ve kalıpyargılarla dolu içeriğiyle ilgili 30 yıl önce başlayan, uluslararası haber akışındaki dengesizlikler üzerine kurulu tartışmaların ışığında gıda krizinin nasıl temsil edildiğine bakmaktadır.

Çalışma, uluslararası haber akışı kuramını ana çerçeve olarak kullanmaktadır. Çalışmaya ilişkin iki hipotez geliştirilmiştir: a) Batılı müdahaleye kadar Somali'deki açlığın küresel medyada duyurulmaması; b) açlığın medyada kalıpyargılarla işlenmesi. Bu çalışma, çerçeveleme ve içerik analizi araştırma yöntemlerini birleştirerek kullanmakta ve üç aylık (20 Haziran -20 Eylül 2011) dönemde Batılı günlük gazetelerde (Guardian, International Herald Tribune ve Hürriyet Daily News) açlık sorununu ele alan haber metinlerini analiz etmektedir.

Çalışma, başlangıçta seyrek olan açlık haberlerinin ancak Batılı ülkelerin müdahil olmasıyla arttığını ortaya koymaktadır. Ayrıca medyanın ötekini temsil ederken kullandığı biz ve öteki zıtlığını da sergilemektedir. Bu çalışma aynı zamanda uluslararası haber değerlerinin Batı bakış açısından belirlendiğini de kanıtlamaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Batılı haber medyası; kalıpyargı; açlık; Somali; haber içeriği

To My Family

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WFP -   World Food Program

FAO -   Food and Agricultural Organization

UNHCR -   UN High Commission for Refugee

OCHA -   UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian affairs

FSNAU -   The Food Security and Nutrition Analysis Unit

UNICEF - United Nations Children Fund

USAID -   The United States Agency for International Development

OXFAM - Leading UK Charity organizations

NGO -   Non- Governmental Organizations

AFAD -   Disaster and Emergency management Presidency of Turkey

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Over view

Some researchers have argued that the changing priorities of international news and the end of the cold war spurred the declining interest in news coverage of developing countries, in particular Africa. As a result, not many of its countries are known or heard about (Franks, 2005, p.130; Ojo, 2000; Onyedike, 1996, p.51).

Among other things, media production and consumption often reflects a clash of cultural identities with national one, this is said to not only affect the way nations are "narrated" in news and television, but also how notions such as citizenship are defined (Hartley, 2004, p.7-13). This is related to the claim by the Israeli media scholar Hillel Nossek (2004) that national identity also dictates the coverage of foreign news (p.343). At the same time news reporting has assumed immediacy and homogeneity in style, time, or even visual presentation of news.

Franks (2005) and Onyedike (1996) both argue that changes in perceptions of news coverage have significantly downplayed development in Africa[1] , which has now been reduced to tales of conflict and disasters" (Franks, 2005, p.129; Onyedike, 1996, p.51). The news of known mainstream broadcasting networks such as the

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[1] Africa was well recognized during the great European expansion in the Second World War in the quest by the West to dominate global affairs. One area of reduced assistance to Africa is found to be in developmental aid.

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CNN, BBC, seem to show increased news slots for regions which are grouped together on certain scale of development.

In positive terms the global international system (occasioned by the Second World War) improved technology and unified events; meaning that events in one region, affects events in other distant regions elsewhere (Gilboa, 2005, p.27). The paradox of this however is that all events are not equally accessed; how they are portrayed depends on how and who is telling the story. Largely implied is that, direct information about other regions is near to impossible; it is the mass media which has assumed significance in our world today that fills the gap. Therefore, it can be understood that international news flow can and does have great influences on relationship among nations and peoples, and on international policies and perceptions.

Nonetheless, the scope of the changing priorities of news ensures that the global media is attracted and covers events of consequential impact, even in distance lands. An occurrence such as famine with casualties and sufferings in distant lands attracts wide attention. This is how Somalia came to be a news material in the first place. This study will examine information flow and perception of Somalia famine in 2011. Following Mann's (1999) assertion that in analyzing media coverage, one must bear in mind that journalist accounts of "distant lands are not always right, events are stereotyped by oversimplification or by generalization" (cited in Saleem, 2005, p. 133), this study will examine the different angles to which the media has paid attention to the famine.

1.1.1 Background and Problem

Famine, from various definitions, has simply been described as a severe food scarcity in which there is high malnutrition, hunger and starvation. Because of the advancement in modern times (present day) and improvements in capacity for food production, famine is viewed with scepticism. Devereux (2000) and Campbell (2010) describe famine as a "political atrocity", noting that over 70 million deaths in the famine records of the 20th century occurred in regions that witnessed great political tussles. In their views, this demonstrates the shift of seeing famine from a naturally-induced cause to a politically-induced cause. The 20th century was characterized by regional conflicts in Asia and especially Africa which is covered within the scope of this thesis (Campbell 2010, p.1; Devereux, 2000, p.29).

This study is not simply about famine and its consequences; however an explanation of famine within the context of politics has been necessary for an understanding of this research, in part due to Sen (1981) assertions that stable democracy and an active press are important in famine prevention. As an exemplar, Sen noted that India last suffered famine before the country's independence and stable political government in the Bengal famine of 1943 (cited in Moeller, 2008, p.7).

In July 20th, 2011, the United Nation (UN) formal acceptance to give a name to the food crisis in Somalia came after much delay in designating that a famine was taking place in Somalia, since Ethiopia famine in the 1980s[2]. Slightly before and after the declaration, media shots sent shock waves to a global audience watching the famine with images of hunger, starvation, and deaths of thousands of Somalis especially

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[2] Ethiopia famine in Africa took place between 1984 and 1985; over one million people were reported killed by the large scale hunger and starvation (Guardian June 13, 2008).The UN has never named a food crisis in Africa a famine for more than 20 years until Somalia famine.

among children below age five. A large data base of comments from aid agencies and observers of the famine described it as a major 'catastrophe' which the international community was ignoring (WP July 20, 2011; A Black agenda report August 11, 2011).

By August, 2011, the U.S had estimated 29,000 children dead. The U.N estimated that 640,000 – 750,000 children acutely malnourished would likely increase the number of deaths , in total more than 3.5 million Somalis was in danger of starvation (www.cbc.ca/18/1/2012; bbc.co.uk; www.huffingtonpost.com) while over 100,000 estimated Somalis were already displaced (usforeignpolicy.about.com) (www.cbc.ca/18/1/2012).

Since Ethiopia large- scale famine, Western media have been accused of leveraging on emotional coverage and stereotyping news from Africa; leading to many criticisms about the media's mode of operations. Such criticisms follow the context that in attempting to simplify information and ensure that the audience identifies with what is being discussed; the media instill certain patterns which are detrimental to balanced information flow, and raise the question of media ethics. Chouliaraki (2006) notes that media discourse create dichotomies and hierarchies. In particular, in defining the relationship between the western spectators and the distant suffers, the news media show clear power relation in the structure of society. For example Chouliaraki claims that the media already decided the template for reporting news event in Africa since the Ethiopia saga where suffering became a spectacle (p.10).

Other scholars refer to such repeated pattern in news coverage (especially in developing countries), as stereotypes, which is responsible for building up

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'compassion fatigue' among audience. Still in criticism of the media, Philo (2001) points out that a study of the media conducted by Glasgow University Media group shows limited media coverage of the developing world, and attention is primarily focused on disaster and conflict. Philo concludes that these factors creates the negative perceptions which is at the centre of debates on international news flow (Philo, 2001, para. 6).

Somalia as a country has continued to be exemplified as a failed state, in continuous anarchy for over twenty years. With her long expected transition to a new democratically elected government on August, 2012, the famine in 2011 puts Somalia on the radar before that time and may also affect that process. Therefore this study was conducted to contextually examine how the media presented Somalia famine in 2011.

1.1.2 Public Perception

It is said that based largely on journalism that we make up our "public mind" (Navasky, cited in Saleem, p.130). The media is also said to shape public opinion and drive agendas or create polarization. For example, the media has been named as instrumental to the long embattled U.S –Iraq war, which eventually toppled Saddam Hussein's government in 2003. Moeller (2008) notes that understanding how the media help set the agenda often leads in the description of the media as a leader in defining "the problem and the recognition of a possible solution to the problem" (Moeller, p.3). Understanding the features of media therefore is central to this study, and they include the following:

1)They are often asserted as the fourth estate of the society and are predominantly the traditional means of information dissemination (they include the television, radio

and newspapers); 2) They are owned by big corporations and controlled by few elites to advance their interest, they are also state - owned; 3) they enjoy wide circulation hence followership is huge ; 4) " they are used as propagandistic tool of persuasion" in the public domain (Chomsky and Herman 1988; Golding and Murdock 1996, Hallin 1994, cited in Dokle 2005, p.3).

The behaviour and intention of the media has been a subject of many communication studies. Marxists believe that the media breeds a "brain watched" or docile" generation ruled by the dominant coalition. This is one of the reasons why the Frankfort School in the mid-20th century objected to the media as a form of higher art which is needed for the social change to counter the growing capitalism. In his work, Danny Schechter (1998) author and journalist supported this thinking by stating that; the media produces mass social ignorance" (1998).

Noam Chomsky (1998) also argues that the structure and ownership of media institutions limits what is set on the agenda, reinforces the status quo and favours the powerful elites. According to Chomsky, debates over policies and issues on major media will be within this narrow range (Global Issues, 21 October, 2011).

The agenda setting role of media can easily be questioned on this basis. This implies that "consent for interventions in various polices are "manufactured, under a series of filters which authors like Herman and Chomsky have noted as *media monopoly* explained in "The Propaganda model" (Herman and Chomsky, 1988).

The media has also stood as the initiator of foreign policies, especially in war and conflict situations. For instance, Rothberg and Weiss (1996) stated that the media is

acclaimed for promoting political action in humanitarian crisis (cited in Oslen, Carstensen and Hoyen, 2003, p.109-126). This action has been called the "CNN effect" (link between media attention and political action). It is the news media power of immediately relaying live accounts of events as they happen, argued to have led to spontaneous reactions from governments. Scholars have argued on the perceived effect of the 'CNN effect'. Robinson (2002) acknowledging a cause-effect of media exposure, argued that the media serves as 'agents of policy change ', causing interventions in many humanitarian crises (p.1). In reverse, other scholars argue against the 'CNN effect' has no influence on policy decisions , rather the media in effect as a tool led by the dominant elite, follows the dictates of the leaders (Herman &Chomsky, 1988, p.1).

However, according to Thompson (2003) accounts of humanitarian assistance received for example, in the Kosovo crisis in 1999, and that of Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) crisis from the 1960s, show differences in donations and funds received as a result of the level of media intervention. The DRC crisis which ended in 2003 is said to have received far less assistance than did Kosovo, owing to alleged insufficient media coverage of the crisis, aligning with claim outlined by Robinson as mentioned above (Thompson, 2003, para. 5).

Reporting Africa and indeed Somalia in the international media has raised so many questions: What news frames were found in the coverage? What are the policies that guided the media coverage of the famine? Doing an analysis of the famine, A New Africa Analysis magazine suggested that the coverage of Somalia famine by the Western media has followed the template described by Lieli Choulariak discussed previously in this chapter ("Famine and how to avoid stereotyping",

2011), although this interpretation could be subject to different points of view. Following, this thesis will look at the connection between past researches and the one under study.

1.1.3 International News Flow Theory

This is the theoretical background for this study. International news has been defined as "the activities of news exchange between countries, regions, or between countries and regions" (Hur, 1984, p.366). Research on the flow of news have been carried out between developed and developing or less developed regions, where developed regions are identified as advanced capitalist economies with technological powers and developing regions identified by the reverse.

Many communication studies have covered debates about inequalities in information flow. Developing countries, especially those in Africa blamed the news media for dissemination unequal and negative information from the South to the West, contributing to biased public opinions. The global initiative called NWICO-New World Information and Communication Order was raised in the 1970/80s as a result of these allegations in order to address the inequalities. Its implementations and outcome will be discussed fully in chapter two of this study.

It is relevant to understand how the mass media played out in the coverage of Somalia famine, because of our pre-knowledge of the supporting yet contradictory, oppositional and constitutive role of information.

1.2 Purpose and Objective of Study

The main purpose of this study is to examine the ideology of western media coverage of Somalia's famine in 2011. Given the definition of news as the bizarre, the unusual, the odd, etc. and the global concerns on how to solve humanitarian sufferings, Somalia received boosted attention from the Western media. This study believes that such an examination would constitute an accurate reflection of the portrayal of Somalia, and the news discourse of the disaster.

The print was chosen for this research because unlike the radio and television, they have the propensity to give detailed reporting and information on public issues of any scale (Onu, 1979, p.108). In addition, as suggested by Fowler (1991) the print media is inherently ideological: because of the economic position and formal structure (p.24), and are easily accessible such as on the internet.

Both the news coverage and the process of international intervention were perceived as slow in supporting the country (The Guardian, May 9, 2012; The IHT, July 20, 2011). Also, there were media reports stating that humanitarian appeal funds for Somalia was in huge deficits. Despite claims that the U.S is the biggest donor in any humanitarian crisis (Thompson, 2003, para.3), its support and that from other Western governments was said to be minimal with the UN calling for more aid. For instance, in a post famine analysis, reporter Mike Jennings raised the question of why the US alone whose "military spending in 2011 is budgeted to exceed seven hundred billion dollars could not easily have provided Somalia famine deficit amount of two and a half billion dollars announced by the UN (3.5% of the US budget) (Jennings, 2011, October 5).

