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Department of Political Science and Public Administration

MEDIA AND THE PROMOTION OF THE NATIONAL INTEREST: CASE OF THE KENYA-SOMALIA MARITIME BORDER DISPUTE

Master Thesis

LAYLA SHARIF ISSE

Supervisor
Assoc.Prof. Dr. Annamaria CSISZER

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Turkish Abstract : Mevcut çalışma, Kenya ve Somali arasındaki deniz anlaşmazlığına odaklanarak, uluslararası çatışmada ulusal çıkarları teşvik etmede medyanın rolünü araştırmayı amaçlamıştır.

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that in the preparation of this thesis, scientific ethical rules have been followed, the works of other persons have been referenced in accordance with the scientific norms if used, there is no falsification in the used data, any part of the thesis has not been submitted to this university or any other university as another thesis.

LAYLA SHARIF ISSE

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Director _____
Assoc. Prof. Dr. Annamaria CSISZER
(Supervisor)

Member _____
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Member _____
Asst. Prof. Dr. Onur SARI

APPROVAL

I approve that the signatures above signatures belong to the aforementioned faculty members.

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Prof. Dr. Izzet GUMUS
Director of the Institute

SUMMARY

Background: The role of media has been studied in various conflict situations. Majority of studies have been keen on the role of media in conflict resolution and informing policy during conflict situation leaving out an important element on the media and promotion of national interest during international conflict. The current study aimed at investigating the role of media in promoting national interest in international conflict focusing on the maritime dispute between Kenya and Somalia maritime dispute. The study sought to address four research objectives: to determine the place of media in the national interest in the global discourse: to evaluate the role of media in the promotion of national interests in Africa: to compare the media discourse in Kenya with that of Somali on maritime conflict and to determine the place of the media in the promotion of national interests in Kenya's Somali maritime border dispute.

Methods: This study adopted explorative research design based on mixed methods. The approach was deemed appropriate for collecting important data and information relating to the study considering the area of research was new and had not been previously explored in research. The use of mixed methods was deemed appropriate at it enabled the concurrent triangulation of the data relating to the study. Through comparing the qualitative and quantitative data the study was able to determine the areas of convergence and divergence of the study this enabled the researcher to fill the various gaps in the study.

Results: Majority of the study participants acknowledged that media played a role in promoting national interest during the conflict (77.8%). The study also established that the most interactable media in the topic was television. Majority of the respondents acknowledge that the media played an important role in promoting national interest through agenda-setting, issue salience and by reporting on the conflict with responsibility and caution so as not to propagate the issue further.

Conclusion: The study concluded that media plays an important role in advancing a country's national interest. While in countries like Kenya the media landscape is advanced and there is a level of media independence. In the Somalia context the media practitioners' actions can be influenced by the regulatory authorities who might call for the need for issues and certain agenda to be advanced. Besides, the media plays a role in promoting

national interest through agenda setting, issue salience and reporting responsibly during conflict situations to avoid escalating the conflict even further. The study also indicated that the Somalia media was more accusatory compared to Kenyan media that provided platform for effective debates and shaping of the opinion of the major players in the media practice.

Key Words: Border Dispute, National Interest, Media

ÖZET

Arkaplan: Medyanın rolü çeşitli çatışma durumlarında incelenmiştir. Çalışmaların çoğu, medyanın çatışma çözümünde ve çatışma durumunda bilgilendirme politikasındaki rolüne odaklanmış, uluslararası çatışma sırasında medya ve ulusal çıkarların teşvik edilmesi konusunda önemli bir unsuru dışarıda bırakmıştır. Mevcut çalışma, Kenya ve Somali arasındaki deniz anlaşmazlığına odaklanarak, uluslararası çatışmada ulusal çıkarları teşvik etmede medyanın rolünü araştırmayı amaçladı. Çalışma dört araştırma hedefini ele almaya çalıştı: küresel söylemde ulusal çıkarlar açısından medyanın yerini belirlemek: Afrika'da ulusal çıkarların desteklenmesinde medyanın rolünü değerlendirmek: Kenya'daki medya söylemini Somali'dekiyle karşılaştırmak deniz çatışması üzerine ve Kenya'nın Somali deniz sınırı anlaşmazlığında ulusal çıkarların desteklenmesinde medyanın yerini belirlemek.

Yöntemler: Bu çalışma, karma yöntemlere dayalı keşfedici araştırma tasarımını benimsemiştir. Yaklaşım, araştırma alanının yeni olması ve daha önce araştırmalarda keşfedilmemiş olması nedeniyle çalışmayla ilgili önemli veri ve bilgilerin toplanması için uygun görülmüştür. Karma yöntemlerin kullanılması, çalışmaya ilişkin verilerin eş zamanlı olarak üçgenlenmesini sağladığı için uygun görülmüştür. Çalışma, nitel ve nicel verileri karşılaştırarak, çalışmanın yakınsama ve ıraksama alanlarını belirleyebildi, bu da araştırmacının çalışmadaki çeşitli boşlukları doldurmasını sağladı.

Bulgular: Çalışmaya katılanların çoğu, medyanın çatışma sırasında ulusal çıkarları teşvik etmede rol oynadığını kabul etti (%77,8). Çalışma ayrıca konuyla ilgili en etkileşimli medyanın televizyon olduğunu da ortaya koydu. Ankete katılanların çoğu, medyanın gündem belirleme, konuları öne çıkarma ve konuyu daha fazla yaymamak için çatışma hakkında sorumluluk ve ihtiyatla haber yapma yoluyla ulusal çıkarların desteklenmesinde önemli bir rol oynadığını kabul ediyor.

Sonuç: Çalışma, medyanın bir ülkenin ulusal çıkarlarını ilerletmede önemli bir rol oynadığı sonucuna varmıştır. Kenya gibi ülkelerde medya ortamı gelişmiştir ve bir düzeyde medya bağımsızlığı vardır. Somali bağlamında, medya pratisyenlerinin eylemleri, konulara ihtiyaç duyulması ve belirli bir gündemin ilerletilmesi yönünde çağrıda bulunabilecek düzenleyici makamlardan etkilenebilir. Ayrıca medya, çatışma durumlarında çatışmanın

daha da tırmanmasını önlemek için gündem belirleme, konuların öne çıkarılması ve sorumlu bir şekilde haber yapma yoluyla ulusal çıkarların desteklenmesinde rol oynar. Çalışma ayrıca, etkili tartışmalar için platform sağlayan ve medya pratiğindeki önemli aktörlerin görüşlerini şekillendiren Kenya medyasına kıyasla Somali medyasının daha suçlayıcı olduğunu gösterdi.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Sınır Anlaşmazlığı, Ulusal Çıkar, Medya

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PREFACE

The role of media in conflict situations has been the subject of extensive research. However, most studies have focused on the role of media in conflict resolution and informing policy during conflict situations, leaving out an important element on the media and promotion of national interest during international conflict. This book aims to fill this gap by investigating the role of media in promoting national interest in international conflict, with a specific focus on the maritime dispute between Kenya and Somalia. The current thesis is based on an explorative research design, using mixed methods to collect important data and information related to the study. The thesis presents the results of the study, which shows that media plays a crucial role in promoting national interest during conflict. The study also reveals that television is the most interactable media in the topic, and the media plays an important role in promoting national interest through agenda-setting, issue salience, and responsible reporting during conflict situations.

The thesis provides a comparative analysis of media discourse in Kenya and Somalia on maritime conflict, highlighting the differences in the media landscape and the influence of regulatory authorities on media practitioners. The book concludes that media plays a vital role in advancing a country's national interest and can shape the opinion of major players in the media practice. This thesis is intended for scholars, policymakers, media practitioners, and anyone interested in understanding the role of media in promoting national interest during international conflict. The findings of the study can inform policy decisions and media practices in conflict situations, contributing to the peaceful resolution of conflicts and the promotion of national interest.

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Introduction

The following chapter shall outline the background of the study, a statement of the problem, the research objectives, the significance of the study, the rationale of the study, and the scope of the study.

1.1 Background of the study

The Media plays an important role in modern-day societies, particularly with respect to promoting national interests. According to Livingston's (1997) seminal work, the media's role in the advancement of the national interest of a nation includes agenda setting, accelerant, and impediment. From the perspective of Media as an accelerant, studies indicate that media tools are important in the promotion and lessening the time for decision making as it helps send signals, something that can be witnessed in the attention received from most foreign policy issues has received media attention. Additionally, the media can be seen as a tool for agenda setting. The concept of media and agenda setting can be traced back to Lippmann's agenda-setting theory. The theory posits that the Media plays a vital role in influencing and setting a certain image in the public's mind (Lippmann & Curtis, 2017).

Furthermore, the scholars that followed, such as McCombs & Guo, (2014) further advanced the theory by indicating how the media influenced the perception of people in society and how this can have an influence on how society and individuals at large understand different phenomena, especially with respect to national interests. Further, the agenda setting theory is propounded by Cohen, (1963) in a study that suggested that the Media sets the tone for different national interests and issues.   In the same vein, the media can also impede matters of national interest. According to Livingston (1997), the media can impede in two ways. First, the media can impede the emotional reporting of a phenomenon and operates through the agency of public opinion. Besides, the other phenomenon is founded on the global media compromise of the veil of secrecy needed in different conflict situations. In this respect, the role of media in a conflict situation can be seen to be multifaceted, and as such, the media can be seen as an instrument for promoting

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the national interest, especially during diplomatic conflicts in the case of the Kenya-Somali maritime dispute.

Moreover, the concept of national interest has been at the core of diplomatic feuds and conflict. The concept is defined differently by various authors. According to Metea (2020), the term signifies the basic guidelines of all government actions in its external policy. The concept extends to the aspirations that need to be operationalized for them to be applicable while also considering the valences attributed to it through political forces and in line with their interests. Studies classify national interests into three categories. These include those fundamental values, including territorial integrity, independence, sovereignty, and other values that cannot be negotiated. The second national interest includes those that can be negotiated even if they are important. These include arms control or disarmament agreements within the initial balance limits. Lastly, some are frequently subject to negotiations, such as issues relating to rights.

