

MEDIA FRAMING OF KENYA DEFENCE FORCES IN OPERATION *LINDA
NCHI*

by

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DECLARATION

MEDIA FRAMING OF KENYA DEFENCE FORCES IN OPERATION *LINDA NCHI*

I declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been submitted to any other college or university for academic credit.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AMISOM	Africa Union Mission in Somalia
CNN	Cable News Network
IR	International Relations
KDF	Kenya Defense Forces
PA	Public Affairs
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences

ABSTRACT

The media plays an increasingly important role in how the military conducts warfare. There have been reports of failure by military to appropriately integrate and coordinate with media leading to the compromise of national security, operational security, and the deterioration of public trust and confidence because of how media frames military operations. This study's main purpose was to establish how newspapers in Kenya covered and framed the military *Operation Linda Nchi*. Specifically, the study sought to find the dominant and prominent images of *Operation Linda Nchi* as framed by Kenya newspapers (Daily Nation, The Standard, The Star and East African), establish the types of frames used in imaging *Operation Linda Nchi* by the media, establish trends in the framing of *Operation Linda Nchi* in the media over the period of five months and finally determine the frequency of *Operation Linda Nchi* stories in each of the newspapers during the period of study. The study utilized framing theory and agenda setting theories. Content analysis, a method used to describe communication content in a quantitative or numerical form, was used in this study with a coding sheet as data collection instrument. A total of 503 articles in all the selected newspapers mentioned *Operation Linda Nchi*. The findings showed that the military operation was constructed disparately by different newspaper articles. Going to war with al-Shabaab was framed as a win by Kenyan military. Al-Shabaab was presented as a violent group and threat to Kenya. Besides, the sheer volume of coverage devoted to *Operation Linda Nchi* and some newspaper articles were more likely to use the military conflict and violence of war frame; others emphasized the rebuilding of Somalia frame. The study concludes that articles with conflict frames contain more interventionism and less strategic framing, more journalistic intervention in quality newspapers and less substantive news stories.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the late Ms. Mary Kizito.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Introduction

In many nations around the world, media participation in military actions has increased dramatically in recent decades (Martinez & Durán, 2017). The reporting of military action, particularly conflicts and their consequences, has risen as a result of new visualization and witness inventions. Military-political and military-civilian contacts have been affected by the shift in what can be said and reflected in times of greater attention and political debate. Along with the ongoing divisions of the unseen or excluded, new areas of visibility, attention, and, at times, conflict have emerged (Jackson, 2018). Military resolutions have always had an open and covert arm to them. The new media circulation conditions have influenced their behavior rather than dramatically altering fundamental interests.

Wiest, Raymond, and Clawson (2015) noted that it is not easy to make Americans believe that not all Muslims are terrorists since the media has already took the first shot in soiled their reputation in the United States. Although human rights groups and Muslims organizations have submitted reliable evidence, their side of the narrative is blocked by what is already known to the public. As observed, the frame through which the media portrays the evidence may seem detailed in the consumers' face. Riffe, Lacy, and Fico (2014) said that this “poses a risk of developing preclusive thoughts that may compromise the role of the media to remain unbiased and accurate” (p. 6).

According to Deacon and Stanyer (2014), “by proactively engaging the media, the military can take advantage of its tremendous capacity to influence public opinion”

(p. 46). Moreover, the military and the media have for quite a while had a tense relationship precipitated by the military's need to control information as an operational requirement and the media's natural inclination to inform the public. This relationship first came into sharp focus during the Vietnam War when the media was blamed for the losses suffered by American troops and the general negative attitude of the American public. During Operation Desert Storm in Iraq in 1991 and Operation Iraqi Freedom in 2003 to 2011, deliberate efforts to improve this relationship were made (Tumber, 2014).

Media framing and description of contemporary armed conflicts mainly point to the defence of national security and war rumours. With the number of frames available, the frames may exhibit a complete view of an issue. The recipients of the information hold a key role in choosing the kind of media and frames they would want to be uncovered to in the newspapers; consequently, causing them to be exposed to identical frames and attitude reinforcement. Frames are most influential when they linger for a long time. The persistence, or ongoing repetition of frames, brings about explanations that are resistant to change. If frequently loaded with information that is framed in a specific way, an individual is likely to look at that framed referent of reality as reality itself.

Today, the function of the media has shifted from that of an observer to that of a participant and catalyst, and some individuals are concerned about the lack of definition in news reporting. This movement, however, is part of the gradual loss of mythological objectivity and adoption of subjective reality construction conceptions, according to Shinar (2004). The establishment global view, such as powerful countries and democratism, has obstructed logic in the past, according to the peace-journalism approach. However, that viewpoint is now fragmenting, making objectivity impossible in the presence of journalists. Hackett (1994) looked at American press articles during

the first two weeks of the Gulf War. He discovered three interpretive news frames that dominated press coverage of antiwar demonstrations: internal adversary, marginal anomaly, and genuine discussion. Differential treatment of diverse voices within the peace movement revealed that some perspectives were given more weight than others, and this pattern of journalistic discourse is linked to America's master narrative of war, which was undermined by the Vietnam experience.

Background to the Study

The media plays an essential role in creating the opinion of the public and influencing military operations, especially in this information age. It can influence decision-making processes which, in turn, guide what viewers consume (El Damanhoury, Winkler, Kaczowski, & Dicker, 2018). The media also, to a large extent, determines the action that audience will focus on specific issues by deciding what areas of news the public will see and hear and what they will not see and hear. The sway television news media has on public opinion formation is undeniable; therefore, the importance of news selection is crucial.

Previous studies on military operations have concluded that the media is an important part of modern warfare (Malka, Ariel, & Avidar, 2015). Successful military operations in the world depend on favourable perception by their citizenry. Informing the public is, therefore, a vital mission for most militaries. It is anchored on the idea that governments need to account for people's resources. Also, the military whose duty is to defend the nation from external enemies, and which from time to time will put the citizens in danger, has an obligation to inform family members of the safety of the nation and their relatives in the military.

Johnson (2005) argued that the reason for this information sharing is twofold. First, it reinforces the strength of the armed forces' in executing its missions in war and

peace by availing timely, true information regarding the military to soldiers, their families, citizens, and the public. At the helm is the idea that both soldiers and citizens should be aware of the function of the institution. Informed soldiers will survive and win if they are well versed with why and how of fighting. At the same time, informed citizens are more likely to sympathize and support soldiers. Johnson (2005) added that in cases where the opinion of the public is favourable it is easy to win battles, avert disasters and accomplish rescues.

According to Maltby (2013), the media presents news and information on military operations through frames. Additionally, Maltby (2013, p. 8) defined media frames as “persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse”. Jasperson, Shah, Watts, Faber, and Fan (1998) argued that framing is how media chooses to shape an issue's presentation. It influences the way viewers see the information. Framing of military operations was evident in the American media coverage of the Gulf War, to take an example. Further studies showed that there was a tendency toward self-glorification during the operation, neglect for the destruction of war, and the call to pledge loyalty to the flag. This was achieved through the use of frames (Maltby, 2013).

The Joint publication 1- Joint warfare of the armed forces of the United States gives a wide description on the importance of effectively successively working with the media (United States Joint Chiefs of Staff, 2000). It underscores that the views of the citizens of America and elsewhere, concerning the legality, appropriateness, and success of US military action have an strong influence on the activities of the Armed Forces of the United States. It states the following:

Public opinion influences the Armed Forces' ability to accomplish their missions and prepare for future uses of US military power. Therefore, US military leaders are responsible for providing timely and accurate information to the citizenry concerning the activities of the Armed Forces of the United States (p. 4).

On October 16, 2011, Kenya launched an offensive operation against al Shabaab in Somalia dubbed Operation *Linda Nchi* (Operation Protect the Nation). The Minister of State for Defence, Hon. Yusuf Haji, at that time stated that the main reason for Kenya Defence Forces' incursion into Somalia was to defend and protect the territorial integrity of the Republic of Kenya as stated in article 51 of the United Nations charter. To precipitate this feeling of insecurity, several incidents had taken place. On September 11, in a resort in Lamu, a British man was murdered, and his wife kidnapped; on October 1, a French woman, living in Kenya, was hijacked from her home; and on October 13, two Spanish aid workers were hijacked from Dadaab refugee camp. These incidents led to international outcry about the safety of foreign tourists and visitors to Kenya. The Kenyan Government saw this as a threat to its sovereignty, and with the approval of Somali's Transitional Federal Government, Kenya deployed its troops across the border in pursuit of the al Shabaab.

Prior to Operation *Linda Nchi*, the Kenya Defence Forces had not been engaged in an openly declared operation, more so across its own borders into a neighboring country. Therefore, the operation was bound to generate considerable interest from the media. It was the first opportunity for the Kenyan media to cover the military in action and hence became important examine frontline news. Addressing the issue became even more urgent considering the major changes that had taken place in journalism over

the last several years in relation to technology and format, totally different corporate structures, new target viewers and, not least, new forms of warfare.

Statement of the Problem

Successful militaries in the world now depend on positive and favorable perception by their citizenry. The media plays an important role in influencing these perceptions. Information in newspapers impacts the way a nation's public understands and responds to events (Gibbs & Hilburn, 2020). Examining how the media frames the military is pertinent for scholars. The different frames connected with the media are key owing to their performative nature, simultaneously identifying relevant actions and ultimately showing policy agendas and the concern and interests of different groups (Greer & Singer, 2017). Therefore, the importance of certain frames is inclined to policy and public understanding of military operations.

Operation *Linda Nchi* is the first military operation by Kenya Defence Forces across its border in defence of the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity. Even though many studies have been undertaken on coverage of the military in situations of war, none have been carried on Kenya Defence Forces. Although military operation provides an interesting angle of study, there is little research done in the African context to explore how the media frame warfare and hence the research gap which this study sought to fill. The study looked at various media frames used by the four newspapers. Since no study covering the Kenya Defence Forces had been done before, the researcher was among the first to study this unexplored territory.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to establish how the Operation *Linda Nchi* military operation was covered and framed by *The Daily Nation*, *The Standard*, *The East African* and *The Star*.

Objectives of the Study

1. To determine the dominant and prominent images of Operation *Linda Nchi* as framed by *The Nation*, *Standard*, *East African*, and *The Star*.
2. To establish the types of frames used in imaging Operation *Linda Nchi* by the media.
3. To establish trends in framing of Operation *Linda Nchi* in the media over the period of five months.
4. To determine the frequency of Operation *Linda Nchi* stories in each of the newspapers during the period of study.

Research Questions

1. What prominent images of Operation *Linda Nchi* were framed by *The Nation*, *The Standard* and *The East African* and *The Star*?
2. What types of frames do media use to image Operation *Linda Nchi*?
3. What trends were evident in the framing of Operation *Linda Nchi* in the media in the period of study?
4. What was the frequency of Operation *Linda Nchi* stories in each newspaper in the period of study?

Justification for the Study

During the Operation *Linda Nchi*, some journalists accompanied the soldiers into combat. The public expected to be kept informed on military operations and

heavily supported media recording of military activities. Therefore, it was necessary to conduct this study to examine how media framed the military operation in both Somalia and Kenya. The media sees their responsibility of describing military operations to the public just as crucial as the military commanders view their mission of carrying out the operation.

This study was informed by the framing concept where framing is a way of organizing ideas in a certain way to bring to the attention of the public favorable or unfavorable issues, in this case, related to military activity. Operation *Linda Nchi* was the first time the Kenyan military was put in the full glare of the media in a military operation in defence of its borders. Kenyan journalists were also covering a military operation for the first time. Because of this absence of coverage, there have been no studies on the Kenyan military carried out, especially on how the media in Kenya covers military matters. This was a first study of its kind and it set a foundation for future studies.

Significance of the Study

This was the first study to be carried out on framing the Kenya Defence Forces in an operation, as they defend Kenyan territorial integrity. It therefore stands out as the groundwork for subsequent studies of the same nature in Kenya and the rest of Africa. With various countries in Africa dealing militarily with the various threats, this study is significant in that it lays a foundation with regards to future studies on framing the military in Kenya and Africa.

The findings of this study could be help military leaders to understand how the media frames the military's operational security. The findings could also guide the media in enhancing their knowledge and skills in covering military operations. Finally,

the findings and recommendations of the study will provide a base for further research in the field.

Assumptions of the Study

The study assumed that prior to Operation *Linda Nchi* there was scant coverage of Kenya Defence Forces activities in the print media. Secondly, the study assumed that Operation *Linda Nchi* was covered by the *The Nation*, *The Standard*, *The Star* and *The East African*. Finally, the study assumed that journalists had specific images in which they framed the military operation.

Scope of the Study

This study covered Operation *Linda Nchi* news, stories, features, articles and photos from selected newspapers covering 15th October 2011 to 29th February 2012 when Kenya Defence Forces were absorbed under the umbrella of Africa Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM). The study selected Operation *Linda Nchi* because it was the major operation by Kenyan military and received much media coverage.

The Nation, *The Standard*, *The Star* and *The East African* were preferred because they are leading papers in Kenya and East Africa. In their 4th quarter (2011) ratings, Ipsos Media place *The Nation* readership at 87% and *The Standard* at 46% both by age group and by gender, based on the past seven days daily newspaper readership. This means they account for 80% of entire newspaper readership in the country. The *East African*, even though from the same media group as *The Nation*, was selected because of its diversity of source of reports and analysis, that is, the wider East Africa region. It brought alternative frames from those that are carried by the local papers, hence gave the researcher a wider perspective.

Limitations and Delimitations of the Study

This study covered a period of five months. This was a relatively short time in comparison to other studies done on media framing of war. Period limits were determined by the time of operation by Kenya Defence Forces before re-hatting to Africa Mission in Somalia (AMISOM).

The study looked exclusively at print media, in this case one weekly and three dailies. It left out other papers, radio, television and online sources. This was limiting in that each source is rich in frames.

The researcher is a member of Kenya Defence Forces. The background knowledge and experience he has on the problem under study could bring in an element of bias.

To counter the limiting period, the researcher selected the three dailies and one weekly that gave intense coverage to the operation, including embedding journalists with the forces. This ensured that each paper covered wide ranging topics in each of its issues.

Even though the choice of only one form of media could have been limiting, the density of coverage and therefore information in the selected papers within that period was expected to counter limitation of scope. There was ample material on the operation in each paper which confirmed that adequate frames would be coded satisfactorily.

To deal with researcher bias, the study used coders to record content. Neuendorf (2002) qualified the use of coders by indicating that when humans were used in coding and in content analysis, there was reliability. In a content analysis study, reliability referred to stability, which is the ability of coders to consistently re-code the same data in the same way over time; reproducing, which is the ability of a group of coders to

identify category membership in the same way; and accuracy, which is the degree to which a text's classification agrees with a standard or norm statistic.

Definition of Key Terms

Al-Shabaab: A terrorist, jihadist fundamentalist group operating in Somalia and the Eastern Africa region.

Framing: The angle or perspective from which a news story is told. It involves both the formulation of interpretive frames and their representation to others.