As a subject of discourse, global occurrence like famine is said to be better managed when three of these factors are present: 1) vibrant media, 2) high response from NGOs and 3) presence of the International Community. The media however, has arguably been rated as more crucial, because of its place as part of FEWS NET[3] . This makes the media viable as a topic in any humanitarian casualty situation.

However, according to Famuyiwa (2007) , media reports about crisis in developing countries lack the basic context for a balanced news, rather they are most often emotionally laden with sentiments, stereotyped with innuendos of self-inflicted tragedies and helplessness (Famuyiwa, 2007, para.6). Therefore this study has been guided by the following research questions:

1. What is the volume of coverage of the famine? Before and during the height of the famine?

2. What are the main issues portrayed regarding the famine?

3. What sources were easily accessed in the coverage of the famine?

4. What are the frequent languages used in western presentation of the coverage?

5. What interrelationships exist between the various media studied?

6. What is the direction of the stories on the famine?

7. What is missing in the coverage?

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[3] FEWS NET is acronym for 'famine early warning system network. It is a USAID funded activities established to timely and rigorously mitigate food insecurity through information and attention to early food crisis signals.

Therefore this study will focus on International news and information flow. Factors and biases of international news coverage will be discussed.

1.3 Methodology

To describe Western media presentation of news of the famine in Somalia, the study employs the method of both quantitative and qualitative methods of research to content-analyze of reports of the famine including headlines, and visuals for the selected period of study.

The period is divided into three months and includes: June 20th - July 19th, July 20th - August 19th, and August 19th - September 20th 2011. These represents the month before the UN declaration, the month coverage during, and the month after the declaration.

Content analysis is an important research method which gained use since the 1940s in fields such as social sciences and marketing. In media studies, it has been used in the evaluation of media text or messages (written or verbal). It is found useful in this study because of its ability as a technique to identify properties of large amount of texts such as most frequent keywords used in context (KWIC), and reduce them to a manageable size.

Berelson (1974) earlier definition of content analysis is still very relevant today. He defined content analysis or textual analysis as an "objective and systematic" means of determining content or trends in communication materials such as propaganda. The systematic implies a planned process of selection, collection and evaluation of data using consistent rules. Palmquist (1980) highlight the usefulness of content analysis as a method that allows all forms of text to be quantifiable (written or

verbal) using codes, and inferences made on a wide range of issues either relating to the text such as biases, intentions, etc. (para.1). Weber (1990) also referred to content analysis as a method for making valid inferences from texts (p.9).

To carry out the qualitative research of this study, framing and reconstruction techniques are used. "Stereotypes and misrepresentations have for long trailed media discussions. There are theories which attributes these to the media use of the concept of "framing" consciously or unconsciously. Entman (1993) describes framing as the 'selective process in which news places significance on some themes over the others'

As a concept, framing has been used in social theory and psychology in affecting behavioral attitudes. It is described as a selective process in news which places significance on certain themes over the others. Frames are Fisk and Taylor (1991), in their book "Social Cognition", observed that the use of frames by the media is built on the psychological stand point that people are generally in a hurry and are selective by nature. They make less use of their minds to interpret new information and employ a set of pre-existing information schemas to interpret the new ones (Fiske &Taylor, 1991). Dijk (1990) noted that it is the use of such 'ready-made' schemas that have defined social representations in discourse (p.172). Macrae and Bodenhansen (2001) have argues that it is through such means described above that framing has been linked to stereotypes. According to Macrea and Bodenhansen, in their study of person perception, one's evaluation or beliefs in the social world is shaped and guided by existing norms as Fiske and Taylor pointed out, or by continuous use or one way of looking at issues (p.240).

This above method is "assumed to directly influence how an audience understood an issue". The two research methods described above are used as analyses in this study to reinforce each finding and increase their validity.

1.4 Limitation of Study

This thesis examined Somalia famine from the Guardian, the International Herald Tribune and Hurriyet Daily newspapers. Some of these limitations were found in this study.

Firstly, hard copies of the newspapers were not accessible as a result of location and distance; the researcher relied on electronic data bases for the research. This research has noted the possibility of missing links which abound with electronic data collection.

Secondly, there were time and income constraints in travelling to carrying out one on one interview with news editors especially on international news policies. Emails sent by the researcher, were unattended to.

Thirdly, the findings in this research are generalized, as other European countries may have had a different coverage of Somalia famine, with a different view, but could not be sampled because the study was limited to English newspapers only.

1.5 Relevance of Study

The media has a key influence in creating perceptions. It is argued that if public perceptions boost international relations, and governments respond best in regions when there is an active press, particularly with humanitarian crisis, then the role of

the media will be pivotal to the resolution of the crisis. This is one of the easiest logical assumptions given the media's functions.

Also, this study hopes to identify with the awareness that media texts have latent language and power relation as well as ideologies, particularly in showing how one group dominates the other. For instance Van Dijk (1991) argues that "the press mirrors a subtle or modern form of domination such that what is constructed is a combination of ideology and structure (Dijk, 1991, p.28).

This research can contribute to the field of Media studies which focus on textual and language analyses as a tool for establishing relationships within a context. Findings from this study can add to existing data on the flow and pattern of International news especially in areas of disaster management and policy formation for those concerned. It may also be used as an input for future '*Peace Journalism*' research, or humanitarian crisis study.

For clarity sake, this work is not an outright critique of the media; rather it hopes to examine how the media operates and defines issues. Chapter two of this study will discuss review of literature relevant from previous research related to news media coverage. Chapter three discusses exclusively on Somalia, its history and narrative. Chapter four provides analyses and results of the research, while chapter five, and makes appropriate recommendations and conclusions.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 West and International News Flow

This chapter examines international news flow and coverage as a theoretical framework for this research. Relevant literature related to news coverage and international news flow, including patterns, determinants, and selection will be discussed.

A plethora of research in media studies have indicated that there exist an imbalance in the flow of information from country to country, and that more specifically, international news flow reveals clear power and ideological relations which are ingrained in the division of the 'West and elsewhere'. A number of studies such as, "International Network of Foreign News Coverage: Old Global Hierarchies in A New Online World" (Himelboim, Chang & McCreery, 2010); "predicting the Spatial Pattern of Global News"(Seung Joon Hu and Ju- Yong, 2009), " Rich media Poor Democracy" (Robert W. McChesney, 2000), and "Spaces of Identity: Global Media, Electronic Landscapes and Cultural Boundaries (David Morley & Kelvin Robins, 1995) to mention a few, have suggested an asymmetry in global news flow owing to a number of factors which are expanded in this chapter.

2.1.1 The West

What constitutes the West have gone through various interpretations, including our common understanding of the West as a location where the "sun sets" as distinct

from the East where it "rises". It is a concept still widely used today, in politics, academia, the media, and in general public discourse. The West is known to refer to a group of different nations with a common denominator.

Oliver Stuenkel, an International relations scholar, states that the concept of the West:

> has remained abstract and misunderstood. Adding that the West is not static, but in motion, continuously adapting to new realities, and imagined in new ways by different groups with different interests' (Stuenkel, 2011, p.181).

The West has evolved and been redefined in several ways. A common historical account dates the origin of the West to the advent of Christianity. The West was first associated with Christendom, early Catholicism and Protestanism (Stuenkel, 2011, p.182), after the collapse of the Greek and Roman empires, leading to civilization in Europe, the advent of Christianity and colonization. According to Quigley (1979), the concept of the West developed around 400 AD when the West suffered a decline from the Great War in Europe, and later to re-emerge as a super power (See Quigley, 1979). This form the basis for historical account claiming the West began during the cold war era, for example Steunkel claims that the pre- cold war era was the beginning of 'Western solidarity' (2011, p.182).

In cultural-values definition, concepts such as freedom, individualism, democracy, human rights, capitalism, and rationality were seen as western. People began to associate the West as a community of values (Stuenkel, 2011). In terms of location, the East-West contrast mentioned previously saw to it as an arbitrary notion; relative to the point of reference, no one place is perpetually referred to as West. This agrees

with Stuart Hall's (1996) assertion that the West is conceptual, 'an idea'. Hall notes that the West is not a 'geographical, rather, it is a historical construct' (p.185).

However in contemporary times, within the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, power shift to the West and the expansion of Europe, the West gained geographical description which has distinguishes it from the south

Hall (1996) further highlighted the following attributes of the West:

- The West is seen as the developed, capitalist, industrialized and modern sets of societies

- These societies share the same particular historical periods developing around and during the sixteenth century, and also came out of the same historical processes such as economic, political, social etc. (Hall, 1996, p. 185).

These nations strongly include, but not limited to North American countries and Western Europe, such as the U.S, Canada, New Zealand, the Americas. Other nations which become industrialized and technologically advanced will be located in axis of the West (Wallenstein, 1974). For instance, in recent times, the nations of Brazil, Russia, and India, have become "newly industrializing societies" whose relations and active foreign policies are affecting other nations.

Within the modernist thinking, the West is seen as the beginning of civilization; in the scale of evolution those found behind the West exist in pre-modern times. The West has served as an important reference in terms of defining other places (Hall,

1996, p.185). For example places are categorized as Western and non-Western. It is this distinction between the West and the others in language of the west, power relations that is said to create notions such as racial inferiority, or ethnocentrism which can clearly be identified in the media.

2.2 International News Flow

One of the earliest definitions of international news describes it as the activities of news exchange between countries and regions (Hur, 1984, p.366). An exchange usually requires a minimum of two parties involved; however, a major critique of international news flow is that it is a one -way asymmetrical flow of information (Himelboim, Chang & Stephen, 2010, p.301; Onwutalobi, 2010; Schramm, 1964). For example, while it is easy for people outside the U.S to know and discuss about places and events in this region, it is highly unlikely that people in the U.S would be informed about a town or events in a Third World country, except perhaps in times of tales of hunger and doom. This illustrates the power of the media to shape perceptions. This has also formed the basic critique with the process of international news flow- "unequal flow" of information globally.

International news involves not just the flow of news, but also information about culture and way of life people in various regions. Over the past few decades research about information flow surfaced greatly. A number of the factors enumerated below influenced studies on information flow as society transformed:

1) The development of new and improved technologies in information and communication, which in turn affected the volume, content and nature of information flow,

2)   Realization of cross-cultural influence of communication and its effect on the political, social, economic, and cultural developments in all nations,

3)   Entrant of new media actors into world communication affairs, public opinion and image studies, and

4)   the debate generated by the new world information and communication order NWICO in the 1970s about a new balanced and equal stream of economic and cultural information in all countries (Mowlana, 1985).

The flow of information from the north to the south and from the south to the north, is grossly in favor of the industrialized north, and argued to be so, because most news organizations are western based (Onwutalobi, 2010). Many studies on international news flow and coverage exist highlighting these disparities, in a consensus agreed to be in volume, content and direction. Starting with earliest studies such as The International Press Institute (1953), Schramm (1960), Ostgaard (1965), Galtung and Ruge (1965) and leading up to current research such as that of Wu (2006 , 2007), all postulating theories and methodological approaches of explaining International news flow and coverage with divergence in views.

Wilbur Schramm, the American media scholar (1964) is notable among many earliest scholars to have drawn attention to the disparity in news flow between developed and under-developed nations. Schramm's ideas were contained in his book on the "role of information in national development" (p. 674). He explained that flow of news among nations is "thin and unbalanced", that much attention is given to some highly developed nations, while coverage is light, in many cases important events were ignored and reality distorted in the developing regions

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corresponding with my opening illustration   (cited in Hur, 1984, p.366). The factors that govern international news flow and coverage according to Schramm are grouped into the following categories: ownership of news agencies, technology, and power of nations as explained by the World-System-Theory.

 World-Systems theory (WST)[4] is the classification of the World based on labour into three: Core, Semi-peripheral, and Peripheral countries; in which core countries have superior strength over the others in terms of technology, investments, information, skills etcetera (Wallenstein, 1974). The core countries are the countries of the west described earlier. According to Himelboim et al (2010), countries which produce and disseminate information to other countries will gain more power than countries where the information is consumed (p.300). They observed the preferential dynamics in news flow, for both the traditional media and online, in which areas already heavily covered attracts more news stories. Their study found hierarchies in the structure of international news.

For instance, a number of studies demonstrate that core countries such as US and UK, got more news links than peripheral countries (Kim & Barnett, 1996; Jun & Ha, 2009, p.25; Segev, 2010, p.49). Also, in the article "Predicting the spatial pattern of international news", informed by Wallerstein's world system theory, Jun & Ha (2009) notes the concentration in the volume of international news in a few countries in Western Europe (p.25).

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[4] The WST is a dependency theory showing the relationship between the core and the periphery countries, where the core continues to rely on the periphery for cheap labour and consumption of its products and the periphery is dependent on aid and support from the core countries.