Besides, the concept of national interest can further be defined as the well-being of a country with respect to security from internal and external threats, a well-run economy, socio-cultural cohesion, good governance, and national image. Studies indicate that among the primary instruments for advancing national interests, including media, is the conveyor belt, a medium through which information and messages are transferred from one person to another. The role of media in advancing a country's national interest has been well documented. Studies on media and national interest have been keen on the aspect of national security and territorial integrity. For instance, Munteanu (2020) argues that the Media is critical in the promotion of the national interest of a nation from the security perspective as it offers public education through informational campaigns about the subjects relating to national security interests by focusing on the rapid transmission of accurate information relating to the public interest. Further, the Media plays a role in the documentation, which involves purposefully clarifying contradictory messages, linking different events, framing events within the historical context, and showing the evolution of events and the harsh impact on society. Furthermore, the media must discourage alarmism and alarmist tendencies considering the delicate context of crisis, and the conflict must be treated coldly by the media networks (Livingston, 1997). The assertions confirm that, indeed, the Media plays an important role in shaping the conflict.

Additionally, previous media and national interest research focused mainly on the armed conflict situation (Saramifar, 2021). The role of media in the conflict situation cannot be overlooked, considering media does not only create agenda but also provides the truth about the conflict that, in many instances, is masked (Knightley, 2004). In the guise of national interest, the media has been a key instrument of aggression against other people and promoting imperialism. In the 1840s' the Media was at the forefront of promoting American aggression against Mexico in what came to be known as the "Manifesting Destiny" of white Americans to beat up the native American and Mexicans and grab their land in the pretense of spreading democracy (Pratt, 1933). Further, in the 1890s, William Randolph Hearst's New York Journal and Joseph Pulitzer's New York World, in their unethical competition, birthed the concept of yellow journalism and helped advance American imperialism by creating a war against Spain resulting in the American acquisition of the empire both in the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. The media encouraged Americans to take up the "white man's burden" of ruling people who were non-white, even if it meant using brutal force. In the national interest of those ruling America, it was an exercise to turn people's lands into white man's country.

Moreover, the power of the media in promoting national interest in America was further augmented following the second world war and the beginning of the cold war. Journalists promoted the phrase "cold war" to denote the growing cold relations that the US was developing with the Soviet Union. The Media played a significant role in the portrayal of the Soviet Union and their communist ideology as evil which in turn justified anything done in the name of anti-communism. For instance, Henry Luce of Time magazine was very influential in convincing Americans to accept the myth that mainland China did not exist after 1949. The report from Theodore White on what was happening in China was adjusted and doctored in New York to give the opposite picture. Further, the other media fell into place and helped create political hysteria known as McCarthyism that still lingers on.

Furthermore, in the name of national interest, the media initially promoted the Vietnamese that boomeranged on the US, forcing it to reassess its global position about the third nations. The American mainstream media, or the powers that be as David Halberstam termed them, had fully supported The Best and Brightest of the United States to beat on

the Vietnamese (Halberstam, 2001). It was only after the war filtered that the American Media decided that the Vietnam war was not in American interest and that it led to the Watergates and popularized investigative journalism to realize who authorized the rival political party. In Africa, the role of media in promoting national interest has been understudied in conflict situations. A study conducted in South Africa on media and national interest focusing on post-apartheid South Africa reported significant tension that resulted in a meeting between the South African editors' forum in 2001, something that stirred bad blood between the president and media, often chastising him for his policy and foreign policy indicating that he was lenient to African dictators like Robert Mugabe (Wasserman & De Beer, 2005). In Kenya, the media has not been able to look at the national interest, a phenomenon attributed to the master-client relationship with foreign media or missionaries. The nexus is that the Kenyan media tend to be recipients and conveyor belts of foreign values and interests in the news and programs. However, they are not supposed to project Kenyan values and interests in the missionaries' home countries. This has resulted in Kenyans being inundated with propaganda from the master states through missionaries (Owino, 2022). Nonetheless, while these perspectives offer important insights into the role of Kenyan media and the country's national interest, it is imperative to evaluate the role of the media in the Kenya-Somali conflict considering the two nations do not have a master-client relationship.

Similarly, the Somali Media is controlled by the diaspora (Gaas et al., 2012). However, in the case of Somalia, the control has seen that the web-based filtering role has been important in the propagation of ideas both into and out of the country, which is tantamount to a curatorial function translating information from a global perspective into a Somali one and vice versa. Moreover, following a consultative meeting held on June 20, 2019, with different media stakeholders in Somalia, it was ratified that Somali journalists cannot be neutral about national causes and must defend them. Somali journalists should verify the accuracy of the sources published by Kenyan media, which Somali journalists often quote. Somali journalists must not use terms that do not serve the interest of the nation, such as the phrase "The maritime dispute between Somalia and Kenya but," rather, use the term Kenya's claim to Somali maritime territory. Lastly, the meeting added that the government

would be the sole source of information on national issues and establish an information center for current issues of our maritime territory to avoid misinformation to the public (Somtribune Mogadishu, 2019). Nevertheless, it is important to note that there are limited studies on the role of media in promoting national interest in both Kenya and Somalia. This calls for the need to research to fill this knowledge gap.

1.2 Problem statement

The Kenya-Somalia maritime territorial dispute has escalated into a full-blown diplomatic war, with Nairobi expelling the Somali ambassador and recalling its top envoy from Mogadishu. This is after Nairobi accused Mogadishu of auctioning oil exploration rights for a disputed part of the Indian Ocean, which dispute has been resolved in an international court of justice. The tussle began in August 2014 when Somalia sued Kenya at the International Court of Justice at The Hague, Netherlands, for unlawful operations in her maritime territory. The disputed water is a triangular patch created by easting the Kenya-Somali border. It measures 100,000 square kilometers. In October 2015, Kenya challenged the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) to hear the case and its admissibility. The ICJ held the first hearing of Kenya's petition on September 19 to 20th, 2016. In February 2017, it quashed Kenya's plea, affirming its suitability to hear the case. The border row simmered under a raft of peacekeeping efforts. The matter came to the public after the media broke the secret in the maritime tussle on December 18, 2017. After the media brought the news to the public, Kenyan's Attorney General, Prof Githu Mungai, revealed that Kenya would be filing a Counter-Memorial, a response against Somalia's claims before the ICJ.

The claimed maritime between Kenya and Somalia is rich in fish, minerals, and oil resources, making it a very resourceful part to be claimed by the two countries. Kenya wants Somalia to pull down a map she had presented at an economic forum in London showing the disputed triangle as Somalia's in 2014, and they have not done that till now. Kenya claims that its maritime activities such as naval patrols, fishing, marine research, and fishing were legal owing to the 1979 decree, while Somalia has since 1979 recognized and respected the maritime boundary between the two countries along a parallel latitude. However, in 2014, shortly before filing its case with the Court, Somalia claimed a maritime

boundary along an equidistance line, ignoring the 35-year practice of recognizing and respecting the maritime boundary along a parallel latitude.

1.3 Objectives of the study

The main objective of the current study is to determine the role of media in promoting the national interest, emphasizing the case of the Kenya-Somali territorial dispute.

Specific objectives

 i. To determine the place of media in the national interest in the global discourse

 ii. To evaluate the role of media in the promotion of national interests in Africa

 iii. To compare the media discourse in Kenya with that of Somali on maritime conflict

 iv. To determine the place of the media in the promotion of national interests in Kenya's Somali maritime border dispute

1.4 Research questions

 i. What is the place of media in the national interest in the global discourse?

 ii. What is the role of the media in promoting national interest in Africa?

 iii. How did the Kenyan and Somali media portray the Somali-Kenya maritime conflict?

 iv. What is the place of the media in promoting the national interest in the Kenya-Somali maritime dispute?

1.5 Justification of the study

The current study is important as it allows the researcher to understand the conflict between two African countries from the perspective of African media and dispel the "CNN effect," which involves international media framing issues affecting the African continent, often misreporting various occurrences.

1.6 Significance of the study

The current study is important as it will provide insights into the role of the media in a diplomatic conflict in advancing national interests. The study will contribute to the research, policy, and practice. In research, the study will frame the role of media in promoting national interest in the African context and intra-continental conflict. Secondly, the study will confirm or refute the existing studies on the role of media in promoting

national interest in the modern era. In policy, the study will inform media practices in Kenya and Somalia concerning advancing national interest in journalistic practices in both nations. For policy, the study will reinforce the importance of media in a country and allow the different governments to align the country's values with the journalistic objectives.

1.7 The scope of the study

The current study covered the role of media in the promotion of national interest in the case of Kenya-Somalia Maritime dispute. The study sought to understand how the media influence and advanced the various country's national interest by focusing on the role of the media in national interest and global discourse.

1.8 Limitation of the study

The researcher considered various factors that will form limitations for the study. First, considering by the time the study was being conducted the researcher was in Turkey they were not able to be present and physically collect the data. Nevertheless, using various digital tools such as google forms and Zoom interviews the researcher was able to collect important and vital information relating to the study

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

The following section of the paper will review the existing literature concerning the existing body of research. The section will include the concept of national interest. The review of literature will then follow this according to the four research objectives: to determine the place of media in the national interest in the global discourse; to evaluate the role of media in the promotion of national interests in Africa; to compare the media discourse in Kenya with that of Somali on maritime conflict; to determine the place of the media in the promotion of national interests in Kenya Somali maritime border dispute. The chapter will also include the theoretical and conceptual framework of the study.

2.1 The concept of national interest

The concept of national interest has been widely studied internationally (Metea, 2020). It is a significant notion in international relations. National interests encompass a country's political, security, economic, cultural, and other interests. With state sovereignty at the center, a country's political interests represent most of its national interests, with national security being the most fundamental (Liu, 2014). The idea of national interests reflects an individual's fundamental perspective of the composition of national interests, their significance, purpose, values, and how these values can be realized. As an inherent component of strategic thinking, the concept of national interests will significantly impact the formulation and execution of national plans once it has been established. The concept of national interests is profoundly influenced from a cognitive standpoint by the subject's style of thinking, cultural traditions, beliefs, and ideologies, among other traits. Different nations, countries, and social strata have had distinct conceptions of national interests at various historical epochs (Metea, 2020).

