EffectsofMassMediaonCivilRightsAgendaSettingInMogadishu,Somalia

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ABSTRACT

The effects of mass mediaoncivil rights agendasetting is largely unknown, particularly inMogadishu. Inorder to accomplish the general objective, the study sought to establish effects of mass media advocacy; massmedia reporting; and media lobbying on civil rights agenda setting,with reference to Mogadishu in Somalia.Thestudy adoptedadescriptivecross-sectional design where bothqualitative data and quantitative datawere collected. The study wasanchored on the agenda setting theory and sense making theory. The semi-structuredquestionnairesandinterviewscheduleswereusedincollectionofdata.Theresearchinstruments was developed by the researcher and appraised for validity. Pilot study was conducted inone oftheselectedlocationsofMogadishutoassessmentforthevalidityandreliabilityofthestudytools.Qualitative data was arranged thematically and presented innarrative forms, while quantitative data analyzedthroughdescriptive statisticsinfrequencies andpercentages and then presentedin tables and graphs.Theauthorization toconduct this study was sought from Kenyatta University and Ministries in-charge of researchinKenyaandSomalia respectively.

I. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background oftheStudy

The mediaingeneral,hasgrownfromabeingamessenger toanactivekeypolicyplayerandshaperasitinfluences citizens perception about certain progressive beliefs and cultures. Page (1996)in her study explainsthat the role of the mass media in a political process over the recentdecades has changed basically from apassive transmitterof messages to the political actor(Page 1996). Mass media has the ability to influencecitizens' focus on attention by providingfacts and views that shape perceptions on themes of the day such ascivil rights. Herman &Chomsky (1998) opines that mass media is a stable platform by which symbols andmessagesare communicated to the public at large. The public makers and policy makers in governmentandnon-governmentorganizationsrelyonmediamessagesaboutwhatissignificantintheworldofpublicaffairs. As a result, public affairs issues such as civil rights, can increaseimportance among the public andgovernment officials if frequently focused on by the media(Koch-Baumgarten&Voltmer, 2010). The topicsintroduced by the traditional and new mediaplatforms are able to organize and declutter the minds of thecitizens and therefore civil rightsagenda setting would be most successful if propagated from the mass media.The agenda settingtheory developedby MaxMcCombsand Donald Shaw emphasize that the media has agreatinfluencetotheirviewers byimplanting"whattheyshouldthinkinsteadofwhattheythink".

The professionals in the mass media community suchas journalists and bloggers candeliberately aimto capture the attention of the public and aligned it with the World's viewpointon civil rights issues throughadvocacy, reporting and lobbying. Mass media advocates cansteer the setting of public and policy agenda ofcivil rights through engaging their audience on what civil rights are, focusing on stories that highlight abuses ofcivil right liberties, providingopenspace platformsthatinvolve the massesincontributing towhatshouldbe done with regard to civil rights and campaign for the same issues in the political arena. On the same note,mass media reporters mustbe able to accurately report events that depict actualsituations ofcivil rightsabuses. As a result, public attention gets captured and therefore are able to changetheir opinion on the topicsandissueshighlighted.Bou-Karroumetal.(2017)explainsthatreportinginthe mediahelpstonoticepublic interests and legitimize them as a problem andhence founding political priorities in the public agendasetting.Massmediacanalsoadvocateforacertainpolicychangebypressuringpolicymakersintoadvancingtheint

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erestsoftheirconstituentsbyhighlightingtheissuesathandandin-depthunderstandofthe

implications forthem and their constituents. By shaping the debate around civil rights, advancing for a policychange andgetting theattentionofthe public,mass media canbe apowerfultool for formulating a policyoncivilrightsinanynation(McCombs &Reynolds,2002).

The concept of creating awareness on salient issues about civil liberties in a war-torn and famine-stricken country seems a difficult task, though possible. Mass media is one possibleway of influencing thecitizensofsuchanationintoadoptingcivilrightsissuesintotheircultureandsystemsofgovernance.Researchersof agenda-setting theory such as McCombs & Reynolds (2009) and Wanta&Alkazemi (2017), have arguedthat the executive together withthe politicalclass of acountry,do influence the mediacoverageof certaintopicsandissues,andasaresultthemediashapesthepublic perceptionandpolicyfragmentation.Forasuccessful intricate discourse on important issues such as civil rights, seamless interactionsbetween thegovernment,thepoliticalestablishmentandthemediaisimportantinordertoinfluence policymakingaround the important issues a greater understanding among thecitizens. Political stability and peace are keyguarantorsforaunifiedfrontierforameaningfulagendasettinginitiativeandsustenance.

1.1.1 MassMediainMogadishu,Somalia

The BBC World Service Trust organization rates the Somali community are the most medialiteratesocietyinAfricabecauseofitsrichloveforpoetryandacommonlanguage.Inthemodernhistory,Somalisar eknowntohaveanavidappetiteforupdateandinformation.Obtaininginformationandevaluatingits trustworthiness has, inthis traditionally pastoralist and nomadic society, always designed notjust politics, society and culture, but the chances ofsurvival. According to a report by Human Rights Watch(2019)onSomalia,someofthechallengesaffectingthesocio-economicdevelopmentare;abusesbyGovernment and AlliedForces,abusesbyAl-Shabaab,abusesAgainstChildren,movementsandAccesstoHumanitarianAssistance, sexualViolence, freedomofexpression,Somalilandand mainInternationalactors. These problems are a stumbling block to any meaningful agenda settingcoursetobechampionedbythe media. Mogadishu is the country's capital and a constantbattleground between the Federal governmentforces andtheAlShabab.

AnoverviewoftheSomaliamediapaintsanadvancedsocietyfullofactivemediaactorsbutconstrainedby thegeo-politicalsphereofthecountry.Radioisrankedthemostsignificantchannelofcommunicationwhileothermediumsuchas satellitetelevisionandinternetarebecomingincreasingpopularinurbanareas.Mediafreedomislimitedespeciallyinarea scontrolled by the Al Shabab. Mostmedia stations are controlled by different regional factionsand therefore have broader influence over what theactivitiesofthemedia.

1.1.2 MediaAdvocacy,ReportingandLobbying onCivilRights

Media advocacy in the context of setting public and policy agenda revolves around what themediashouldinfluencethroughcoverage.Toachievethis,themediaandthepublicmustrecognize what thealarms are around the topic such as civil rights and the general public mustacknowledge that the issues areimportant and be able to freely and openly discuss them with their legislators. The media must first make thecivil rights topic a media agenda for the publicto get persuaded into talking and discussing it for it to gaingroundamongpolicymakers.Concrete connections between the issues of civil rights and the day to dayhappenings suchastraffickingofchildrenforwarpurposesmustbehighlightedformaximumpublicawarenessand attention. When people understand that issue is a local one and could affect themselves,theirfamilies and friends, the media must be able to steer the discussion towards reporting onhow to address theproblem and present possible case by case scenarios of different countriesand how they overcame the problem.The community will then get involved into involved sincetheir consciousness has been raised. The media willinfluence the generation and reflection ofpublic opinionon the issue of civilrights and as a resultinfluencethepolicymakerstoactappropriately.Governmentbodiesaresubjecttoinertiaandoftenessentialpushof amassmediaeffectthatinformsthemofpublicopinionanddemandforanaction.

Media reporting is geared towards informing the audience of what the problem is andhighlighting itfor maximum awareness and education. The media focuses on giving tidbits ofinformation about problems andpossible solutions and thus reinforces the idea. The simplisticmedia picture regularly influencesthe generalpublicbelievethatcomplexproblems havesolutions and they need to get involved. In order for the messageto get maximum impact onthe audience, the media will improve onthe intensity and consonance of themessages theypublish and report. (Linsky, 1986). This rise in public emotions raises different perceptionsregarding the same and in the turn brings the topic for public debate. The reporting aspect thus shapes the debateabout a particular issue such as civil right of children and thereby forcing the political class to get involved intoformulatingpolicyregardingthesame.