The WST explains the process of capitalism; this underscores the pattern of international news flow described above. Those who own media organizations or control the finances will dominate the flow. Roger Tatarian (1984) former vice-president of United Press International(UPI), in confirmation of the WST, asserts that the imbalance in news flows between America and developing countries, African countries in particular, is due to the military, economic and political power distribution in the world (cited in Ojo,2000, p.2). Although not directly related to international news, McChesney (2000) explained that the media's link to the capitalist system and those in power who control information works to depoliticize the populace. McChesney cited as example the big giants in media production such as Disney, CNN, Warner Bros, which provide heavy entertainment content to keep the masses busy and away from decision-making (p.3).

Studies on trends in international news flow from the 1950s revealed that media had been dominated by the U.S both in programmes and in international news. Countries that are allied with the U.S both economically and politically were also salient in international news. That period covered the era when the U.S was said to have had the monopoly of controlling media production (Segev, 2010, p.48-71; Wu, 2006).

However, Tunstall (2008), in an article titled "The media were American: U.S media in decline", explained that international news took on a different trend with the emergence of new media actors such as China and other Western European countries which had become self-sufficient in media production (p.400-402). However, the U.S still dominate international flow because of strong economic and cultural heritage as found out in various related studies. For instance in a study on countries' global salience index (GSI) in international news, it is found out America had the

highest salience (18%) in news sites of non-American countries such as Germany or Japan (Segev, 2010, p.55), and even in foreign news section of Third World nations except in some Asian countries.

This suggests that international news flow is still Western- based, and the media is accused of increasing Western dominance in international news flow, thus widening the gap of international news in volume and content (Deustch, 1959, cited in Hur, 1984, p.367).

Many scholars are divergent on factors that determine international news. Kim & Barnett (1996) in a network analysis of news flow, notes that the structure of international news flow is found to be influenced by a country's economic development, shared language, its physical location, political freedom, and population; economic development being a most important factor (p.12). These findings revised Onu's (1979) indices of functional proximity, cultural proximity, and presence of national status as determinants of international news (p. 97-98). Chang and Lee (1992) and Shoemaker et al (1991) focused on the characteristics and values of the news itself as determinant of news flow (cited in Wu, 2007, p.543). Such values make the event to be selected and published as news as suggested by Galtung and Ruge's (1965) seminal work. The 12 factors cited by them to determine the newsworthiness of a new story are still relevant today. These factors include threshold, unambiguity, meaningfulness, consonance, unexpectedness, conformity, composition, relevance to elite nations, elite persons, personalization and negativity (p.65). Galtung and Ruge's news values list was said to apply to only foreign events excluding its application to domestic and other day-to-day occurrences which are not necessarily events. Harcup and O'Neill (2001) in a more recent study of news values

in three British dailies, informed by Galtung and Ruge's points listed above and their journalistic experience put together the following list for newsworthiness: The power elite, celebrity news, entertainment, surprise, bad news, good news, magnitude, relevance, follow-up and newspaper agenda (p.279).

While several determinants of international news flow were enumerated, Wu (2007) presented a classification under which all determinants can be identified. These were summarized into two categories, namely: 1) gatekeepers and 2) logistical determinants. For instance, in 2000, Wu studied the international section of newspapers from thirty-eight different countries and found a strong bias in news dominance towards countries with stronger economic powers. This shows that the power structures of the world which defines both the political and economic affairs also dictate hierarchies in international news flow and coverage. This corresponds to an earlier assertion made by Moisy (1996) that "news will increasingly be aimed at and consumed by the elite" (p.2).

Trade volume, and the presence of foreign news agencies in a region, counted as two important predictors of international news coverage (Wu, 2007, p.541). Generally the U.S was found more dominant and salient in international news flow than any other country.

2.2.1 Trade Volume

A wealth of studies has concluded that the dominance of countries in international news flow is linked to the economy of the "news production". The political economy reflects interplay of politics, social and economies of countries which are powerful, as such set agenda for the society and the media (Galtung & Ruge, 1965; Herman and Chomsky, 1988, Onwutalobi, 2010; Schramm, 1964; Segev, 2010). Mowlana

and Wilson further explained that the world view that the media presents is defined by institutional structures and resource base of any system (Mowlana &Wilson, 1988), supporting earlier stated notions about the media.

Countries with high trade volume between them are reflected more in international news flow, and the higher a country's GDP, the more news coverage it attracts (Wu, 2007, p.542; Kim & Barnett, 1996. p.12). In general, trade volume or levels of economic interaction between countries increases the volume and content of news flow between the countries (Jun & Ha, 2009, p.12). Interaction between countries such as China, Japan, Germany, UK, is high and therefore news flow between them is also high.

2.2.2 News Agencies

A second index of international news flow according to Wu lies with the news agencies. News agencies are controlled by giant corporations with technical and financial resources to take on news coverage at different locations globally, through the establishment of bureaus (offices in the local region).Their two basic functions are to collect and distribute news around the world (Moisy, 1996, p.6).

As underscored by Wu, Mowlana, and several others, core countries have dominated international news because most news agencies operate from the West. Ojo, (2000) argued that with more than 80 percent of the international news available to media houses supplied by major news agencies found in New York, London and Paris, that is the three prominent and still influential agencies at today; Reuters, Agence France-Presse, Associated Press (AP), the point of view and the mentality of these regions will dominate the information highway, and will lead to cultural hegemony (p.1).

Bosompra (1989) claims that interpretation of news events of the 'Other' presents a stereotyped image to the public limited to coups, natural disasters and wars (p.69).

Recent studies in international news flow have asserted that global news agencies have contributed to inadequate and imbalanced reportage of foreign countries in the following ways: by the use of stringer staff (part-time bureau employee from the local regions to fill up for international media organizations) in order to manage cost; the practice of parachute journalism (journalist fly in to cover an event only when there is a big event) and profit-oriented motives of selling news as product to Western media organizations irrespective of balance. Critics argue that this kind of reporting lacks basic facts of news coverage (Franks, 2005; Masmoudi, 1979; Onu, 1979; Segev, 2010).

Perhaps it is Hamid Mowlana's (1985) comment that best explains how to understand international news flow. In a paper addressing UNESCO's concerns with communication issues, he notes that "to understand the complexities of news flow and its biases, one needs to examine the actors that surround the process of news 'production, distribution and reception' on one hand, and the technology involved on the other."

2.3 New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) Debate

By far one of the greatest debates in the field of communication and media studies has been the NWICO debate of the 1970s. The UNESCO-sponsored debate borders on allegations of Western domination and imbalances in the flow of International News, "international diplomacy and policy making" (Carlson, 2005, p.212).

The contention of the debate stems with minority regions alleging that their representation in global media in the last thirty years immediately after the revolutionary changes took place in Europe had remained shallow and negative (Franks, 2005; Mowlana, 1985; MacBride report, 1980; Ojo, 2000). According to Onwutalobi (2011) this allegation is said to be a one-way flow of information which reflects the ideas, cultures, values and interest of the developed nations .Western control of the flow of information, was seen to constitute a form of colonialism in the eyes of the Third World, and thus represented a direct threat to the national sovereignty of developing nations (p.3).

Onwutalobi's point of view as indicated in his article 'News Flow Controversy' stems from the fact that where both world communication technology and resources favor the industrialized nations, it is natural that the media would also follow in that order. He argued that Western domination and control of information also in news flow have caused huge difference in world economic resources which has not profited third world countries. For instance in terms of division, the African continent (made up of 54 separate countries of different people and culture) are erroneously believed to be one single country (Onwutalobi, 2011, p. 3).

Were the concerns and accusations against Western media legitimate? John Lent (1976) contends that these accusations were only intuitive and not grounded on research (cited in Bosompra 1989, p.58).

A number of the researches regarding the call for NWICO suggested that domination of Western news agencies of information gathering and dissemination prompted the

argument in the 1970s which later generated the global debates spearheaded by non-aligned countries (Mosiy, 1996, p. 4; Ochns, 1992, p. 4 ; Ojo, 2000, p. 3).

Of all the debates[5] established, the NWICO debate became more memorable. Arising from debates and international communication conferences around 1970s, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) tried to address the concerns of the developing nations by adopting the "UNESCO Media Declaration," that gave birth to NWICO- New World Information and Communication Order at the 19th General Conference of UNESCO in Nairobi (Kenya) in 1976 and at the 31st United Nations General Assembly.

UNESCO's aim was to promote global information and cultural exchange. How this will work, as stated in its objectives, is to correct the inequalities in the flow of information to and from developing countries, by insisting that Western countries (with regard to claims that U.S dominated international news flow) provided more positive coverage of developing countries (Mowlana, 1985; Nordenstreng, 1984; Ojo, 2000).

Various counter arguments from the West led to the decline of NWICO claiming that UNESCO constituted a threat to global press freedom and growing capitalism at that time. Western governments such as the US and Britain (who happened to be members of the UN Security Council) refusal's to support UNESCO weakened the debate and led to its defunct.

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[5] Alleged imbalance in information flow especially in the continent of Africa led to establishment of news organizations such as Non-Aligned News Agencies pool (1974) , the Caribbean News Agency (1976) and the Pan African News Agency (1979)

In Ojo's viewpoint, this presented the major setback against the implementation of NWICO's objective[6], which was to create a new world information order of equal representation in international affairs. The NWICO debate was established as a means to assuage perceived cultural hegemony and imperialism from the West.

2.4 News Selection Process

In this section it is important to define news. In the literal sense, news is translated as information worth sharing. Carl Bernstein, the journalist at the heart of the Watergate scandal in America in the 1970s, presented a definition of news more applicable to today's media:

> The greatest felony in the news business today is to be behind, or to miss a big story. So speed and quantity substitute for thoroughness and quality, for accuracy and context. The pressure to compete, the fear somebody else will make the splash first, creates a frenzied environment in which serious questions are ignored" (1992, p. 23).

Bernstein's quote summarizes the changing priorities of news assumed to be greatly affected by the notion of *Media Monopoly*, which is the result of the dominance of large multi-national corporations, through mergers have taken over control of major media outlets in America (Bagdikan, 2004*;* Herman & Chomsky, 1988).

While Wu (2007) highlighted trade participation as a determinant of international news flow (p.541), others (Galtung& Ruge, 1965, Onu, 1979, Hur, 1984) viewed cultural relevance, political involvement and geographical proximity as factors

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[6] NWICO was a 16-member (of different nationalities and cultures) commission chaired by Irish politician Sean MacBride whose findings were documented in a report commonly known as "Many Voices, One World", showing the one World of the industrialized nations only.
NWICO was also raised in response to the demand by developing countries for a new world economic order after the cold war era as stated by Ulla Carlson (2005, 197).

influencing coverage of international news. For instance, it is believed that close cultural affinities and economic association (functional proximity) between countries are important factors considered in news selection. Galtung and Ruge (1965) proposed that the more the geographical distance between the sender and the receiver nation or the more lower the status of the nation in question is, the more negative the news would be to attract an audience in the receiver nation. The more differences there are in culture, the more focused on elitist would the report be (cited in Onu, 1979, p.97).

Characteristics of the news item itself, relating to the news value or worthiness also determines if the event is worthy as news to be covered. The selection process of news as suggested by Onyedike (1996) include conditions which satisfy newsworthiness such as timeliness of events, impact of event, human interest and now more emphatically conflict, in addition to attributes of media organizations themselves, and marketing (p.2). Harcup and O'Neill's (2001, p.274) contemporary list of news values mentioned previously included elements of entertainment and follow-ups.

Within the changing perspectives of news media priorities in news reportage and coverage, it is heavily believed that natural disasters attract global attention by their very nature, "they are news worthy" (Moeller, 2008, p.12). However the span of coverage ('CNN effect' or "rolling news effect"), is often short-lived. But this in itself is a reason why the food crisis in Somalia would attract the media frenzy that it generated in the following months into the crisis.

2.5 Media Biases and Stereotypes

Media bias or preferential treatment, particularly of news, often stems from what studies have described as the technicality of factors surrounding news production, both external and internal. It goes with the saying that people who watch news are vulnerable to bias perspectives.

The media often present a case of binary oppositions as theorized in concepts such as the West, stereotypes, power relations to mention a few. These notions present hierarchies which describes the modernist thinking about history where nations are weighed on the scale of modern and pre-modern, developed and underdeveloped, "Self" and the "Other".

Nir Rosen, American Journalist, in his article "A Critique of Reporting the Middle East" accused Western media of perpetuating ideological bias. Rosen believes that the media is a functional tool for a bourgeois ruling class, and how they operate is to create an atmosphere of distortions and falsehoods in order to justify the narrative of those in power. According to Rosen, these oppositions exist in the mindset of journalists in mainstream traditional media in order for them to maintain hegemony, remain relevant as an organization, and satisfy audiences' perceptions and racial view of the "Other" (nirrosen.tumblr.com/13/11/2011).

This reinforces already stated feature of the media which is their power to shape opinions. Anat First (2002) explained in his study of Media Representation of Arabs, that the media (and in fact all other products of the culture industry) distort the social reality of certain groups to fit the image being described, adding that the media's presentation of different groups or identities in society as one thing ensures that they

are not only perceived as such, it also creates the base for social stratification and notions such as "Us" and "Them" (p.173).