The Kenya Somali maritime conflict dates to the late 2000s when Kenya attempted to impose a shared maritime border on Somalia that was like that in the southern border with Tanzania. At that moment Somali was at war and so had limited resources to deploy in

stopping Kenya from putting up the boundary. Since, then the Kenyan government has benefited from the region and has also helped to secure the water. However, it became a conflict later when Somalia argued that the maritime border should be in line with the international law and follow the direction of the border rather that the latitude. During the conflict both countries made different claims. Somali pleaded with the court to fix the line and the territorial sea between Kenya and her while also the economic exclusive zone (EEZ). In Somali's application it indicated that Kenya had violated its international obligation and does not respect Somalia's territorial integrity and sovereignty. Kenya, on the other hand claimed that in 1979, a memorandum of Understanding MoU was signed btween the two nations that gave it the jurisdiction to the disputed land and stating that Somalia did not object to the claim over the many years (Muyonga, 2021). Furthermore, Kenya is advocated for the border to run parallel latitude from a point south-east of Kyunga. She claims that the boundary corresponds to the easterly latitude line. Somalia favors a diagonal trajectory running down Kenya's coast, insisting that the border follow the same south-easterly trajectory as a projection of the shore border into the ocean.

Kenya filed two separate objections in October 2015, seeking to challenge the Court's jurisdiction over the case and its admissibility: First, Kenya claimed that a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) was signed between the two countries in 1979, which established an arrangement providing for different methods of settlement and gave her jurisdiction over the disputed area (Olorundami, 2018). She claims that by taking her to the ICJ, Somalia is violating the status quo of recognition and mutual respect for the parallel latitude sea border.

2.2 The place of media in the national interest in the global discourse

The place of media in advancing the national interest remains a critical discourse in contemporary society (Munteanu, 2020). Previous media and national interest studies have looked at media and foreign policy. According to Seib (2008) The new media can shape communities' public opinion not only with respect to foreign policy but also as a force that might influence international politics. The conceptualization of the Aljazeera effect further advances the concept of the CNN effect. According to Gilboa (2002) the CNN effect is a claim about how global television plays a dominant role in the conduct of foreign policy

in relation to global crises. In this respect Gilboa relates the CNN effect to four types of actors: controlling, constraining, intervening and instrumental. However, in this typology it is the controlling actor that is directly related to the CNN effect. The term controlling also suggests what policy makers and scholars have claimed about global real time news dominating and greatly influencing policy makers and the policy making process. Livingston (1997) while agreeing with Gilboa concerning the increasing role media plays in the conduct of foreign posits that the CNN effect is divided into three distinct variants as a policy agenda-setting agent, an impediment to the achievement of desired policy goals, and an accelerant to policy decision making. The agenda setting agent is theorised by Livingston (1997) as influencing policy through emotional and compelling coverage of atrocities or humanitarian crisis, as impediment to the achievement of desired policy goals is theorised firstly as emotional, grisly or bloody coverage by the media that undermines morale and secondly global news media as a threat to operational security; lastly as an accelerant media shortens decision making response time reflecting what Livingston calls "television diplomacy". Since the second gulf war, the international ubiquity of CNN has played a significant role in shaping international opinion and thereby extends the effect on foreign policy. The author argues that the media has an unprecedented impact that can interlink communities, citing the notion of the virtual state where media can disperse communities such as Muslim Ummah or the Kurdish people. From the global context, when the media started reporting the danger of the war and the politics behind it to the American public, many Americans started doubting the reason for the war (Knightley, 2004)The media and American people lost their trust in the government, and the state's credibility suffered significantly when Pentagon Paper's information was made public. The information from the papers indicated that the casualties in the war were far more significant than what the government had disclosed, confirming that the government was misleading the public members in all the war stages.

Furthermore, media accounts indicate that the media plays an important role in shaping policies (Soroka, 2003). According to the author the mass media plays a critical role in the policymaking process. The concept of mass media includes technologies that reach mass audience. It is the primary mode of communication for most of the public. Newspapers,

magazines, radio, television, and the Internet are the most common platforms for mass media. The public typically relies on the media for information on political issues, social issues, entertainment, and pop culture news (Onguny, 2021). The role of media in national policy is often considered important in different phases of policy formulation. At the inception of the policy process, the media can play an important role in agenda setting which politicians and policymakers can then pick, and other actors. The agenda-setting approach emphasises the media's ability to influence various issues on the national agenda. The concept is based on the idea that audiences are more likely to consider a new item relevant if it is discussed frequently and extensively. Further, the role of the media extends to the areas of the policy development process. The current body of literature indicates that the media can draw and sustain public attention in different ways and can direct the discourse around different issues and can change the discourse and policy framing of the policy. Moreover, there is the concept of issue salience that is important in agenda setting. Issue salience relates to giving importance to an object or a public issue in the media (Chyi & McCombs, 2004) . The concept is the underlying foundation of agenda-setting research and argues that the volume of cumulative news coverage increases its salience. Often, the object salience is gauged by the amount of media coverage it receives over time and is a dynamic process in which news media reframes the events by focusing on the different attributes of the event consciously or unconsciously to keep the story alive and fresh.

The current body of studies points to the role of media as instruments of aggression against other people to advance national interests. In the wake of the Vietnamese war, the American media was at the forefront of advancing aggression against other nations to advance American national interests. According to (Pratt, (1933) the media was critical in American imperialism, where the Americans beat up the native Indians and Mexicans. The New York Morning News justified the aggression by calling it "Manifest Destiny." Similarly, the journalist works of William Randolph Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer in an unethical competition gave birth to the concept of yellow journalism that helped to advance American imperialism by creating a war against Spain, with the US acquiring both the Atlantic and Pacific oceans. Americans were encouraged to take up the "White Man's Burden" of ruling people who were non-white and were largely driven by brutality.

The importance of media in promoting national interest can also be seen in the selective coverage of different issues (Hawkins, 2011)   Research on the coverage of conflict worldwide in 2000 by the US, UK, French and Japanese media presented an unbalanced picture of the state of the conflict. Among the majority of the media, corporations that studied the Israel-Palestine conflict were the most covered. Moreover, there were limited regional characteristics beyond this as the conflict in Asia received attention in Japanese media. African conflicts were invariably marginalized except for Sierra Leone at the top five most covered on BBC. The disparity in the news coverage during conflict indicated that media houses preferred featuring developed nations' conflict to non-developed countries like those in the African continent. For instance, the coverage of Israel-Palestine was five times more covered than other areas. Studies indicate that such media coverage is critical for the country's national interest as it helps shape policy. In the United States, such coverage played a significant role in shaping American immigration policy when the media featured the story of Allan Kurdi (Imanishi, 2022). The coverage of the news relating to the boy's incident resulted in more lenient policies on the resettlement of Syrian migrants in the United States. Thus, the role of media coverage in shaping the global discourse remains important. Hence, the current study must relate to media and the maritime conflict between Kenya and Somalia.

2.3 The role of media in the promotion of national interests in Africa

The media's role in advancing national interests in Africa has been over-emphasized, particularly concerning the continent's democratization process (Owino, 2022). The role of media in advancing national interests such as economic prosperity and peacebuilding. The media has been instrumental in advancing national interests in Nigeria, Burundi, Rwanda, and Kenya. In Rwanda, the media, through a radio soap opera Musekeweya (New Dawn), was introduced to teach listeners about the cause of violence while emphasizing the importance of independence and the perils of excessive deference to authority (Paluck & Green, 2009). The radio program attempted to evaluate whether there were significant changes in listeners' deference to authority, willingness to dissent, and collaborative participation in dispute resolution one year after the program. The findings of Paluck and

Green (2009) confirmed that the media was critical in promoting a shift in the perceived norms of open expression and local responsibility for community problems. This confirms that the media plays an important role in shaping the opinions and views of people, particularly with respect to conforming to social and political norms. Similarly, in Burundi, the government created the studio Ijambo through the Search for Common Ground (SFCG) in March 1995. The studio was an ethnically balanced team of journalists focusing on producing programs that promote dialogue, peace, and reconciliation. The studio's goal focused on producing radio drama, discussion, and youth programs. The studio was important in promoting peace in the region by focusing on issue salience and agenda setting. Considering the region was experiencing political instability with the potential risk of ethnic cleansing, the media would play an important role in mitigating negative ethnicity.

Similarly, the media played an important role in promoting peace and stability in Nigeria. Through an initiative founded by DFID currently Foreign, Commonwealth & Development Office (FCDO). and implemented by BBC Media Action that involved four weekly programs being broadcasted on over 190 radio stations in the country in English, Pidgin, and Hausa for the period between 2012 and 2016 (Idris, 2020). The programs were meant to create a more accountable state-society relationship, making the society more resilient to conflict, empowering people to participate in public dialogue, and ensuring the accountability of leaders. These initiatives were meant to promote peace, promote the country's democratic process, and improve governance. The media has strengthened democracy and peace in Kenya, particularly during elections (Ogola, 2009). Following the disputed 2007/8 election, the state has been keen on developing a policy to promote peace and national cohesion. The consortium of media focused on improving democracy and promoting peace during the election period. In the context of the three African states, the role of media in promoting peace and the democratic process cannot be overlooked. additionally, a growing body of research underscore the importance of media during conflict situation as it plays different roles including Dissemination of information during conflict; Exposing activities of the conflicting parties; The instrument of peace and platform for debate and opinion sharing; Media influencing government and international

actors; Media highlighting human suffering during international conflict and Media in aiding and abating conflict resolution.

2.3.1 Dissemination of information during conflict

Studies on international conflict have highlighted the important role of the media in information dissemination during conflicts. Prager & Hameleers, (2021) in a south American study on the role of media in peacebuilding in Colombia posit that the media played a critical role in the formation of public opinion regarding to peacebuilding process. the scholars indicate that the overage of the conflict was important in the framing of peace and sharing important and information about the conflict. these assertions are further bolstered by the study by Elbaz and Bar-Tal(Elbaz & Bar-Tal, 2016) in the case of Lebanon and Israel conflict citing that the media played an important role in promotion and framing of information to ensure that the information is not polarizing and has the potential to fuel the conflict even further. Based on the perspective of these international studies it is evident that the media plays an important role in the dissemination of information responsibly to avoid further polarization during conflict. while these studies primarily focused on the legacy media such as television and radio an emerging body of research on new media including social media paints an important perspective on the dissemination of issue. Evans (Evans, 2016) in a study focusing on information dissemination in new media particularly YouTube confirms how the new media has changed the way information is presented as little gatekeeping and editing is undertaken to ensure that the information that is shared is accurate and not misleading rather the most sensational and information that will get more traction is prioritized.