Media: The communication channels or tools used to record and transfer information or data and, in this study, it describes newspapers/print media.

Military: Armed Forces and its representative Services: Kenya Army, Kenya Air Force, Kenya Navy.

Operation *Linda Nchi*: KDF operation in pursuit of al-Shabaab in Somalia

Summary

This chapter has discussed the background to the study with specific focus on how media framed *Operation Linda Nchi* as a response to al-Shabaab attacks in Kenya. To achieve this the chapter has explained the problem which the study seeks to solve, it has also outlined the purpose of this study, objectives of the study, listed research questions, explained why the study is important, its significance, the limitations and the scope of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

In this study, the researcher looked at how print media frames the Kenya Defence Forces in *Operation Linda Nchi*. In particular, the study introduced the literature including military and the media forms a foundation to earlier framing and current frames used to cover most recent military operations and discussed the theories utilized in the study, summary of the chapter and the conceptual framework.

Theoretical Framework

Framing Theory

The technique through which media decides to convey a subject is known as framing. Framing, according to Gamson and Modigliani (1989), is a key guiding idea or "narrative line" that helps explain an occurrence. According to Chong and Druckman (2007), the main premise of framing theory is that an issue can be regarded from numerous perspectives and as having implications for a few values or concerns. The process through which people develop their conception of an issue or modify their perspective about an issue is referred to as framing. A simple definition of framing begins with a standard expectancy value model of a person's perspective. A view toward an object, in this regard, is the total sum of a series of evaluative beliefs about that object. In this context, a view toward an object is the whole sum of a set of evaluative beliefs about that thing.

A frame in a communication as Tuchman (1978) stated, organizes everyday reality while Chickering and Gamson (1987) added that this is done by promoting

definitions and interpretations of issues. According to Semetko, De Vreese, and Peter (2000), scholarly identification of frames in communication, or the critical perspectives focused on in a speech act, is accomplished by tracking frames to specify tendencies in issue definitions, compare coverage across media outlets, and examine variations across media types. According to Scheufele (1999), framing in the realm of communication refers to how news media reporting might influence public perception. Framing effects, in particular, are behavioral or attitude markers that reflect how a piece of information is presented in public discourse.

Multiple, partially overlapping components combine to form frames. For example, Gamson and Modigliani (1989) proposed that frames are determined by three broad factors: cultural resonance, sponsor actions, and media practices. Other influences include political actors' major communication behaviors, journalistic conventions and routines, individual reporter schemas, political beliefs, and culturally based explanations and perspectives. Framing research supports the assumption that national political elites influence media framing in terms of the importance of major communicative behaviors by participants in politics. The political administration, other elites, the media, and the general public all contribute to the shaping of news frames, but not at the same level, according to Entman's "cascading network activation model." What travels via the cascade, according to Entman (2004), are "highlights bundled into chosen, framed statements" (p. 12). Furthermore, culturally oriented news frames have the greatest influence on public opinion, and culturally congruent frames can be defined by the way they use words and images that are highly salient in the culture, that is, conspicuous, obvious, and emotionally established (Entman, 2004).

News items do not just reveal certain issues. Fairhurst and Sarr (1996) contended that the way in which information is revealed, (the frame) in which the news

is brought out, is also a preserve of journalists. Therefore, to him, a frame referred to the way media and media gatekeepers plan and package the events and issues they cover, and the way viewers explain what they are provided. Frames are abstract ideas that serve to plan or construct social meanings. Frames influence the reception of the news by the audience. Schuck and De Vreese (2006) said that news frames shape public opinion on important societal issues drawing attention to those aspects of the message through salience.

New frames are conceptual tools that media utilize and viewers rely on to present, explain, and judge information, according to Neuman, Just, and Crigler (1992). The frame establishes a tone for the story, emphasizing the message's reality. According to Miller (2002), prominence arises when a reporter draws attention to and remembers a specific aspect of a story. According to Fiske and Taylor (1991), as a message's prominence rises, so does the likelihood that the audience will retain it, finish it, and remember it.

As a result, the substance or themes that are highlighted in a story, as well as the absence of crucial concepts, can change the tone of the message. According to Entman (1993), to frame is to select some aspects of a seen reality and make them true in a language that communicates, in order to improve specific issue identification, causal interpretation, moral judgment, and/or treatment prescription for the item under consideration. Diagnose, evaluate, and prescribe are typical frameworks. If government foreign policy and major public opinion impact news framing, it is expected that the news depiction of the 2003 Iraq War in the United States will be more favorable than the news depiction in Sweden, reflecting support for and opposition to the war in each country.

In contrast, thematically-framed tales are more fact-based reporting. A thematic frame, according to Iyengar (1996), is a technique of classifying public concerns in a more general, unreal perspective and pointing to general results or situations. Because theme frames concentrate on facts and general evidence, they do not elicit strong emotional responses from viewers. As a result, thematic frames do not have the same impact as episodic framing. While most stories have elements of both episodic and theme framing, Iyengar (1996) argued that most stories are primarily episodic or thematically framed. He explained that the thematic frame differs in that it places public concerns in a more general or abstract perspective and takes the form of a "takeout," or "backgrounder," report focusing on broad outcomes or situations. Thematic framing, on the other hand, would provide more background material coverage than episodic framing. He went on to say that thematic framing necessitates in-depth interpretive analysis, which takes more time to prepare and is more easily swayed by accusations of journalistic bias. He went on to say that episodic framing tended to lead people to blame individuals as the cause of problems and assign blame for treatment to harsher sanctions, but thematic framing tended to advocate social responsibility as both the cause and treatment of issues.

According to Fung and Scheufele (2014) framing was used as a new scope to establish and study communication and related behavior in a broad scope of disciplines. Scheufele (1999) citing studies by McCombs, Shaw, and Weaver (1997) said framing is regarded as second – level agenda setting. This was used to describe the impact of prominence of characteristics of media recording on audience interpretation of news stories. The meeting point of framing and agenda setting was captured by Chyi and McCombs (2004) since framing goes beyond the prominence of an issue. This

convergence was particularly helpful because it showed how the media build a news event's prominence by homing in on different areas of the event during its life.

As Kinder (1998) pointed out, attitudes are influenced by frames. The brief activation and greater accessibility of ideas and concerns in memory is what framing is actually all about. Some "opinion elements were highlighted and made more accessible as particular frames became exceptional, while others were shoved to the side" (p. 174). Ordinary folks, with limited attention and information processing abilities (and, presumably, motivation), will concentrate on a small number of cognitions (beliefs) from a large number stored in long-term memory when considering a political problem. Zaller (1992) went on to say that cognitions that had been primed by a communicator's recent reference were easier to recall from memory and influenced opinion more easily than unprimed, inaccessible cognitions.

Iyengar (1996) researched the effects of framing in television news stories, categorizing them as "episodic" (reports that focus on individual occurrences or cases) or "thematic" (reports that cover a broad range of topics) (reports that focus on the broader context for the events or cases that may be presented). After researching several political issues, he discovered that framing has a significant impact on people's knowledge of these issues. His research indicated that episodic framing induces people to blame the impoverished for their own condition, but theme framing causes people to assume that poverty is caused by society, using news reports about poverty as examples. He also discovered that most news stories regarding poverty are episodic rather than thematic, and he concluded that the prevailing news framing for poverty causes society to shift blame to the poor.

Frames employed by journalists reflect cultural norms and ideas. Ettinger and Perfetto (1997) stated that the constructivist view of framing argued that the existence

and employment of frames is outside the individual intellectual construction but is rather a set of shared assumptions about culture and society. By analyzing the frames present in media coverage of an event, we can therefore see what cultural norms exist regarding the events in question. This study defined what frames are mostly employed in the coverage of violence.

In news reporting, the utilization of sources is an important framing tool. During the war, the news media mostly relied on official sources and relied on information from government and military sources (Tumber & Palmer, 2014). Whether the government attempted to control the flow of information by restricting access to the war zone, establishing a pool system of reporters, or embedding (Fahmy & Johnson, 2005; Pfau et al., 2005), the media continued to rely on government and military officials as their primary source of information. Brown (2013) stated that during times of conflict, the government, the military establishment, and the media were all heavily reliant on one another. In fact, he believes that these three institutions are interdependent to a degree that the public, leaders, and academics have yet to recognize.

Frames define issues, identify causes, make moral judgments, and suggest solutions. According to Gamson and Wolfsfeld (as reported in Ryan, 2004), the media and government frameworks developed in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks closely followed these events, although in a very limited way. The problem, according to Kellner and Uricchio (as cited in Ryan, 2004), was that only America was attacked; the cause was evil, misguided, religious, and directionless zealots; the moral judgment was that the zealots were immoral, while Americans were righteous; and military strikes were the solution. The editorials examined in this article did not address the causes of the attacks or alternate cures.

According to Papacharissi and de Fatima Oliveira (2008), utilizing frames to confront a crisis like a terrorist attack can assist identify the major causes and accountable actors, make moral judgements, and, lastly, offer policy measures. As a result, the frames used by the media to record terrorism, as well as those chosen by governments to cover and respond to this type of action, have an impact on society's perception of it. The frames chosen by a particular society contextualize different methods of understanding terrorism and terrorist attacks. The distinction between terrorists and freedom fighters, for example, is not always evident across political regimes. This theory was selected because it helped to explain how media gave attention on certain issue such as Operation *Linda Nchi* in a way that the public could understand.

Agenda Setting Theory

Prior research on agenda setting and framing illustrates how different media forms deliver information differently. According to Miller (2002), the media does not directly share opinions on problems, but rather highlights the issues on which individuals should express their thoughts. However, to cover a topic, the media must first pique and retain the audience's interest. As a result, media uses techniques like framing and sensationalism to keep audiences interested. The media, on the other hand, must first identify the stories it wishes to tell before constructing the framework of a story that elicits a specific response from the audience. This process of establishing what stories to present to the audience is what agenda setting is. The process forms the relationship between framing and agenda setting.

Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw are credited with introducing agenda setting theory in their seminal study of the role of the media in the 1968 presidential campaign in Chapel Hill, North Carolina, in 1972. During the 1968 presidential election, the study looked into the opinions of 100 indecisive voters on critical subjects

and compared them to real media coverage. The subjects were practically identical in ranking, with a correlation of .97, and the findings supported their premise that the mass media set the agenda for public opinion to include specific topics. agenda for public opinion to feature specific topics.

The hypothesis is based on human nature, which is curious by nature, and claims that people have an inborn drive to learn about their surroundings. This lack of awareness of our surroundings is referred to as dissonance by Leon Festinger, and it necessitates people initiating behavior to return to a state of consonance or connectedness. Individuals must adjust to their surroundings/environment to be oriented. The news media, in the context of agenda setting theory, give this orientation.

According to Miller and Halberstadt (2005), the media agenda is the set of issues addressed by media sources, while the public agenda is the set of issues that the public considers important. Furthermore, despite the fact that the proof that mass media has a significant impact on campaign attitudes is far from conclusive, they tell us that According to McCombs and Shaw (1972), the evidence that voters learn from the amount of news accessible throughout each campaign is stronger. The amount of attention paid to political news in the media varies greatly. Those who have had the most exposure to the media are more likely to comprehend the candidates' positions on various issues.

According to Lang and Lang (1966), the media's agenda-setting function forces people to pay attention to specific subjects. They create popular perceptions of political people. They are continually presenting objects, implying what the general public should believe, know, and feel. They went on to say that while the press fails miserably at telling people what to think, it excels at informing its audience what to think about. While the media may have little influence on the direction or strength of attitudes, it is

thought that the media sets the agenda for each political campaign, influencing the prominence of attitudes toward political topics.

According to Littlejohn and Foss (2009), agenda setting theory explains the relationship between the importance that media audiences attach to problems and the focus that the media provides them. It is a study of how the media and other organizations promote and frame issues and events for their audiences, so influencing and guiding public opinion, whether intentionally or unintentionally. As a result, agenda-setting theory has had a significant impact on research in mass communication and political communication, as well as the advancement of many organizational communication, persuasion, and diffusion-of-innovations theories.

The primary principle of agenda setting theory is to make news material visible and so generate an agenda for the public to discuss. According to Brooks, Kennedy, Moen, and Ranly (2005), the news media have a significant influence on viewers in terms of determining what topics are considered noteworthy and how much prominence and space they are given. The core principle of agenda-setting theory, according to Bhengu (2006), is salience transfer. The ability of the news media to transmit important issues from their news media agendas to public agendas is known as salience transfer. Editors and news directors grab our attention and impact our opinions on the most important issues of the day by selecting and displaying the news daily.

General Literature Review

Media Relations and Coverage of the Military

Matters concerning coverage and framing of military activities by media have lately stirred interest to both the military, the media and other interested parties globally (Roman, Wanta, & Buniak, 2017). This is due to a marked change in the dynamics that dictate how each of the organizations operate and the new realization that as

democracies grow, responsibility to the public is better defined and therefore the public is increasingly aware of their right to information. Johnson (2001) noted that governments and societies globally began a deep transformation in which citizens are becoming more knowledgeable and are seeking for rights to exercise control over the institutions that once controlled them. He said that for professional armed forces to remain relevant, they must show that they have a useful function by rendering accounts, taking credit for the numerous activities they are involved in, and by inspiring trust. Further, military leaders find it useful to pull down their barriers to communicate with civilian policymakers, law makers, and ordinary citizens to secure money from the national budget and rights to conduct major operations.

According to Rai (n.d.), the connection between the military and the media is evolving in all major democracies around the world, owing to some important changes. This scenario of change, which has evolved over several years, has shifted the balance of power towards the media, posing a new set of difficulties for the military to address if it is not to be at a significant disadvantage in future operations, both in conflict and in peace. The military must examine how it interacts with the media and make the necessary adjustments to re-establish a relationship in which the military and the media can successfully collaborate for the benefit of both parties and society.

To further elaborate such arguments, Goebel, Marshall, and Locander (2004) posited that many times conflict between the two groups was caused by differing missions. The goal of the media was to update the public in real time and to maintain a competitive edge among other media organizations. The military wanted to maintain operational security so that military can succeed, and the troops can be safe. Regardless of previous battles, the military required to collaborate closely and properly plan for media engagement in every future fight. He explained why in two ways. The first

argument was that, because of technical advancements, the media's power was rapidly growing, and they would be present in any future battle or operation. This presence would be extremely important to the commander and his planners in future operations. Similarly, the presence of the media in real time affected public opinion in the United States and its allies on the fight. He added the second rationale. The conclusion of the "cold war" cast doubt on the need for a big, permanent military presence. To maintain popular support, the US military relied on the media to tell its story.

The decision to focus on the military rather than war sparked an interest in institutional dynamics and identity work carried out through media technologies and communication practices. It was important to note that most of the research on the intersection of military and media came from sub-disciplines or fields other than media and communication, such as security studies, war studies, popular geopolitics, military sociology, critical military studies, or feminist international relations (IR) (Basham, Belkin, & Gifkins, 2015; Woodward & Neil Jenkins, 2011).