In the presentation of "The Danger of a Single Story" in 2009, Chimamanda Adichie, the Nigerian novelist, linked power to stereotypes for example who told the story, how many times was the story told, how the story has been told, when was the story told are all defined by power which supposes that one is greater than the other. The main thrust of Adichie's argument reflects other authors' ideas about how the media creates stereotypes:

> The single story creates stereotypes, and the problem with stereotypes is not that they are untrue, but that they are incomplete. They make one story become the only story." which can malign and devalue' the person who is told about (TED.com).

David Campbell (2010) discusses how visuals have become essential components for creating stereotypes. Defining stereotypes as "something preconceived or oversimplified that is constantly repeated without change" (p.2). Using the photographic representation of the face of Malawi 2002 famine in the three year old boy Luke Piri with only a little covering showing his starved and emaciated body (p.3), Campbell notes such images have for long remained the ultimate symbol of telling news about famine particularly in the Third World where they have stirred deep emotions of pity among the audience (Fig 5.1 photograph of Luke Piri).

According to Campbell these images "should be randomly condemned as simplistic, reductionist, colonial and even racist" (p7). Campbell argues that whether positive or negative, the image of famine may project the already stereotyped image of the Third World- a place of lack (p.15-19).

2.6 News Framing Theory

Framing is an important aspect to mention in media studies, especially in news selection, as already loosely mentioned under Wu's grouping of gatekeepers and determinants of news flow.

Framing theory is said to have found expanded use in the early 1970s, mostly in the fields of sociology and psychology. In his research of news flow on the internet, Dan (2008), explained that the term was first used when the scholar Bateson (1972) equated framing to 'schizophrenics', a mental dysfunction or delusion that creates a pseudo reality based on fantasy, in which for instance there is a tendency to take messages out of their context: "like an actual picture frames which points to a viewer what to see while ignoring anything outside the frame" (Dan 2008, p.16).

Many studies have advanced framing as a theoretical perspective in mass communication research. Tuchman (1978) explained framing under a 'frame of reference', under which issues are interpreted and publicly discussed (cited in Sheufele, 2008, p.105). This also explains how the media constructs social reality. According to Tierney, Bevc & Kuligowski (2006), in a study analyzing media framing of popular protest, framing fosters the status quo by re-establishing socio-cultural attitudes and hegemonic practices (p.62). Thus the effects of framing have also been subject of study for many scholars in communication.

Entman (2004) has provided an insightful description of framing, using the idea of "selection" and "salience". Entman notes that framing is giving prominence to some aspects of events, while minimizing or ignoring the salience of other aspects (cited in Schuefele, 2008, p.107). Thus giving support to 21st century media emphasis on

"social constructivism": media versus recipient, the media's construction of social reality and audience consumption of that reality (Ibid, p. 107).

Media coverage of events, particularly in controversial issues, is sometimes highly criticized in the sense explained by Entman. Entman believes that in framing, sometimes only one idea is promoted and this could be misleading, he contends that the aspects that are ignored may be as vital as the ones emphasized as both are said to reinforce each other, and both help to shape an audiences' complete perception (1993, p.52).

Neuman et al (1992) believe that "the media gives the story a spin", and that in effect what becomes reality for the audience is affected by the audience's personal experience of schema, interaction and selected interpretation by the media (Schuefele, 2008, p.105). Reese (2001, p.10) defined framing as an 'exercise of power'; Tuchman said, "it is content production", while for Gitlin, framing is the unspoken principle of selection, emphasis and exclusion through which the world is organized both for the journalist and for the audience. According to Gitlin, they emphasize what exists, what happens and what matters, which happens to favour the elite opinion, and therefore give credence to claims of hegemony, and use of elite sources as influential in constructing frames (Gitlin, 1980, p.7).

Studies have related framing and agenda setting to having related media effects. Entman described framing as an extension of the agenda setting role of media or a second-level agenda setting, which generally sets the topic for discussion particularly regarding burning issues or debates, and for individuals what to think about (Cohen,

1963; McCombs and Shaw, 1972; Entman, 1993, p.52; McCombs, Shaw and Weaver 1997; Schuefele, 1999, p.103).

In news, framing is explained differently. While Entman (1993, p.53) suggests that the application of framing to media text is intentional, Schuefele (2000) argued that it is an unconscious process while creating the news of the day (p.297-316). Dijk, (1988a) referred to it as simply a "management skill of selecting and summarizing huge amounts of textual information that reaches newspapers every day". But, this process is primarily guided by the models, knowledge of journalists, attitudes, and ideologies of newspapers (in Djike, 1991, p.151). In sum, Koenig (2005) remarked that frames are "basic cognitive structures which guide the perception and representation of reality" (para.12).

The media make use of cognitive schemas by creating an easy identification of subjects in the minds of audiences. Any frame analysis would consider items such as time, pictures, themes, title, etc. that have come to be observed or become predictable (Dan, 2008, p.17; McQuail 1994, p.331 cited in Scheufele, 1997, p.103).

Important to this study will be to identify what frames are highlighted by western media in the news event of the Somalia famine in 2011. Issues of Western media news framing and style of presenting led to the Third World protest and the subsequent establishment of NWICO in the first instance. In general, many studies found out that Western news coverage of issues in non- Western countries were grouped under seven frames (e.g., Cappella et al, 1997, in Dan 2008, p.20; Neuman et al, 1992; Semetko &Valkenburg, 2000). They include a) the conflict frame; b) economic consequences frame; c) human interest frame; d) morality frame; e) the

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attribution of responsibility frame; f) disaster frame and g) progress frame recurrently occur in news items.

This section has discussed framing as a theory which is much linked to international news flow and coverage. However the application of framing as a research methodology will be executed later in chapter 4, using the template of the seven frames just discussed above. Such classification will be applied to this study to examine western media coverage of Somalia.

2.7 Western Media and the CNN Effect

Research on the 'CNN effect' following its popularity created by CNN during the news coverage of the 1990-1991 Gulf war has attracted numerous investigation both form the academia and professionals. This is because of its perceived effects on international communication and international relations (Gilboa, 2005, p. 28).

The CNN effect is real time live 24 hour relay of events as they happen or what has come to be known as breaking news. It is also the media' emotive angle to stories which is argued to have effected many stereotypes unconsciously either due to time constraints, air space, or in framing as news and news economy dictates .Of course this effect (CNN effect is not limited to the CNN, it is a the general theme given to all media networks which give real time 24hour news broadcast) is argued to drive spontaneous actions and policies. In one school of thought, Lilie Chouliaraki (2006) argued that the effect breeds stereotypes about non-Western countries which is continuously flashed on the screen as 'helpless'. Others label its effect as having a long term devaluation of the actors involved especially when the news is negatively inclined.

The discussions on international news flow are often meshed with the 'CNN effect' because of its effect on international foreign policies. Generally, how international news is portrayed is said to depend on the Western media which has the capacity to inform and shape society. This is understandable from Moeller (2008) point of view, that, there is no global issue or political discourse in which media does not define the problem on the one hand, nor raise possible solution to the problem on the other. In order words it is believed that the media decides as important, how they set the agenda ,determine how the coverage of the issues on the agenda are framed , and ultimately are deterministic of what response the issue might receive.

Chapter 3

THE HISTORY OF SOMALIA

3.1 Introduction

The Republic of Somalia is one of the 53 countries that make up the continent of Africa. It is bounded by Kenya to the southwest, Ethiopia and Djibouti to the west and northwest respectively. Somalia's presence can be found between Ethiopia and the Indian Ocean.

Somalis constitute one of the homogenous and largest ethnic groups in Africa, comprising 85% Somali, and 15% mixture of Bantu and other minority groups as non- Somali Arabs. Their unique features of sharing the same language, and the same religion, were thought to be an advantage going in view of the spate of Cold War chaos that had engulfed the world. Yet the emerging image of Somalia was patterned with clan rivalries and conflict which some describe as the identity of the pre-modern societies (Butler, 2002, p.6). Farah, Hussein and Lind (2002) opined that the differences that caused Somalia's instability resulted from structural, political tussles internal and external to Somalia (p.322).

Three major European powers influenced present day Somalia. Italy controlled southern Somalia; Britain northern Somalia mostly the coastal regions, and France controlled the area now presently referred as Djibouti. In July 1960 Somalia became

independent under the guidance of the UN, by the joining g together of the northern and southern colonies.

Fig 3.1 Map of Somalia

3.2 Somalia Narrative and the Media

Somalia's situation presents the development of a certain pattern of discourse in the media. In the last two decades   Somalia's political, economic and human life have been weakened by persistent civil war. Current conflict between the country's rebel group Al-Shabaab and established Transitional Federal Government (TFG) believed to be supported by the West and Africa Union is still on-going.

The 1960s marked a period in history of post –Cold War reforms in the world such as the Prague spring[7] and decolonization of Third World countries, which ushered in political liberalization for many non -Western nations. Somalia's chaos in post-

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[7] Prague Spring: the series of protest that broke down power in Soviet Union in 1968 (Butler, 2002, p.2).

colonial era went on until 1969[8] when the newly independent government was truncated. The political structure of Somalia was established under a clan system which is argued to be at the heart of Somalia crisis ("Ambush" in Mogadishu, Frontline). A notable conclusion has been that no political agreement could be reached between the four major political movements in Somalia: the USC, the SNM, the SPM and the SSDF[9]. According to Butler (2002) Somalia crisis is caused by a full blown civil war as factions battle for political authority long denied them during the colonial era (p.2).

Somalia has lunched from crisis to crisis, especially since the collapse of the central government in 1991. Its discussion cannot be done without a mention of the U .S intervention in Somalia which began under President Bush regime, during the hunger and famine that followed the outbreak of the civil war in 1991. Butler (2002) argues that Somalia's image has been defined by the presidential rhetoric adopted during the U.S intervention in1991/1993. The narration of Somalia reveals an image of the imperial savage (p.3). As noted by Butler, in the American ideology, it demonstrates the continuity of seeing the enemy *other* in people or cultures and not just leaders. Somalia is cast as primitive society which is often constructed by language. In the narration of Somalia by Clinton and Bush administration during the intervention in the civil war of the 1990s, the language of Somalia as a pre-modern society is used. This has also formed the rhetoric in media narration and discourse of Somalia till present day. The notion that is clear, in Somalia according to Butler, is that there

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[8] In 1969 through a coup, power shift to a new militia socialist government guided by the Supreme Revolutionary Council (SRC). Internal fighting has continued on in Somalia since then until now.

[9] The foremost political movements were the SNM Somali National Movement, and SPM, Somali Patriotic movement, USC, United Somalia Congress and the SDDF, Somali Salvation Democratic Front which toppled the government that led to total collapse of Somalia in 1991.

continuity in President Clinton's statement that Somalia is plagued by 'warlords', and has no capacity to solve its own problem therefore justifying the need for an intervention (p.19). President Clinton puts it this way; transform Somalia into a 'civilization" (p.7). Butler argues that the use of the word warlords "Skewed" the image of Somalia, but it also fits with ethnocentric, narratives that best fits with the ideas of Western colonial powers.

Raka Shomes (1996) in a study of the 'Other', indicates that the media and Somalia relationship falls under the discourse that "constructs adversaries (those falling outside the point of view of those in question) as uncivilized, immoral and evil" (cited in Butler 2002, p.4).

3.3 Somalia Famine, UN and the U.S.

Two previous notable famines have been recorded in the history of Somalia before the present 2011 famine under review: 1974 and1991.

Somalia's 1974- 1975 famine took place in the Northern Somalia pastoral region. However, it is the 1991- 1993 famine after the collapse of central government in Somalia that is discussed here. Somali's famine in 1991 to 1993 cannot be discussed without the UN and the U.S involvement. Clan hostilities plunged Somalia into severe famine in 1991 as already stated, destroying agricultural, social and economic conditions of the Somalis. In the wake of that crisis, began the hunger and starvation of the people, about three hundred thousand Somalis were claimed to have starved to death, and more than one fourth of the population homeless ("Ambush in Mogadishu", Frontline).

The United Nations department of Public information, April 1993 report explains the situation:

> The downfall of President Siad Barre on January 27, 1999 resulted in a power struggle and clan clashes in many parts of Somalia. In November, the most intense fighting since January broke out in the capital Mogadishu, between two factions- one supporting the interim president Ali Mahdi Mohamed in the north , and the other supporting the chairman of the United Somali Congress Gen. Mohamed Farah Aided in the south. Since then fighting persisted in Mogadishu and spread throughout Somalia, with heavily armed elements controlling the country ("United States PSYOP in SOMALIA", Friedman).

Media exposure of the conflicts and devastation drew the attention of the UN and in 1993 the United Nations Operation in Somalia 1(UNOSOM 1) was launched to facilitate aid to victims of war in Somalia. The severity of the conflicts led the UN's call to member nations for further assistance in the Somalia crisis. This led to the U.S army humanitarian intervention in Somalia in 1992, leading a   Unified Task Force UNITAF that was birthed subsequently (United States PSYOP IN SOMALIA", Friedman).

The collapse of government in Somalia in 1991 led to many foreign interventions mostly drawn to southern Somalia where the country's capital Mogadishu is, and where Al-Shabaab[10] had seized the country, leaving the northern Somalia relatively peaceful. It is believed that the foreign interventions in the south propelled Somalia to its present crisis state as at today (kenning 2011, p.63).