Media lobbying is tasked with advancing a policy formulation, review or change and especiallyin anenvironment where there is an ambiguity in a certain topic of interest, through putting pressureonpolicymakerstotakeaction.Themediahastomakesurethatpolicymakersrecognizetheissueexistsand

understand its consequences for them and their constituentsthrough constant recasting and amplification ofmessages and problems from the constituents,demonstrations, requests,andotherpublic forms of directachievement.Moreover,themediacanalsohelptogettheconstituentsprogressivemessagesflowingonuntilit can't be ignoredby the policy makers. According to Bennett &Entman(2001) mass media has taken anactiverole in the public representation of politics by formative the agenda of the political discourseand bycontributingtheirownpartialitiesinpolitical disagreements.

1.2 StatementoftheProblem

Mass media is a powerful means to initiating peace anddevelopment agenda amongacontentiouspopulace (Kamau,2008). The purpose of mass mediainthe social and politicalstructures of a nation cannotbe doubted (Wanta&Alkazemi, 2017). Media has been used to escalate as well as deescalate tensions amongcontending political institutions. The public hasused the media platform to initiate policy changes in severalcountries including the USA. Theeffects of media in shaping policy agenda setting remains undocumented andunderstudied indeveloping countries especially in Mogadishu, Somalia. However, media influence in agendasetting spheres in countries that are plagued by wars and conflicts such as Somalia cannot be fully assessed orevaluated due to limited literature (Hammond, 2007). The study sought toreview and assess the gaps withregardto mass mediainfluence inagendasettingspaceinMogadishu,the capitalofSomalia given itsdiversity and the concentration of media outlets. The researcher focusedontherolesofmassmediaingeneral and their possibility ininfluencing the shaping of agenda on civil rights in the political sphere of thecountry. The media strategies inadvocacy, reporting and lobbying was analyzed and how these strategieshelpedimprovetheshapingofmanycivilrightsissues,suchaslackoffreepress andchildsoldiers.

1.3 Objectives

Theresearchwasguidedbythefollowingobjectives;
  i. Toestablish theeffectsofmediaadvocacyoncivilrightsagendasettinginMogadishu
 ii. Toexploretheeffectsofmediareportingoncivilrightsagendasettingin Mogadishu
iii. Toexaminetheeffectofmedialobbyingon civilrightsagendasettingin Mogadishu

1.4 ResearchQuestions

Theresearchquestionsofthisstudysoughttoreactas follows;
  i. Whataretheeffect ofmediaadvocacyoncivilrightsagendasettingin Mogadishu?
 ii. Whataretheeffect ofmassmediareportingoncivilrightsagendasettinginMogadishu?
iii. Whataretheeffect ofmassmedia lobbyingoncivilrightsagendasettinginMogadishu?

1.5 JustificationoftheStudy

The purpose the research was establish the influence of mass media on civil rights agendasetting inMogadishu, the capital of Somalia. The key elements of mass media influence in theadvocacy, reporting andlobbying strategies was discussed in details and how thesestrategies impart policy issues in the area of civilrights. The ability of the media to engagedisintegrated communities and enlighten them on the civil rightsissueswasdiscussedinordertoprovideinformationonhowtoformulatepoliciesinsuchhostileenvironments.
Theavailability of such media influences in developed countries helped provide a clear line ofthinkingandthereforeasynopsis ofthesituationinMogadishuwastherebydocumented.

Mogadishu was targeted owing to it being the c a p i t a l of Somalia and has several media stations thatwould provide information regarding our topic. The broad topic of agenda setting in the city of Somalia hasreceived little attention since the country is controlled by regional factions that are unable to unite in a singlegovernmentsystem.
The study was useful in highlighting strategies that can be adopted the policy makers in such a geo-politicallandscape.

1.6 Significanceforthe Study

The results of this projectmay provide insightinto mass mediastrategiesinshaping publicperceptionsaround suchcrucial topics suchas civil rights. The study provided strategies   and tactics of using mass mediato influence policies right from community level. The study equally provided knowledge on the status of mediainfluenceincountriesthatarenotstablebothpoliticallyandeconomically.

1.7 Scope andLimitationofthe Study

The researcher attempted to explainthe role of the mass media inshaping the policyaround civil rightsthrough advocacy, reporting and lobbying in the city of Mogadishu only.This is due to the different geo-political landscape coupled by lack of freedom of speech in the country and therefore focusing the study in thecapitalcapturedthedifferentperceptionsaboutcivilrightsagendasettingofdifferentSomaliacommunities.

II. LITERATUREREVIEW

Setting the agenda on civil rights in a conflict prone country is a concept that seemsunachievable.Challengessuchasconflicts,unstablegovernmentstructurescontrolledbydifferent factions, clans withnon-homogeneous cultures and unregulated media make the taskof formulating policies that may not befavorable to existing community civil liberties are very difficult to maneuver about. The geo-political forces inSomalia are independent and thereforenot state actors are more likely to succeed in relying the messages ofcivil rights.

2.1 MediaandCivil RightsAgendaSetting

The media has always been the agent for promoting civil rights and liberties across the globe.IntheAmericancivil rightsmovementsforAfricanAmericansin1950sforexample,theprotagonists relied onthe media to spread the message about racism they were facing and acall forchange. The suppositionofWantaandDzwo(2002)thatistraditionalmediaruninformation on issues that are trending on the publicarena and thus can influence policy makersto amend or formulate policies that are salientjust like the onewitnessedintheAmericanhistory of race relations.Civil rights messages were framed to not only provokethe emotionsof the public but also the political class. McCombs & Shaw, (1972) in their study opined thatsalience and agenda-setting initiatives depend on the media's focus on the issues. They showedin their studythat more limelight there is to a matter and more public believes of it and thestronger the motivation forlegislators to frame a answer to the issue. The setting and framingof agenda are therefore the most elaborateapproacheswhichconnectthedebatesoncivilrightstoawareness,attitudeandpublicreaction.

In the African geo-political sphere, the evidence on the effects on media influence on agendasettingcannotbeignored.Forexample,thekidnappingofChibokgirlsinNigeriabyBokoHaram attractedmaximum global attention because of the coverage by the mass media, and the UN Security Council were forcedto act due to the media pressure. According to Damien (2013),the full-scale atrocitiesof BokoHaramwerebroughttotheattentionoftheworldleadersthrough the mass media and as a result, the rebel group weredeclared as terrorist group, forcingthe Nigerian government to pass legislations that are aimed at curtailing thegroup's activities.Cochran& Malone (2005) notes that a policy contains governmentdecisionsand actionsthatdeal with matters of public interest. The culmination of the successful mass media campaign resulted intheNigeriangovernmentrespondingtothedominantissuethathadattractedpublicfuryanddemandforchange.The deployment of military to combat Boko Haram was an actionborneoutof asustainedprocessby theMass Media The influence of the media therefore,impacted processes and outcomes of the political decisionmakingwithregardtoBokoHaram'sabusesofcivilrightsintheNorthernstateofNigeria.

2.2 MediaAdvocacyandCivilRightsAgendaSetting

Theprincipleofadvocatingforanewcourseofrecognitionofhumanrightsinaconflictpronecountryneeds multiinstitutionalsupportandpoliticalwill.According to Wallack(1994),advocacy is the tacticaluse of mass media to promote initiatives of social rule. Media activism is the method of distributing informationthrough social networks where the intention is to takeaction,suchasapolicychangeortoimprovethepublic'sopinionofaquestion.Mediaengagement is grounded in civic activism and its goal is to promotepublic policies especiallythose that are borne out of civil rights. State and non-state actors view advocacy as anemerging effective strategy that would advance new social tenets and courses that challenge theconventionalsocial norms in a conservative environment. The advocacy that is rooted in massmedia medium can shift thewavering attention from the personal level to the community andtherefore can be used as a powerful tool forchanging viewpoints or beliefs and behaviors ofpeople.Massmediaadvocacy empowersthe public to actandpersuadepolicymakerintohavingaconversationaboutaperceivedcivilrightsviolationandasubsequent change in policy. The success of a policy change or formulation however cannot be entirely related totheprecedingmassmediacampaigns.Wolfeetal.(2013)opinesthatwhilepoliticalscientistsandcommunications scholars have long studied agenda setting dynamics by exploring patterns ofattention, therehas been a clear lack of connections between media studies and public policyprocess studies. Proponents of acivil change often use the mass media for advocacy hoping they attract massive publicity though engagementsandfeedbacksandbeableconvinceorforcethe policymakersintoactiontowardstheircourse.