Besides, studies on the emergence of social media have also underscored their role in the dissemination of information. ICB-Inter-Consult Bulgaria (ICB-InterConsult BulgariaLtd, 2017) reports on the importance of social media in increasing social media as a channel of communicating strategic information in times of conflict and crises citing that social media platform such as twitter and botnets have been instrumental in driving and fuelling conflict especially in the 2014 Crimean water crisis and the Dragoon Ride Exercise where deviant groups exploited these new advanced technologies to push for their agenda and stir conflict even further. the study also confirms that the platforms played an important role in the

dissemination of propaganda. The study also confirmed that the networked computers played an important role in the spreading of propaganda without the control and input of humans.

Besides, studies on the Arab spring also highlights the significance of the new media in the dissemination of information in time of conflict (Abdelhay, 2012). Studies on the urban spring indicate that social media was used in the mobilization and sharing of information. The use of Twitter was particularly underscored as an important medium that helped to push news agenda relating to different issues that were of a concern to the citizens. The platform was used to highlight the errors and injustices that were being committed by the government against the citizens and was also used a tool to mobilize the citizens to revolt against the government. Thus, considering the growing importance of media in the society it is imperative to understand the role media in the dissemination of information during conflicts.

2.3.2 Exposing activities of the conflicting parties.

The media plays an important role in shedding lights to the happening particularly those touching on humanitarian concerns (Kampf & Liebes, 2013). The media is ingrained in our daily lives and plays an important watchdog role often forcing the conflicting parties to act right and at the same time provoke reaction from the international communities and other stakeholders. In the recent time most of the confrontation are asymmetric and many of the conflicts occur across national boundaries. Thus, the media plays an important role in capturing individuals "hearts and mind and establishing peace. While many states are advanced in terms of military surveillance, non-state actor depend on the psychological warfare that comprises shaping people's perceptions and feeling. During the cold war the role of media played an important role in promoting peace. In the African continent the media has played an important role in the mediation of conflict and bringing communities together. Through radios the geographically isolated individual who share similar interests have been joined just as it has established an entirely new grouping through connecting individuals of the society who share comparable interests. The media has also served the public by sharing information among the members of the public. In the Uganda, Mega FM played an important role in promoting reconciliation message in Northern Uganda yielding

greater results. According to studies the radio played an important role in having the Lord Resistance Army (LRA) to leave the forests (Brisset-Foucault, 2011). The LRA was also encouraged to tune in the radio channel and have conversations that could help in the national peace building activities something that the resulted in peace in the region. The media also plays in promoting diverse opinions that can help in shaping the public's perception about the conflict. Bakshy et al. (2015) highlighted the importance of the media in promoting diverse opinions relating to conflicts through social media platforms such as Facebook that facilitates the dissemination of important news and information relating to various conflict issues and concerns relating to the conflict.

2.3.3 The instrument of peace and platform for debate and opinion sharing

The media played an important role as an instrument of peace and platform for debate and opinion sharing during the LRA conflict in Northern Uganda. (*Using Community Radio to Heal After Kony's War - Uganda | ReliefWeb*, n.d.) Through exposing the actives of the parties locked in a conflict the media offers a platform for a debate for debate and opinion sharing with the objective of abating the conflict. Internationally OBN a television network founded in 1996 in Bosnia and Herzegovina played an important role in lessening the violence and remains as the only television station dedicated to promoting peace in the country (Hozic, 2008). The media as an instrument of peace can be understood and seen in various perspectives. The role of the peace media has been underscored in various platforms as core to the peace building process. The peace media relates to the utilization of radio, television, new media, and print journalism to send message of peace through the dissemination of information or alternate viewpoints that could impact the public sentiment towards the peaceful resolution of conflict (Rawat, 2014). The peace media journalists are supposed to be unbiased and objective when describing the parties involved in the conflict, however, they must not be neutral and passively observant when it comes to depicting peaceful means as the only acceptable approach to addressing the conflict. The media in many ways play an important role in shaping and reshaping the course of events in a peaceful direction. This can be seen when the media focuses on the importance of peacebuilding and promoting individuals and groups initiatives to peace while also providing a balance of the view of the actors.

Nonetheless, it is important to note that these national interests were largely focused on internal factors and issues, and none of them focused on external issues and disputes like the Kenya-Somali maritime conflict. Thus, the current study shall attempt to address the role of media in advancing the country's national interests.

2.3.4 Media influencing government and international actors.

The role of media in influencing the government and international actors in the peacebuilding process (Soroka, 2003) studies argue that the media plays an important role in influencing political and decision-making behaviours (Graciyal & Viswam, 2018). Studies on the role of media in agenda setting confirm that the media plays an important role in policy development and formulation process and has great influence in both the government and international communities. The media through issue framing and advancing of the various issues relating to the conflict plays an important role in not only informing the members but also being a watchdog to supervise the conflict and the actions of the various parties and government and how this can be overcome. In most instances the media through the phenomenon of "CNN Effect" can influence the government into taking actions and addressing various political issues and matters relating to the conflict. The media influences decision making through influencing various processes and activities by focusing on the issues that the media wishes to advance often pushing different agenda and issues. Studies underscore the importance of the media in informing various state actors on the right and appropriate course of action with regards to various issues and concerns. Hence, the media plays an important role in the phase of conflict and can help in informing various governments and international actors.

2.3.4 Media highlighting human suffering during international conflict.

There is a growing discourse on the intersection between politics, humanitarian aid and the media. Studies report that the media frames the people's perspective, political and journalistic perspective particularly with regards to conflict. In the wake of the deadly chemical attack in the Syria where Russian and Western media clashed on the Ghouta attacks. Comparative analysis on how the chemical attack was reported by Russia and western paints how issues of the conflict can be framed especially with respect human suffering. Russian media first dismissed the images of the differing Syrians as nothing but a ploy and opposition propaganda indicating that the attack was staged (Brown, 2015, p. 237). The Russian media argued that the images that were being shown by the international media were a fabrication while only acknowledging that indeed a chemical attack had occurred. The coverage of the news by Russian media was largely characterized by scepticism on the extent of incident compared to the western media. The western media was clear about the details of Ghouta attack and made it extremely clear and vivid. A report by Daily Telegraph indicated that "If the world is looking for evidence, it is not hard to find it." The article then reported that the attack included at least ten missiles launched from Damascus. Similarly, the Washington post also clearly confirmed that the missiles that were used in the attack were Russian made (Loveluck, 2019). Besides, the western reports confirmed without any doubt of the chemical attack and the human suffering and casualties it caused.

In the case of the Ghouta chemical attacks the media can be seen as a tool of advancing national interest.

The account put out by Russia was more propagandistic. The Russian media particularly drew attention to the remaining doubts relating to the August 21 attacks than assumed regime responsibility (Brown, 2015). The media acknowledged the occurrence of the tragic however it did not exaggerate the death toll following the attack. In the western media which often assume that the Middle Eastern dictator would result to such wild barbarity without a single though to the consequences the Russian media reported on the incident with greater responsibility, rationality and clearly highlighted the continuing doubt relating to the role of the regime in the attack. On the other hand, the template that was applied to the Ghouta attack was that of a bloodthirsty dictator using barbarous means to massacre

his people (Loveluck, 2019). In the same vein the opposition of the country are presented as heroes with a conscience bravely struggling to uphold the liberty of the people.

The template of the western media has consistently been used to dehumanize leaders all over the world including Iraq, Libya, and Bosnia before an invasion. While the media played a role in highlighting the suffering of the citizens often it frames it in a manner that serves the country of the media house. In the case of Syria, indeed both the western and Russian media highlighted the chemical attack. Russia that was in support of the regime did not blame the attack on the government rather tried to cast doubt on those who planned and executed the attack. The western media that is often pro-democracy and was in support of the Syrian rebels on the other hand exaggerated the suffering of the citizens to call for global attention into the conflict showing the extent of death toll while also blaming Russia for aiding in fuelling the conflict.

Nonetheless, in both instances the media played an important role in highlighting the human suffering from the conflict. In the African context the media has played an important role in highlighting the atrocities being experienced by the citizens and the people at large. In the Kenyan context the media played an important role in the 2007/8 post-election violence (Roberts, 2009). The media played an important role in highlighting the atrocities committed by leaders who bribed people to fuel the violence and commit atrocities against various tribes and women (Steeves, 2021). In this respect the media helped to highlight the various challenges caused by the conflict confirming how women and other vulnerable groups were affected by the conflict.

2.3.5 Media in aiding and abating conflict resolution

Studies on media and conflict confirm that the media plays an important role in aiding and abating conflict resolution (Miladi, 2011). Legacy media including radio and television have a double-edged sword effect. The media can either fuel or aid in the conflict resolution. In the wake of the Rwandese genocide the media played an important role in fuelling and even singling out the targets (Hitchcott, 2015). The rise of hate radios fuelled the conflict enabling the perpetrators of the conflict and violence to easily target the minorities who had been singled out. On the other hand, peace media played an important role in promoting the message of peace and unity in the country. Studies indicate that the

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peace media played an important role in the healing and reconciliation of the country following the genocide(Rawat, 2014). Through various efforts of promoting peace the media has proven to be an effective source of information during conflict situation and played an important role in the resolution of the conflict. In the local context the Media consortium of Kenya played an important role in advancing peace following the 2007/08 post-election violence.

The media through gatekeeping practices can filter the information that is being relayed to the masses and ensure that the right and proper information is passed broadcasted (Soroka, 2012). Information that can be polarizing or defamatory is often filtered out and only information that is considered safe and consumable by the members of public is disseminated.

2.4 The media discourse in Kenya-Somali on maritime conflict

The Kenya-Somali dispute over the ownership of the oil-rich block in the Indian Ocean preoccupied the media discourse in the two countries as it escalated and was overblown into a diplomatic war in the global media. The removal of the Somali diplomats from the country and the subsequent recall of the Kenyan ambassador from Mogadishu following the Somali auction of the exploration rights on disputed territory exacerbated the conflict even further. The media reportage on the conflict greatly shaped the discourse of the dispute. Internationally, Aljazeera, CNN, and BBC played an important role in the reportage on the issue. First, the explosive involvement of the international media in the interstate conflict continues to provoke unease in scholarly circles. According to Munene (2019), the international media paid keen attention and extensively invested time to analyze the conflict giving damning revelations. This raised concerns as the continued coverage of the conflict could fuel it further. Moreover, the conflict attracted the international community's attention and sought to advance the countries' national interests with respect to foreign policy goals. Studies report that CNN largely focused on personal interest, law-abiding, mutual respect, territorial integrity, and self-determination (Muyonga, 2021).