Somalia's history of famine is widely discussed with the U.S intervention in Somalia which led to the unfortunate Black Hawk Day as it has come to be remembered when

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[10] Al-Shabaab is the fall out of the Islmaic court union which was destroyed in 2006 by the Ethiopian invasion of Somalia backed by the West alleging Somalia's link to Al-qeada.

American soldiers were killed and their bodies dragged by rebels around Mogadishu for the cameras (the media) to send a message to the U.S to end their operations in Somalia (Butler, 2002, p.1; USPSYOP in Somalia). In response to calls by the UN, the U.S established a peace keeping mission;

> "President George Bush in his last days in office authorized the mission on December 1992 with the hope for a quick" fix" in Somalia, promising that the U.S army on mission to Somalia would return home one month later in time for the new president Clinton's inauguration in 1993 January. In contrast, U.S troop finally pulled out of Somalia on President Clinton's order in March 1994, after 18 U.S soldier were killed by rebels and dragged around Somalia streets by rebels" (novaonline.ncvv.edu, searched 28/11/2011; PSOYP in Somalia).

That mission was tagged Operation Restore Hope also known as the Battle of Mogadishu. Circumstances that led up to the exit of the U.S from Somalia have gone in history as the Blackhawk Down, Bowden, 1997 (novaonline.ncvv.edu, searched 28/11/201). It was solely to prevent the diversion of food aid. As found out by Ahmed and Green, Statistics revealed that in the early 1990s, 80% of internationally provided food aid did not reach their target but was stolen (Ahmed& Green, 2010).

War between the U.S Peace keepers and Somali Clan, the United Somalia Congress, which contributed majorly to the ouster of the central government of Siad Barre in 1991, became one of the biggest criticisms of the U.S, home and abroad, for the role played in Somalia in the 1991 crisis.

3.4 Somalia Famine in 2011 and UN

As mentioned before in chapter one, the aim of this study is to determine how Western media presented the food crisis in Somalia in 2011. Somalia famine

assumed a separate discourse from the East African famine that threatened more than 4 nations in that region. This is due to heightened state of its own famine situation and the peculiarity of Somalia been under civil war for over twenty years, the lack of a central government, acute poverty caused by impoverishment leading on from past conflicts. Al-Shabaab initial ban of foreign aid organization from entering Somalia was faulted as another reason the crisis worsened in Somalia (Guardian July 20, 2011).

The UN's mission and action plan for the crisis were in the following area

1) Reducing the gravity and spread of the crisis food and gathering financial and humanitarian support internationally;

2) to provide immediate food aid in the short term to end what has been referred to as the "failure of world governments to handle the Somalia food crisis" in the Third World (Hurriyet Daily News, August 8, 2011)

The UN defined a famine as a condition where "at the least 20 per cent of households in an area face acute food shortage with a limited ability to cope, acute malnutrition rates exceed 30 per cent among children, and mortality rate especially in children rises above two persons per day per 1,000 persons" ("UN declares famine", UN News Centre).

In Southern Somalia Bakool and Lower Shebelle where the crisis originated and where the insurgency activity was highest, some agencies reported the conditions at camp; acute malnutrition rates rising above fifty-five per cent, deaths among children under the age of five exceeded six per thousand per day in some areas and diseases

was spreading in the already over crowed refugee camps at Dabaab defined Somalia's famine as a case for international intervention.

Chapter 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the methodology used in gathering and analyzing data for this study. News articles of the famine found in the Guardian, International Herald Tribune and the Hurriyet Daily Newspapers between June 20th and September 20th, 2011 constituted the sample population.

The reasons Somalia experienced the worst famine situation in the East Africa food crisis of 2011, has been blamed on the country's over 20 years conflict and lack of central government on one hand, and war between "the western backed" Transitional Federal Government (TFG) and the opposition Islamist group, Al-Shabaab, on the other hand. Notwithstanding drought being a natural phenomenon, the foregone factors are assumed to have paved the way for the famine and questions about the media coverage.

Two situations were observable in humanitarian intervention in Somalia:

1) media reports about the famine in the months leading up to July 20, 2011 were grossly lacking, despite famine early warning system report from the previous year, made known to the UN and the U.S

2) a contrast that shows an increased media attention only when there was an official statement by the UN.

This led to widespread claims that Somalia famine was marginalized both in media attention and public response, a huge contrast to both Kosovo humanitarian crisis in 1999, and the Haiti earth quake in 2010, which drew huge humanitarian support and funding occasioned by the media (Thompson, 2003).

This has been at the heart of theories which have equated media attention to attraction of political beneficial actions. For instance, India's Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen in his study analyzing poverty and famines, notes that politics and other socio-economic factors, including the press are often fundamental in averting a famine. His reference is India's stable polity since the Bengal famine of 1943 which took place before the country's independence and constituted government (Sen, 1981).

On July 20, 2011 after famine declaration, the International media rose spontaneously to the coverage of the famine in a "media frenzy' (IHT, August 9, 2011). A quick scan of news headlines at that time revealed that the famine reports made frequent mention on headlines of major media corporations, but its value for recognition was over shadowed by North-based stories[11] which competed for greater attention in the media (IHT, August 2, 2011).

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[11] North based news reports such as UK phone hacking, debt crisis and Norway bombings, and the distant birth of the new Republic of Sudan in Africa supposedly backed by the West, all happened between the months of July/August 2011 when Somalia famine was at its peak.

Mann (1999) notes that the media stereotyped treatment of distant lands (p.102, cited in Saleem, 2005, p.133). Bagdikian, (2000) argued that the 'free and objective' nature of mainstream media is questionable: "under the pressures of media monopoly (and ownership) tend to manufacture politics and social values", and that the financial interest of this monopoly not only alters the content of news, it also limits news sources to mostly 'official sources' while creating the news.

This emphasis on the use of media to set the agenda proves crucial to how occurrences are perceived. For example , Nicolas de Torrente, the Executive Director of the NGO Medecins Sans Frontieres notes "the media may not always determine better conditions, often they serve as "preconditions" and drivers to access public support and political attention" (Moeller, 2008, p.9). The study of this nature in a wider sense aims to examine media representations of disaster news, by extension the problems of media coverage of less developed countries.

4.2 Medium of Analysis

The media has been used in a general sense, but in this study, it is limited to how the famine is constructed within the news in print media in particular. The reasons for using a print medium of analysis aside from the fact that they are the oldest source of information, and present the most detailed accounts of issues, they also satisfy the assertion "that the newspapers have hidden ideologies and they have become an important system for the distribution of ideology (Fowler, 1991, p.24; Gitlin, 1980, p.2). One can easily agree with this assertion because of the class of people who the dailies appeal to: the elites and those in decision making capacities.

A total of 93 articles were found in all three newspapers bearing the title Somalia Famine in 2011. It was then narrowed to 69 articles first by collecting only articles that fall within the three month period of this study between June 20th and September 20th. Next, by excluding all opinionated news items such as letters, opinions, editorials and videos, while focusing on articles which fall under the term 'hard news' or factual news which are reported immediately, which were more relevant to the thesis. The newspapers selected are described below.

The Guardian, formerly known as "The Manchester Guardian" and was founded in 1821. It is a British "serious- minded" spreadsheet in the class of "quality press." It was established as a means of making objective information accessible to the society, and not necessarily for profit- making, by Scott Trust Foundation. It belongs to the Guardian Media Group (GMG) with sister papers such as The Observer Sunday and The Guardian Weekly. As a Britain medium, in principle is established to operate free government restriction as a way of ensuring a working democracy, in a broader sense, according to Keller freedom of expression is permitted to the degree that it is "balanced and fair" (Keller, 2001).

The paper is lauded for its objectivity, balance in news reportage in addition to its political leftist-conservative leaning towards the 'masses'. It has a daily circulation of 230,540 (October 2011), and has one of the largest online readership of any English newspaper in the World outside the New York Times. This makes it a suitable choice for this study (Dokle, 2005, p.48; Keller, 2001).

The International Herald Tribune (IHT), was known as the Paris Herald founded in 1887. It is fully owned by the New York Times; the global edition of the Times, of

the U.S. Its readership consists mainly of the elite and decision makers at the power-house in America's Wall Street. The IHT was also termed the European edition of the New York Times, because of its base in Paris since the 1887, it is sold in over 160 countries and circulates about 242, 073 copies daily.

The IHT is funded mostly through revenue from advertising. This means that editorial decisions are independent of government, while the constitution permits high freedom of speech as a constitutional right.

The Hurriyet Daily, Turkish English newspaper selected because of Turkey's on-going negotiation of membership of the European Union since 1963, and also because it stands as a regional power between Europe and Asia. The Hurriyet Daily (HDN) is Turkey's first English daily newspaper publishing since 1961. It belongs to the 'Dogan Media Group' headquarters in Istanbul, and has international outlook and online version which has been used for this research. Its readership is said to consist of about sixty percent foreigners and forty percent locals owing to the large international passage in and through Turkey.

The Guardian represents the British which had former ties with Somalia, being a former colonial power ; The IHT- represents the U.S who is a former ally of Somalia, and whose military operations is recognized, covert or otherwise in the country, and representing one of the biggest western humanitarian donors. The Hurriyet Daily News, representing Turkey, bound to Somalia more closely by religious affinity.

The aforementioned attributes of each of the selected newspapers will also serve as a reference to comparison of the frames adopted by the media organization in the West. Most reports were filed from Nairobi in Kenya, or Mogadishu the country capital, major distances away from the affected regions under which the famine was severe, due to the ongoing conflict in Somalia.

4.3 Methodology and Data Collection Techniques

'News' as any other form of communication is a text, appear in the form of discourse. To analyze the media presentation of the famine, this study applies both quantitative and qualitative methods. The analysis incorporates Van Dijk's (1999) idea which includes analysis of the "macrostructure of a text - headlines, themes and topic; and that of the microstructure which focuses essentially on issues of framing.

4.3.1 Content Analysis

Content analysis is a research method employed to determine the quantitative aspect of the coverage. This provides answers to research question one and two as presented at the beginning of this thesis.

The content of news items found on the "World News" section of the three newspapers has been used as unit of analysis. Using the analytical software "Statistical Programme for the Social Sciences (SPSS), the researcher categorized the data coded into the following categories: newspaper type, date of publication , topic, length of story, source of news, sources inside the story, framing of the story, frequently used words (KWIC), direction of story and nature of the accompanying pictures on the story item.

These coding categories have been decided upon after detailed studying of the content of the papers in the period of three months in 2011 earmarked for this study as well as taking a cue from other researches. Each of these categories was further coded into numerical variables in order to make content analysis possible.

To have a deeper insight into the article's construction of reality beyond just the superficial, the researcher introduced the concept of framing. Van Dijk (1985) suggested that the ideology of news is guided by the 'unsaid'. What framing perspectives were adopted by the three newspapers in question?

4.3.2 Framing Analysis

Print media narratives is said to involve struggle for power, representation and coverage between groups (Fairclough, 1993; McFarlane, 2001, p.1). Past studies show that how the news coverage of particular event is presented has always been attributed to media frames that were used 'consciously' or 'unconsciously' in the text.

They are believed to reflect Herman and Chomsky's (1988) ideas of the "power structure and reproduction of elite ideologies" (McFarlane, 2001, p.3). Some studies have described frames as information –process- schemata that select some aspects of perceived reality and give them more salience over the other aspect so as to make the other less important or not important at all (Entman, 1991; Iyangar and Kinder, 1983; Saleem, 2006, p.131). Goffman (1984) argues that frames help audiences to "locate, sense, and identify with the information around them" (p. 21).

To find out news framing of the coverage, this study looked into headlines and leads i.e. "both variables summarizes the story and quickly answer questions such as

"who", "what", "when", "where" and "why" of an event", while presenting the information across" (Mott, cited in Onu, 1979, p.103). It has also been demonstrated that structuring of headlines does have direct consequences on readership perception and on the interpretation of the news (Tannenbaum, 1985, p.189.97). The headlines determine whether or not a person is likely to continue reading the story after the first natural scanning instinct (Onu, 1979).

One general consensus in media studies is that frames are built over long persist use. To understand the frames used by western media in Somalia famine coverage, this research took note of persistent themes as suggested by Gitlin (1980), of headlines, leads and body and words, as well as examined if the stories were accompanied by photographs. Somalia's famine took place under contentious circumstances because of the on-going conflict there. This suggests that there is no way the discourse of the famine can be done without a mention of the conflict there. According to McFarlane (2001), in the study on Representation of Seattle World Trade Organization protests notes, that the deconstruction of any media or newspaper texts, often reveals encoded social ideologies and myths, which become apparent under contentious circumstances", which articulates support for any existing power and authority (McLeod & Detenber,1999,p.5; Hall, 1981; cited in McFarlane, 2001, p.2-3).

To analyze the frames also, this study will also apply Hall's (1981) suggestion that by looking at who was accorded more space or views, the tone of voice or language used, and how opposing groups are portrayed and described proves useful in determining disasters frames (Hall, 1981).

To establish a frame analysis in this study, the researcher applied what has served to be used as template for framing. For instance Neuman et al (1992) found in previous studies that in U.S media coverage of foreign lands some frames were dominant in news reports. These include conflict frames, economic consequences frames, human impact, and morality frames (cited in An & Gower, 2009, p. 107). In a later study, Semetko and Valkenburg also identified five news frames usually common, however in relation to the type of outlet and topic involved, and they include attribution of responsibility frame, conflict, economic, human impact, and morality (Semetko&Valkenburg, 2000). They found attribution of responsibility to be the dominant frames used in minority groups reporting.