The wars in Afghanistan and Iraq occurred at a time when media technology was rapidly evolving. Within the conflict zone, the use of computerized cameras, mobile phones, and later protective cap cameras, along with unrestricted sharing on social media platforms, has transformed the way military encounters are intervened. Both the traditional operational security worries of the military pecking order and the set up codes and aesthetics of war detailing have been disrupted by modern media hones and employments. Much has been written about the sometimes contentious portrayal of combat from the perspective of soldiers, as well as the incomprehensibly connective and recordings (Kennedy, 2009).

There has been a continuation of the usual channels of description developed by defense journalists and war columnists of daily papers, radio, and television near the

various underutilized elements of media–military connections. However, many of the elements we've discussed have influenced their work — the associations they make, as well as the language and images they use. These have influenced the situation "on the ground," the political outlines at work around journalistic story-telling, and, of course, the desires of viewers and crowds of people situated or perhaps in an unexpected way to military action, its defenses, and its substances, then the media groups of onlookers of the past (Matheson & Allan, 2009). The change within the flow of the relationship between the military and the media is acknowledged by Johnson (2001). He mentioned the endeavors to upgrade this relationship through the innovation of Public Affairs divisions. He included that open undertakings are backed by the idea that government must render accounts for the assets given to it by the individuals. Besides, the military - which guards the country from outside foes and occasionally puts the public's children and girls in harm's way - is obliged to keep family individuals educated of the security of the country and their relatives in uniform.

The advancement of official approach on media scope of military operations has reflected the military - media relationship itself. Venable (2002) noted that the later expansion of two exceptionally critical concepts of which military pioneers had to be mindful: security at the source and implanting. Security at the source means military staff being met must guarantee that they don't uncover classified data. Inserting implies treating individuals of the news media as individuals of units and permitting them to go with the units on missions. Since the conclusion of the Vietnam war, the military has made noteworthy strides in lessening contact with the media. It is worth noticing, in any case, that the advancement of military-media approach was hampered by the "post-Vietnam fault the media" demeanor numerous military pioneers illustrated. This state of mind cultivated doubt, which tragically numerous military pioneers still harbor. Of

course, a certain degree of skepticism is both anticipated and necessary in the planning process because classified information is sensitive.

Globally, the media progressively plays guard dog to governments and non-governmental organizations and so made a difference characterize the perceptions and substances of individuals around the world (English, 2005). Since the mass media, as institution, has the part of watch dog, it progressively decides, frequently ahead of approach producers, the plan of political dialogue. News and pictures channeled around the world affect the way a nation's public sees and responds to occasions. In reaction, the open shapes political talk about, influencing a nation's policies. This public quarrel over the cycle has a military-coordinated effect. When the public has military recommendations, the media has an impact on the reasons and implication for which the military fights wars and how it builds various military inner arrangements. In this way, the free press serves as an eyewitness to one of America's most public institutions, sometimes strengthening and sometimes splintering the citizen-soldier tie. It accomplishes this by establishing a system of checks and balances that maintains the American people's faith in their political system and military forces.

According to Payne (2005), the media is undeniably a weapon of war in the modern day. This is because, in today's world, winning a war depends just as much on swaying domestic and international public opinion as it does on defeating the adversary on the battlefield. Regardless of the efforts of many journalists to provide an objective and unbiased appraisal of conflict, this remains true. The US military's experience in the post-Cold War world shows that victory on the battlefield is rarely as straightforward as destroying the opponent by force of weapons. Success has been measured in political terms rather than military terms in places like Somalia and Haiti,

as well as Kosovo and Afghanistan. Military commanders today stand to gain more than ever before by influencing and shaping the media's output.

Winning the media war is crucial to Western war planners, according to Payne (2005), and increasingly sophisticated techniques for doing so have been developed—albeit with changing circumstances. And, while the means and destinations of going to war have changed dramatically over the last decade, the press has undergone a substantial transformation as well. The advancements of the last decade hardly require practice; from 24-hour rolling news stations to the proliferation of on-line current issues websites and blogs, the news-oriented open now includes a wider range of sources than it has in the past, and the military now has a commensurately more complex task in winning the data war.

As a warning, Holm (2002) stated that by naming the press as a foe, the military is also getting a foe. Unfortunately, when the chips are down, an adversarial press will not be particularly forgiving. An organization as large as the United States military is bound to reflect a cross-section of the population it pulls from—both good and bad. As a result, there are sure to be instances in which nefarious elements within the military engage in off-base behavior, and a few of those instances need public scrutiny – just as if the wrongdoer were a banker, a schoolteacher, or a legislator. The military's approach has frequently been to circle the wagons rather than embrace distinctions and allow one inadvertent unfavorable narrative to accentuate the numerous positive stories in comparison. The military has self-inflicted most of its public wounds.

Military doctrine records provide a method via which both military personnel and operational commanders can respond to media inquiries. One can construct assessment criteria with which to compare the military's media engagement arrangements based on tenet and authentic knowledge into the past. From the American

Civil War to the wars in Vietnam, Iraq, and Afghanistan, to the present Syrian displaced person crisis extending across Europe, media reach and war photography have been a big part of the consideration. And during that time, the role that news coverage, media, and conflict photography has played—or been allowed to play—has always rotated energetically with the US government's participation in global conflicts.

Whereas the first half of the twentieth century saw a controlled release of data as purposeful publicity to the public in World War II to portray a certain image, the Vietnam War in the 1960s and 1970s proved to be a watershed moment in news coverage and US foreign policy, with writers reporting from the conflict in Vietnam having little to no censorship or restrictions from the government. The Vietnam War is widely seen as the turning point "between the relatively unrestricted access by the press throughout all previous US conflicts and the rigorously regulated access during the Persian Gulf War" (O'Callaghan, Michalovicz, Mill oy, & Kelly, 2017).

The importance of involving the military in the democratic process, as well as the value of having access, is recognized in many countries. It lays out guidelines for commanders and public affairs officers to follow while dealing with the media and the public. It emphasizes that, because of the effects of modern technology, public affairs professionals must be media savvy, engaging the media proactively and anticipating future needs. Otherwise, the military will be forced to play a defensive, catch-up role. Ventre (2016) emphasized the need for public affairs and media engagement to be integrated into both the information and civil-military operations plans. When dealing with the media, each has a particular point of view to consider. Ventre (2016) went on to say that the news media has a big influence on a country's national will and, as a result, political considerations. He asked commanders to think about the impact of the

media on other countries and how reporting might change the political environment of another country.

In his paper, Yarbrough (1994) offered recommendations and suggestions for military-media relations in future wars or clashes. He demonstrated that the military must acknowledge the reality that the media is the vital implies of getting their story to the open in times of strife. They must utilize the media as a command data device for the families back domestic. Too, when the military makes a mistake, they ought to say so and not attempt and cover up the mistake. Covering up terrible news as it were gets the military in inconvenience with the press and the public. Moreover, he exhorted that the military ought to never mislead the press. On the off chance that operational necessities keep from telling the full story, at that point they must clarify why they cannot give the data. Too, the military must set firm ground rules. If that the rules are advocated, the press and the American individuals will get it. Sixth, media pools are essential in future clashes. He goes on to say that every day briefings are essential for the press to induce the fu full picture. Finally, he said that military public affairs need to better train officers and soldiers about press interviews.

Media Effects During War Coverage

What impact the “war on terror” talk had on groups of onlookers could be a matter of significant insightful talk about. The whole ponder of mass communications is based on the preface there are impacts from the media, however it appears to be the issue on which there's the slightest certainty and slightest understanding. Later investigation, in any case, focuses to a wide extend of media impacts. Schnell and Callaghan (2005) attested negligible impacts inquire about is ruined, contending the media shape the way the open considers approximately legislative issues and alter[s] the criteria by which political players are judged. Too fighting, Entman (2004) noted

that surrounding inquire about neutralizes the negligible impacts worldview. So also, Zaller (1998) expelled “minimal effects” considering, contending public opinion is regularly molded by tip top, mediated talk. Even qualitative research suggests “audience consent to dominant media frameworks” (Lewis, 2001, p. 86). Moreover, Lewis stresses hegemony is not “seamless domination” either – or that media influence “is not something that is experienced as oppressive – on the contrary, it may be experienced as fun” (Lewis, 2001, p. 87).

According to Smith (2005), war is not a fair thing for elites to choose to conduct with the use of open relations procedures. They organize and legitimize military activity by utilizing pre-existing social assets, codes, and translation classes. When on-screen characters successfully adjust their ambitions with positive social standards, wars occur as a statement of control. This supports the notion of framing as an ideological grasp inside a larger political context, with the goal of uncovering how these implications relate to the back and forth (Carragee & Roefs, 2004). The Sweep of the War on Terror necessitates this more interpretive approach – which we distinguish from other studies that compare issues that are exhibited more barely inside one outline or another – as well as offering a specific issue description and response. For example, Entman (2007) appears to analyze the War on Terror but distinguishes an issue arrangement within it as war-with-Iraq, as opposed to the powerful writers Seymour Hersch and Thomas Friedman's 'counter-framing' war-with-Saudi Arabia. However, the larger macro-frame, which has no logical competition, still sets the bounds for this discussion. Bennett, Lawrence, and Livingston (2016) chastised the press for failing to question government policy at the time, but they also work at a more specific level – whether, for example, Iraq's Abu Ghraib jail torture was referred to as 'torture' or 'abuse.' Ghraib jail torment outrage was alluded to as ‘torture’ or ‘abuse’

Stories of strife are framed inside parallel categories of great versus. fiendish, or one ethnic race against another, in this way driving to a distortion of issues. This fashion of detailing came into favor amid the Cold War time when two mammoth hegemonic frameworks – capitalism and communism - were in ideological encounter. It has gotten to be encourage settled in since 9/11 and the ‘War on Terror’ addresses by American President George W. Bush. Much of the news scope is almost the first class, be they government authorities, military, or opportunity warriors. Numerous of the abominations are arranged at the beat level of government or the military. It is amusing at that point that these are the exceptionally individual universal media turn to as a source of data.

The media is not duty one of the conventional issues is that writers are regularly seen as exterior of those prevailing talks. As being on the sideline of the societal playing field, watching the things that are happening and not being portion of it, the catchphrase is of course separation, which you will discover in journalistic discourses quite regularly. It may be curious to problematize that portion, as writers cannot be withdrawn from those talks. They are implanted inside these talks, and they have a particular relationship with that ideological show of war. At the same time, they

The media is bound to protect human rights, but the truth that it works as a transport of data between the state and society, requires media specialists to act dependably. The Universal Committee on Human Rights¹⁰ noted that press flexibility is straightforwardly associated with autonomous News coverage Hone, conditions without which, other human rights are imperiled. It can hence be contended that data as an angle of media opportunity could be a right as imperative as the proper to life, or restorative care. Individuals have the correct to know, it is their journey for human uniformity and equity (Dahal, 2013). Manhandling of media opportunity thus imperils

fundamental human rights and goes against the soul of a free society, beneath which free media are set up. It imperils the exceptionally rights the media is anticipated to secure. Watson (2011) unequivocally proposed that the subject of human rights is recognized within the field of News coverage, particularly in case the media conditions are set to respect and guard against manhandling.

The official period of the 2003 Iraq War's news framing provides an important and intriguing case study on how national political agreement pushed media framing. Because the war was such a crucial event, it's hardly surprising that a few considerations about its media impact have already been written (Aday et al., 2013). In any case, there are few studies comparing how news media in different countries covered the war, with a few exceptions. This absence in the research is disappointing since comparative studies can help us better understand how the national political climate influences the media in different countries (Esser & Pfetsch, 2004; Hallin & Mancini, 2004).

Empirical Literature Review

Previous research has demonstrated that the ability to influence public opinion is more vital to the media rater than it is to the military, because the military can function and achieve their objectives without the support of the media. The majority of the time, the media would prefer to provide news with objectivity rather than uncritical support for military, but this would not be well accepted by the general population. The media's lack of neutrality is particularly obvious when reporting from the front lines, where military personnel may refuse access because they are concerned about the reporter's safety. The military will always utilize the safety card in their arguments, whereas journalists considers open media repression. Whatever the military-media relationship is like now, as soon as impartial reporting begins from the battlefield, that relationship

will be in jeopardy (Braman, 2003). For both sides, public opinion is extremely crucial, and it necessitates their complete attention.

Previous studies have showed that the ability to influence public opinion is more important to the media rater than it is to the military, because the military can function and achieve their objectives without the assistance of the media. Most of the time, the media would prefer to display objectivity in the news rather than uncritical support for military, but this would not be widely appreciated by the general population. The media's lack of neutrality is particularly noticeable when reporting from the front lines, where the military frequently refuse access because they claim to be concerned about reporters' safety. The military will continue to use the security card in their arguments, whereas news coverage considers media censorship. No matter how close the military and media are connected, as long as impartial reporting begins on the front lines, that link will be extremely difficult to maintain (Braman, 2003). For all sides, public opinion is extremely important, and this necessitates their full consideration.

Greenspan (2015) claimed in a study that increased and very rapid communication can sometimes overcome military censorship systems, allowing secret material to become public. He went on to say that the Vietnam War was difficult because the military, in most cases, declined to comment on certain occurrences, which created additional public outrage and media criticism. At the time, the perception that the military is secretive grew in popularity. Also, if required, respond to the media from a position of knowledge. When dealing with highly classified military material, the media must avoid speculating to avoid creating an information vacuum. Furthermore, the opponent will always try to feed their own material to the media (Hill, 2001).

During a war, national interest is a critical aspect in the framing process. According to Yang (2003), ideology and national interest may share some meanings

and implications. Ideology refers to a person's or organization's value or belief system, whereas national interest refers to a country's position in international affairs. He quoted Brands (1999), who stated that national interest is a vision of a larger common good that deals with the specific interests of parties, factions, and other smaller groups. As the principal source of foreign policy, news texts, and national interest, they should have a significant role in influencing news coverage.

When Henry (1981) studied journalism and patriotism, he observed that reporters became patriotic during difficult times. Finally, journalists determine, prioritize, and format the narrative flow of events as they make news by identifying with their own countries. Their primary concern when framing news is the welfare of their own country. He went on to say that the media must rely on official points of reference to frame matters within the confines of the government's foreign policy and to order media texts to serve the country's interests.