In the global arena, the UN bureaucracy and individual Member States in 2014 began an activeandopen advocation for same-sex marriage as a basic civil rights issue through the mass media,in direct contrast tointernational law, Coleman (2016). At the time, there was no UN documentthat had been produced regardingthe issue and severalMemberStates strongly opposedtheidea.The UN secretary generalat the time,BanKi Moon, explicitly signaled his belief thatsimilar sex marriage was a human right and said the following,"Humanrights areatthecoreofthemissionoftheUnitedNations Iamproudtostandforgreaterequality for all staff, and I call on all members of our UN family to unite in rejecting homophobia as

discriminationthatcanneverbetoleratedatourworkplace".Theadvocacyinitiativegarnereddebateaboutthetopicallov
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worldandpolicymakerswerepersuadedbythemessage.Massmediainfluencetranscendedthatofindividual member states that were opposed to the message. Thesuccess of the mass media advocacy waswitnessedintheUSSupremeCourt's decisioninObergefell*v*. Hodges case ruling that "Denying coupleslegal recognition of their relationship opens the door to widespread discrimination." It remains to be seen whateffect on internationaland domestic legislation will have on attempts by the UN to promote the concept of a"right"tosame-sexmarriagethroughmassmedia advocacy.

In Africa, the proponents of Anti-FGM have devised behavior change messages about the viceand arechanneled mostly throughthe mass media platforms. Kiambati (2009) inhisstudyobserves that it is vital touse the mass media to facilitate awareness of FGM issues among theMeru Community in Kenya as it wouldpave wave way for effective open debates indeliberating on various FGM related issues. The discourse wouldcharge the public into action and call for the abolishment of the norm, and pressuring the policy makers intoformulatingpoliciesthataddressthechallenge.

2.3 MassMediaReportingandCivilRightsAgendaSetting

Engagingthemediainhumanrightsagendasettingcanbetermedasaneffectivestrategyforchampioning policy change across different population settings. According to a report by theInstitute of Warand Peace Reporting (2018), the media is one of the foundations of influencein our highly industrializedsocieties and as a result, engagement of journalists and news editorsin giant media firms can foster a culture ofrespect for civil rights. A report by Association ofqualified Public Policy Advocates to the European Union(AALEP, 2018) opines that the mediaare complicit in the cycle of policy development and the ability topromote reform or sustainthe status quo rests on their selection of civil issue and how they frame them in theirreporting.Mass media influence policy outcomes by including or excluding certain social discussionsfromtheirplatforms, thus setaboundaryofapublic debate.

International media platforms were successful in reporting the 2015 Rohingya refugee crisis.Thereporting attractedglobalattentionand the UN highcommissionerforRefugeesheldaspecial sitting inorder to address the crisis and pressure the Myanmar government to stop thebrutality,(Al-ZaquanA.&BelfordA.,2015).The reportingalso attractedseveralNon-stateactors into solving the humanitarian crisisandconductingresearchabouttheRohingyaplight.

Researchers from the International State Crime Initiative at Queen Mary University of London(2015),in their study revealed an organized genocide that was about to take place against the Rohingya people by theMyanmargovernment.Thediscoveryprovokedtheinternationalcommunity to redress the condition withtheurgencyitneeded.

2.4 MassMediaLobbyingandCivilRightsAgendaSetting

Lobbyingisamethodofpersuasionintendedtoinfluencegovernmentdecisionsmadebyindividualsorlobbygr oupsandencompassesallattemptstoinfluencepoliticiansandofficials,whetherbyotherlawmakers,constituents ororganized groups.Mass media canalso representthe interests of a particulardisfranchised group of persons by pressuring law makers into actinguponacivilrightsissue. Journalistsorbloggers canbecome part of lobby groups andparticipate inorganizing workshop thusbecome powerfullobbyists.Forexample,Americancivil liberties union (ACLU), recruit journalists and bloggers in order tochampion their coursein the media spectra. They use the mass media to recruit members, advocate and expandtheirfollowers' base and inorderto garner maximum support, they create interactive socialcommunityplatforms where reporting and feedback of events are instant and very interactive,thus very engaging. Massmedia remain the primary informative guide for the social, economicand political elites and thus mass medialobbyinghasadirect effectontheissuestheydiscussanddebate(HarrisandMcGrath,2012).

A study by SmolaketAl (2017)show that lobbyists formulate policies thatpromote certaininterestsbydisseminatingtheirdemandstowardsthepoliticalsystemandengagingintheprocesses of policies,discussions and public policy implementationthrough the mass media. The influence of media lobbying isverystronginindustrializedcountries.

2.5 TheoreticalFramework
Thestudywasanchoredontwotheoriesnamely:AgendaSettingTheoryandtheSensemakingTheory
2.5.1 AgendaSettingTheory
Theproponents,McCombsandShaw,intheirresearchofthe1968Americanpresidentialelectionrevealed that the press affects the importance of public discourse issues (McCombsand Reynolds, 2002). Thehypothesis suggests that media influence their viewers tremendouslyby engendering what they should believerather than what they think by covering frequentlyand prominently salient issues that are glaring in the publicdiscourse,with aviewofframingpublicagendaandgeneratingdebatesaboutthechallengingsocialissues.
2.5.2 SenseMakingTheory
Thefundamentalideainsensemakingtheoryisthatmakingsenseiscontinuingprocessthatlooksathow

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peopleannouncementevents,whatthoseeventsmean,andhowconsensuallyshaped meanings for thoseeventsinfluencepresentandfuturebehaviors.First,peoplehavetonoticerareordifferentsetofcircumstances forthat event to record for them. Second, oncepeoplenoticeanevent,thenthey typicallywanttoknowwhatthateventmeansforthem.People want to know, "What's the story here? "when theyknowledge significant events. Third,creating meaning for events can influence current and future actions andcan help people stayintouchwiththeircontinuingflowofexperience.Weick(1979)summarizesthethemeofsensemakingwith thequestion,"HowcanIknowwhatIthinkuntilIseewhatIsay?"

Themassmediaisthemediumofwhichpeoplegettoknowandmirror eventsin their societalcontextsas well as access deeper understanding of the issues. The mass media therefore iscritical for informing andengagingpeopletodiscusscertainsocietalnormsthattheydeemnecessaryforthesocio-economicdevelopment.Themedia,inengagingthecommunitiesthrough debates, can advocate and report on civilrightsissues andultimatelyinfluencepolicydriversintoformulatingrelevant laws.