 Further, the international arena played important role in escalating the conflict even further. For instance, the coverage by CNN depicted Somalia as less aggressive, strong, progressive, and law-abiding. On the other hand, Kenya was painted negatively, showing

the country as aggressive, hypocritical, and bullying and a bad neighbor who does not follow the rule of law. Besides, Kenya was also depicted as arm-twisting and pushing Somali to withdraw its case from ICJ, indicating that Kenya was n0n-compliant with international law. Gathara (2019) informs that Kenya has threatened to forcefully repatriate Somali refugees and prematurely withdraw its troops from the country if Somalia insists on having the dispute determined by the ICJ. This means that Somalia has leveraged media diplomacy to redeem itself from the standing of a failed state by demonstrating that its foreign policy is consistent with international rules and norms. However, Kenya has used media diplomacy to dehumanize Somalia because of her unwillingness to come to the negotiating table. The international media including the Al-Jazeera shaped the discourse on issue with headlines such as "Top UN court sides with Somalia in sea border dispute with Kenya." Typically, the media discourse throughout the conflict included both the traditional roles of media during conflict situation.

2.5 The place of media in the promotion of national interest in the Kenya-Somali maritime dispute

The place of media in the promotion of national interest cannot be overlooked. In past conflicts, the media has played an important role in advancing national interest and peace. To begin with, the media is an important source of information relating to conflict and peace initiatives, considering the framing of these events exerts considerable influence over citizens' perceptions, opinions, and behaviors (Mare & Tsarwe, 2021). Within the Kenya and Somali conflict, the media was at the core of advancing the interests of each of the countries. According to a report by Somali Tribune (2021) The media played an important role in covering the conflict between Kenya and Somalia and largely advanced the country's needs. The report indicates that Somali journalists were urged to support and defend the nation's causes. This implied that Somali journalists could not be neutral about national causes and had to defend them. Somali journalists should verify the accuracy of the sources published by Kenyan media, which Somali journalists often quote; Somali journalists must not use terms that do not serve the interest of the nation, such as the phrase "The maritime dispute between Somalia and Kenya" rather use the term Kenya's claim to Somali maritime territory. Lastly, the meeting added that the government would be the sole

source of information on national issues and establish an information centre for current issues of our maritime territory to avoid misinformation to the public. Furthermore, the role of the media in the two disputed areas can further be illustrated by the type of headline that are advanced by the two countries. In a Kenyan mainstream newspaper, the headlines read as: "*Kenya must up her game after Somalia maritime dispute loss"* such headlines help in evoking pubic debates on how the issue would have been overcome and the territory claimed by the country. Similarly, another headline in the Kenyan media indicate that: "*Diplomacy is the only solution in Kenya-Somalia maritime dispute"* such headline help evoke the need for diplomacy and peace building by ensuring the tensions between the two countries subside. On the other hand, Somali media also had headline that painted the country in positive light. For instance, one headline read "Kenya rejects ICJ ruling over Maritime Border dispute with Somali" a headline that painted Kenya as a bully in the horn of Africa similarly another headline read out "*Somalia wins against Kenya in maritime case"* in both instance the media attempted to ensure that both countries' national interests were advanced. Nevertheless, it is important to note that there are limited studies on the role of media in promoting national interest in both Kenya and Somalia. In the Kenyan context, the media has been critical of Somali pushing for narratives that suggest the maritime dispute. While the issue received significant media coverage throughout the cause of the dispute, the research came across limited studies discussing the place of media in the dispute. Thus, research must be carried out to fill these gaps.

2.6 Theoretical Framework

The current study was premised on various theories these include the liberal theory of media, the agenda setting theory and social responsibility theory of media. The theories were considered for the current study as they were relevant and provided a theoretical framework through which the researcher could study and understand the various phenomenon and variables included in the research. The following section shall delve into the individual theories and relate them to the current study.

2.6.1 Liberal theory

The media under the liberal framework emphasizes free and mindful media. The key principle of the libertarian theory is that the press ought to be free to perform its functions

as opposed to the authoritarian theory, where the media is under government licensing and censorship. The theory fetcher argues that the freedom of media, entitling it to publish and write freely, means that the media will provide truthful information. Libertarians believe that a reporter is a rational person with the right to publish and write what they believe is truthful. In this sense, the media must make the public members aware of government activities. As such, the media is the fourth estate. Libertarians strongly advocate for the media to act naturally and report truthfully with morally strict code and polished skills. Libertarians believe that the conscience of the media is to seek truth and engage in public debate, and as such, the press is better to strengthen if it is free. The freedom of the press would allow the media to expose the truth about what is happening in society without censorship and authority blockades.

2.6.2 Social responsibility theory

The concept of social responsibility was developed and advanced by Siebert Peterson and Schramm in 1956 (Middleton, 2009). Social responsibility refers to the ethical principles that guide all activity, whether in the media or in any agency that bears an obligation to the community, population, culture, and economy. Regarding the media, the theory emphasizes that reportage and media should not injure but rather lay more emphasis on environmental and sociocultural aspects related to the place's economy. The theory advocates for the freedom of media that is devoid of censorship, but it should be controlled in accordance with social responsibility and external regulations (Palmer et al., 2020). Public duty and intervention are both used to serve the content. The right to free speech must be weight against the privacy of others and the core interest of society. Thus, private media owners must publish content in line with ethical standards and respectfully. The theory further establishes that the guiding principles of the media include obeying the rules that advance the social contract while also adhering to high standards of professionalism, truth, and accuracy.

2.6.3 Agenda-setting theory

The agenda-setting theory emphasizes the media's power to control different issues on the national agenda (McCombs & Guo, 2014). The theory is founded on the position that if the

new item is discussed regularly and extensively, audiences are more likely to consider it more relevant. The agenda-setting theory was formalized by DR. Max McCombs and Dr. Donald Shaw following the presidential election of 1968. By comparing the substances of public views of the most critical election topic, McComb and Shaw were able to ascertain just how much the media influences public opinion. The agenda-setting theory is further discussed in Walter Lippmann's book The Public Opinion. According to the author, the media plays an important part in its audience's heads and memories. He writes that the audience responds to the picture of the real incident in their heads and memories. He writes that the audience responds to the picture of the real incident in their mind rather than the actual event itself. As a result, the media serves an important link between global affairs and public perception of such events.

Agenda setting normally occurs to what Lipman terms as accessibility (Mohd Zain, 2014). Accessibility is created by how frequently and prominently an issue is covered in media. The more covered, the more it becomes a common reference point in the audiences' memories. Hence, when an individual is asked what problem, the country is facing, the answers will be provided by the most regular and accessible news items embedded in memory, which is what the media focuses on most. In this sense, agenda-setting cannot be achieved by just receiving a few messages but many messages. This is the concept that diplomats have used in dealing with social media. Where they use agenda-setting concepts to reach the target population, this is done by over-emphasizing issues in the media. The advent of social media has been critical in agenda-setting since it is now accessed by most individuals who can influence others.

Figure 2.0: Conceptual Framework
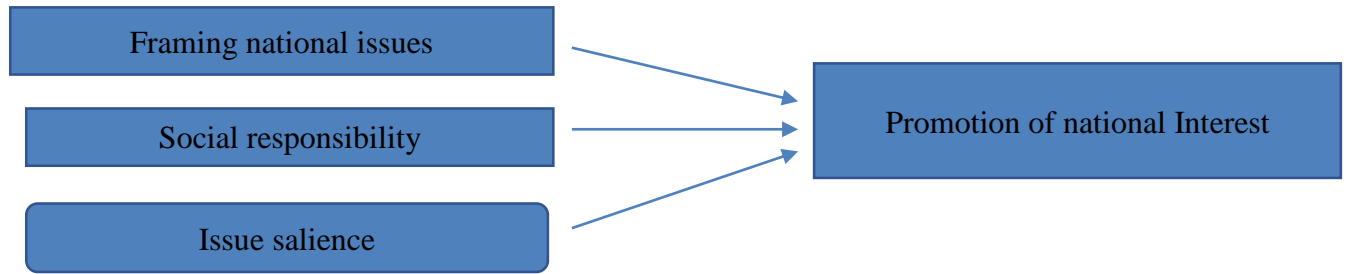
2.8 Summary of literature review

The review of the literature confirms the importance of media in conflicts. Studies argue that the media is important in framing national issues and promoting national interests. In countries like the US, the media played an important role in the Vietnamese invasion and the colonization and attacks of Mexico. In the African context, the media has been critical in advancing national objectives such as democracy and peacebuilding, as in the case of Rwanda, Burundi, Nigeria, and Kenya. In these instances, the media framed messages of peace and the healing of the nations. Besides, through the coverage of the issue salience, the media has been able to frame issues and make them important and a priority, allowing the public members to discuss and address them. In the context of the Somali media, reports indicate that the media largely focused on framing issues, including how to write narratives. This would advance the country's needs and stimulate conversations relating to the national interest. Nonetheless, there is a lack of research relating to the role of media in Kenya-Somali maritime. Thus, there is a need to research to fill the current gaps in the literature relating to the role of media in the maritime border conflict.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

The following section of the paper shall outline the methods that will be adopted in the collection and interpretation of the data. The section will include the research design and sample selection that will include the inclusion and exclusion criteria of resources that will be included: the data analysis, ethical recommendation, and content analysis matrices.

3.1 Research design

The current study adopted an explorative research design based on mixed methods. According to Bryman (2012) exploratory research design is critical in conducting studies and investigations of problems that are not clearly defined. The design is appropriate in studies attempting to understand a phenomenon or problem better. Moreover, the approach adopts a deductive approach that begins with a general idea and uses the study as the medium for identifying issues, which is important, especially when investigating issues in their preliminary stage. Moreover, the design will adopt mixed methods. According to Creswell et al. (2011) mixed methods are important in studies that attempt to concurrently triangulate data from different data sets hence determining areas of convergence and divergence. The design was deemed appropriate for the current study as it offers flexibility and allows the researcher to consider a different aspect of the investigated phenomenon(Kothari, 2004). The study employed an exploratory research design to explore the variables and provide an opportunity for the researcher to collect systematic information on how the media promoted national interests in Kenya and Somali maritime conflict (Edgar & Manz, 2017). Besides, the strategy is important in studies because the researcher can evaluate the relationship between variables. However, it cannot experimentally manipulate them.