According to Dimitrova, Kaid, Williams, and Trammell (2005), American media coverage of the Gulf War was frequently condemned for a tendency toward self-glorification, a disregard for the horrors of war, and a demand to swear fealty around the flag. Other analyses show positive bias for US military activities in CNN coverage of the first Gulf War, according to Kaid and Holtz-Bacha (1994). One of the few early studies comparing how the 2003 Gulf War was portrayed in different nations was undertaken by the German company Media Tenor (n.d) (The Czech Republic, Germany, Great Britain, South Africa, and the United States). On this analysis, Kaid and Holtz-Bacha (1994) had this to say:

There were significant differences in the war coverage among these five countries. For example, the BBC often reported problems with journalists' working conditions whereas American TV did not raise that issue. The study

also observed that American TV news rarely if ever showed visuals of dead or wounded soldiers from the Allied Forces but tended to mention such casualties verbally. The opposite was true for dead, wounded, or missing Iraqis. The heavier presence of pictures of Iraqi casualties on American TV news suggests that framing was achieved not only verbally but also visually. Clearly, framing can be done in text and in pictures. We included six predefined frames used in previous studies. Our findings indicated that U.S. and international news web sites framed the Iraq War differently in this defining early coverage. Of the six frames examined in this study, statistically significant differences were found across four frames. (p. 89)

There is need for the military to censor their information rather carefully because the world is so technologically connected that even smallest leak of information can go viral in seconds. The military can control this by disclosing only the information they choose and thus presenting some sort of transparency to the public while at the same time controlling it.

Mccombs (2004) expressed the need for introduction could be a mental concept, which suggests that it depicts person contrasts within the want for arranging signals and foundation data. He added that two concepts, pertinence and vulnerability, characterize an individual's need for introduction. Pertinence is the primary and of essential significance as a person will feel less noisy in case a circumstance or issue is not actually important. Subsequently, in case significance is low, individuals will feel the require for less introduction. There are numerous issues that are just not pertinent to individuals since they do not influence them. Numerous news organizations endeavor to outline issues in a way that endeavors to create them important to its viewers/readers. Usually, their way of keeping their viewership/readership high.

In their study of framing of the war in Afghanistan, as reported through CNN and Al Jazeera news, Jasperson and El-Kikhia (2003) revealed that U.S. coverage often “employed frames that reinforced the administrative position and patriotic messages. Al Jazeera coverage, on the other hand, did not concentrate as much on military and strategic issues, but rather frequently focused on alternative policy approaches and on the Afghani death toll” (p. 54). The media gather public opinion according to certain frames through which they present activities and individuals. Kellner (1991) indicated that the frames used to present possible U.S. military intervention or war involves creating a picture of the adversary.

Another study by Dimitrova et al. (2005) looked at breaking internet news coverage of the Iraq War. They discovered that the military conflict (99%) and human interest (82%) frames were frequently employed in the US news media, while the responsibility frame was rarely used (15%). Journalists presented people opposed to the war as deviants, whereas those engaging in pro-war demonstrations were framed as reflecting the norm, according to research conducted on recording before the war. The content analysis revealed significant differences between the two papers: for the US war coverage, the military combat frame was more popular, but for the Swedish war coverage, the responsibility and anti-war protest frameworks were more popular. Human interest stories and media self-references were featured in both newspapers.

Carpenter (2007) found that reporters accompanying American forces seemed to record the war more favorably in a study of the Iraq war. She discovered that supporting newspaper recording during the first five days of the war was more likely to elicit episodic (more specific or event-oriented) frames than thematic (more general) frames, according to Pfau et al. (2005). She also discovered that during the invasion phase during a nineteen-day period in November 2004, embedded television news

reporters used more episodic frames. She went on to say that in times of war, US elite publications frequently utilize the conflict frame. Her study relied on earlier operational definitions of framing that were confirmed by Dimitrova and other researchers. The military conflict frame, the human-interest frame, the responsibility frame, the media self-referential frame, the diagnostic frame, the violence of war frame, and the anti-war frame have all been utilized in past studies.

Because of the unique position Stars and Stripes reporters possess in connection to the US military, studies on journalists working for military-oriented periodicals like the Stars and Stripes have many similarities to studies on embedded reporters. Embedded journalists rely on military troops for protection and basic requirements in exchange for access, which leads to sympathetic rather than critical reporting (Kellner, 2004). Stars and Stripes offices are placed on military sites around the world, and reporters are given military ID cards and other benefits, such as access to tax-free exchange markets (Elmore et al., 2010). These similarities to embedded reporters make Stars and Stripes reporters "the ideal embeds," as Elmore et al. (2010) put it (p. 314). Embedded reporters agreed to terms that effectively shielded them from scrutiny of the potentially harmful effects of combat on civilians and ensured that journalistic stories followed the military's preferred interpretation (Kellner, 2004).

Conceptual Framework

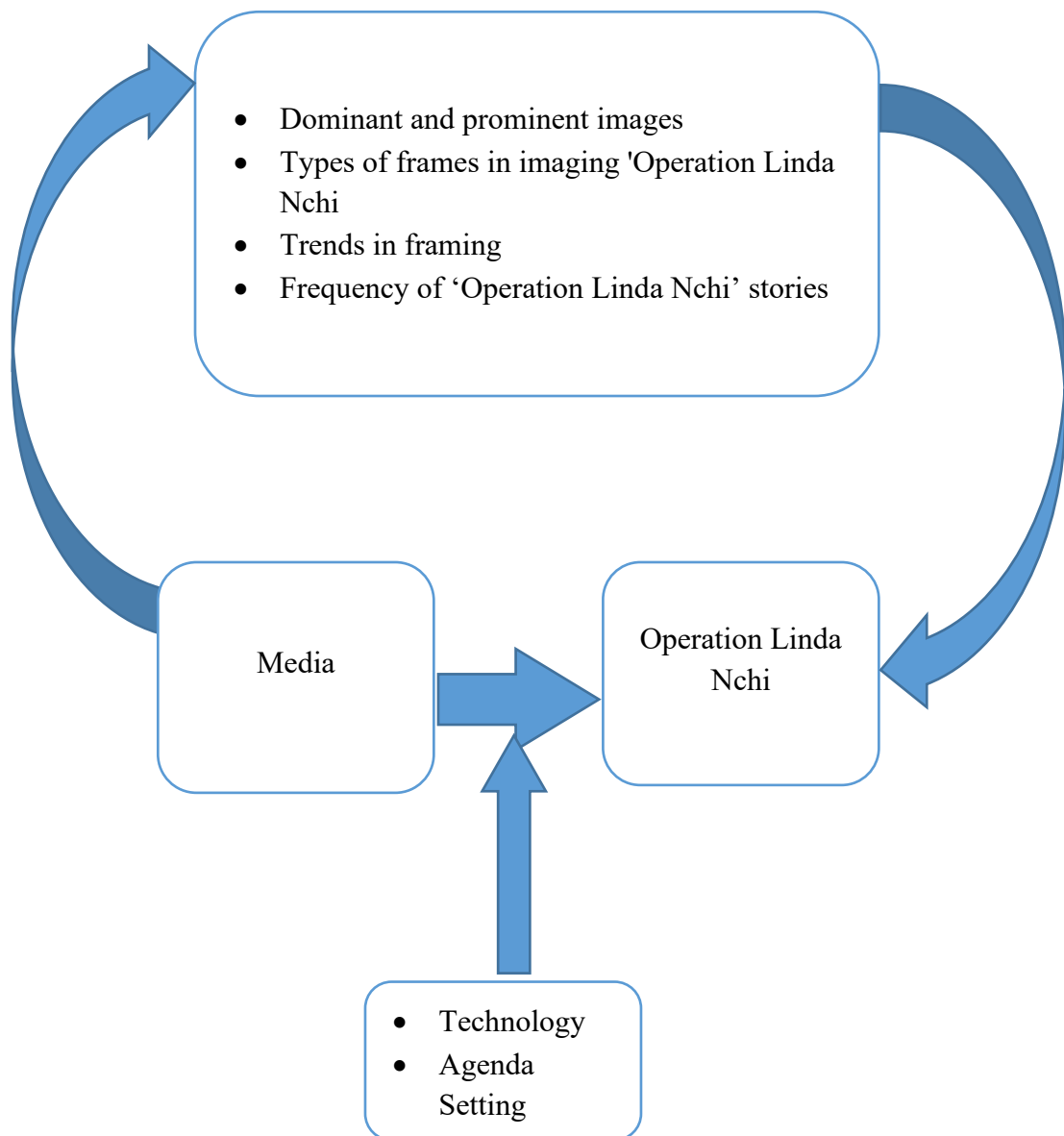


Figure 2.1: Conceptual Framework

Source: Author (2020)

Summary

Based on the review, media frames are contained in journalistic stories in newspapers. To frame according to Entman (1993) means to select some aspects of a perceived reality and while various studies reported that media were more likely to use the military conflict and violence of war frame, emphasis on rebuilding of Somalia frame would be interesting for current study. Therefore, this study will incorporate an

amalgamation of studies by Carpenter (2007) and Dimitrova and Strömbäck (2005) whose categories of media frames correlate with those that the researcher deems practical in the case of Operation *Linda Nchi*. Previous research on military news has found that information is structured in a way that leads to war or other conflicts, rather than domestic military concerns. This study fills in those gaps by looking at how media frame military news during conflicts or military operations (aside from the embed program). Furthermore, no research has been done on how the media portrays military operations, and this study fills in those gaps.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

A research methodology according to Kothari (2004) is the way to find a solution research problem. Research methodology outlines the various steps that are a researcher follows in unraveling the research problem, along with the logic behind them. Research methodology focuses on both the research methods and the logic behind the methods used in the context of research study.

Research Design

The research method for this study was content analysis. Content analysis, according to Austin and Pinkleton (2006), is a scientific study tool for quantitatively or numerically explaining communication content. According to them, content analysis is used by researchers to create objective, systematic, and quantitative descriptions of specific components of communication. The conclusions of content analysis are objective since they are based on an objective classification system rather than the informal observations and biases of the researchers.

Content analysis was chosen for this study, because as Stacks (2002, p. 56) stated, “content analysis is particularly appropriate for analysis of documents, speeches, media releases, video content, scripts, interviews and focus groups.” In this study, it was appropriate in analyzing newspaper content on Operation *Linda Nchi*. However, content analysis has some limitations. Reinard (1998) stated that one of the shortcomings of content analysis is that it does not permit a researcher to draw cause-and-effect conclusions. It restricts the researcher to descriptions. In the case of this study, it described the number of anti-operation references in newspapers but did not

reveal the impact of those references on people. He added that another limitation is that the results of one content analysis cannot be generalised to other studies that use different categories. For this study therefore, comparison of other content analysis studies that did not use military categories as those adopted by the researcher would prove to be unproductive.

The study explored the framing of the Kenya Defence Forces in Operation *Linda Nchi* by Kenyan newspapers. In doing so the definition of framing as stated by Entman (1993) was closely followed. He stated that framing is choosing some aspects of a seen reality and emphasizing them in a communicative text to support a specific issue diagnosis, causal interpretation, moral judgement, and/or therapeutic recommendation for the item presented.

Population

In this study, the population selected were all the selected newspapers published between 15th October 2011 and 29th February 2012. These days include a day before the Operation *Linda Nchi* started and the days following the absorption of Kenya Defence Forces into Africa Union Mission in Somalia. All stories in Daily Nation, Standard 'The Star' and East African' portraying the Kenya Defence Forces, during the military operation Operation *Linda Nchi* in Somalia are part of this population.

Target Population

The Daily Nation was initiated in 1958 and it started as a Swahili weekly called *Taifa* by the Englishman Charles Hayes. In 1958, HH the Aga *Taifa* bought it and changed into a daily newspaper, *Taifa Leo* in January 1960. On 3 October 1960, an English language edition called *Daily Nation* was first published, in a process organized by former editor of the *British News Chronicle*, Michael Curtis.

The Standard was established as the *African Standard* in 1902 as a weekly. Alibhai Jeevanjee, The Standard's founder, sold the paper to two British businessmen in 1905, who changed the name to the *East African Standard*. In 1910, it progressed to a daily paper and moved its headquarters from Mombasa to Nairobi in 1910. By then, the newspaper presented a strong stand against colonialist viewpoints. In 1963, the British-based Lonrho Group bought the newspaper only a few months before Kenya's independence. The paper then changed its name to *The Standard* in 1977 and later the name *East African Standard* was revived. In 1995, it was sold to Kenyan investors. In 2004 the name was changed back to *The Standard*.

The EastAfrican is a weekly newspaper published in Kenya by Nation Media Group. It circulates in Kenya and the other East African countries including Tanzania, Uganda and Rwanda. It carries stories and detailed analysis from each country in the region and internationally. According to its own estimates, the paper is sold in Kenya (50%), Uganda (20%) and Tanzania (30%).

In their 4th quarter 2011 ratings, Ipsos Media CT placed *The Nation* readership at 87% and *The Standard* at 46% both by age group and by gender, based on the past seven days daily newspaper readership. This means they account for 80% of entire newspaper readership in the country. There is a total of 416 issues in the period under study. These issues are further broken down into 138 copies of *Nation*, 138 copies of *The Standard*, 21 copies of *The East African* and 119 copies of *The Star*, to form the population for this study.

Sample Size

The study used purposive sampling to select four newspapers: Nation, Standard, The East African and The Star. This sampling design is based on the judgement of the researcher as to which paper was deemed to provide the required information to enable

an objective study. This was also based on readership poll reports of the time. Only articles covering Operation *Linda Nchi* were extracted and analyzed and this resulted to 503 articles.

Sampling Technique

A sample according to Wimmer and Dominick (2006) is a portion of the population that represents the entire population. Reinard (1998) further stated that sampling involves choosing subjects from a population. Researchers rarely sample all possible events, but they depend on a section of all data to draw conclusions. Stempel and Westley (1989) indicated that a good sample should be more representative; that is each unit in the sample should be represented in the sample. When it comes to a sample and for that matter the sampling method for this study, the researcher considers the possibility that not every issue of the newspaper under study will have a story on Operation *Linda Nchi*. To ensure that there will be enough stories for analysis the researcher will have the entire population put under the analysis of its content.

Unit of Analysis

Units of analysis, according to Babbie (1979), are those units that are initially described for the sole purpose of aggregating their tendency to describe some larger groups or explain some abstract phenomenon. Wimmer and Dominick (1994) extended this more specifically when they state that “in written content the unit of analysis might be a single word or symbol, a paragraph, a theme or an entire article or story” (p. 9). To establish how the print media framed the military the Kenya Defence Forces in Operation *Linda Nchi*, the unit of analysis was the article. This is because a newspaper article refers to a specific frame. The researcher acknowledges an article as a self-contained unit capable of housing a specific frame in a comprehensive way. In

journalism writing, there is tendency to have very short sentences and sometimes a sentence might be an entire paragraph in case the sentence which is a paragraph does not convey the needed frame according to the categories, then it will simply be left out. This will happen regarding longer paragraphs.

Category Construction

Categories guide the researcher to classify the content of the publication or messages in the media. Wimmer and Dominick (1994) pointed out that “all category systems should be mutually exclusive, exhaustive, and reliable” (p. 159). A category system is “mutually exclusive if a unit of analysis can be placed in one and only one category” (p. 160). Categories also show the purpose and objective of the study. This is important to maintain a focus on the phenomenon being studied. Robson and Robinson (2015) added that category construction depends on the types of questions that the researcher is seeking to answer.