2.6   ConceptualFramework
Massiveinfluenceofmassmediaoncivilrightsagendasettingstrategiesisexpectedtoadvocate report and lobby for change in the civil rights issues and effective societal cohesion.Ininstanceswherecivilrightsissuesareviolated,themassmediaisexpectedtofocusonreportingthenegativeim pactof such misconducts and thus provide a platform for meaningfuldiscourseamongcommunityandpolicyinfluencers.Relevanceofmassmediaisachievedwhen communities shift towards civilized social norms,organize and build capacity at grassrootslevel, strengthen alliances with stakeholder, enhance support at basecommunity levels,advocate forbetterpolicies andsubsequently electleaders who are incognizance withtheircourse.Figure below shows the hypothesized relationshipbetweenmass mediaandagendasetting incivilrightsissues.
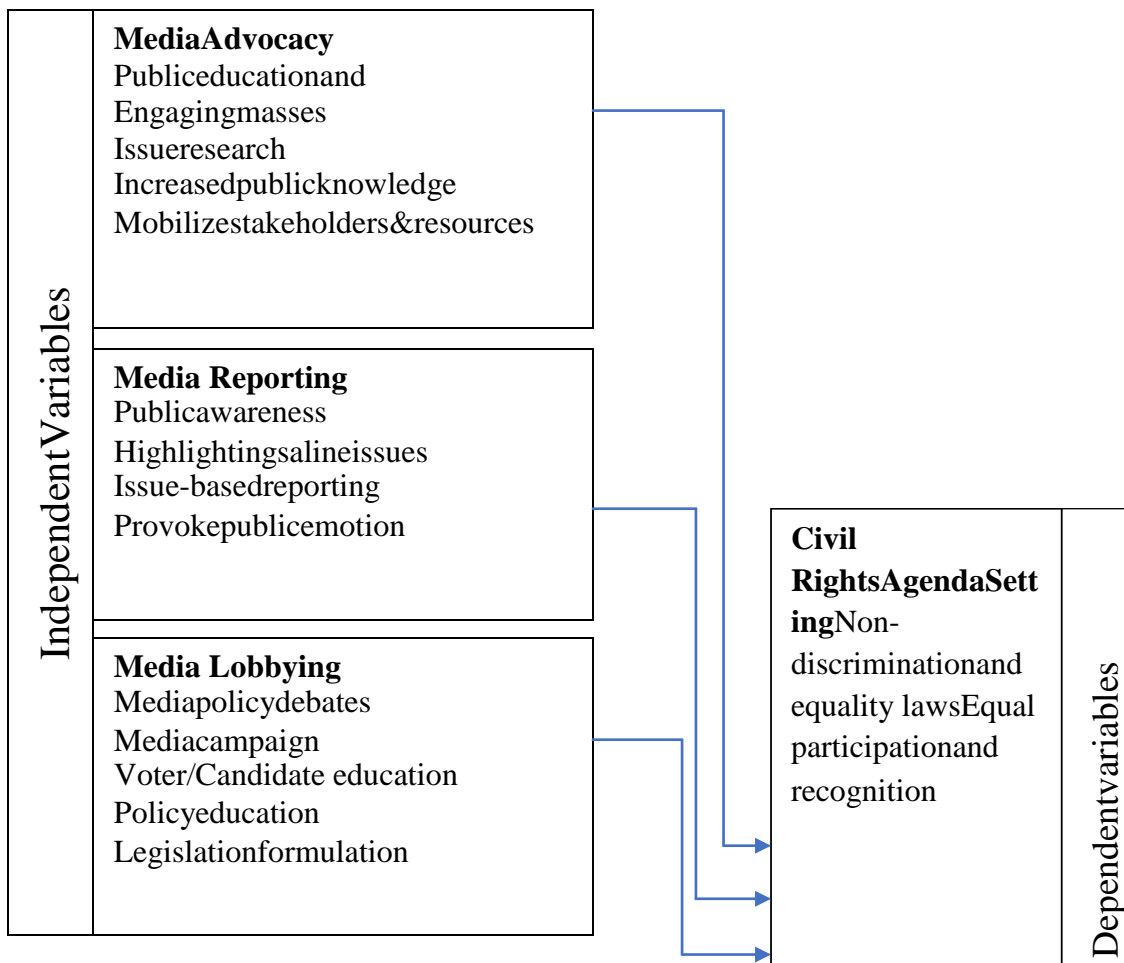

Figure2.1:ConceptualFramework

III. RESEARCHMETHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

Thischapterdescribeshow therequisitedatawasobtained,processed,analysedandinterpretedtorealisestudyobjectives.ThechapterincludedResearchDesign,Variables/Categories of Analysis, Siteof the Study, Target Population, Sampling Techniquesand Sample Size, Research Instruments, Pilot Study,Validity&Reliabilitydatacollectionprocedures, dataanalysisandethicalconcerns.

3.2 ResearchDesign

This proposalaims to adoptdescriptive,cross-sectionalstudy designusing researchmethodstocollect quantitative and qualitative data about the impact of mass media on the setting ofagenda. Descriptivestudy design is, according to Bryman and Bell (2011), a scientific methodinvolving observing and explaining asubject's actions without manipulating it in any way. Thisstudy assessed the role of the mass media on agendasetting on civil rights in Mogadishu byfollowingconcisesurveydesigns.Thedescriptivesurveygatheredbothqualitativeandquantitative data when assessing the impact of the mass media on the agenda for civilrights, where the attributes of advocacy, reporting and lobbying were thoroughly combed throughto highlightthetrueinfluenceofthemediamedium.

3.3.Variables/CategoriesofAnalysis

Thestudy specifically categorizedthe themesas advocacy,reportingandlobbyingwithreferenceto mass media effects on civil rights agenda setting.The study measured shifts insocial norms; organizationalcapacity in government and non-governmental entities, structuralchanges in community and institutionalrelationships and associations; The breadth, depth andinfluence of support between the general public, interestgroups and opinion leaders for specificissues provides a key structural condition for supporting changes inpolicies; the stages of policy change in the public policy arena; and the ultimate changes in social and physicallivesandconditions,

3.4 Siteof theStudy

Mogadishu,locallyknownasXamarorHamar,isthecapitalandmaximumpopulouscityofSomalia.Placed inthe coastalBanadirregionon theSomaliSea,the city has assistedas an important portfor aeras. As of 2017, it had a population of 2,425,000 residents. As Somalia'scapital city, many vital nationalinstitutions are based in Mogadishu. It is the seat of the FederalGovernment of Somaliarecognised inAugust2012,withtheSomaliaFederalParliamentserving as the government's legislative branch. Arba'aRukunMosque is one of the first-bornIslamic placesofworship inthe capital,builtcircaAH 667(1268–69 CE).The Mosque ofIslamic Solidarity in Mogadishu is the largest masjid in the Horn region. Mogadishu Cathedralwas built in 1928 by the colonial authorities in Italian Somalia in a NormanGothicstyle, andserved as thetraditional seat of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Mogadiscio. The NationalMuseum of Somalia is based inMogadishuandholdsmanyculturallyimportantartefacts.

Mogadishu is home to a number of educational and media institutions. As part of themunicipality'surbanrenewalprogram, 100schoolsacrossthecapitalarearrangedtoberefurbished and reopened. TheSomali National University (SNU) was established in the 1950s,and professors from the university later foundedthe non-governmental Mogadishu University(MU). Benadir University (BU) was established in 2002 with theintention of training doctors.Additionally,thePortofMogadishuservesasamajornationalseaportandisthelargestharbour in Somalia. Mogadishu International Airport is the capital's main airport. Mogadishu isdividedinto17districtsasfollows.

Table3.1:MogadishuDistrictandPopulationDistribution

District	Population
XamarWeyne	43,309
Hodan	71,590
Wardhiigleey	53,619
Boondeere	61,143
XamarJabjab	36,331
Waaberi	50,864
Wadajir	50,110
Kaaraan	123,171
Yaaqshiid	128,488

Shibis	79,751
Cabdulcasiis	22,153
HawlWadaag	39,114
Shangaani	24,368
Heliwaa	43,420
Dharkenley	40,983
Kahda	21,236
Dayniile	32,769
Total	922,419

3.5 TargetPopulation

Target population is the whole group of individuals,events orthings of interest to a researchstudy.As indicated by Sekaran and Bougie (2010), inferences are made from target population,during research,forming an aggregation of study elements. In this study, the target populationcomprised of 384 householdheads,17communityleadersrepresentingeachdistrict,and30 representativesof government,NGOs,religious, education and media fraternity. The entirestudy was informed by a total of 431 respondents drawnfrom different setups which wererepresentative of the Somali opinion in regard to setting civil rights agendausingmassmediaintheregion.

3.6 SamplingTechniquesandSamplingSize

In social science research, samples are subsets of the population that are not only observable,but alsoanalyzable at a reasonable costinorder to estimate populationparameters(Mugenda&Mugenda, 2003).Notably, samples should represent key aspects of targeted populationsasmuchaspossible.Whensamplesare either too small or too floodedwithparticular attributes of the population, studies end up with distortedfindings due to samplingerror. However, Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) advises that where a population is toosmall tobe sampled, it's logical to include all its elements in a study, in accordance with the principlesof acensus(Parker,2014;Mugenda&Mugenda,2003).Thestudyemployedstratifiedrandomsamplingtoselect384househ old heads in the 17 districts of Mogadishu. Given that Mogadishuis predominantly a Muslim communitywhereasignificantmajorityofhouseholdheadsareMale, the researcher adopted adequate and sensitivemeasures that are in-line with the Somaliculture so as to incorporate the opinions of females into the study.Stratified random samplingwaspreferredbecauseeachdistrictneededtobeconsideredinachievingdesiredrepresentationinthe target population(Leedy&Ormrod,2005). The study also appliedpurposivesamplinginselectingotheropinionleadersinMogadishusuchasthecommunityheads,governmentre presentatives,religious,educations,mediapersonalitiesandNGOofficials.Thisisbecausetherespondentsare key personsinthesociety andhave awiderperspective of knowledge on civil rights issuesandhowmediainfluence thoseissues.