3.2 Study Area

The current study will be conducted in Kenya and Somalia. The two countries are located along the horn of Africa. Kenya is bisected by the equator and vertically by longitude 38 degrees East. The country is bordered to the north by South Sudan and Ethiopia. Indian Ocean and Somali border the eastern side of the country. To the south, the nation is bordered by Tanzania. Lastly, the country borders Uganda to the west. Somalia lies in latitude 5.1521 degrees to the northern hemisphere and along the longitude 46.1996 degrees east, placing the country in the eastern hemisphere. The study will focus on the two countries capital cities, considering the main media houses are headquartered in these capital cities. In the case of Somalia, the focus will be directed to Mogadishu. In Kenya, emphasis will be directed to Nairobi, which houses the media counsel of Kenya and the majority of the mainstream media houses in the country.

3.3 Study population

The target population refers to a group of people, events, or objects that share the observable characteristic (Mugenda & Mugenda, 1999). In the current study, the target population will include media practitioners in Kenya and Somalia and officials from the respective media counsels of the two countries. The study will also include political commentators and independent observers from both nations.

3.4 Sampling technique and sample size

The current study adopted purposive sampling techniques. The purposive sampling technique was deemed appropriate for the current study as the information relating to the phenomenon can only be provided by individuals with specialized information with respect to national interest and media. Purposive sampling is thus appropriate, considering it allows the researcher to select participants with important information about the issues under investigation. In this sense, the sample will include national media houses in Kenya and Somalia. Further, the technique will adopt the sampling formula advanced by Mugenda and Mugenda (2003):

nf==n=1 +n/N

whereas

nf is the required sample

n denotes the intended sample size

N denotes the population size estimate

Table 3.0 Sample Size

Target sample	Sample size	
	Kenya	Somalia
Media practitioners	10	10
Political commentators	5	3
Independent observers	5	5
Total	38	

3.5 Data collection

The current study will collect primary and secondary data relating to media and the advancing national interest in the two countries being studied. The data for the proposed study will be generated from the Media Council of Kenya and will mainly include archived news articles and publications in all forms, from audio, articles, and video coverages. The researcher will collect data from over ten years. Additionally, information will be generated from the Somali Media council, largely from Somali media houses in the country and diaspora. The data will include archived news articles and publications in all forms from audio, articles, and video coverages for the last ten years. Additionally, using google forms, the researcher will collect quantitative data using self-administered questionnaires. Secondly, the researcher will use key informant interviews to collect knowledge from journalism and diplomacy experts about the Kenya-Somalia dispute, primarily focusing on the role of the media in advancing national interests.

3.5.1 Interview schedule

The key informant interviews were conducted using Zoom, the video conferencing software. The researcher had prepared questions to elicit vital information relating to knowledge, attitudes, and opinions. The key informant interview method was deemed appropriate for the study since it allowed the interviewer to adjust to the respondent's language level while also addressing concerns that might be elicited by the study's

participants while offering them an opportunity to seek clarification and respond to questions appropriately. The interview also offers an important opportunity for the researcher to deliver further, deeper details about the phenomenon being investigated. The interview guide used in the study will be divided into two sections. The first part will include the biodemographic data of the study's participants. These will include the participant's role in their organization, age, location, and years of experience in the media organization. The second section will focus on the different phenomena relating to media and advancing the national interest of a country.

3.5.2 Questionnaires

The questionnaire will be administered to all media practitioners. The questionnaire attempted to understand how the media house framed the different issues relating to national interest during the news coverage. Secondly, the questionnaire will attempt to look at issues of agenda setting, and issue salience achieved and realized in the different media houses. The questionnaire will be divided into four sections. The first part will focus on the participant's demographic information, including gender and years of experience in media. The second part will focus on agenda setting and issue salience in the media coverage and reportage relating to the conflict between Kenya and Somalia

3.4 Data analysis and presentation

3.4.1 Qualitative data analysis

The qualitative data collected from the interviews will be subjected to thematic analysis. According to Creswell and Plano (2011), thematic analysis relates to collecting, analyzing, and reporting on themes revealed within data collection. Thematic analysis was deemed appropriate as it can be applied to a broad range of research topics, from those patriating to respondents' experiences to those attributed to the creation of specific phenomena in a particular setting (Castleberry & Nolen, 2018). The qualitative data were treated reflectively from the moment they were acquired in the field, allowing the researcher to identify the critical data sources that might have otherwise been neglected during the design

process. The researcher attained this in three ways. First consultation meetings with the respondents and through the summaries of field notes and use of data summary sheets (Drew et al., 2007). In this sense, the researcher evaluated transcripts of the recorded interviews and field notes before codding the responses to the structured questions. The field notes were further inspected and evaluated. Besides, the researcher could also evaluate data from the key informant interviews to ensure completeness. Furthermore, the researcher followed the qualitative research recommendation, adding verbatim quotes from the transcribed interviews in the categorized themes and sub-themes. Besides, the content analysis of the qualitative data was utilized in evaluating the content covered in the media relating to the phenomenon being investigated.

According to Creswell et al. (2011) the concept of coding with respect to qualitative data relates to segmenting data into chunks or segments of text before providing meaning to the data. Transcripts will be read thoroughly and grouped according to the study objectives and collected data (Braun & Clarke, (2006). The process will then be followed by developing a list of all the topics created and organized using highlighters of diverse colors to indicate similarities and differences. Subsequently, themes were abbreviated as codes, and the associated text was put in a word document alongside the themes associated with the text. Lastly, elements of Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis was used in the investigation. According to the authors, thematic analysis is detecting and evaluating data patterns. It essentially organizes and summarizes the entire data collection process. Besides, thematic analysis was adopted in the current study, considering it is not theoretically prescriptive and hence lends itself to a diverse array of qualitative methodologies.

3.4.2 Quantitative analysis

The data from the questionnaire will be subjected to computer-assisted analysis using the Statistical Package of Social Sciences (SPSS). The data will be collated, cleaned, and coded into the platform. The data will be analyzed using descriptive analysis for the biodemographic data of the participants. The second part of the analysis will be directed to inferential analysis, particularly on the issue of the promotion of national interest and

media. The data will be presented using frequency tables and tables showing the relationship between the different variables.

3.5 Validity and reliability of the data collection tools

3.5.1 Validity

The concept of validity of a study relates to how accurately the data collected in a study represents the variables of the study being measured. The concept relates to the truthfulness and meaningfulness of the data collected including inferences made from the data. In the study the researcher used two primary tools to collect the data these include interview guides and questionnaires (Yaghmaie, 2003). The researcher sought the expert opinion of the supervisor to ensure that the tool was valid.

3.5.2 Reliability

Reliability denotes the dependability or consistency of the data collected through repeated use of the data collection tools under the same circumstances (Bryman, 2012). The instruments can be declared to be reliable when the instruments that were used to collect the data produces the same results when repeatedly used overtime (Castro et al., 2010). The researcher utilised a pilot test to ensure reliability. The pilot test instruments were given to the participants within the target population but outside the study sample. The participants were selected from the two countries that were involved in the study. The use of pilot was important as the feedback from the participants was used to improve the data collection tool

3.6 Ethical consideration

Ethics remains critical in research that involves human subjects. The researcher was granted permission to collect data by the Istanbul Gelişim University ethics committee following the supervisor's acceptance of the study design. Before collecting data, the researcher conveyed the objective of the study to all the participants through a letter of introduction detailing the identity of the researcher, the university, and other important information about the study (Appendices I). Ethics is critical in research considering it protects the participants from possible harm, anxiety, and a range of negative consequences that can come with involvement in the research (Bell & Bryman, 2007). The study followed

all ethical standards from the conception to the reportage of the findings. The current study meets all applicable human rights standards, including protecting the research participants' dignity, rights, safety, and well-being. Only those who met the inclusion criteria of the study were included. The researcher clarified the research's duration, goals, and methods to the participants. Those who agreed to participate in the study were informed that the information collected would be treated with the utmost confidentiality. The researchers also indicated that they could withdraw from the study at any time and for any reason. Further, the participants were expected to sign electronic copies of the informed consent form that was easy to understand. Besides, the study was supervised by the researcher supervisors. Importantly, the survey stressed confidentiality, and participants' responses were coded and only accessible to the researcher and the assistants. The data was also collected only for the study and was not utilized for other reasons.

Moreover, the researcher did not offer the participants any incentives and tokens for taking part in the research. Further, the researcher insured the inclusion of all the members of the media fraternity in the participating nations including the minority women. The researcher also guaranteed the participants anonymity using pseudonyms to hide their identities. The data was also reserved for the study alone. After the study the researcher guaranteed the participants that all the data will be destroyed.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS, ANALYSIS, AND DISCUSSION

This chapter focuses on the interpretation of the data obtained from the study. The response rate of the entire sampled population was at 95% as 36 of the 38 participants selected for the study responded through the completion of the questionnaires as well as all the video-conference interviews. According to Fichman(Fincham, 2008) a response rate that is above 50% is acceptable in surveys and can produce replicable finding that can be generalized in different contexts. The feedback from the online questionnaires were subjected to analysis by the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) Version 25.0. The following chapter hence focuses on the presentation of the data, discussion of the data and summary of the findings based on the study's objectives.

4.1 Demographic characteristics

The demographic characteristics of a sample relates to the specific attributes of target population in a study (Kothari, 2004). In the current study the information included, age, gender, country of origin, marital status, occupation, formal educational attainment.

4.1.1 Sex of participants

The study described the sex of participants based on the binary ideals broadly categorizing the sample as either male or female.

Table 4.1A: Sex Of the participants

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Male	23	63.9	63.9	63.9
	Female	13	36.1	36.1	100.0
	Total	36	100.0	100.0	

According to the analysis there were 23 males and 13 females in the study. The number of male participants represented 63.9 % of the population while females represented 36.1%

of the Study's participants. The underrepresentation of women in participant was largely seen among journalist from Somalia where surveys underscore the underrepresentation of woman in news and journalism professions.