The human interest frame: This frame "brings a human face or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue, or problem" (Semetko&Valkenburg, 2000, p. 95). In this study, the human impact frame has been collapsed with disaster frame. In a crisis situation, the human impact frame stirs audiences' attitudes towards the victims and inputs blame and responsibility to the cause of the crisis.

The conflict frame is found in any report that shows tension or disagreement between different actors, such as governments and or individuals, groups, or organization (Neuman et al. (1992). In a study of framing in the U.S media, it was discovered that the conflict frame was second most common frame, and that the more serious the paper, the more a conflict frame is evident in it i.e. there is found to be more correlation between political news and conflict frames (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).

Morality frame is usually less dominant in most studies. It is defined by religious principles. This frame allows the situation or problem to be viewed in the context of morals, social acceptability etc. Neumanet al. (1992) explained that this frames is indirectly used in news reports by journalist in a subtle way through quotations or by inferring because of their norm to remain objective.

Economic consequences frame: This frame reports an event, problem, or issue in terms of the consequences it will have economically on the people concerned or the larger society. Again, Neuman et al. (1992) notes that this frame is attractive and quite common to the media, because, wide impact of any event is an important "news value", and economic consequences are often considerable (Graber, 1993).

Attribution of responsibility frame: This frame is seen when the media attributes responsibility for cause or solution of a problem to an individual or a group (Semetko&Valkenburg, 2000, p.96). It is widely used by the media in conflict reporting.

4.3.3 Reliability and Validity

To ensure reliability and replicability of data and findings, the methods mentioned above were used i.e. applying the methods of content and framing analyses.

This way it ensures that the results achieved are more accurate and could be verified. The use of the SPSS statistical programme ensured that the coded variables were entered systematically and objectively under a coding protocol, to which findings could be generalized relying on past researches. To also ensure validity of the study, the search was conducted on the same genre of media- hard news articles only.

4.4 Data Analysis

Firstly, the media coverage of the famine demonstrates that "natural disasters and tragedies always capture the interest of the global media (that is how Somalia came to be in the global news in the first place), howbeit, this interest is only short lived (Moeller, 2008, p.12). Since most news report about famine occurred between the month of 'July' and September' 2011, the period of assistance, it is not surprising that what is prominently featured on the headlines are key words centering on humanitarian aid. Suggesting that, the international media view the crisis as a humanitarian emergency; focusing on the UN's immediate short term remedy of providing aid.

To arrive at the quantitative content analysis of this study, the following a) number of articles published by each paper; b) Sources of reports; c) sources within the report; d) major topic; and e) KWIC were determined. The coding protocol is included in the back page.

Analyzing the 69 articles, this study has focused only on news articles, editorials, opinions, letters to editors, interactive and videos were excluded from this study, the analysis is basically on what has been written by the media organ.

Table 1: News article distribution in the newspapers

Newspapers	Dates			Total	%
	June 20- July 19	July 20- august 19	Aug 20- Sept 19		
Guardian	2	15	0	17	24.6
Hurriyet Daily News[12]	0	24	8	32	46.4
International Herald Tribune	1	14	5	20	29.05
Total	3	53	13	69	

The table above shows general pattern indicative news reports in the first and last quarter of the time period. Aside from a few reports about Somalia, a food crisis resulting in deaths and starvation could not have been going on in Somalia. Although many of the stories mentioned key words such as Somalia and the famine, not all were directly related to the famine.

In the Guardian electronic search on "Somalia Famine" only 50 stories were published in the year 2011 on the World News. The year before in comparison, only 8 stories were published. Of the 50 stories for the year, 31 stories (62 %) were gathered within the 3 months period of this study. This was further narrowed to 17

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[12] Hurriyet Daily News known as Turkish Daily News

main news articles. Others were videos 7, interactive 2, pictures 2, and 1 each for letters, Question and Answer, and podcast.

In answering the research question 'what was the level of coverage before, during and after the declaration' the table shows that Guardian reported only 2 news items one month before the declaration, 15 news articles from the declaration and none one month after the declaration. The IHT and The HDN published 20 and 32 famine related stories respectively. The IHT published 1 report in the first, 14 in the second month, and 5 in the third month. HDN published nothing on the coverage of Somalia famine before the declaration, 24 news articles upon the declaration, and 8 articles one month after the declaration.

The results indicate that news coverage increased mostly within the declaration of the famine by the UN. It also shows a decrease in reporting of the famine one month after the declaration. Pearson chi-square result for testing the level of significance in the relationship of coverage by the three newspapers is given below:

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	8.235 [a]	4	0.083

The chi-square inferential value indicates that there is no significant difference in the level of coverage given by the three newspapers. It confirms firstly to theories newsworthiness is defined by international call along other factors of social, economic and cultural distance which in a sense is reminiscent of Herman and Chomsky's (1988) idea of hegemonic control of the international community (books.google.com).Secondly, the pattern of coverage is similar, and follows past theories about the media and disaster reporting "boiling disaster news attract more than simmering ones".
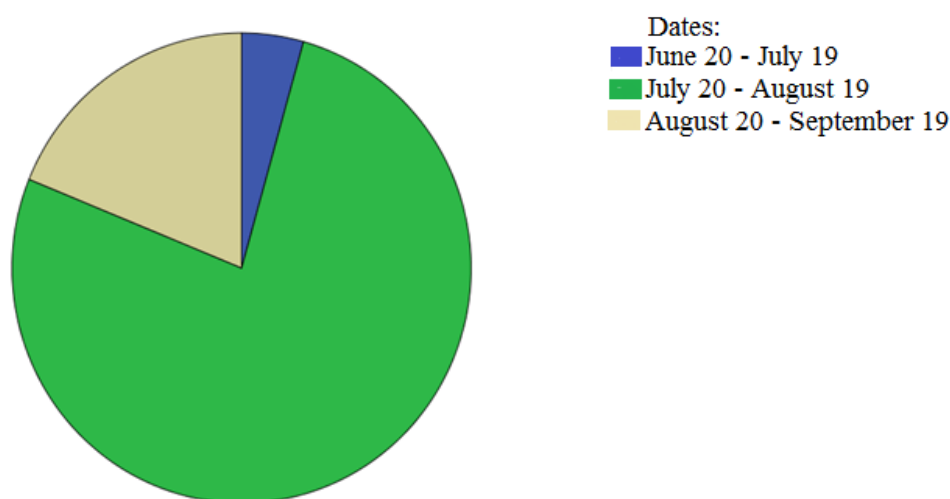
Figure 4.1 Pie Chart showing the coverage distribution

Two categories of news sources were analyzed[13]. This research coded the originator of the stories in the following way: 1) Newspaper Own or 2) News agency 3) News desk and 4) Others. The Frequency of the sources of the articles is revealed in the table below.

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[13] Categories of news sources analyzed are 1) the originator or writer of the news. 2) The second category of sources refer to in-the text sources, those interviewed, mentioned or quoted.

Table 2: Sources of news distribution in the dailies

Newspaper	Source				Total
	Own Reporter	News Agency	News Desk	Other	
Guardian	10	5	0	2	17
Hurriyet Daily News	1	20	9	2	32
International Herald Tribune	11	8	1	0	20
Total	22	33	10	4	69

There were similarities in sources of news stories in the Guardian and the IHT. Most stories were filed by own staff reporters, mostly from Nairobi and the capital Mogadishu. There less reliance on news agencies or stringers. While in HDN, 20 of its news stories were taken from international news agencies, 9 stories were produced from the local desk. The contrast in the sources of news between the two differences in sources of news could be explained in terms of media ideology, size of the organization, state and economic resources.

Also, sources within the stories were content analyzed. This represents which 'voices' were heard the most. The source analysis shows the relationship between the sources within the news and the newspaper type. Voices in the news reports were also more directly related to the topic. However on a more specific scale, the study group voices heard into majority quotes or voices, and minority quote or voices. In

this study, they were categorized into 8 sub-groups which include the following: UN officials, Western officials, Somalia officials, People on the street, Aid agencies, AU officials, Al-Shabaab and 'Others'.

UN officials represent any quote by, or indirect reference to the UN. Western officials represent reference to either the U.S or British government or official; The voice of people on the street represents victims of the famine; Voice of Aid agencies include all humanitarian and donor organizations; The category, regional governments officials are representatives of the African Union (AU), and other African countries officials, and finally, the voices of "others" represents foreign governments, not the US and Britain, such as Turkey, Ethiopia as well as other expert commenting on the famine.

Table 3: The distribution of voices in the news articles

Voice	Newspaper			
	Guardian	Hurriyet Daily News	International Herald Tribune	Total
UN officials	9	11	7	27
Western Officials	3	2	5	10
Somalia Officials	4	5	7	16
People on the Street	6	2	6	14
Aid Agency	12	17	9	38
Regional govern. Officials	3	2	8	13
Al-Shabaab	6	0	4	10
Others	2	17	3	22
Total	45	56	49	150
Number of articles in each paper	17	32	20	69

The similar fact noticed on the table shows that the voice of aid organizations either mentioned or quoted was the most frequently used in all three newspapers. Over 50% of quotes belong to UN agencies (WPF, FAO, UNHCR, OCHA, FSNAU, and UNICEF. Other agencies such as OXFAM, USAID, Medicins de frontiers, etc., and other Islamic agencies which had access to the famine areas were quoted minimally.

Another reason for the prominence in NGOs is because most NGOs are based and funded from the West. The voice analysis shows that the papers gave more space to official sources, which have access to media, and those whose perspectives are seen by the media as legitimate (Cromwell, 2002; Herman & Chomsky, 1988). The UN officials received second highest quotes, followed by Turkey officials ('others') expectedly so. Turkish government officials such as the Prime Minister of Turkey, opposition party leader, the president of Turkey, Turkey agency (AFAD) etc. were often quoted. Even though, the crisis took place in Somalia, the country's officials were not represented as expected. The newspapers did not also pay enough attention to the people on the street.

Western officials comprising the U.S and Britain were among minority quotes in the papers. They represented the voices of Hilary Clinton, Jill Biden and the White House. This is assumed to be influenced by a policy decision of the U.S to cut ties with countries with suspected links to terrorist, naming Somalia as such mentioned in almost all the news reports examined textually. The opposition group Al-Shabaab was also among minority quotes which according to (the protest paradigm framing of the media de-legalize such voices and actions, and give little or no space for their opinions). Al-Shabaab is a fundamental actor in the crisis, which initially denied a famine was taking place (Guardian, August 4, 2011). Their quote as minority voice is about one-third of the voice of the UN for instance from the table. Kinner (2005) notes that this is how the media came to be judged as maintain the status quo and disseminating ideologies.

The Pearson chi-square value shows that there is no significant difference among the newspapers in terms of giving voices to different sources.

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	22.353[a]	16	0.132

Table 4: Frequently used words by the three newspapers

	Newspapers			
Words	Guardian	Hurriyet Daily News	Int. Herald Tribune	Total
Refugee	4	2	1	7
Hunger/Starvation	3	4	0	7
Assistance	1	8	5	14
Stolen	1	2	2	5
Drought	2	5	0	7
Deaths	2	1	2	5
War-torn	1	4	1	6
Suffering	1	2	0	3
Fleeing	0	0	1	1
Total	17	31	16	64

The media has been said to legitimize or delegitimize an event. How they do so is by the use of certain phrases and words which are descriptive in nature, to the event and the actors.

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	25.943[a]	22	.254

Chi-square value of .254 shows no significant differences in the use of words in all papers. (In a future study with a larger data size, such expected differences could easily be detected). In the general total of words that were frequently used, assistance was identified as the most used. This maybe a direct function of the topics as well.

The media reported the crisis in the way that has been suggested by Choulairaki, "the media already formed a template of reporting some regions" regarding the relation between distant suffers and a disaster event. Choices of words are also linked to ways perceptions have come to be built.

The Guardian used more neutral phrases in describing the situation or the people such as suffering drought, starvation or tragedy; Somalia refugees, or country city as 'rubbish -strewn streets' (Guardian Augsut19, 2011). There were also phrases such as bloody campaign rebels, to describe the group Al-shabab activities.

Hurriyet Daily News frequently used phrase include: war-torn or war ravaged country, 'famine –struck', 'drought-hit', starving Somalis, 'Hunger-stricken', 'hungry Somalis', fragmented country,: 'weak government' , 'rickety administration' and 'failed state' to describe country, and "waged a bloody war"(9/8/2011).

The International Herald Tribune used phrases such as failed state or weak government, fleeing Somalis, "Somalia is considered more dangerous or one of the most inaccessible country on earth", victims waste away, "victims skin cracked -like, victims emaciated parents with emaciated children" and so on. Words such as ruthless militants, gunmen described the group called al-shabaab. The words used in the textual reporting of the famine had higher intensity and degrading in both the IHT and HDN.

 In order to answer the research question, "what were the main issues portrayed in the news reports about the famine", topical analysis was conducted.