3.6.1 SampleSize

ThestudyappliedCochran'sformulaforsamplesizedetermination(Cochran,1963).

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

Where:n_i=samplesize,Z=confidencelevel:1.96,p=proportionofrespondentsinMogadishu

3.6.2 ResearchInstrument

The study proposed to use three types of tools in the collection of data. The research tools used wereself-administered questionnaireforhousehold heads,KII guideformediaandpolicystakeholders and anFGD guide for community members. The tools were designed to capturedata on the advocacy, reporting andlobbyingstructureswithregardtomassmediainagendasetting.

3.6.3.PilotStudy

Theresearcherconductedpilot-testingtodeterminetheapplicabilityandeffectivenessoftheproposeddata collection approaches, methods, tools, as well as the duration and cost of datacollection. Moreover, theactivity also established the applicability of data processing andanalysis techniques, particularly in terms oftheireffectiveness infulfillingobjectives of astudy. As separately noted, Nachmias and Nachmias (1996),pilot-testing enables social scienceresearcherstoidentifyapproaches,processesandproceduresthatarefeasibleandthoseunfeasible inorderto make a study more focused inaddressing its objectivesat the leastcostpossible.Pilot-

researcher to improve on questions in terms of clarity, content and sensitivity, aswellas adjustapproachesused in data collection (Mugenda&Mugenda, 2003). The site forpilot test was selected randomly from the 17districtsandthisfamiliarizedtheresearcherwithhowtodealwithboundaryandculturalissuesinMogadishu.

3.7 Validity&Reliability

Validity is the accuracy of the research tools in measuring the study objectives and themes.Orodho(2004) states that validity is the grade to which research instrument accurately measureswhatisproposed.The researcherinvolvedhissupervisorsinconstructingthestudy tools in order to capture all the relevantdatanecessaryforassessingtheeffectsofmassmedia incivilrightsagendasetting.

Reliabilityisthepotentialofresearchinstrumentsproducingconsistentresultsonrepeatedtrials.In this research a test-re-test procedure was adapted to establish reliability of researchinstruments. Ghauri andGrenhaug(2010)asserted that test-re-testprocedure involvesestimation of the degree to which the sameresults could be gained with a repeated measure of truth of similar concept using the instrument. In order toestablish reliability, the pre-schoolteachers' questionnaire which was the key research tool was managed to thesame pilot sampletwice in an interval of two weeks. As noted by Creswell and Piano Clark (2011) the two-weekinterval was suitable to avoid the impact of repetition and disuse by respondents. The two setsof scoresobtainedwereusedtocalculatereliabilitycoefficientof0to+1andabovewasacceptable using theformulabelow:

After carrying out the pilot study, Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SSPS) was used togeneratereliability coefficient for pre-school teachers' questionnaires which obtained r = 0.97an indication that therewasaconsistencyof97%,forparents'interviewscheduler=0.98andforheadteachers'interviewscheduler= 0.97thattherewasaconsistencyof97%respectively.

3.8 DataCollectionandProcedures

Beforetheonsetofdatacollection,theinvestigatoracquiredthenecessarydocumentstofacilitatetheprocess,as requiredby law.Inthis regard,theauthorizationletterfordata collectionwasobtained from the University department. This was supported by an introductory letter from the Department.Copies of both letters were used for consenting. The data collection process involved holding meetings with therespective community heads andother key persons in Mogadishu as well as household visits by trained researchassistants. Thecommunity leaders were crucial for planning and mobilization exercises. The researchertrainedtheresearchassistantsontheinstrumentsofthestudy,consentandotherethicalissues ofresearch.

3.9 DataAnalysisProcedures

Theinvestigatorinvolvedsystematicproceduresinmanagingquantitativedata.Suchprocessesinclude coding open-ended data, digitalization, cleaning to locate and correctmissing or misplaced codes,transformation of scales of measurement where necessary, as wellas aggregationof perceptions,to ensureexcellence of the data. Furthermore, the qualitativedata sourced through FGD with community persons and KIIwith key persons was processedand analyzed by following the three steps; entry according to themes, codingthen analysis usingquantitative methods. Correlation analysis was done in order to determine the relationshipbetweenthefactorsofmassmediaeffects inagendasettinginMogadishu.

3.10 DataManagement&EthicalConsideration

The study was conducted in accordance withethicalvalues of social science research,includingrespect for participants' rights to self-determination, unpaid participation, and confidentiality (Silverman, 2010;Dench, Iphofen& Huws, 2004). In this regard, the investigator was in cognizance that human subjects targetedbyresearchstudieshavetheright to decide on whether to participate or not. The investigator guided therespondents throughthe consenting process, by explaining purpose of the study, its potential benefits to thelearners in their professional development and the importance of voluntary participation. Participants werefurther informed about their right to withdraw consent of participation at any timebeforeorduringdatacollection,withoutaffectingtheservicesprovidedtothembytheDepartment.

Inaddition,thestudy was conducted with the knowledge thatparticipants ina research processhave the right to be protected from physical, social or psychosocial harm that may becaused by, or emergespontaneously as a result of their participation in a research process. Inview of this, the investigator assured allparticipants that their data was kept confidential, and used for the purpose of the research only. Also, in the self-administeredquestionnaire,therespondentsdidnotindicatetheirnamesanywhereonthedatacollection tools.

IV. DATAANALYSIS,PRESENTATIONANDINTERPRETATION

4.1 Introduction

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

4.2 DemographicsofRespondents

The respondents inthe study were drawnfrom different localities of Mogadishu withsome areashaving more responses than others. Then uneven distribution of the respondents along the localities was due todifferent population densities and size of each administrative area.As such, the General Daud street had thehighest number of respondents (48, 13%) while Via Liberia had the lowest of 11 (3.2%). The distribution ofgender indicated that the survey captured more females of 221 (64%) as compared to males who were 126(36%). The results show that majority of the respondents were married (250 , 72%) while those divorced andseparated were only 26 (7%). However, majority of the respondents comprising 57.9% had primary leveleducationwhilethosewithsecondaryeducationwere131(37.8%).

Regarding the relationship to household head, the analysis indicate that majority of the respondentswere head of the household (161, 46%) while spouses to the household head were 127 (36.6%).The sons anddaughtersofhouseholdheadswere37(10.7%).Theresultsindicatethat111(32%)oftherespondentsworkedin private enterprises while those employed in the government offices were 36 (10.4%). The results show thatprivateenterpriseswerethemainemployersoftheresidentofMogadishu.

On the living period in Mogadishu, majority (93, 26.8%) of the residents had spent between4 to 6years in Mogadishu followed by those of between 6 to 10 years (87, 25.1%). The least category of the stayperiod was below 1 year which was accounted for by 14 (4%). The respondents who indicated to have lived for10yearsandabovewere75(21.6%).Theresultsindicatedthatmanyrespondentshadspentconsiderabletimein Mogadishu to warrant responding to the research questions.The demographic results of the respondents aretabulatedintable4.1.

Table4.1:Distributionsummaryofrespondent'sdemographics

N=347			
Variable	Values	n	%
locality	Wadnaha	18	5.2
	Warshadaha	29	8.4
	30KA	14	4.0
	Makaalmukarana	30	8.6
	Madina	31	8.9
	Airport	33	9.5
	GeneralDaud	48	13.8
	Kpp.	23	6.6
	Sayidka	30	8.6
	Zoobe	19	5.5
	Dabka	28	8.1
	ViaRoma	21	6.1
	ViaLiberia	11	3.2
	Parliament	12	3.5
Sex	Male	126	36.3
	Female	221	63.7
MaritalStatus	Nevermarried	51	14.7
	Married/livingtogether	250	72.0
	Divorced/separated	26	7.5
	Widowed	20	5.8
Highestlevelofeducation	AdultLiteracy	2	.6
	Primary	201	57.9
	Secondary	131	37.8
	Universityeducation- degree	11	3.2
	Universityeducation-master'sdegree	2	.6
RelationshiptoHHH	HeadofHousehold	161	46.4
	SpousetoHHH	127	36.6
	SonorDaughter	37	10.7

	Sister/Brother	5	1.4
	Sonor Daughterin-law	4	1.2
	Grandchild	6	1.7
	Parent	2	.6
	Notrelated	5	1.4
Mainoccupation	Privatebusiness	111	32.0
	Government	36	10.4
	NGOs/ Humanitarian	69	19.9
	Homemaker	57	16.4
	None/Seekingwork	64	18.4
	Student	10	2.9
Period oflivinginMogadishu	2-3 years	78	22.5
	4-6 years	93	26.8
	6-10years	87	25.1
	Below1year	14	4.0
	greaterthan10years	75	21.6
Commonmeansof massmedia	Radio	159	45.8
	Television	87	25.1
	Newspaper	51	14.7
	Mobilephones	48	13.8
	Cybercafes	2	0.6

4.2.1 The demographiccharacteristicsofthe key-Informantinterviewees

The characteristics of the journalists indicate that four worked in radio stations while 3 were from TVstations.Most of them worked as news reporters (3, 43%) while 2 worked in the productions segments of themediastations.Threeofthejournalistshaveworkedforatleast2and5yearseach.