Figure 4.1 A: Sex of the participants
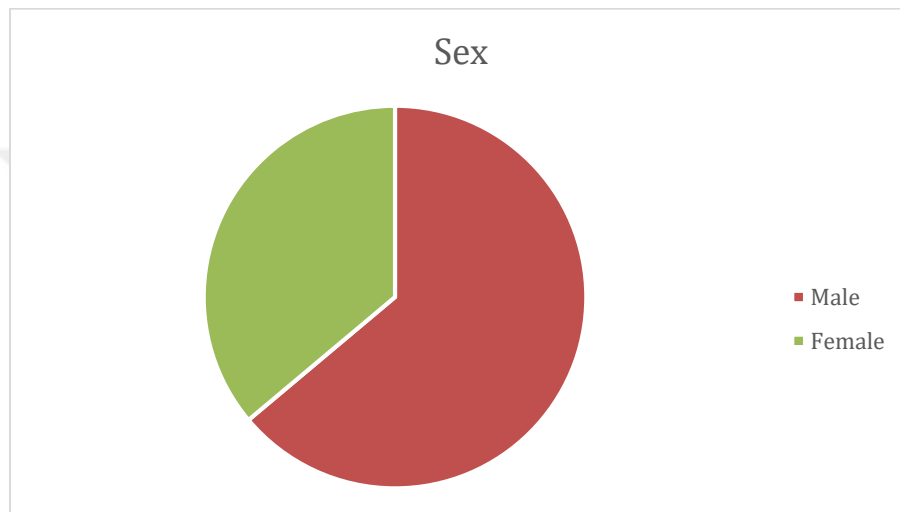
4.1.2 Age

Table 4.1B Age of Participant

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	19-29	18	50.0	50.0	50.0
	30-39	13	36.1	36.1	86.1
	40-49	2	5.6	5.6	91.7
	50-60	3	8.3	8.3	100.0
	Total	36	100.0	100.0	

The analysis of the age of the participants confirmed that majority of the participants were aged between 19-29 years of age representing the 50% of the entire sample of the study. This confirms that majority of people pursuing careers in journalism are youthful and

young. The study also reported outliers in the data set including individual aged between 50-60 years of age.

4.1.3 Educational Attainment

Table 4.1C Educational Attainment of participants

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	High School Diploma	8	22.2	22.2	22.2
	Undergraduate	22	61.1	61.1	83.3
	Masters	4	11.1	11.1	94.4
	Doctorate	2	5.6	5.6	100.0
	Total	36	100.0	100.0	

The findings of the study confirmed that majority of the participants were holders of undergraduate degrees representing 61.1% of the sample population. This figure was closely followed by high school diploma holders who represented 22.2 percent of the entire population. The high number of degree holders can be attributed to massification and increased access to education in the sub-Saharan Africa (Mohamedbhai, 2014).

4.1.4 Nationality

Table 4.1D: Nationality

|		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Kenya	18	50.0	50.0	50.0
	Somalia	18	50.0	50.0	100.0
	Total	36	100.0	100.0	

Figure 4.1 B: nationality of the participants
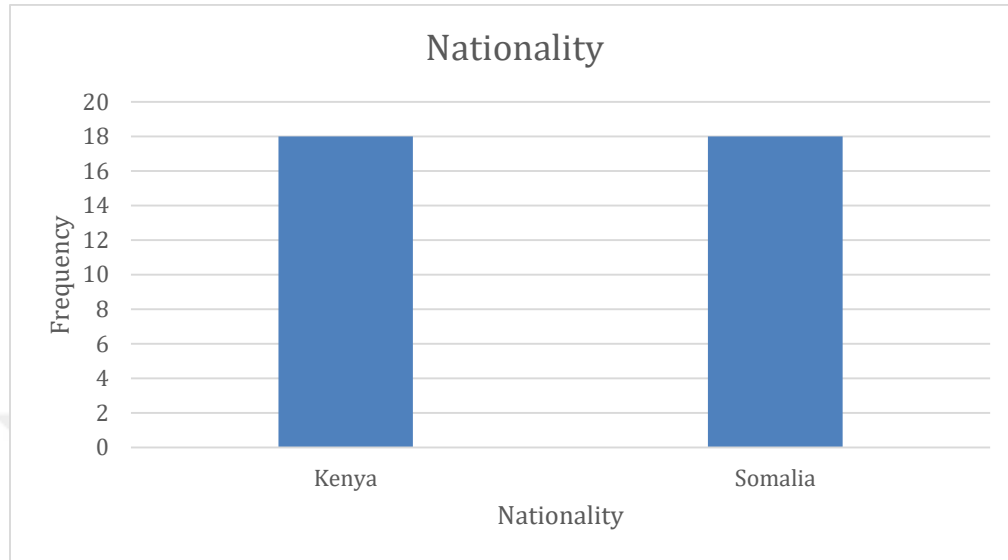
The participants of the study were equally distributed across the two countries of interest. 18 of the respondents were from Kenya while the other 18 were from Somalia. Thus, both countries were equally represented in the study.

4.2 Media and global discourse

4.2.1 Understanding the nature of the conflict between Kenya and Somali

The Kenya Somalia maritime dispute has been intense since 2014 after Somalia presented a case against Kenya in the International Court of Justice in 2014. The dispute related to a section of the Indian ocean covering 160,000 square kilometres that is rich in oil and gas (Muyonga, 2021). The maritime dispute stems from the misinterpretation on how borders should extend into the Indian ocean. From the perspective of Somalia its border needed to extend to the southeast as an extension of its borderland. Kenya on the other hand believe that the Somalia border ought to have rotated 5 degrees along the coast and the line of latitude. The diplomatic trial lasted for over seven years. In 2020 Kenya announced that it would not take part in the proceeding and opposed the prejudice that the court refused to grant the request for adjournment of the hearing.

The question on the understanding of the Kenya Somali dispute was answered by all the 36 participants. The participants showed a deep understanding of the conflict particularly the claim made by Kenya to the Indian ocean. Besides, the respondents had varied views on the Kenya Somalia-maritime dispute. Number of the respondents indicated that the

conflict was a result of the Kenya forces anti-terror war in Somalia. One respondent however issued insights on the conflict citing that Kenya was trying to annex Somalia comparing the move to that of the Idi Amin in Tanzania. Further, the influence of politics in the conflict also emanated as the participant cited that the influence of political forces might have contributed to the conflict between the two nations.

4.2.2 Type of media popularly used in discoursing global issues

The concept of media denotes the communication or tools that are used in the storing and delivering information. The term as used in the study relates to all technologies that are such as print, publishing, social media, photography, film, broadcasting, digital media, and advertising (Altheide & Snow, 2019). The researcher raised the question on the most interactable media in the Kenya-Somali maritime dispute. All the respondents pointed to different media. The respondents indicated at least one media with the entire outcome confirming four different media types.

Table 4.1E Most Interactable Media in the Kenya-Somali dispute

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Television	16	44.4	44.4	44.4
	Radio	11	30.6	30.6	75.0
	Newspaper	5	13.9	13.9	88.9
	social media	4	11.1	11.1	100.0
	Total	36	100.0	100.0	

Table 4.1E above indicates that television was the most interactable form of media in the Kenya-Somali maritime dispute this was followed closely by radio (30.6%). Social media was also an important platform and was used carrying out discussions relating to the Kenya Somali maritime dispute. The respondents reported to avoid the social media on the issue of the Kenya-Maritime dispute due to misinformation that continue to be a burden in many social media platforms such as Twitter and Facebook. Besides, radio was also considered

interactable as it was easily accessible to the participants as they are readily available for users both in Somalia and Kenya. Further, there are numerous radio stations in the region most of which broadcast in vernacular thus has a wider reach.

Figure 4.1 C: Distribution of the most interactable media
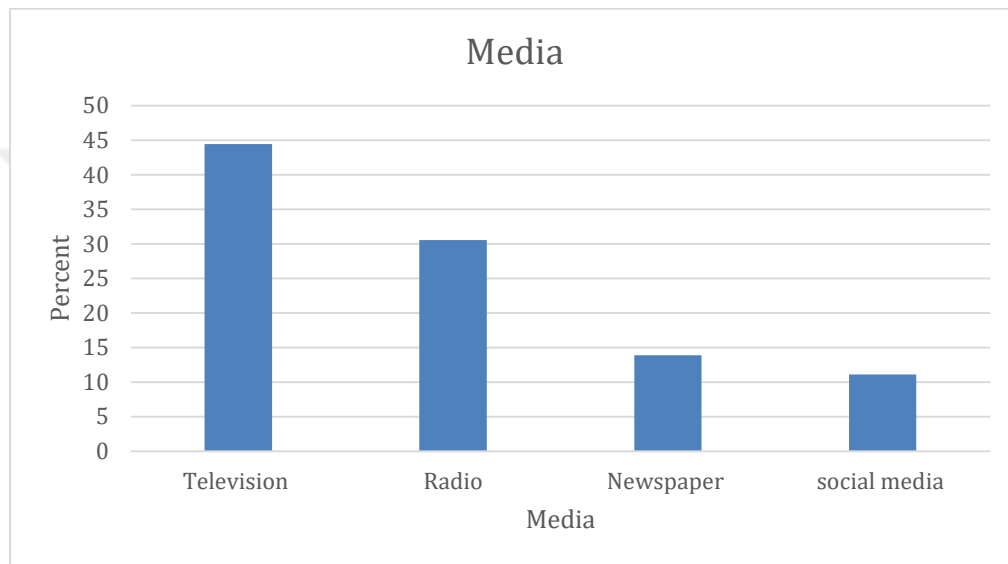
4.3 To evaluate the role of media in the promotion of national interests in Africa.

The researcher engaged key informants in the media fraternity and interrogated them on the role of media in promoting national interest. The respondents presented various findings relating the issue with three main themes appearing in the data set

4.3.1 Media promoted national interests.

The participants were asked whether they felt like the media promoted the national interests of the countries that were involved in the maritime dispute.

 Media promoted national interest

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	28	77.8	77.8	77.8
	No	8	22.2	22.2	100.0
	Total	36	100.0	100.0	

Majority of the participants acknowledged that the media promoted their national interests (77.8%) the response confirm that indeed in both countries the media played a role in the promotion of national interest to certain extent.

4.1 Symbols used to identify the data

(So-P#4)	Represents Somalia Participant 4
(Ke-P#1	Represented Kenya participant 1

4.3.1 Media and National Interests

The scholar interrogated the participant on their view if the media played a role in the promoting of national interest during the Maritime dispute between the two countries.