Scanning through the news articles, the following topics have been detected

1. Climate change- Changes in weather conditions, drought;

2. Humanitarian/Aid- Cash donations, general supplies;

3. Famine- cause and developments with the famine itself, direct and indirect impact on people such as displacement, refugee camps etc.;

4. Economy- Rising food prices / cost implication of famine;

5. Politics/Peace Talks;

6. Crime-   Theft of food aid and other atrocities committed;

7. Al- Shabaab- reports about their operations and effect to the famine;

8. Other- such as security, carnival etc.

As already stated topics highlighted by the newspapers directly impacted on whose voices were heard. According to Entman (1991) topics reflects how the media 'spin' the story, James Tankard (1997) believes it is a deliberate process that creates a perception of reality through the eyes of the media (cited Kinner, 2005, p.4).

Table 5: Topic distribution in the newspapers (as related to the famine)

| Topic | Newspaper | | | |
	Guardian	Hurriyet Daily News	International Herald Tribune	Total
Conflict	1	1	6	8
Climate Change	1	1	0	2
Humanitarian Aid	2	17	4	23
Famine	7	4	6	17
Economy	0	1	0	1
Politics/Peace talks	0	3	0	3
Crime	1	3	2	6
Other	2	2	2	6
Al-Shabaab	3	0	0	3
Total	17	32	20	69

At the individual newspaper levels, results from the table above show that the Guardian's coverage was more focused on issues relating to the famine. It presented accounts of disaster and famine victims' ordeal, as a direct consequence of the famine, and the UN's airlift of aid to Somalia (www.guardian.co.uk, 20th, 22nd, 24th, 28th July; August 3, 11, 14, and 16, 2011).

The International Herald Tribune gave priority to conflict and famine topics at the same level. Of note in all the papers is the presentation of conflict angle to a story as an offensive act which is responsible for the sufferings been experienced. Hurriyet Daily featured news reports mostly from the humanitarian aid angle.

Overall, the topics treated were heavy on human interest and the living conditions at the camp. This expected because of the nature of the crisis itself. 69 articles were examined, 23 of the news stories have focused on humanitarian efforts. Next to that were famine related topics such as overcrowding in Dadaab camp, struggle for food and supplies, death and malnutrition rates etc. 17 articles were found on these topics which are expected disaster/ famine behaviour, which promulgates 'disaster myths' (Tienery, Bevc&Kuligowski, 2006, searched 3/5/2012). Interesting however is contrast in the definition of news that thrives on the unusual. In their study titled "Metaphors Matters: Disasters Myths, Media Frames and their consequences in Hurricane Katrina" these scholars notes that by trying to reinforce actions which support the status quo, the media misses the point in the actual behavior of crisis victims, called 'Expansion of Citizenship Role' (Tienery, Bevc & Kuligowski, 2006).

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Framing has been discussed extensively in earlier chapters, primarily as a function of news production process. By selecting (from a wide array of options) it shapes the issues to be discussed, and by such setting agenda for the public on what is the important thing to be discussed. To use a particular idea of framing underscored by Entman(1993 et al), James Tankard (2001, p.97, cited in Weaver, 2007) surmise it as, " the central organizing idea for news content which supplies the context and suggest what issues are priority through selection, exclusion, emphasis". Headlines, leads and the central idea within the story were considered in finding out the frames used.

Table 6: Frames found in the news discourse of the famine

Newspaper	Newspaper			
	Guardian	Hurriyet Daily news	International Herald Tribune	Total
Conflict	4	5	6	15
Human Interest	7	17	8	32
Attribution of Responsibility	4	5	2	11
Economic consequences	1	2	1	4
Crime	1	3	3	7
Total	17	32	20	69

Human interest frames are grouped together with all disasters news item. This frame was found to be the most common frame used by the media on the topic studied. It was found in 32 out of 69 news items (46.4%). This frame highlights the tails of woes of the famine suffers, their living conditions in ways that evoke sympathy, high emotions of pity towards the people, confirming with topic search described earlier.

The ideology behind the use of this frame in the media has some implied assumptions (1) For the purpose of creating the needed attention which sets the agenda for support; (2) create the dichotomy of distant suffers in distant lands, always in need of assistance from the 'Other' presenting the "self and Other" dichotomy; (3) creates the sensation which removes focus from the real facts behind the story (Chari, 2010, p.174).

Second most common frame found is the conflict frame. It was found in 15 news articles (21.7%), in reports that show disagreements between Al-Shabaab, and the AU, Peace keeping forces, or with the Transitional Federal Government in Somalia. This frame was used at almost the same levels in three of the newspapers' coverage of the food crisis. The third frame, attribution of responsibility was the most common frame identified in some studies particularly conflict in nature. All the newspapers reported the famine in the context of attributing a blame for or solution to ending the problem on the war in Somalia, the West and the UN.

From the Hurriyet Daily News and the International Herald Tribune, three crime reports each were found. The Guardian presented one only crime report. The crime reports were theft related i.e. stealing of aid supplies. This figures also show the similarity in the coverage by the newspapers, focusing majorly on aid efforts as another humanitarian disaster.

News about the economic implication of the famine, 4 item found, represented 5.8% of the total coverage. The items mentioned were relating how much would be accrued in airlifting food and aid to the victims, and the total cost needed to curtail the hunger and starvation in Somalia.

Some of the frames used could not easily be decided upon, because there appeared more than one salient frame or issue discussed within a story.

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	3.672[a]	8	.885

The Chi-square value indicates that there is no significant difference in the coverage by the three medium.

For coding categories such as news direction, length of story, visual prominence content analyses were also determined with the help of SPSS programme.

Direction of story is defined by favourability of a news story; to whom? In this study, how favourable an event is, is viewed in the eyes of what mainstream society term acceptable. This research has also judged direction of story on the length of the news report, and the photographic representation of the message under the definition provided above. According to Bateson (1972), pictures are also frames in their own rights, emphasizing 'one thing over the other'.

By applying what has been suggested in past studies, a favourability test was conducted in the analysis by looking for words with semblances of defamation, evaluation, or negative moral judgments. A news story is favourable when it states facts and does not conjures negative feelings when one is done, such as victory, peace success, desirable or pleasant outcomes or consequences. When an article

gives the reverse, the story is negative i.e. insecurity, failed, unsuccessful, death, restriction, mockery, even though they could be statement of facts, the tone of presentation maybe evaluated .

Acharya, Pathak and KC (2010) found that news with negative elements are easily processed by audiences and creates faster impressions than the positive news. This is agreed to also have led to public criticism of the media favouring of negative news, especially in politics and violence (p.3-5). In the current study, stories were searched for evaluative word or languages, which is why opinions were excluded from this study in the first place.

Table 7: Direction of news /topic distribution

Topic	Direction			Total
	Favourable	Unfavourable	Neutral	
Conflict	1	6	1	8
Climate Change	0	1	1	2
Humanitarian Aid	7	10	6	23
Famine	0	15	2	17
Economy	0	0	1	1
Politics/Peace talks	1	1	1	3
Crime	0	6	0	6
Other	2	2	2	6
Al-shabaab	0	3	0	3
Total	11	44	14	69

In general, it is clear that most stories published invoked negativity (unfavourable news) in their content of news presentations. This reflects the notion that all disaster and conflict reports in themselves are negative in nature.The general presentation of some news headlines are found in the appendix section of this thesis.

Apart from a few humanitarian aid reports, all other topics as shown in table 5 were found to be negative mostly in the use of evaluative phrases and condescending description such as listed previously in KWIC search.

Table 8: News direction in the Newspapers

Newspaper	Direction			Total
	Favourable	Unfavourable	Neutral	
Guardian	2	14	1	17
Hurriyet Daily News	9	14	9	32
International Herald Tribune	3	15	2	20
Total	11	44	14	69

More neutral headlines were found in the Guardian. For example:

Guardian: "Mogadishu: The children caught between fighting and famine" (14 July, 201). "Somalia refugees draw hope from Islamists Mogadishu withdrawal" (6th August, 2011).

HDN: embattled government, al-Qaeda affiliated insurgent, relentless violence and so on. Here analysis shows most headlines title in HDN were favourable in contrast to the lead or content which were more unfavorable in use of language i.e. "Starving Somalia", "country's chronic poverty", "with rickety internationally recognized administration". The perception created by such labeling is said to render those who

are portrayed poorly or negatively or illegitimate as the case may be. It argues that such labeling are also embedded in ethnocentrism whether in the media or to the organs target audience.

Textual content analysis in IHT found similar headlines and language use which generate the tale of the 'other' distant suffers as discussed by Chouliaraki and other scholars.

The length of news also determines what priority was given to the coverage. This is determined by the number of words in a news story. This has been categorized into three categories 1) Short- Less than 200 words 2) Medium and 3) Long stories. The table below shows the length distribution of the three papers.

Table 9: Length of story distribution

		Length			
		Short	Medium	Long	Total
Newspaper	Guardian	0	10	7	17
	Hurriyet Daily news	7	23	2	32
	International Herald Tribune	9	3	8	20
Total		16	36	17	69

The above shows that most stories covered on the famine were average in length. However, clearly noticeable from the chart, is the Hurriyet Daily News coverage of wide differences each category, more stories found less than 300 words category. According to scholars, media decisions regarding length of stories are affected by ownership of media outfit, 'what is termed 'newsworthiness' (editorial decisions), and the social value of persons involved (Tierney, Bevc and Kuligowski, 2006, p.61). Also Lax well's five Ws'- i.e who, what, why, when, where, and the 'how' which makes for a complete factual news, due to growing media conglomeration makes a story the shorter the better, for advertising and profit purposes.

Bateson's likening of frames to actual pictures has been discussed before. Scholars see media images not only as shaping public opinions, but also as creating bipolar views of society- the rich and the poor, the good and the bad, the haves and the haves not etc. (Collier 2007 cited in Moeller, 2008 p.3; Chouliraki, 2006).

Furthermore, Campbell (2010) notes that the media in their use of photographs as appropriations of sufferings especially in disaster events, (however good intentioned) presents the individual as a victim: the victim in need of assistance from the distant powerful "outside". Campbell says this creates the form of colonial relationship of unequal power structuring of the "Self and Other" (p.7). The table below shows how pictures were content analyzed in this study using SPSS programme.

Table 10: Visual representation of the famine in the papers

Newspaper	Picture				Total
	Dramatic	Officials	Other	No picture	
Guardian	3	2	12	0	17
Hurriyet Daily News	0	0	1	31	32
International Herald T.	7	2	4	7	20
Total	10	4	17	38	69

On the whole, there were only 10 dramatic pictures of the famine, 7 of them were published by the IHT (Appendix: photo attached). The Hurriyet Daily News did not have any matching pictures to story, in addition to the fact that most of its stories were classified as below average. The only photograph in all 32 article had only the picture of the Turkish PM and his wife's visit to Somalia. As stated previously a number of factors come into play to effect differences in each media's coverage such as differences in ideology, ownership, space, journalist personal understanding of the event, and even deadlines.

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	55.800[a]	6	.000

The Pearson chi-square result shows a significant difference in photographic presentation of the famine in the three newspapers. The International Herald Tribune presented more dramatic pictures that showed great degree of death, and near death conditions especially of children. Most of the sensational pictures were that taken of children, perhaps as a medium of garnering sympathy or following old stereotyped images of the "Other".

Chapter 5

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

 The aim of this study has been to investigate how Western media covered and presented issues around Somalia famine in 2011. This is because of the media's undoubted power to construct social reality which has causal effects on opinions, policies and international relations (Chari, 2010, p.16; Schuefele, 1999, p.105). In the words of   McNelly and Izcaray (1986, p.546) the media has the power to contribute to understanding or misunderstanding of the events and people as a result or create polarized views (collier (2007) in Moeller 2008, p.3; Saleem 2005, p.1).

Tierney et al (2006), notes that   established customs and journalistic judgments about newsworthiness and stereotyping are factors that affect   the production of disaster news, and that what is termed as news worthy ıs always decıded upon the social value of the victims and the conception of social distance, (Tierney, Bevc and Kulgowski, 2006, p.61). This is often why the media can be criticized for adequate or marginalized coverage.

 This study was carried out to examine Western media news coverage of the 2011 famine in Somalia given the global attention which came in its wake. The Guardian (UK), the Hurriyet Daily News (Turkey) and the International Herald Tribune newspapers (US) were content analyzed in finding answers to the 6 research questions put forward at the beginning of this study. This study reveals two

dominant perspectives were captured in the coverage, broadly grouped into the cause, consequences, and response to the famine. They are: 1) division into the humanitarian perspectives by captivating sufferings and use of emotional pictures long described as stereotypical to fit current pattern that reflects global discussions about compassion and human suffering (Kinner, 2005, p.5); and 2) interventionism which include the provision of aid and supplies by international community. As Tuchman (1978) suggested "the mass media heavily set the 'frame' of reference for any "interpretation and discourse of any public events" (Schuefele, p.105; Heyda, 2003). It has been emphasized that such frames are set either by media omission, over simplification or by generalization, political economy of news production, cultural proximity intertwining ethnocentric judgments of us and them.

It has also been found from this study that the media tends to factor 'compassion fatigue' and 'disaster myths' as suggested by Tierney et al (2006) in describing a crisis, and use tales of war (Franks, 2000) especially in defining the cause of the crisis, more especially in minority regions like the Third World . The tales of war is projected to demonize the other as the enemy.