Table4.2:SummarytableofJournalist'sBio-data

Typeof mass media	Radiostation	4	57.1
	TVstation	3	42.9
Position/Roleinmassmedia	NewProduction	2	28.6
	Newsreporter/anchoring	3	42.9
	Marketing	1	14.3
	Editing	1	14.3
Periodworkedincurrent station	Lessthan2years	3	42.9
	2to5years	3	42.9
	Morethan5years	1	14.3

The study also captured the views of 4 civil rights activists working in some NGOs in Mogadishu includingCoalition for grassroots Women Organizations (COGWO), Daryeel Women Organization (DAWO), We areWomenActivists(WAWA)andSaveSomaliWomenandChildren(SSWC).

4.3 MassMediaandPoliticalRepresentation

The study inquired what type of mass media was common among the households of Mogadishu and resultspresentedintable4.2.

Table4.3:Forms ofMassMedia

N=347			
Variable	**Values**	**n**	**%**
Commonmeansof massmedia	Radio	159	45.8
	Television	87	25.1
	Newspaper	51	14.7
	Mobilephones	48	13.8
	Cybercafes	2	0.6
	Total	347	100

Theresultsfurtherindicatedthatradiowasthemostcommonmeansofmassmedia,followedbytelevision,newspaperand mobilephones.Theresultsindicatethatwhilemobilephonesandinternetwereincreasing

becomepopularamongtheresidentsofMogadishu,radioremainedthemajormeansofmassmediacommunication. The results support the Human Rights Watch (2019) report which ranked the radio as the mostsignificant channel of communication while satellite television and internet forms were becoming increasingpopularinurbanareassuchasMogadishu.Further,theresultsintable4.3presentedtherespondentsopinionont heextentofmassmediainfluencingdecisionmakingbythegovernment.

Table4.4:MassMediaUsedtoReachPeople

Massmediausedtoreachpeople									
	Radio	TV	Newspaper	Mobile phones/ Internet	Cyber cafes	Total	X^2	df	P-Value
Hasthemassmediainfluenceddecisionmakingbythegovernmentinanyway?									
Yes, biggerperc entage	24	12	6	14	0	56	19.49	16	.244
	6.9%	3.5%	1.7%	4.0%	0.0%	16.1%			
Yes,halfpercentage	38	28	13	13	1	93			
	11.0%	8.1%	3.7%	3.7%	.3%	26.8%			
Yes, smallperce ntage	56	26	17	17	0	116			
	16.1%	7.5%	4.9%	4.9%	0.0%	33.4%			
Notatall	14	6	7	3	0	30			
	4.0%	1.7%	2.0%	.9%	0.0%	8.6%			
No,Govt.usingmassm ediatochangethe mindsetofpeople	27	15	8	1	1	52			
	7.8%	4.3%	2.3%	.3%	.3%	15.0%			
Total	159	87	51	48	2	347			
	45.8%	25.1%	14.7%	13.8%	.6%	100%			

The results show that 56 (16%) believed mass media influenced government decisions greatly while 93(27%) said mass media only affected half the percentage of government decision making processes.Themajority of 116 (33%) howeversaid it affected government decisions at a small scale, indicating that majorityof government decisions were not influenced entirely by the mass media.This showed that many politicaldecisions were heavily influenced by the clan dynamics perpetuated by the overlapping groups. On the samenote, 15% of the respondents believed the government was instead using mass media to change the mindset ofthe Mogadishu people.The results support Wanta and Dzwo (2002) supposition that since the media runinformation on issues that are trending on the public arena, they also influence policy makers to amend andformulaterelatedsalientpolicies.Inaddition,thefindingsalsoechotheMcCombs&Shaw,(1972)observations which posit that Civil rights messages are framed to provoke the emotions of both the public andthe political class, thus influence the agenda-setting initiatives.As such, the more media focus on an issue, themorepubliclimelightandstrongermotivationforlegislatorstoframeananswertotheissue.

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

Theinterviewparticipantsalsoobservedthatmassmediawasanessentialtoolforcommunitymobilization and awareness regarding both political and civil rights issues in Somalia. The journalists educatedthe public on democratic and civic rights via the mass media. The mass media also provided the public with anavenue for voicing their ideas and needs to the political and government institutions. The analysis thereforereveal that mass media reporting is essential in sharing the plight of the citizens across the country, whichinfluence government activities and actions on salient issues such as media freedoms and social-cultural issuesthat affect the vulnerable and minority groups.The government used the media to promote tolerance and peaceamong the diverse before and after elections.The results confirm Bennett &Entman (2001) study whichrealized that mass media had taken an active role in the public representation of politics by steering the agendaofthepoliticaldiscourseandcontributingpartialitiesinpoliticaldisagreements.

The responses also noted that mass media was used to report and scrutinize the election processes andresults.The journalists noted they covered the voting processes on their media platforms thus enhancingtransparency and accountability on the developments. The results observed the mass media acted as an overseerof many political processes. The effect of mass media in shaping civil rights agenda in Somalia therefore ishuge, particularly in determining the outcomes of many political process which shape the related laws andpolicies.The results confirm the findings of a report by Association of

qualifiedPublicPolicyAdvocatestotheEuropeanUnion(AALEP,2018),whichnotedthatmassmediawerecomplicit

inthecycleofpolicydevelopmentincludingpromotingreformaswellassustainingthestatusquooncivilrightsissues.

4.4 MassMediaReportingon CivilRights

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

bytherelevantauthorities.About64(18%)stateditchangedmoderatelywhile1%feltitdidnotchangeanythingat all. The results therefore show that the probability of action in terms of responding to civil rights issues whenreported by the relevant authorities by the local government in Mogadishu was high, thereby confirming thatmassmediainfluencegovernmentdecisionmaking.

Table4.5:MassMediaReportingon CivilRights

Variables	Values	Frequency	Percent
N=347			
How could you rate mass mediareportageoncivilrightsissues?	Verypoorly	29	8.4
	Poor	52	15
	Fairly	55	15.9
	Well	138	39.8
	Verywell	40	11.5
	Excellent	33	9.5
From your own point of view hasthe mass media change civilrights administering inMogadishu after being reportedbytherelevantauthorities?	Notatall	5	1.4
	Yessomehowbutbelow50%	53	15.3
	Yesmoderately	64	18.4
	Yesatabigger percent	190	54.8
	Yesverymuch	35	10.1

4.5 MediaAdvocacy,LobbyingandthereImpacts

Thetablepresentsresponses regardingtheperceptionofmassmediainadvocacyandlobbyingactivities.

Table4.6:MassMediaReportingonCivilRights

Variable	Values	Frequency	Percent
N=347			
How often do you come across civil rightsbeing mobilized and sensitization in socialmedia?	None	70	20.2
	Hardly	174	50.1
	Regularly	103	29.7
Have civil rights lobbying changed itsadministrationinMogadishu?	Notatall	28	8.1
	Lightly	73	21.0
	Moderately	108	31.1
	Greatly	138	39.8

The analysis show that174 (50%) indicated they hardly came across civilrights activities beingmobilized in the social media, while 103 stated they regularly witnessed issues of civil rights being sensitized insocial media. In addition, 70 (20%) of the respondents stated that they had not witnessed the mobilization andsensitization of civil rights in Mogadishu.On the same breadth, 138 (40%) of the respondents noted that thelobbying for civil rights greatly changed its administration in Mogadishu.   About 28 (8%) however noted thatthelobbyingevents ofcivilrightsdidnotchangeatallitsadministrationinMogadishu.