This study has a two-part focus as the objectives and research questions stipulate. First, it is the importance that is given to Operation *Linda Nchi* which is highlighted with categories such as placement and length of story. Second, framing is reflected in categories that deal with portrayal of the actual military operation during Operation *Linda Nchi*. The framing is based on categories proposed by Dimitrova and Strömbäck (2005) and Carpenter (2007). However, while they proposed eight categories for the framing of issues related to the military (armed forces), for the purpose of this study, nine have been constructed.

Agenda setting categories are those used by the researcher to identify the prominence of Operation *Linda Nchi*.

Type of story

This will mean hard news, features, commentaries and analysis and editorials. Hard news are real time factual stories. Features are subjective stories appearing on features pages. Commentaries or analysis are opinion stories by columnists and other writers which are positioned on commentary pages. Editorials are the type of stories that take positions on certain topics. Any editorial that contained content on Operation *Linda Nchi* was analyzed.

Length of story

Dearing and Rogers (1992) indicated that the longer the story the greater the significance of an issue in print media. The length of the stories covering Operation *Linda Nchi* were measured using centimeters to establish their importance during the period under study.

Placement

Di Martini et al. (2008) pointed out that newspapers inform readers what is crucial and meaningful through the positioning of stories on the pages. The most significant stories are placed on the front page, then back page and the third page of the newspaper. The analysis put this category into consideration to establish where the stories on Operation *Linda Nchi* were placed.

Photographs and illustrations

Click and Baird (1974) indicated that both pictures and texts are needed in contents and the best editor is the one who most expertly considers how texts and pictures can go together to present contents. Stemple (1984) said that the use of visuals along texts increases impact on the audience. The study will include in the analysis the photographs and illustrations that cover Operation *Linda Nchi*.

Cartoons

This will mean humorous or satirical drawings, especially in newspapers or magazines, concerning topical events. They are drawings bringing out a humorous situation, often followed by a caption. This study considered cartoons that appeared on the cartoon page and carried content that captured Operation *Linda Nchi*.

Letters to the editor

In a study done by Duke University Writing Program (2007), letters to the editor were defined as feedback given by those who read newspapers, magazines, or other publications. They addressed a variety of topics: commentary on local, state, national, and international current events, responses to opinions and stories in the publications. In this study, any letter to the editor meant any letter addressing the issues related to Operation *Linda Nchi*.

Frames categories

Frames in this study focused on how the newspapers framed or portrayed Operation *Linda Nchi*. Trasciatti (2003) stated that frames structure the meaning of social reality for readers and viewers and can be a powerful tool for setting media agenda.

Military conflict frames

These meant a story focusing on the military action, on troops, and on equipment related to the armed forces of Kenya, Somalia and the Al Shabaab.

Human interest frame

This meant a story focusing on soldiers or other engaging in humanitarian efforts in operation such as food aid, medical outreach, distribution of clothing, and offering spiritual nourishment and counseling.

Responsibility frame

This referred to a story that focuses on the party/person in charge of the event. This could be the commander, soldier, the al Shabaab militia, a government official or the Trans Federal Government official during operation Operation *Linda Nchi* either in Somalia or Kenya.

Diagnostic frame

This is a story indicating a broader discussion of what caused the event. The cause could be carelessness, human error or unspecified.

Prognostic frame

This is a situation where a story engages in the wider discussion of the likely effects of the event. Issues on loss of life, property, livelihoods, change in local life in Somalia attributed to Kenyan soldiers, the TFG soldiers or al Shabaab.

Violence of war frame

This referred to the focus is on the ravages of war, including statements about the resulting effects of bombing and injury/casualty totals.

Anti-war protest frame

This refers to a situation where the focus is on present opposition to the operation, with war protestors or demonstrations against the war either in Kenya, Somalia, al Shabaab Somalia or Somalis abroad.

Media self-referential frame

This refers to the media, that is, the journalists and their engagement in the war. That is journalists' involvement in reporting from the front, and their experiences in the war zone.

Patriotism frame/ rallying around the flag

This meant emphasis on praise of Kenya Defence Forces, Kenya government, and Kenya as a country.

Coding

This is when numerical value is given to media content. Stempel and Westley (1989) have defined coding as the assigning of arbitrary numerical values to certain content characteristics. One significance of the coding process which Babbie (1979) has identified was the conversion of a wide variety of typical items of information to a more specific set of attributes comprising a variable. For example, 'Type of story' was coded as hard news, feature, commentary / analysis and editorial.

Training of Coders

A one day training for two coders was held. A few selected papers published in the period under study were used for coding the content for the purpose of coders understanding the content of the categories and where to code them on the coding sheet. The coders sought clarification on the coding process and the appropriate responses. Above all, the coders were made to be of one frame of reference as the main researcher. Reliability of coding was also put to test.

Reliability of Coding

According to Tinsley and Weiss (2000), intercoder dependability is the degree to which independent coders evaluate a message's feature and come to the same conclusion. Although this term is appropriate for indicating measurement consistency in general, intercoder agreement is a more specific term for the type of consistency necessary in content analysis. They wrote that "while reliability could be based on

correlational (or analysis of variance) indices that assess the degree to which ratings of different judges are the same when expressed as deviations from their means, intercoder agreement is needed in content analysis because it measures only the extent to which the different judges tend to assign the same rating to each object” (Tinsley & Weiss, 2000, p. 143).

Inter-coder reliability is widely accepted as a critical component of content analysis, and while it does not guarantee validity, when it is not correctly established, the data and interpretations of the data cannot be deemed legitimate. Since one of the goals of content analysis is to identify and record relatively objective (or at least inter-subjective) qualities of messages, dependability is crucial, according to Neuendorf (2002). Content analysis measures are useless without establishing reliability. Inter-judge reliability is often recognized as the benchmark indicator of study quality, according to Kolbe and Burnett (1991). The high levels of discrepancy among judges indicate flaws in study methodology, such as insufficient operational definitions, categories, and judge training.

Intra-coder dependability, on the other hand, is a measure of how consistently a coder's judgments are made across time. It assesses the degree of inconsistency caused by elements such as alertness, mood, noise, exhaustion, and the volatility of targets' behaviors that occurs over time.

Inter-coder dependability can be measured using a variety of indices. Popping (1988) discovered 39 different agreement indices for coding nominal categories, although numerous strategies for interval and ratio level data were left out. However, only a few strategies are commonly employed. Percentage agreement, Holsti's approach, Scott's pi (p), Cohen's kappa (k), and Krippendorff's alpha are all regularly

used indices in communication (a). The percentage agreement will be used by the researcher in this investigation.

Types of Data

The data used in this study was extracted from all the newspaper articles that covered Operation *Linda Nchi*. Specifically, both quantitative and qualitative data were collected. Quantitative data was collected by use of coding book/data collection instrument while qualitative data was collected using short descriptive instrument. On the other hand, qualitative content analysis examined the interaction between the text and its possible audience meaning, recognizing that media texts are polysemic – open to a variety of meanings to different readers – and tried to establish the likely meaning of texts to readers.

Data Collection Instruments

The research utilized a coding book and coding sheet to collect data from the four selected newspapers. The coding book is a schedule containing details of the newspaper and information as guided by the objectives of the study.

Data Collection Procedures

The data for this study was collected from four newspaper articles covering Operation *Linda Nchi*. The articles were identified and thereafter extracted. To undertake the process, the research first identified articles in the newspapers which reported on or discussed the operation. Secondly, the newspapers pages containing the articles were marked for easy referrals. The research further developed a coding sheet which contains specific details such as date, name of newspaper, topic, the area placed and even space for entering qualitative data. Once the sheet is ready, the selected data were entered into the sheet and later exported to SPSS for analysis.

Pretesting

The study conducted expert-driven pre-tests of the coding tools to determine its effectiveness. Considering the data was accessed at Media Council of Kenya's media monitoring, the researcher invited media monitoring experts to identify challenges with the questions or response options in the data collection instrument.

Data Analysis Plan

The study analyzed both quantitative and qualitative data. Quantitative data collected from the newspaper articles was recorded using numerical codes to facilitate analysis. Data was captured for computer analysis as matrix, where each column represented a variable and each row a case. Descriptive statistics (frequencies and percentages) were processed to capture and explain the collected data, using tables, intensity scales, graphs and charts. The relationship between the frequency of coverage and the likelihood of mentioning key military related themes was examined. The data were exported into SPSS 24.0 for analysis.

Textual analysis is the logical choice for qualitative research exploring framing in newspapers. The goal of textual analysis, Fürsich (2009, p. 247) wrote, "to explain which cultural sensibilities prevail that allow for such a text at this specific point in time." According to Berger (1998), when researchers use textual analysis, they "assume that behavioral patterns, values and attitudes found in this material reflect and affect the behaviors, attitudes and values of the people who create the material" (p. 23). This reveals a connection to framing theory, since framing theorists noted that "journalists choose frames based on their own background, values, beliefs and experiences, as well as institutional biases and newsroom norms" (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009, p. 67). Textual analysis show the process of constructing media texts, the use of symbols to convey meaning and portrayal of opinions and beliefs about individuals or groups (ideologies)

through texts (Fürsich, 2009). This agrees with framing theory, which focuses on how media package stories to raise and lower various sections of the news (Haigh & Bruce, 2017).

Ethical Considerations

The study took into consideration several ethical principles. First, the Organization/Media House whose media monitoring system or office was used gave consent for the researcher to use their offices and equipment. The principle of informed consent means that a researcher provides sufficient information and assurance regarding participating in the research so that individuals understand the implications of participating or using their offices and equipment. The researcher also obtained a research permit from National Commission for science Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI).

Data protection is an important component in every organization and hence the study also adhered to privacy because it is of paramount importance to ensure they give knowledgeable consent.

Summary

This chapter has discussed the methodology that was adopted by the study. In particular, the study presented the research design, content analysis which is suitable for analysis of documents, speeches, media releases, video content and scripts. Additionally, the chapter discussed the target population and sample size, data collection instruments as well as data analysis and presentation of findings.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

Introduction

This study was carried out using content analysis as the method of research and covered a period of five months with a total of 503 newspapers from Nation, Standard, The Star, and The East African. These formed the population under study. The unit of analysis was the article. Pictures and cartoons were content as well. An Operation *Linda Nchi* article was any news content easily identified by wordings and pictures.

Findings from data analysis are presented in this chapter. The data were collected and then analysed in response to the research problem brought out in chapter one of this study. Data collection and the subsequent data analysis was guided by two fundamental goals. The objectives of this study were used to develop knowledge on the study area and these objectives were accomplished. The findings brought out in this chapter show the potential for framing of Operation *Linda Nchi* by Kenyan media.

Analysis and Interpretation

Frequency of Articles

An article was the unit of analysis and in total there were 503 articles in the study. Articles were derived from text in news stories, illustrations and pictures. This study analyzed the coverage of Operation *Linda Nchi* by four newspapers: Daily Nation, The Standard, East African and The Star. A total of 503 articles in all the newspapers mentioned Operation *Linda Nchi* with Daily Nation 201(40%) articles, Standard 176(35%), East African 22(4%) and The Star 104(21%). Nearly three quarters of the articles covered Operation *Linda Nchi* in news report with feature 6%, opinion piece nearly 18% and editorial 2%. This is shown in Figure 4.1.

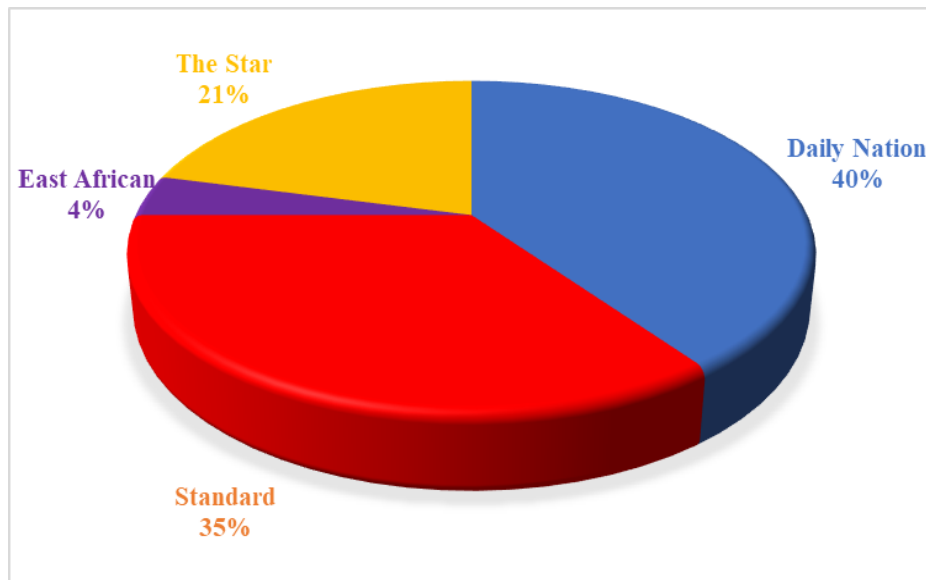


Figure 4.1: Frequency of Coverage

Overall, data from this study indicates that all the newspapers analyzed had the highest percentage (26%) of Operation *Linda Nchi* articles in the month of January 2011, and lower in the month of October 2011 and an increase was observed between the month of November (102 articles) and December (113 articles) before dropping in February 2012. The data below confirms that the 2011 Operation *Linda Nchi* triggered news coverage on military intervention, for the function of increasing the magnitude of recording and its stable reference when recording other military operation news even in later activities.

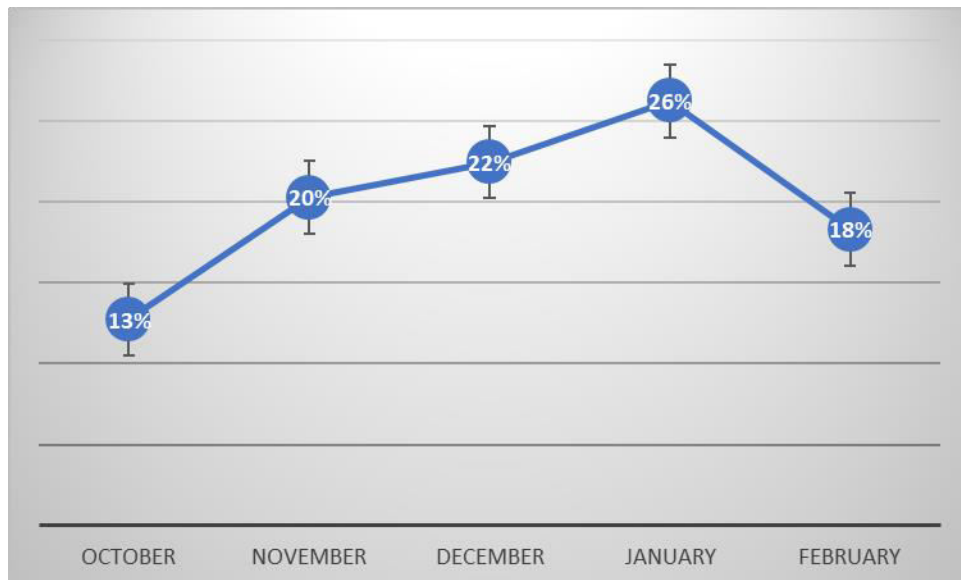


Figure 4.2: Overall Frame per Month

Type of Story

When looking at the type of story, the study considered how Operation *Linda Nchi* stories were framed by type. This was categorized as news reports, features, commentaries / opinion pieces analysis and editorials. News reports were timely factual stories. Features were subjective stories appearing on features pages. Commentaries/ opinion pieces and analysis were opinionated stories by columnists and other writers which appeared on commentary pages. Editorials were the type of stories that took positions on certain topics. Any editorial that contained content on Operation *Linda Nchi* was analyzed.