In answering research question 1: what is the degree of coverage before, during, and after major intervention came to Somalia? Data showed that the three newspapers projected a pro UN front. Without the UN declaration of famine, coverage was almost none.

It can generally be argued that this study found a marginalized coverage of the famine in all three newspapers. Similarity in volume of coverage, before, during and after the declaration is observable. At the least, over 200 news articles would be

expected for a 3 months coverage period, instead only 93 articles were found out of which only 69 of them were news articles analyzed in this study. It also raises the questions of the gap in information flow championed by many scholars such as Masmoudi (1979), Sreberny-Mohammadi, Nordenstreng, Stevenson (1995) about the inequality of information flow, and what led to NWICO debate in the first instance. Or on what is termed as 'news worthy'. Tierney et al pointed out that an event is always decided as newsworthy based upon the 'social value of the victims' and the 'conception of social distance', (Tierney, Bevc and Kulgowski. 2006, p.61).

The Guardian and the International Herald Tribune published stories of the famine were dominated by their own staff reporters, while The Hurriyet Daily News presented the accounts from news agencies. News agencies are owned by giant media organizations with the financial muscle to access coverage in all parts of the globe, however due to their organizational ethics, profit drive, they are more sensational and detached from reporting events , in length, language use and even in visual quality. Owing also to the ideology of the media and ownership, length of stories in HDN differs slightly from those found in Guardian and the IHT. This in many instances is known to speak volume of what significance has been in the treatment of the stories.

The content and framing of the news suggested the main issues which the mainstream news media held more salient. The newspapers were most salient on UN humanitarian aid and conditions of the famine victims, deducible, setting agenda for public intervention, with dramatic description of the suffering and deaths were emphasized mostly in the International Herald Tribune for example the story by

Jeffrey Gettleman "Somalis Waste Away As Insurgents Block Escape From Famine" (IHT, August 1, 2011) .

While this may present an actual fact of the situation on ground, it may also not be unrelated to what scholars have termed use of old conventions and laziness by journalist to gather new facts , thus portraying certain mainstream , especially minority groups in stereotypical ways. These Conventions, Campbell notes show the victim s as passive suffers awaiting external assistance. Unequal relationships including colonial relationship where people are governed from an external distant position of the superior to the inferior, or the self and other situation (Campbell, 2010, p.7). The International Herald Tribune also offers salient issues relating to conflict as next to humanitarian aid.

Most frequently used word count shows how the media identifies with the status quos of the West to portray dissent groups' activities as illegitimate and demonizing, putting their activities in an evaluative frame as a cause of the problems being experienced. As a reflection, the justification for the U.S military intervention in 1991 Somalia Famine was hinged upon this thought in part.

Similarly, the famine was perpetually reported as being caused by decades of war in Somalia and drought. This is consistent with past researches that reveal that some regions have been boxed in perpetual conflict frames.

In relation to what Suzann Franks (2005) noted in her study on 'The Neglect of Africa', that tales of war become common especially in defining the cause of the crises: 'once the process of de-colonization was over, Africa never commanded the

same level of coverage in the West instead it has reduced to tales of war. The tales of war is projected to 'demonize' the 'other' and transfer of blame to the 'Other'. This was the position in all three newspapers.

The second news frames found in International Herald Tribune were those describing the conflict in the region. On the whole, the famine was framed as a humanitarian crisis.

Somalia crisis was reported as a humanitarian plea for assistance, which seem to justify the need for Western intervention. This is consistent with theories of the West as super power lending a helping hand clearly evident in most frequently used word or phrases such as 'Famine stricken', 'hungry Somalis' which mostly dominated the Hurriyet Daily News account of the famine.

Also, language, words and phrases frequently used for the people and the country were condescending such as hunger stricken people, failed state, most dangerous place to live on earth, "Somalia rubbish strewn street" etc. In addition, the media identifies with status quos of the West to portray dissent groups activity as illegitimate and demonizing them, putting their activities in an evaluative frame as a cause of the problems being experienced. The Justification for the U.S military intervention in 1991 Somalia Famine was hinged upon this notion in part.

Majority of voices in all the reports searched belonged to UN aid agencies and the UN. It confirms the context within which the media reported the event – the 'official source' frame. However the U.S and the British Government had minimal views,

probably owing to the restriction placed on them by Al-Shabaab, and Somalia's perceived link to Al-Qaeda terrorist group.

Framing Al-Shabaab within the context of terrorism, in the coverage of IHT, the Guardian and HDN confirms the claims that Somalia is a 'safe heaven and breeding ground for terrorist' implied in most of the news stories.

It is found that the media uses human- interest frames in victim-cluster news (Gower, 2009, p.111), not surprising this was the frame most found as has been suggested from the sections above, followed by conflict and attribution of responsibility, which together reflects the pattern found in most coverage regarding Africa, often dwelling on Conflict, and disaster reporting involving casualties.

Direction of stories found was more unfavourable than favourable. This is expected considering that disaster news is naturally termed unfavourable in the eyes of mainstream society. The contrast in the direction of story showed its favorability whenever the UN or state government was involved or when Turkish Government was mentioned. Clear instances were found in the Hurriyet Daily News reference to the country's aid in helping to alleviate the famine (HDN, August 8, 17, 2011). The direction of story has been suggested to have direct impact on public response and policy formation. In this study, the direction of story was also determined by frequently used words and phrases as mentioned earlier. This may also have affected responses to donations to stem the famine.

Over all, the study has confirmed hypothesis that international call dictates newsworthiness for the International media. Next to international call is the social

value of victims and geographical distance, reflected in use of language and words in news presentation, which cast the country and people as substandard. Wrapped around these notions are embedded ideologies upheld by the journalist and the global media.

There were no major significant differences in the coverage among the three papers. The proportion of reporting same within the phases earmarked was same, as also evident in the chi-square indices. In comparison the Hurriyet daily news published more famine news article but could be interpreted as giving less context to the stories in terms of length, visual and evaluation.

5.2 What was Missing

The actual cause of Al-Shabaab's agitations is often omitted, for instance their belief that they are fighting against Western interferences and covert operations in their country and in Islam religion. This can be explained as to why the international community has remained silent on ending the war going on in Somalia.

The western media also never showed a clear cut parallel of the news. According to Tierney et al (2006), disaster victims' can be in their best behaviour and become their 'brother's keepers' during disasters. Activities such as searching for food for those too weak to find food, or missing loved ones are never recounted in the media's presentation of a crisis or humanitarian event. Gilboa (2005) also added that the media has created a gap in crisis discourse by ignoring three other crisis phases: prevention, resolution and transformation (Jakobsen, 2000, cited in Gilboa, 2005, p.39).

These could well be the activities of the minorities which studies notes are never mentioned in mainstream news except it involves certain class of people. Tuchman (1978) and Gitlin (1980) concluded that the job of content production of the media is however highly influenced by elites control/ hegemonic control(indirect form of imperial dominance) , whereby elites opinion are more favored making the claim that elite sources are influential in constructing frames (Saleem 2005).

5.3 Recommendations

Aside from adding to the available content of research materials on topics such as framing and the news media, this study should be a guide to a much further and larger study set out to investigate the media and how to subvert the dominant frames of news report in developing countries. Such a larger data will show clear patterns and differences in different medium coverage of an event.

This study also recommends that African and Third World media organizations should develop an adequate and comprehensive information networks in order to balance the information coming from their regions.

Literatures on international news have revealed that studies that have focused on geography of areas, media organizations or on the type of event have shown uneven pattern in news flow. Hur (1984) raised the concern that international news flow and coverage analyses have always been between developed and developing countries, while none has been carried out between developed regions themselves or vice versa. A study in this area is proposed

And finally, a study as this study may be useful will to students, the media and the society in understanding issues about media and perception especially in Somalia.

This will be useful in the practice of Peace Journalism which is needed as a tool for maintaining a working democracy world over.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: News Article Search from Guardian Newspapers Online

Date	Headline	Source
4-7-2011	Drought in East Africa: Result of climate and war	Staff
14-7-2011	Mogadishu: The children caught between fighting and famine	Others
20-7-2011	Somalia refugee relieve long trek to escape famine and war	Staff
20-7-2011	"There is no longer any excuse for inaction"	Staff
22-7-2011	Somali rebels deny lifting ban on foreign Aid	Staff
22-7-2011	USAID agency seeks assurance over Somalia's famine relief	Staff
30-7-2011	Somali refugee brave fightings in hope of food aid	Others
1- 8-2011	African migrants found dead on overcrowded boats for Italy	Agency
3-8-2011	Somalia famine has reached 3 new regions	Agency
6-8-2011	Somali famine refugees draw hope from Islamist Mogadishu withdrawal	Agency
7-8-2011	Somali troops move to secure Mogadishu as rebels pull out	Staff

11-8-2011	Somali refugee settlement in Kenya swells as rows grows over empty camp	Staff
13-8-2011	Somali refugees fight Cholera and Measles as hunger spreads	
14-8-2011	Somali refugees abandon babies at Dadaab camp	Staff
15-8-2011	UN investigates theft and sale of Somalia famine food aid	Agency
16-8-2011	Ten Somali children die a day in Ethiopia's Kobe refugee camp	Staff
19-8-2011	Turkish PM visits famine hit Somalia and calls on West to do more	Agency

Appendix B: News Article Search for Hurriyet Daily News Online

27-7-2011	Religious groups battle to deliver aid to Somalia	Agency (AF)
28-7-2011	WFP begins emergency airlifts to hunger stricken Somalia	Agency (AF)
29- 7- 2011	'Help Africa' says Gul	Agency
2- 8- 2-11	UN calls on airlines to help fly food to East Africa	Agency (AF)
4- 8- 2011	Humanitarian crisis spreads in Somalia	Agency (AF)
5- 8- 2011	Turkey urges Islam body to aid Somalia	Hurriyet Daily News
7- 8- 2011	First cargo planes of Turkish aid to take off for Somalia	Hurriyet Daily News
8- 8- 2011	Turkey sends drought hit Somalia 50 tons relief	Agency
8- 8-2011	OIC to convene in Istanbul	Agency
8 -8- 2011	Somalia government to grant pardon to Shabaab rebels	Agency

10- 8- 2011	PM set to visit Somalia	Agency
11-8- 2011	Turkey dispatches more aid to Somalia	Other
11-8- 2011	UN: We have not yet seen the peak of food crisis in Africa	Agency (AP)
12-8- 2011	Turkish PM heading to Somalia	Hurriyet Daily News
14-8- 2011	Turkish leaders vying to rush aid to Somalia	Agency
15-8- 2011	Starving Somalia asks for coast guard ships	Agency
15 -8- 2011	Turkish Red Crescent chief resigns from his post	Hurriyet Daily News
15 -8- 2011	All sides guilty in Somalia	Hurriyet Daily News
16 8- 2011	No plans to reduce aid due to fraud	Agency
16- 8- 2011	It should be raining now	Other
16 – 8- 2011	UN says aid won't decrease due to fraud	Agency (AP)
17 -8- 2011	Turkish PM slams West for famine in Somalia	Hurriyet Daily News
18 – 8- 2011	Erdogan set for historical visit to drought-hit Somalia	Hurriyet Daily News

19 -8- 2011	Somalia real test for civilization	Other
22 -8- 2011	Turkish forces to send aid vessels to Somalia , TSK says	Other
25 -8- 2011	Doctor envoys for Somalia	Hurriyet Daily News
26- 8- 2011	Turkey raises $2011 million for Somalia	Other
30 -8- 2011	CHP chief to visit Somalia as Turkish plans long stay	Agency
1 -9- 2011	CHP head visits Somalia refugee camps	Agency
5- 9- 2011	Famine spreads as leaders mull reforms	Other
6 – 9- 2011	Leaders to sign new deal for Somalia	Agency (AF)
16 -9- 2011	Turkey to boost help to Somalia	Hurriyet Daily News

Appendix C: News Article search from International Herald Tribune online

16 -7-2011	Misery follows as Somalis try to flee hunger	Staff
20 -7- 2011	Food crisis in Somalia is a famine: UN says	Staff
21 -7-2011		
28 -7- 2011	World Briefing: Somalia: Fighting erupt over aid	Agency (AP)
1 –8 -2011	Somalis starve away as insurgent block escape from famine	Staff
1 – 8-2011	Off media radar, famine garners few donations	Staff
2-8- 2011	State Departments reassures group aiding Somalia food crisis	Agency (AP)
2-8 2011	How to help victims of the East African famine	IHT
3-8- 2011	Somalia: More famine zones declared	Agency (AP)
5- 8-2011	Somalia: Troops kill 7 refugee in dispute over aid	Agency (AP)
6-8-2011	Shabaab rebels leave Mogadishu to Somali government	Staff
8-8-2011	Somalia: U.S pledged famine aid	Agency (Reuters)

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12-8- 2011	Somalia ravaged by Cholera epidemic	Staff
15-8- 2011	Somalia: food Aid stolen, inquiry finds	Agency (AP)
16-8- 2011	Allegations of food aid theft resurfaces in Somalia	Staff
19- 8-2011	Somalia: Turkey males embassy plans	Agency (Reuters)
3-9- 2011	Peace Keepers in Somalia fire on car, leaving journalist dead	Staff