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

policyimplementation.

4.6 CorrelationAnalysisofMediaAdvocacy,ReportingandLobbying

The correlation results presented in table below show that the three predictor variables of civil rightsagenda setting were significantly and positively correlated. The factor of advocacy had weak correlation withbothreporting(R=0.318[**])andadvocacy(R=0.323[**])ofcivilrightsagendasetting.Thefactorofreportinghada moderately strong correlation of 0..523[**] with lobbying metrics. The results therefore show that the conceptof advocacy positively impacts the reporting and lobbying of civil rights issues. On the same note, reportingsalientissuesgreatlyinfluencesthelobbyingofrelatedlawsandpolicies.

Table4.7:CorrelationAnalysisof MediaAdvocacy,Reporting andLobbying

Correlations				
		Advocacy	Reporting	Lobbying
Advocacy	PearsonCorrelation	1	.318[**]	.323[**]
	Sig.(2-tailed)		0	0
	N	347	347	347
Reporting	PearsonCorrelation	.318[**]	1	.523[**]
	Sig.(2-tailed)	0		0
	N	347	347	347
Lobbying	PearsonCorrelation	.323[**]	.523[**]	1
	Sig.(2-tailed)	0	0	
	N	347	347	347
**.Correlation issignificantatthe0.01level(2-tailed).				

4.7 InterviewGuideDiscussions

The responses from the journalists indicated that the Somalimedia stations inMogadishu reportedmore of political and business issues as compared to matters of civil rights. Majority of journalists and mediastations paid attention to news details that resonate with the public. As such, the pubic were the main creatorsof media agenda. The journalists also noted that the media in Mogadishu was mostly influenced by politicalfactors and that many politicians used the stations to sell their agenda to the people. Political news reverberatethe Somali public and therefore attract the attention of many.As a result, media played a great role ininfluencing political outcomes. Many media stations also attracted a lot of activities during political seasons ascompared to normal times. However, the journalists admitted that some politicians accused media of biasreporting, a perception that has continued to sour the relationship of certain media stations with the politicalelite.Insupportingthisassertion,oneoftheresponsessaidthefollowing;

"Media in Mogadishu is very bias because it gets information from very casual sources who cannot betrusted.Thenews brokers arethebiggestscam, theysometimes blackmailpoliticiansviathemedia…"

The response indicate a lack of a standard procedure for news media in seeking information, thus theyare vulnerable to misinformation and bias reporting. In addition, the responses noted the media has the capacityto contribute to good governance in the country.Radios and newspapers were highlighted as "trustworthy" astheircontentwerewellresearchedandaccurateascomparedtoradiostationsandsocialmediaplatforms.

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

When asked whether they had participated in civil right lobbying, all of the responses admitted to havecalled for media freedom and ethical reporting in Somalia. The participants noted that media freedoms inSomalia was lacking given the unstable state of the nation, and it was their duty to challenge the government toofferprotectionandsafeenvironmentformediapractitioners.TheyhavealsochallengedtheSomaligovernment to stop interfering with the media since it jeopardizes the ethics of journalists. The respondentsreckon that the media space in Somalia was an open market where anyone could sell any news, and as such theneed for a strong bill and policy that regulated the professionalism was needed. The lobbying activities by theSomalia journalists enabled the establishment of the disinformation lab by the federationof Somali journaliststoensurethatjournalistsremainprofessionalanddon'tspreadfakenews andpropaganda.

Similarly, the responses of the four civil rights activists revealed that some NGOs were involved incivilrightsadvocacyandlobbyinginSomalia.Themajorityoftheirworkwasbroadcastonradiostations,

which had a bigger audience in both urban and rural areas. One of the respondents noted that the Coalition forgrassroots Women Organizations (COGWO) for instance, have been active in lobbying for equal land rights forboth women and men in Somalia.In addition, salient issues such as rights to equal education, employment anddecision making, have been broadcasted in the Somali media over the years. The impact of lobbying though onformulation of laws have been curtailed by the strong Sharia law that govern many government systems inSomalia.The   respondentswerehoweveroptimisticthattheircallforequalrightsacrossissuesof land,education,water,foodandhealthwouldhelptheSomalipeopleliveabetterlife.

V.   SUMMARY,CONCLUSIONSANDRECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction
This chapter summarizes the findings and draws conclusions in line with objectives of the study. AlsopresentedhereinarerecommendationsforappropriateinterventionsthatshouldbeconsideredbytheDepartment of Public policy and administration in furthering studies of mass media and civil rights shaping inunstable nations.The chapter also highlights contributions of the study to knowledge. Details are provided inthefollowingsub-sections.

5.2 SummaryoftheFindings
The aim of the study wasto investigate effectsof massmediaincivil rightsagendasetting inMogadishu, Somalia. The study was intended to offer greater understanding of how mass media strategies shapepublicperceptions aroundtopicsof civilrights,andby extension,provideevidenceof how massmediainfluence policies at both community and national levels, especially in countries considered unstable such asSomalia. The information generated by the study may also spur further research on the nexus between massmedia and civil rights agenda shaping, in terms of advocacy, reporting and lobbying. The findings have beensummarizedunderthefollowingsub-sections,inaccordancewithobjectivesofthestudy.

5.2.1 MassmediaAdvocacyandCivilRightsAgendaSettinginMogadishu,Somalia
The findings show that over 50% hardly witnessed civil rights issues being mobilized in the socialmedia,while103 notedregularhappeningsofsensitizationonsocialmedia.Equally,70(20%)of therespondents did not witness the mobilization and sensitization of civil rights issues in Mogadishu.The resultsshow that while advocacy was somewhat active in mass media, the same did not translate in gatherings andsensitizations in public spaces. Somalia is anunstable country and therefore activism may easily be done inmass media space and not social gatherings owing to security reasons.The findings imply that the effectivenessof mass media in advocacy activities of civil rights in unstable country such as Somalia can easily be actualizedinmediaspaceascomparedtoopenforums.

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

5.2.2 MassMediaReporting andCivilRightsAgenda SettinginMogadishu,Somalia
The findings reveal the mass media reporting on civil rights issues show that 29 (8%) of the responsesrated the civil rights reportage as very poor while 138 (40%) rated it well.Also, majority (190, 55%) of theresponses noted the media influenced the administration of civil rights in Mogadishu by a bigger percentage.The results show that the authorities were likely to act upon a civil rights issue upon reporting by the media tothe relevant authorities. The study results confirm that media reporting activities of civil rights issues greatlyimpactedthegovernment'sdecisionmaking.

The concept of media reporting in shaping public agenda is an effective strategy for championingpolicy change, (Institute of War and Peace Reporting, 2018). Media reporting engages journalists and mediapersonalitiesintorespectingcivilrights.Theresultsconfirmthissincemediastakeholdersandcivicpersonalities noted they reported civil rights issues so as effect policy changes. The results also confirm that therelevantauthoritieswerelikelyactuponreporting,therebyrevealingthetrueinfluenceofmediareportingin

shaping the civil rights agenda. The findings confirm the report of the Association of accredited Public PolicyAdvocates to the European Union (AALEP, 2018) which stated that the media were complicit in the cycle ofpolicy developmentandpromotionofreformofcivilissue.Inaddition,mass mediainfluencedpolicyoutcomesbyincludingcertainsocialdiscussionsintheirplatforms,thus settingaboundaryofapublicdebate.

5.2.3 MassMediaLobbying andCivilRightsAgendaSettinginMogadishu,Somalia

The findings indicate that the majority of responses (138, 40%) observed that lobbying activities ofcivil rights in Mogadishu greatly influenced the administration activities in Mogadishu. Then results indicatethat lobbying had greaterinfluence inbringing change in the government programs. The correlationanalysisisalso confirmed the strength of media lobbying in changing government actions incivil rights agenda setting.The correlation between media reporting and lobbying was moderately strong (R=0.523), implying that bothreporting and lobbying in the mass media greatly influenced how the people and leaders react to a civil rightsissue.