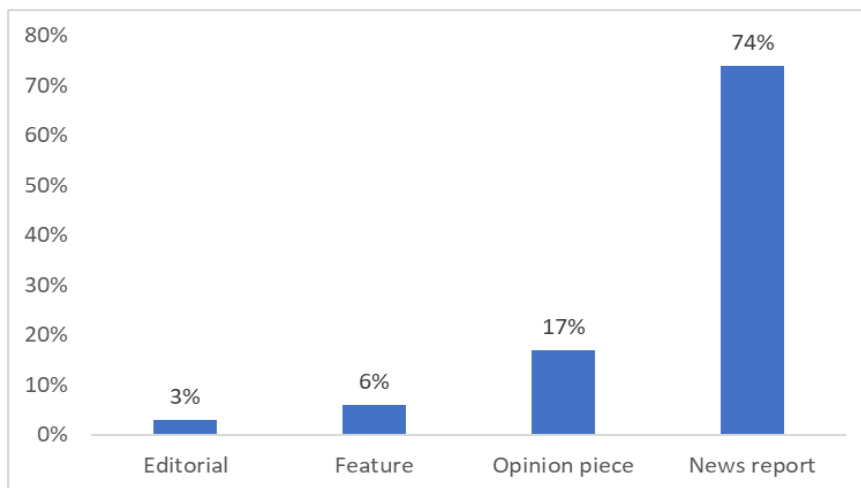


Figure 4.3: Type of Story

As the data indicates, overall, there are 374 news reports (74.4%), 30 features (6.0%), 87 opinion pieces (17.3%) and 10 editorials (2.0%).

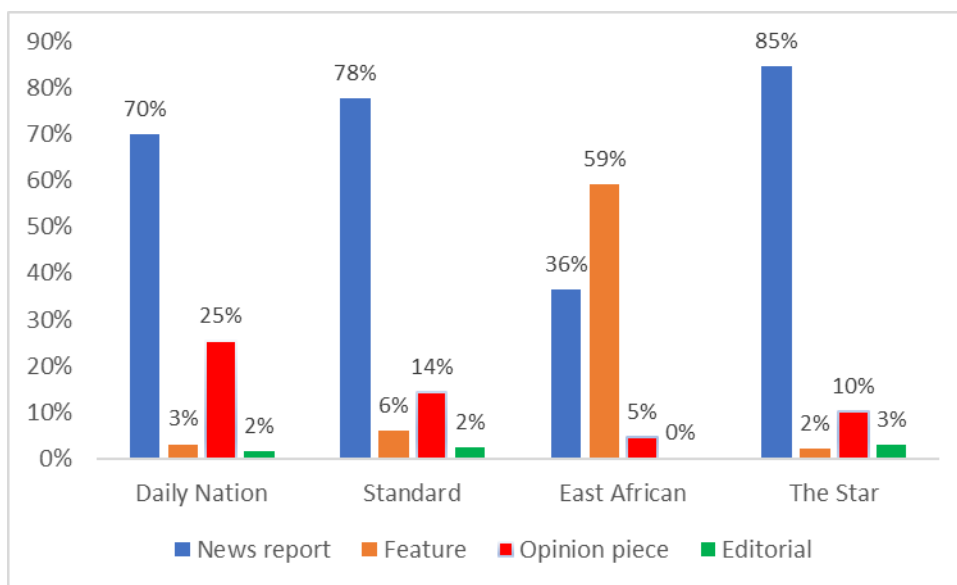


Figure 4.4: Cross Tabulation of Story Type

For Nation (70.1%), Standard (77.8%), and The Star (84.6%) news reports were the main type of story on Operation *Linda Nchi*. On the other hand, The East African carried more features (59.1%) than News reports (36.4%). All media houses covered had very low percentages of editorials. Nation had 3 (1.5%), Standard 4 (2.3%), the star had 3 (2.9%). The East African had none. Overall, Operation *Linda Nchi* were framed

in almost all the story type indicating the diversity in news and opinion presented during the operation.

Size of Story

Results from this study indicate that Operation *Linda Nchi* featured prominently in all newspapers with mentions covering quarter page 24%, more than a quarter page 20%. In addition, 17% half a page with more than half a page story constituting 16% while more than a page and entire page 15% and 7% respectively. Majority of the articles in the Daily Nation, that is 13%, gave prominence to Operation *Linda Nchi* in more than a quarter of a page while in Standard newspaper a quarter was the highest constituting 8%, in the East African newspaper more than a page 2% was the highest and lastly the Star with a quarter as the highest coverage constituting 8%.

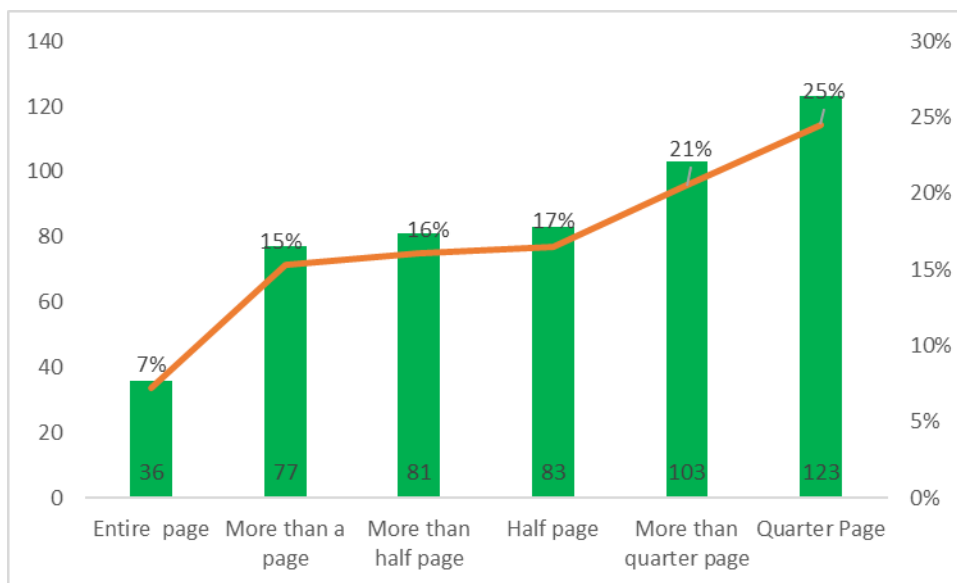


Figure 4.5: Size of Story

Story Placement

Figure 4.6 shows how articles framing Operation *Linda Nchi* stories were placed in the four newspapers. Story placement meant the place where the story was located within the newspaper pages. A front or back page indicated the highest prominence

given to an Operation *Linda Nchi* article, while a story placed on the inside pages had low prominence.

Almost all newspapers allocated a significant coverage to the topic where majority 74% of the articles mentioned Operation *Linda Nchi* in inside pages of the newspaper with only 2% placing stories in back page while 5% on front page, both front and inside constituting 19%. As showed by the study the papers did not give the topic prominence according to Pimentel (2010) who argued that important stories are placed on the front page, back page and third page.

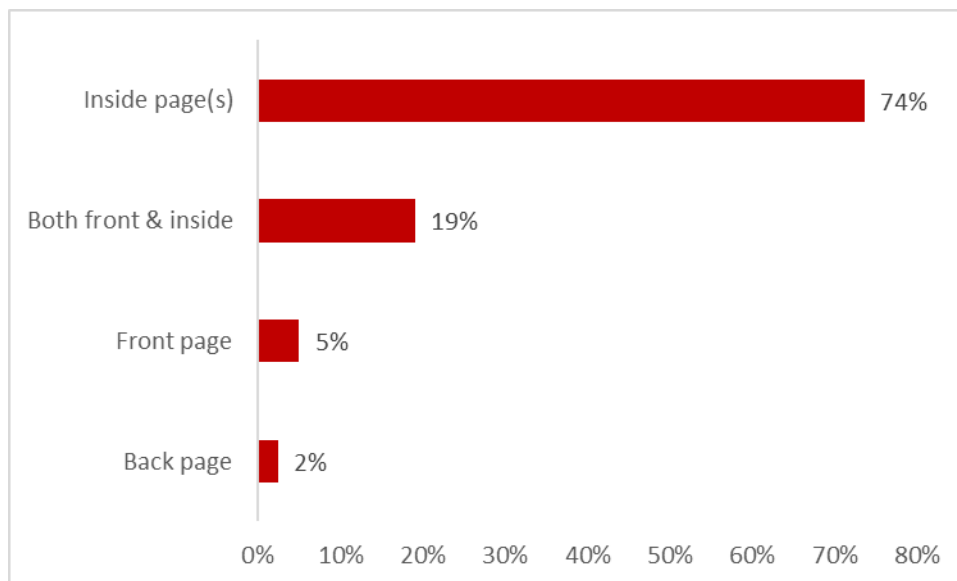


Figure 4.6: Placement of Stories

The East Africa newspaper did not have frames in both front and inside but highest in frames on front pages. Moreover, frames were observed inside pages in across all newspapers and only Daily Nation had frames in the front page. When it comes to placement, the data shows that majority of articles framing Operation *Linda Nchi* (73.6%) were placed in the inside pages. The front page had 5.0% and the back page had 2.4%.

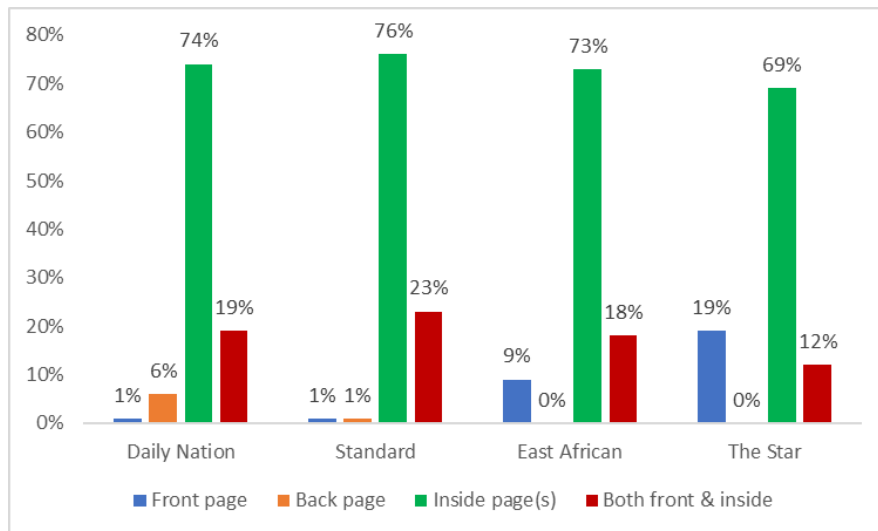


Figure 4.7: Placement per Newspaper

Pictures and Illustrations

There were 374 pictures and illustrations depicting Operation *Linda Nchi* in the period under study. This is tabulated in Figure 4.8. Most of these pictures accompanied a story in 71% with 25% without pictures and only 2% depicted Operation *Linda Nchi* picture as a story.

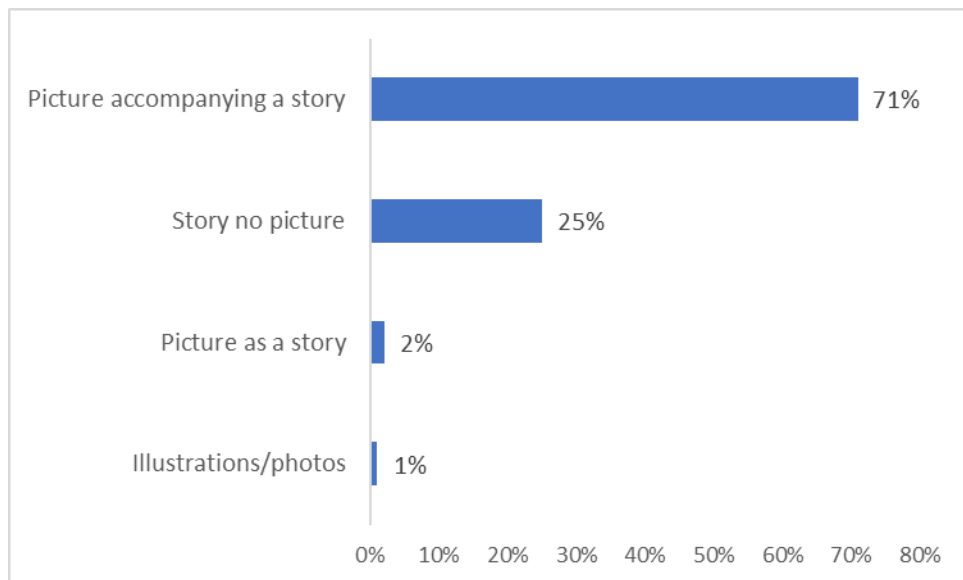


Figure 4.8: Photography and Illustration per Newspaper

In individual media houses, the above was further broken down as follows. Table 4.1 shows that East Africa 96% had the highest depictions using picture accompanying text with the Star 33% having more depictions in stories without pictures. Furthermore, the findings show that few of the newspaper articles could neither fit either of the variables – photography or illustration as shown in Table 4.1. This overall data indicates that *Standard* carried the highest percentage of pictures as story (5 = 2.8%) while ‘Nation’ carried the highest percentage of pictures accompanying stories (149 = 74%). The *Standard* also carried the highest percentage of stories without pictures (47 = 26.7%) a slightly higher percentage than *Nation* (46 = 23%). News stories maintained similar frames reported a crucial difference in the frames used in illustrations for each newspaper.

Table 4.1: Photography & Illustration per Newspaper

	Picture as a story	Picture accompanying a story	Illustrations/ photos	Story no picture	Other	Total
Daily Nation	2%	74%	1%	23%	0%	100%
Standard	3%	70%	1%	27%	0%	100%
East African	0%	96%	0%	0%	5%	100%
The Star	2%	63%	2%	33%	1%	100%

Frames of Stories on Operation *Linda Nchi*

Military conflict frame

As seen in Table 4.2, majority 97% of all the newspaper frames did not focus on either military action or equipment with nearly half (46.9%) focusing on military action by Kenya while slightly higher than one eight (16.3%) focused on Kenyan troops. The frames also focused on al Shabaab with 10.5% military action by al Shabaab, nearly 6% al Shabaab troops and both papers gave less coverage to military equipment from either side. Several newspapers seem to have a tendency to frame the

narratives around war operation, strategies, and organization (dominated by the coalition soldiers).

Table 4.2: Military Conflict

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percentage	Cumulative Percentage
Military action-Kenya	236	46.9	46.9	46.9
Military action-al Shabaab	53	10.5	10.5	57.5
Troops Kenya	82	16.3	16.3	73.8
Troops al Shabaab	28	5.6	5.6	79.3
Equipment Kenya	5	1.0	1.0	80.3
Equipment al Shabaab	2	.4	.4	80.7
Other	97	19.3	19.3	100.0
Total	503	100.0	100.0	

Human interest frame

Figure 4.9 shows a significant 96% of the articles were noted as focusing on other things and only 5% focusing on human related interests including food assistance 2%, medical outreach 2 % and only 1% story about individual soldier.

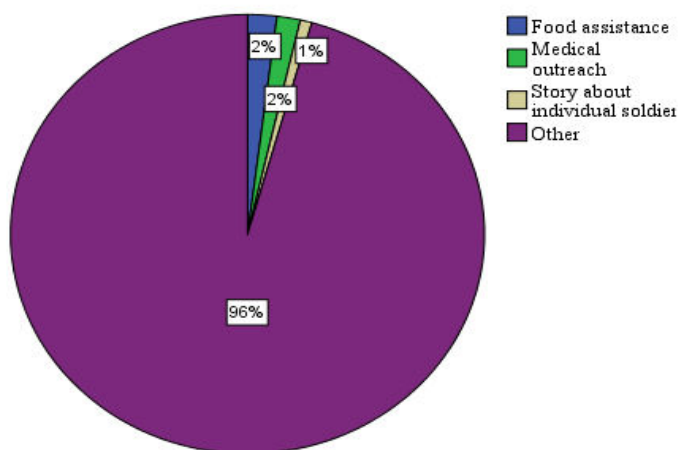


Figure 4.9: Human Interest Frame

Responsibility frame

Results from this study, as shown in Figure 4.10, show the newspapers gave emphasis on the responsible parties/person during the war and this was evident when 15% of the articles mentioned commander of Kenya with 22% focusing on soldiers and 21% Kenyan Government. Only 4% emphasized on commanders of al Shabaab with

13% on the militants al Shabaab and 4% focusing on TFG with 2% soldiers from Transitional Federal Government (Somalia).

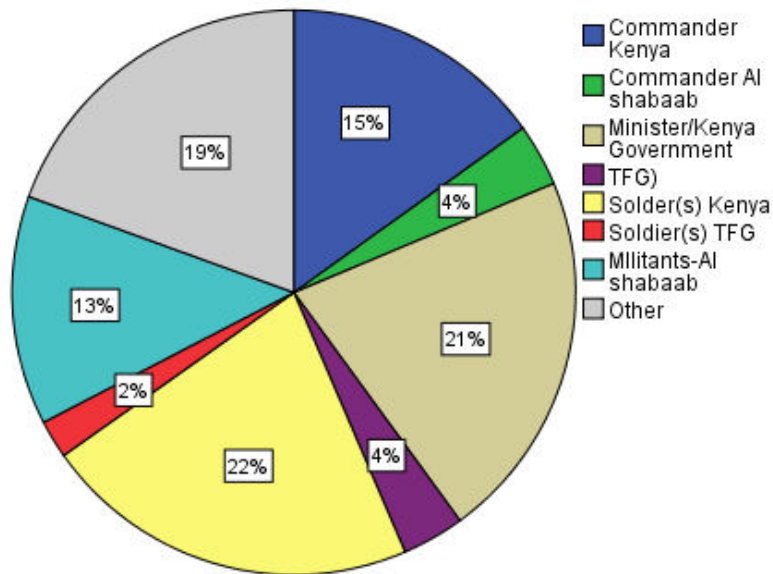


Figure 4.10: Responsibility Frame

Diagnostic frame

Table 4.3 depicts diagnostic frame where majority 37% were order Kenya while 11% order al Shabaab. One notable thing about such frame is that organizing a news story can be done either based on a dominant, content-specific theme or in accordance with a certain pattern for “selection, emphasis, and exclusion” of news information of a certain characteristic.

Table 4.3: Diagnostic Frame

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Order-Kenya	186	37.0	37.0	37.0
Unspecified	25	5.0	5.0	41.9
Order-TFG	21	4.2	4.2	46.1
Order-al Shabaab	56	11.1	11.1	57.3
Carelessness-Kenya	1	.2	.2	57.5
Carelessness-TFG	1	.2	.2	57.7
Carelessness-al Shabaab	2	.4	.4	58.1
Human error-Kenya	3	.6	.6	58.6
Human error-TFG	1	.2	.2	58.8
Other	207	41.2	41.2	100.0
Total	503	100.0	100.0	

Prognostic frame

Figure 4.11 reveals that nearly 49% of the articles did not engage in broader discussion of any possible consequence with slightly above a quarter (25.6%) focusing on loss of life by either side (Kenya, TFG or al Shabaab). Loss of property and loss of livelihood constituted nearly 3% and results also show that Operation Linda Operation received support through appreciation from Somalis at home and across other countries. 17.3% mentioned a change in Somalia for better with slightly above 2% indicating a change in Somalia for worse.

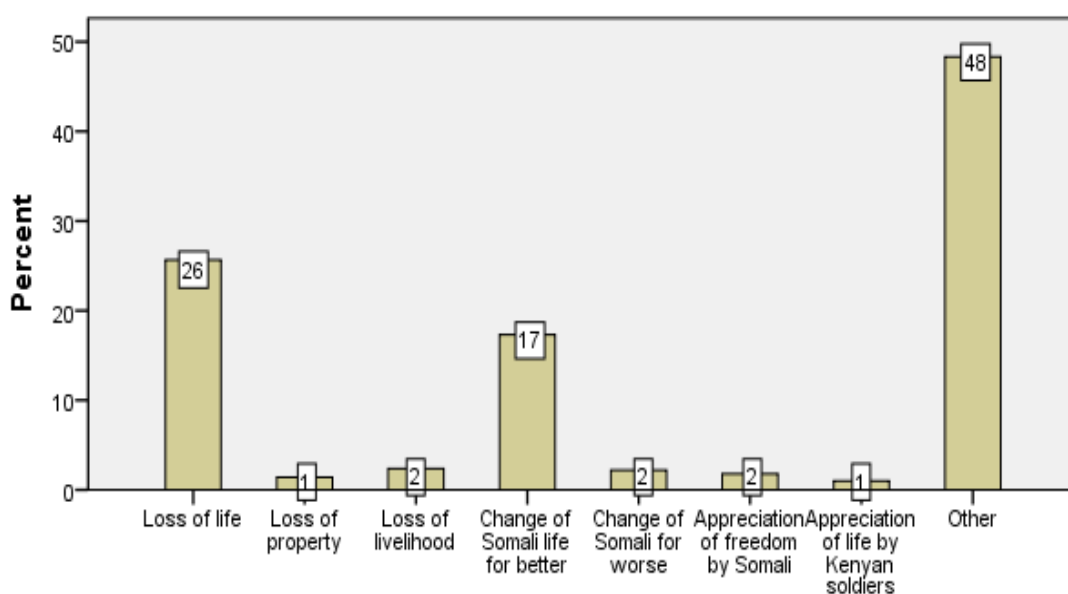


Figure 4.11: Prognostic Frame

Violence of war frame

As Table 4.4 shows of the 503 articles analysed, majority nearly 60% did not emphasize on the ravages of war (including statement about impact of bombing and injury/casualty). Results show that 20.1% focused on people who died during the war, nearly 7% and 4% casualties and destruction of properties respectively. Also, the newspapers focused on displacement (9.5%) of people from their homes.

Table 4.4: Violence of War Frame

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Destruction of property	19	3.8	3.8	3.8
Casualties/injuries	34	6.8	6.8	10.5
Death of people	101	20.1	20.1	30.6
Displacement	48	9.5	9.5	40.2
Other	301	59.8	59.8	100.0
Total	503	100.0	100.0	

Anti-war protest

Table 4.5 indicates that the vast majority 87% of the frames did not focus on any anti-war protest. Most certainly, due to their opposition, al Shabaab 9% were against the war. In addition to this trend, Somalis outside Somalia were against the war with 2% Somalis in Kenya and less than 1% Somalis in diaspora and Somalia. While some people protested Operation *Linda Nchi*, others condemned acts by al Shabaab. On 9th November 2012, the Standard newspaper, on page 7, covered refugees in Dadaab Refugee Camp demonstrating what they termed ‘barbarism’ of the al Shabaab. The findings further show most of the frame did not focus on anti-war protest. The findings generally point out that the frame was processed by Kenya’s news media.

Table 4.5: Anti-War Protest

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
By Somali in Somali	1	.2	.2	.2
By Somali in Kenya	8	1.6	1.6	1.8
By Somali in diaspora	2	.4	.4	2.2
By al Shabaab	46	9.1	9.1	11.3
By Kenya	4	.8	.8	12.1
Statement opposing the war in the newspaper	3	.6	.6	12.7
Other	439	87.3	87.3	100.0
Total	503	100.0	100.0	

Media self-referential

As Figure 4.12 reveals, most of the articles did not focus on media reporting. Nearly 87% was presented as not focusing on media self-referential with 11.9% focusing on journalist reporting from outside frontline and 1.2% covering journalist reporting from frontline. According to their well-known public image, the media plays the role as mediators between a social reality about which they have brought out and an audience which is ignorant about this reality. The principal duty of the media is therefore to produce referential, not self-referential messages.

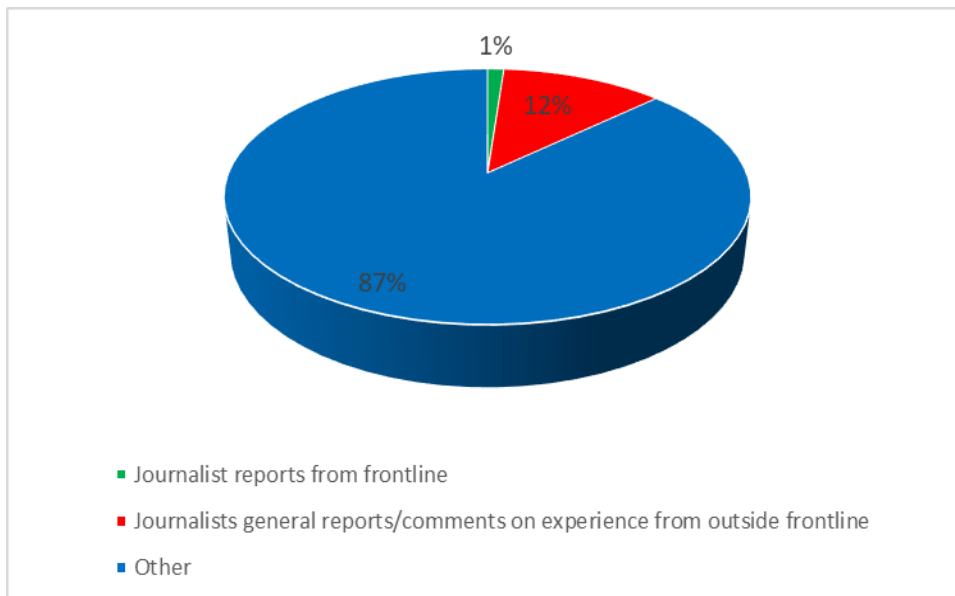


Figure 4.12: Media Self Referential

Patriotism frame/rallying around the flag

Results in Table 4.6 indicate that majority, slightly higher than 47%, neither focused on praise of Kenya defence forces, Kenya government nor Kenya as a country. A slightly lower number, 32.6% of the newspaper stories, featured Kenya Defense Forces prominently with only 7% praising Kenya as a country and Kenyan government 13.1%. A total of 238 frames did not focus on patriotism frame/rallying around Kenya's identity. In most cases, audiences of patriotic images may not record that patriotic news

narratives are not equally fair, sensational, biased, accurate, important, newsworthy, or balanced.

Table 4.6: Patriotism Frame/Rallying Around the Flag

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Praise of Kenya as a country	35	7.0	7.0	7.0
Praise of Kenya Defence Forces	164	32.6	32.6	39.6
Praise of Kenya Kenyan government	66	13.1	13.1	52.7
Other	238	47.3	47.3	100.0
Total	503	100.0	100.0	

Summary of Key Findings

The framing of content is an intriguing idea since it is both subtle and extremely powerful. Frames direct the public view of bits of content from the frontline during Operation *Linda Nchi*. The frame of each article is a little challenging to identify and can easily be misinterpreted, so it is paramount to conduct further studies into the framing of news. The findings of this study demonstrate that the conflict frame stood out in all the newspapers, with reports of threats and threats from the terrorist group in relation to military operation. The responsibility frame appeared in stories that emphasized on implicit objections of, or explicit action taken by, the government regarding the retaliation from al Shabaab.

Kenyan newspapers homed in their framing on war operation and since Kenya was a key part of this war, it was expected that its economy would to some extent be influenced by the conflict. There was a significant difference between the months after the conflict started in Kenyan newspapers. The emergence is guided by the country's media system, their culture and the national context (Dimitrova & Strömbäck, 2005). Bearing this in mind, a conclusion can be drawn that the social and national contexts have advanced to accommodate sensational and emotional framings to a higher extent. This could have been done to increase commercialization in the field to attract the readers (Hjarvard, 2008). The media norms have influenced actions that are considered legal for journalists.

The findings of this study agree with previous studies which found that media frames emergence is determined by internal and external factors (De Vreese, 2005). Since the interaction between journalists and its environment has changed, the frames have emerged to different extents in the studied events. Van Gorp (2007) pointed out that there should be a difference between framing by the media and framing through

the media. Framing through the media refers to the influence of frame sponsors such as interest groups, spin doctors, and/or advertisers and the frame selection of journalists according to their interest. In this case, journalists are used as instruments to use the desired frame. Framing by the media refers to influences specific to the journalist. However, it is difficult to set apart influences from other sources since journalists are susceptible to cultural formation just like any other individual.

Although audience of patriotic news did not think these narratives followed less of journalistic norms, some people were influenced by the patriotic news in one significant way. Certain groups who are likely to see patriotic news stories are prominently not likely to fear future terrorist attacks more than those who consume neutral stories. The results of this study reveal that many Kenyans have no problem with the enmeshing of the flag and other patriotic images their news stories.

As pointed out earlier, journalists apply framing as an instrument to highlight or avoid certain ideas in recording activities such as military operations. To begin with, the frame of human interest was used in some of the prominent news stories on Operation *Linda Nchi*. Indeed, the human-interest frame featured prominently when the newspapers recorded various themes and perspectives in relation to driving the operation to thrive out al Shabaab by describing the negative actions by the terrorist group towards Kenyan citizens. The human-interest frame and the conflict frame and other frames added their thoughts by pointing to some of individuals who were likely to be prevented from entering any area in Kenya. Further, from the angle of the human-interest frame, the newspapers studied painted Muslims as stigmatized victims. The frame of human-interest shoes how much Kenyans are subjects, and this frame homed in on the leverage of agonizing stories of Kenyans in the space of being attacked anywhere in the country.