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

5.3 Conclusion

Mass media agenda setting is done for various reasons including civil rights action and promotion ofpeace and justice.The concept can be used to provoke debate and discourse over a particular pertinent issue.Mass media reporting and advocacy can be used to prevent a war or a conflict, as well as dissolve communitytensions and hatred. Despite this, the conceptualization of mass media agenda setting in many African nationsis mostly overrun by political events and affairs. As such, the media impact inbringing lasting change inSomalia is far from satisfactory. The correlation analysis indicate there is moderate correlation between mediareporting and lobbying and thus other factors are also needed to actualize this reality. The factors of mediafreedoms and ethical reporting are some cross cutting issues that must be realized first before the public canappreciatetheconceptofagendasettinginthemediaspace.

5.4 PolicyRecommendations

The demand for unbiased reporting in Somalia is gaining momentum and the federation of journalistshas also realized there is a need for a standard practice among its members. Media freedoms in the country isalso lacking. Based on this, the study suggests enactment of policies that will guarantee media freedom andethical reporting in Somalia and Mogadishu. Similarly, the study calls for enhancement of strategies that couldfurtherpromoteahealthymediaenvironmentwherejournalistsfeelsafeandthepublichavebetterconfidencein the reporting. This would prevent the killings of journalists perceived to be unbiased and thus cultivate acultureofrespectfortheprofessionalism.

Since the levelof advocacy was significantly lowerin the public space as compared to the socialmedia, the study calls for the development of awareness programs over the media stations so as to furtherexpand the degree of freedoms of participants. All the Somali people should enjoy equal rights of engagementand debate in national discourses. Further, more reporting on civil rights should be encouraged so as to pressurethepoliticalelites intoaddressingthecoreissues thataffecttheSomalipeople,includingwomenandyouth.

5.5 Areasfor FurtherStudies

The study has mainly focused at establishing the relationship between media advocacy, reporting andlobbyingandcivilrightsagendasettinginMogadishu,Somalia.Thestudywaslimitedtomeasuringperceptions of the residents of Mogadishu. The study therefore suggests a similar study be carried out in theautonomous statesofSomaliaaswellastheentirecountry.

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APPENDICES
Appendix1:SurveyQuestionnaire

Section1:Introduction

My name is SidaliNur Hassan; a student in the department of Public Policy and administration at KenyattaUniversity, Kenya. I am currently pursuing a Master's degree in Public policy and Administration. In partialfulfillment of the requirements forthe MPPA award,I am undertaking a researchon"Mass Media and itseffects on Civil Rights Agenda Setting in Mogadishu, Somalia". I am currently collecting data and I would begrateful foryour cooperation in this important piece of research work that will provide important informationfor the study. The information collected in this survey will be treated confidentially and used for the purpose ofthestudyonly.Thiswilltakeyouapproximately5to10minutestocomplete.

Thankyouinadvanceforyourcooperationandsupportinthisproject

Section2:Identification

NameofEnumerator	
Dateofinterview	
Nameofrespondent	
Nameof yourestate	
Nameofthestreet	
Nameofthesection	

Section3:RespondentDemographicCharacteristics

3.1 Sex1=M 2=F	3.2 Relationship toHHH 1=HHH 2=spousetoHHH3 =Son/daughter4= parent5=Sibling6 =Other relative7=Norelat ion	3.3 Age1=< 202=21-293=30-394=40-495=50-596=60+	3.4 Maritalstatu s1=single2= married3=s eparated4= divorced5= widow/wid ower	3.5 Highestlev elofeducati oncomplete d1=none2= Adultlitera cy 3=someprim ary4=compl etedprimary 5=someseco ndary6=com pletedsecond ary7=someu niversity8=c ompleteduni versity9=Vo cationa ltraining	3.6 Employment1=n one 2=Ownbusiness3 =Others business4=Civilse rvice5=Parastatal6 =Private 7=NGOs 8=Faith basedOther(sp ecify)

(3.3).HowlonghaveyoubeenlivinghereinMogadishu?......................................years

Section4:Mass mediaand Politicalrepresentation

4.1. Which isthemostcommonmassmediabeingusedtoreach manypeople?
   i.   Radio   ( )
  ii.   Television   ( )
 iii.   Newspaper   ( )
  iv.   Others(specify)…………………………………………………………………………

4.2. Hasthemassmediainfluenceddecision makingbythegovernmentin anyway?
  i.   Yes,inabigger percentage   ( )
 ii.   Yes,athalfpercent   ( )
iii.   Yes,atasmallerpercent   ()
 iv.   Notatall   ()
   v.   No, the government is using media to change the mind set of people and violet their
                  rights()

4.3. Howhasmassmediainfluencedvotingpatternduringelectionofpeoplerepresentativesatanylevelofgovernancein anyway?Elaborateit…………….…...

Section: 5Mass mediareportingon civilrights
5.1 Howcouldyouratemassmediareportageon civilrightsissues?

i.	Excellent	( )
ii.	Verywell	( )
iii.	Well	( )
iv.	Fairley	( )
v.	Poor	( )
vi.	Verypoorly	( )

5.2 Fromyourownpointofviewhasthemassmediachangecivilrightsadministeringin Mogadishuafterbeingreportedb ytherelevantauthorities?

i.	Yesverymuch	( )
ii.	Yesatabigger percent	( )
iii.	Yesmoderately	( )
iv.	Yessomehowbutbelow50%	( )
v.	Notatall	( )

5.3 Pleasefrom your own how would you like mass media toreport matters of civil rights? ………………………………………………………………………………

Section6:Mediaadvocacy, lobbyingandthereimpacts
6.1 Howoftendoyou comeacrosscivilrightsbeingmobilizedandsensitizationin socialmedia?

i.	Regularly	( )
ii.	Hardly	( )
iii.	None	( )

6.2 Havecivilrightslobbying changedadministering ofcivilrightsinMogadishu?

i.	Greatly	( )
ii.	Moderately	( )
iii.	Lightly	( )
iv.	Notatall	( )

6.3 Fromyourownperspectiveofhow civilrightslobbyingisdoneinMogadishu,whathaveyouseenthathasnot been done correctly and how you think social media should do in future ………………………………………………………………………….…..

Section7a:InterviewScheduleforJournalist
1. Name
2. WhichtypeofmassmediaI youworkingin?
3. Whatisyourposition/rolein massmedia?
4. Forhowlonghaveyouworkedinyourmediahouse?
5. Whatdoyourmediadealwith?
6. Doyou supportcivilrights lobbyingin Mogadishu?
7. Haveyoueverbeeninvolvedincivilrightslobbyingagenda settinginMogadishu?
8. WhathasbeentheimpactofcivilrightslobbyingagendasettinginMogadishu?
9. Haveyou ever reported anycivilrightsin yourmediaandwhatwas isitabout?
10. Fromyour reportagediditaffectcivilrights civilrightsadvocacyinMogadishu?
11. Whatwasthespecificeffectoncivilrights?

Section7b:InterviewSchedule for Civil RightsActivist
1. Name
2. WhichorganizationIyouworkingfor?
3. Whatisyourposition/roleinyourorganization?
4. Forhowlonghaveyouworkedforyourinstitution?
5. Whichareaofspecializationisyourinstitutionmajorin?
6. Have youbeeninvolvedinlobbyingofcivilrightsagendasettinginMogadishu?
7. Whichmediadidyou usedinlobbying ofcivilrightagendasetting?
8. Whatwastheeffectofcivilrightsagendasetting?
9. Didyourlobbyinginvolvedlawsetting?
10. Has yourlobbyingchangepoliticaladministrationinMogadishu?

Section7c:InterviewScheduleforElectedLeader

1) Name
2) Whichpositionhaveyoubeenelected toin Mogadishu?
3) Duringyourcampaignforyourpositionwhichmediadidyouusetoreachyoursupporters?
4) Howeffectivewas thatmedia?
5) Wasyourcampaign policyinvolved civilrightsagendasettingofthepeopleofMogadishu?
6) Ifsohowdiditaffects votingpatterninyourcampaign?
7) InyourdaytodayrepresentationtothepeopleofMogadishudoyouusuallyreceivecivilrightsissuesfrommedia?
8) Ifsohowdoyouhandleit?
9) Has mass media reportage changed yourpersonalthoughton how you had plan to administercertaincivilrightsagendasettinginMogadishu?
10) Whatareyourconcernsofcivilrights settinginMogadishu?