Furthermore, the Operation *Linda Nchi* was frame more as diagnostic and this is similar with a study in France. For example, Snow, Vliegthart, and Corrigan-Brown (2007) in their cross-country analysis of the news coverage of the 2005 French riots identified patterns in news frame and the contextual factors which cause them. A significant finding was that the news media characteristically adopts a diagnostic frame to define problem or assign blame, when reporting on riots.

Summary

This section has summarized the main research findings of the study. The primary research question is: How did the media frame Kenya Defence Forces in Operation *Linda Nchi*? The study sought to provide answers to this basic question and presented data based on the objectives of the study. Some of the main areas include frequency of articles, overall frames of stories on Operation *Linda Nchi* and discussion of findings. The findings presented in this chapter demonstrate the importance of media frames to the overall perception of events as depicted in framing of Operation *Linda Nchi* by Kenyan media.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSIONS, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

This chapter deals with the summary of findings as guided by the objectives in previous chapter. It also discusses conclusion and recommendation as observed in the data analysis section.

Discussions

In the months leading up to 2011 Operation *Linda Nchi*, the media in Kenya had begun reporting about the security of Kenyans, especially sustained attacks by terror groups. In covering the death and injury caused by attacks, and the 2011 military intervention, the media created a human-interest narrative for their viewers. With this brief background, the study examined media framing of Operation *Linda Nchi* targeted at al Shabaab in Somalia with particular emphasis on selected Kenyan newspapers. To establish a credible view that considers the communicative organization and the semiotic constitution of such conversations, this analysis brings together approaches from frame semantics and joins them with recursive sampling and coding. A total of 503 articles were identified and analyzed in across four newspapers: Daily Nation, Standard, Star and East Africa. In particular, the study sought to find out dominant and prominent images of Operation *Linda Nchi* establish trends, types of frames and the frequency of Operation *Linda Nchi*.

The study reveals that the overall frame (such as KDF continue winning, patriotism) continues to rise since the beginning of the operation Kenya Defence Forces (KDF) in October 2011. January 2012 observed the highest number of frames but declined to 18% in February 2012 from 26% in previous month. This can be attributed

to the sustained media coverage especially journalists embedded in the frontline KDF and the increasing public acceptance of the operation. The public continued to received updates especially gains by KDF and the withdrawal of al-Shabaab from major sections within Somalia.

There were few editorial frames, but opinion had 17%. The news report mainly carried the frame on Operation *Linda Nchi* but reporting appeared divided once the operation started. This difference was brought about by the fact that people were supporting KDF troops. One of the areas the study examined was depiction of the operation using size of article and more coverage was observed in quarter and more than quarter articles. All the newspapers allocated a significant coverage to the military operation in which most of the frame observed in the inside pages of the newspapers. Overall, the media holds a key function in conflict framing. They feature what is prominent and what is ground in the evolution of a military operation, and they assign meaning and intentions to actions. In the Edwards Aquifer conflict, the media limited the scope of news on main episodes to primary issues in the conflict frame.

The findings show that the actors framing the media narrative on the military operation had to balance opposing perspectives and public recognition, which contributed toward the frame-building process during the Operation *Linda Nchi*. Furthermore, analysis show that there was solid support for Kenya's viewpoints and sources in the newspaper details. The coverage by newspapers focused on several themes that served the war cause directly and indirectly. For example, the coverage suggests that Al-Shabaab is a threat to Kenya's stability. Numerous references were made to military operation by KDF, and newspapers supported this operation by referring to Kenya's territorial integrity.

Pursuing al-Shabaab was framed as a win by Kenyan military. Al-Shabaab was presented as a violent group and threat to Kenya. Besides, the sheer volume of coverage devoted to Operation *Linda Nchi*, military intervention in Somalia was the only remaining choice for Kenya's military.

This study employed framing analysis not only for what newspapers included in the coverage but also what images were ignored. The newspaper overlooked other perspectives - destruction caused by military intervention, suffering among Somalis, invasion and operations. This can be exemplified by the sheer volume of coverage dedicated to the military interventions. For example, military action by KDF was framed as dominant frame compared to equipment used by both KDF and al-Shabaab.

Conclusion

The main objective of this study was to examine the media framing of Kenya Defence Forces in Operation *Linda Nchi*. Military field commanders face unique and difficult challenges, according to the report, ranging from operational security to working with a more demanding and technologically savvy press media. Dealing with these trying circumstances will necessitate military officials at all levels integrating news media planning into their overall strategy. Failure to properly integrate and coordinate with news media organizations can result in national security, operational security, and public trust and confidence being jeopardized. These failings are likely to weaken military operations, with the potential for American lives to be lost as a result.

The media provided a platform and channel through which residents and eyewitnesses could offer their testimonies regarding the war being fought. The media also offered space through which the ordinary voices of the war victims could be heard. It gave in to the whims and interests of government agencies at the expense of informing the public appropriately.

The research questions were how media framed Operation *Linda Nchi* conducted by Kenya's military after sustained attacks by terror group al-Shabaab. The study first concludes that, in the results prior to 2011 Operation *Linda Nchi*, the media high reporting of the KDF activities by four-fold and attended to this largely on coverage process. However, by failing to contextualize the systemic causes binding these events, the media peddled the idea that these occurrences were rare far in between.

Based on the data analyzed, we can conclude that human interest frame observed in the media can influence public's emotional response to the military action and this response can significantly predict blame and responsibility in the operation. Moreover, using an emotive and aggressive tone in the reporting format, the media supported the need for more operations or military actions. Additionally, the study reveals the prevalence of several frames such as conflict frame, the military frame, the liberation frame, and the reconstruction of Somali frame which depicts the cooperative perceptive relationship between military action, media and audience expectation.

The media devoted a lot of time towards influencing Kenyans to believe in the resolve of undertaking the war. This was evident from how they devoted a lot of front news pages and photos to make the public believe that the war was going to be short and the KDF troops were on the top of the situation. The media neither showed the audience any resistance faced by the Kenyan troops, nor the casualties suffered by the KDF as purported by Al-Shabaab.

The focus of Kenya's media on the 2011 Operation *Linda Nchi* features the importance of the incident because the victims have been many Kenyans affected by the activities of Al-Shabaab. The choice to give this incident priority on the news agenda assigns the problem of terrorist groups to the convenient 'enemies' such as risky public contexts and offenders from across the countries. The media therefore apportion

salience to the operation because in their judgement, it demands attention and support. The safety and security of Kenyans was a key subject in the outcome, and explanations of the attackers or offenders using terms like murderer, killers. This framing propagates 'causal interpretation, moral evaluation' to one of criminality rather than social behavior.

The majority of today's information systems, such as satellites, communications tools, and computer networks, are important for military operations, but they were not designed to combat information warfare. These systems give everything from global positioning data to various intelligence products as part of the information they supply. Furthermore, because public telephones are not secure, many military computer systems rely on them to pass on and convey information. As a result, these systems are vulnerable to assault. Kenyans' national security is jeopardized by the potential to disrupt, destroy, or manipulate military data bases. Therefore, the study concludes that the role of media during military activities such as operations becomes very crucial as it helps to enhance information flow and influence public opinion.

Individual level of responsibility frame application is linked to responsibility assignment, human-interest, and morality frames, whereas organizational level of responsibility frame application is linked to economic frame. In other words, when the news media assigns blame for a crisis to individuals, they seem to focus on morality issues and include human stories that elicit emotion. When the news media assigns blame for the crisis on the organization, however, they inform the public about the crisis' economic consequences.

Recommendations

Based on the findings presented in the above section, the study provides the following recommendations. First, despite limited experience in military reporting, the

Kenyan media was able to pick the public mood and proceeded to set the agenda on how to matter was to be understood by their audiences. To ensure that the media is adequately enabled the study recommends that continuous training of military specialists within media houses and further targeted media be embedded to ensure that the media works in a tandem with the military and its activities to enable helpful interpretation of military operations.

Secondly, the study recommends that journalists can specialize in the coverage of military activities. Journalists with interest in military activities should be given the same attention as sports, agriculture or business writers. They should further endeavour to establish a productive relationship with the military. This will ensure that reporting on the military issues will be professional, factual which ensures that public perception will be anchored in stable ground.

Considering the media relied on embedded journalism, the study thus recommends upgrading the journalists' equipment and provides enough facilitation while engaging in war reporting so as not to rely only on embedded journalism where the media cannot report unfavourably on the combat troops.

Thirdly, the efforts depicted by the military to facilitate and cooperate with the media during Operation *Linda Nchi* should be cultivated further to ensure the public is kept abreast with what their military is doing. The media was embedded in the fighting troops and so opted to remain in the tactical centres rather than find out what was going on in the live combat areas.

Further, due to the strategic importance of military to the wellbeing of a country, it is imperative that those charged with the task of training and qualifying journalists to take special interest in preparing journalists who understand their value in the chain of nation building. Knowledge of those who possess arms, their activities or operations

should be embedded in journalist training and curriculum to inculcate appropriate understanding and interest.

Recommendations for Further Research

Based on the findings presented in the above section, the study provides the following recommendations: First, despite limited experience in military reporting, the Kenyan media was able to pick the public mood and proceeded to set the agenda on how the matter was to be understood by their audiences. To ensure that the media is adequately enabled in future, the study recommends that continuous training of specialist military journalists within media houses is enabled, and further, targeted media embeds to ensure that media works in a tandem with the military and its activities to enable helpful interpretation of military operations/activity.

Secondly, the study recommends that more journalists specialize in the coverage of military activities. Journalists with interest in military activities should be given the same attention as sports, agriculture or business writers. They should further endeavor to establish a productive relationship with the military. This will ensure that reporting on the military issues will be professional, factual which ensures that public perception will be anchored on stable ground.

Thirdly, the efforts depicted by the military to facilitate and cooperate with the media during Operation *Linda Nchi* should be cultivated further to ensure the public is kept abreast with what their military is doing to guarantee their security. The military should take advantage of available platforms to get its message out to the masses using frames that build confidence in its security endeavors. This ensures that apart from what they share with media houses they have the assurance of their own avenues to tell their own stories in ways that only they can. Further, due to the strategic importance of military to the wellbeing of a country, it is imperative that those

charged with the task of training and qualifying journalists take special interest in preparing Journalists who understand their value in the chain of nation building. Knowledge of those who possess arms, why they possess them, their activities or operations should be embedded in journalist training and curriculum to inculcate appropriate appreciation/understanding and interest.

The fact that this research is among the pioneering works on military-media relations in Kenya, there is an opportunity for further research into, firstly, how the media continues to frame KDF and, additionally, how the media continues to cover KDF, post-analysis and especially its on-going operations in Somalia under AMISOM, including the expected departure. Additionally, since this research was on Kenyan media covering the Kenyan military, there is ground for research on a wider comparative analysis of Kenyan as well as militaries in other countries and how they are covered by the media.

Finally, this study concentrated on print media coverage of Operation *Linda Nchi*. Further, research can be carried on other forms of media and how they cover the military. The study opens ground for future field surveys/research among journalists and the military to examine experience and coverage of conflict/war.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Coding procedures

Newspaper identity (NID)

1. Nation – Daily / Sunday
2. The Standard – Daily / Sunday
3. The Star – Daily (No weekend)
4. East African

Date (D)**Month (M)**

1. October
2. November
3. December
4. January
5. February

Year (Y)

1. 2011
2. 2012

Agenda setting stories (Entire stories)**Type of story (TST)**

1. Straight / Hard news
2. Features
3. Commentaries / Opinion
4. Editorial
5. Regular columns
98. Other

Editorial (ED)

1. Favorable to Government
2. Unfavorable to Government
3. Neutral to Government
4. Favorable to Defence Forces
5. Unfavorable to Defence Forces
6. Neutral to Defence Forces

Length (L)

1. 0cm – 20cm = Short
2. 21cm – 40cm = Medium
3. 41cm and above = Long

Placement (PLC)

1. Front page
2. Back page
3. Inside page – page 3
4. Inside pages
5. Pull out

Photograph and illustration (PHIL)

1. Picture as a story
2. Picture accompanying a story
3. Illustrations / photos
4. Story no picture
5. Story with illustration (Bar charts, maps)

Cartoon (CT)

1. Favorable - Kenya / Govt

2. Unfavorable - Kenya / Govt
3. Neutral - Kenya / Govt
4. Favorable – Al Shabaab
5. Unfavorable – Al Shaabab
6. Neutral – Al Shabaab

Letters (LT)

1. Favorable - Kenya / Govt
2. Unfavorable - Kenya / Govt
3. Neutral - Kenya / Govt
4. Favorable – Al Shabaab
5. Unfavorable – Al Shaabab
6. Neutral – Al Shabaab.

Frames (FR)**The unit of analysis is the article****Military conflict (MC)**

1. Military action – Kenya
2. Military action – Al Shabaab
3. Troops – Kenya
4. Troops – Al Shabaab
5. Equipment – Kenya
6. Equipment – Al Shabaab

Human interest (HI)

1. Food assistance
2. Medical outreach
3. Spiritual nourishment / Counselling

4. Story about individual soldier

Responsibility (RES)

1. Commander Kenya
2. Commander Al Shabaab
3. Minister/ Kenya Government
4. Transitional Federal Government (TFG)
5. Soldier (s) Kenya
6. Soldier (s) TFG
7. Militants – Al Shabaab

Diagnostic (DIAG)

1. Order – Kenya
2. Order – TFG
3. Order – Al Shabaab
4. Carelessness – Kenya
5. Carelessness – TFG
6. Carelessness – Al Shabaab
7. Human error – Kenya
8. Human error – TFG
9. Human error – Al Shabaab
10. Unspecified

Prognostic (PROG)

1. Loss of life
2. Loss of property
3. Loss of livelihood
4. Change in Somali life for the better

5. Change of Somali life for worse
6. Appreciation of freedom by Somalis
7. Appreciation of life by Kenyan soldiers

Violence of war (VIOL)

1. Destruction of property
2. Casualties / injuries
3. Death of people
4. Displacement

Anti war protest (AWP)

1. By Somalis in Somali
2. By Somalis in Kenya
3. By Somalis in diaspora
4. By Al Shabaab
5. By Kenyans
6. Statements opposing the war in the newspapers

Media self-referential (MSR)


1. Journalist reports experiences from the frontline
2. Journalists general reports/comments on experiences from outside the
frontline

Patriotic (PAT)

1. Praise of Kenya as a country
2. Praise of Kenya Defence Forces
3. Praise of Kenya government

Appendix B: Research Permit


National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation



REPUBLIC OF KENYA
National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation

Ref No: 533783

RESEARCH LICENSE



Date of Issue: 28/October/2021


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Appendix C: Plagiarism Report

Paul Njuguna Thesis - 3rd Nov. 2021

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