Table 4.1F Role of media in the promotion of national interest

Theme	Verbatim
Framing national interest	"Post the Rwandese genocide the media played an important role in the healing of the country through framing national interest which was unity during this time as such the media fraternity ensured that the national interests of the country were advanced by ensuring that the issues of the conflict are discussed objectively in different news platforms" (Ke-P#32) "When it came to addressing the national interest in Somalia we had a clear instruction on how to report on the various issues and concerns and how to label the issues that emanated from the Kenya-Somalia maritime dispute rather in the best interest of the country as such the news and all media discussions should ensure that the message and information and publication had to frame the issue in a manner that was beneficial for Somalia." (So-P#4) "Within the media practice and reporting the concept of framing is very common especially with respect to national interest. in

	the Kenya maritime dispute all the journalist in Somalia were expected to frame the country's national interest by focusing on salience and issue selection. All the stories were developed in a manner that painted Kenya in negative light and an aggressor at the horn of Africa, such framing of the issue enabled the issue to be picked easily and discussed in different platforms and arena both locally and internationally. In many instances, the news largely focused on ensuring that the Somalis appeared to be the victim of annexation" (So-P#28)
Social Responsibility	"As media practitioners we have a responsibility to our country and people to inform them while also ensuring that the news coverage advances the national interest of the country" (Ke-P#1) "Our country has suffered a great deal and has been a victim of negative media coverage and publicity. The mention of Somalia in news is often associated with Al-shabaab and pirates. We in the media have a responsibility of painting a positive image of the country to attract investors and promote peace among our people" (So-P#30) "Social responsibility particularly to the country cannot be overemphasized when it comes to the coverage of various issues especially delicate issues that can have an implication on the sovereignty of the country, in the coverage of the Kenya and Somalia dispute we journalists exercised a lot of caution to ensure that the coverage was beneficial to our country especially during the trial, this was ensured that the coverage of the dispute gave our country a fighting chance in the dispute
Issue Salience	"The issue of the Somali-Kenya maritime dispute was discussed in detail in many of the local media houses. During television talk-shows such as AM live the Kenyan media brought up the issue and had panellists providing an in-depth analysis of the

	conflict and the best diplomatic solutions that can be considered in addressing the problem." (Ke-P#1) "The conflict between Kenya and Somalia was given priority in the media coverage in Somalia the issue was addressed in the different television stations and radio programs considering that the issue was diplomatic in nature" (So-P#20)

4.4 Comparison of media discourse in Kenya with that of Somali on maritime conflict

To address this objective the researcher sought articles from different media agencies looking at the headlines of the different articles and how they related to Kenya-Somali Maritime dispute. The articles were from both Kenya and Somalia.

Table 4.1 News articles portrayal of the maritime dispute

Kenyan Articles headlines	Somalian Articles headlines
Kenya must up her game after Somalia maritime dispute loss	Kenya rejects ICJ ruling over maritime border dispute with Somalia
Kenya trashes impending ICJ judgment on Somalia maritime dispute	Somalia wins against Kenya in Maritime case
Kenya faults ICJ process on Somalia maritime border dispute	World court to rule on Kenya Somalia sea row now
Kenya's options in Somalia border dispute after ruling	ICJ announces date for verdict on Kenya-Somalia Maritime border dispute

The analysis of the headlines of the of different news articles from the different countries indicate that the two nations framed the issue differently. The Somalia perspective sounded more accusatory and attempted to paint Kenya as the aggressor. On the other hand, Kenyan media also framed the issue differently.

4.5 To determine the place of the media in the promotion of national interests in Kenya-Somali maritime border dispute

The researcher also sought to determine the place of media in international conflict with emphasis on Kenya-Somalia Maritime dispute. Through the key information interviews the researcher interrogated the participants perception and view of the place of the media in the promotion of national interests. The thematic analysis of the Key Informant Interviews (KII) reported on three primary themes. The first theme relates to agenda setting in the media.

4.5.1 Agenda Setting and national interest

The Kenyan media through many live television talk shows focused on setting the agenda by looking at the implications of the conflict on Kenya's national interests and well-being of the economy in general. The respondents indicated that featuring the issue of the maritime dispute in live television and in different context played an important role in shaping the public interest and making members of the public aware of the different political occurrences that the country was experiencing with regards to the Kenya-Somalia maritime dispute. The journalists were expected to give accurate reports and ensure that all the information was verified before it was published and made available for the members of the public. Besides, the media was to play an important role in informing the members of public in Somalia and ensure that it did not take a neutral stance on the conflict. for instance, participants in Somalia indicated:

> When it came to addressing the national interest in Somalia we had a clear instruction on how to report on the various issues and concerns and how to label the issues that emanated from the Kenya-Somalia maritime dispute rather in the best interest of the country as such the news and all media discussions should ensure that the message and information and publication had to frame the issue in a manner that was beneficial for Somalia." (So-P#4)

The narrative was consistently backed by other participants from Somalia.

> "Within the media practice and reporting the concept of framing is very common especially with respect to national interest. in the Kenya maritime dispute all the journalist in Somalia were expected to frame the country's national interest by

focusing on salience and issue selection. All the stories were developed in a manner that painted Kenya in negative light and an aggressor at the horn of Africa, such framing of the issue enabled the issue to be picked easily and discussed in different platforms and arena both locally and internationally. In many instances, the news largely focused on ensuring that the Somalis appeared to be the victim of annexation" (So-P#28)

The participants from Kenya took a more neutral way and focused on the key issues surrounding the dispute. According to an interview by one of the editors of Kenyan media houses they cited:

"The Kenya-Somalia maritime dispute was sensitive and since it was an issue in the ICJ the media attempted to be as objective as possible and push for honest narrative and stories relating to the dispute to inform the public of the cause of the conflict and the efforts that are being put in place to address the dispute"

The Kenyan media promoted neutral conversations relating to the maritime dispute. Most of the time the media worked with professional in diplomacy and maritime dispute citing that such engagements and involvements.

"Post the Rwandese genocide the media played an important role in the healing of the country through framing national interest which was unity during this time as such the media fraternity ensured that the national interests of the country were advanced by ensuring that the issues of the conflict are discussed objectively in different news platforms" (Ke-P#32)

4.5.2 Issue Salience

The second theme that emerged from the thematic analysis is the issue salience. Media houses in both the countries reported on the issue of territorial dispute many times just like the Kenyan media underscoring the significance the issue was given. According to one participant the issue of the conflict was highlighted in all the mediums of communication in the countries. The issue was discussed in newspapers, television talk shows and the digital forms of communication this enabled various parties and individuals to follow on

the issue and promote communication and discussion relating to the issue to the greater population this allowed the members of the public to learn about the details of the conflict and highlight various issues and factors relating to conflict. One of the participants indicated:

> The media played an important role on debates even those that are considered unpopular allowing for varied opinions and debates on the issue revolving around the issue relating to the maritime dispute. The Kenyan media took an active role on reporting on the progression of the dispute. For instance, the media reported the country's stance on the ICJ hearing citing the ICJs bias and reluctance to accommodate the calls for delaying the hearing following COVID-19 pandemic. An article from the Standard Newspaper suggested that the most appropriate solution to the conflict was through mediation between the two countries. The article also cited various and different factors that the conflict has affected including the standoff and trade barriers between the two nations. Besides, the media also highlighted positively on the conflict through the validation of the reportage before airing them out to the citizens. Further, some respondents also highlighted that the medias shallow and unverified reportage of the issues particularly during the onset of the conflict fuelled animosity and tension through discrediting the counterpart. Media exaggerations, insinuation an inaccurate situation.

4.5.3 Media responsibility

Media responsibility in the reportage of the issue was also underscored as an important element in addressing the conflict between Kenya-Somalia. The citizens and study participants acknowledged that the media played an important role in informing people and citizens about the events relating to the maritime dispute between Kenya and Somalia. In both instances, the Kenyan and Somalia media ensured that the coverage was factual and put out important information relating to the dispute and all the sensitive information relating to the dispute. The media ensured the proper documentation of ownership, proceedings of the dispute in both countries including the claims presented by both countries. Besides, the media pushed reconciliatory and peace messages while advocating for solutions to the problems to the conflict. through investigative journalism the media

played an important role in digging deep into the issue and producing information that can be used to make important decision. The participants interviewed indicated that they ensured objectivity by reporting effectively for the benefit of their countries:

> "As media practitioners we have a responsibility to our country and people to inform them while also ensuring that the news coverage advances the national interest of the country" (Ke-P#1)

"Our country has suffered a great deal and has been a victim of negative media coverage and publicity. The mention of Somalia in news is often associated with Al-shabaab and pirates. We in the media have a responsibility of painting a positive image of the country to attract investors and promote peace among our people" (So-P#30).

The participants also indicated that the nature of the issue at stake was sensitive hence the need to approach it with caution:

"Social responsibility particularly to the country cannot be overemphasized when it comes to the coverage of various issues especially delicate issues that can have an implication on the sovereignty of the country, in the coverage of the Kenya and Somalia dispute we journalists exercised a lot of caution to ensure that the coverage was beneficial to our country especially during the trial, this was ensured that the coverage of the dispute gave our country a fighting chance in the dispute"

4.6 Discussion

The findings of the study offer important insights on the role of media in advancing national interest in various countries. While the role of media in promoting national interests has been widely studied there is limited research in the context of Africa (Muyonga, 2021). The current study contributes to the body of research on media and advancing national intertest in the sight of international conflict. The study reports that indeed the media plays an important role in informing the citizens about different issues is the country and disputes. The study reports that on diplomatic issues the most common and interactable media used was television. This assertion is consistent with the view of Gilboa (2002) that is popularly termed as the CNN effect claiming that television plays an important role in foreign policy and to global crises. The author relates the CNN effect to four types of actors: controlling, constraining, intervening and instrumental. These variables are evident

in the current study's findings as the members of the public in both Kenya and Somalia found television as a more favourable channel for following the maritime dispute.

The study confirms that the public typically relies on the media for information on political issues, social issues, entertainment, and pop culture news consistent with the view of Onguny (2021) that confirmed that media was used socially as important source of information. The function of the media in national policy is frequently regarded as critical at various stages of policy creation. At the start of the policy process, the media can help create the agenda for politicians and policymakers to choose from, as well as other actors. The agenda-setting strategy emphasizes the media's capacity to impact numerous national agenda topics. The function of the media in national policy is frequently regarded as critical at various stages of policy creation. At the start of the policy process, the media can help create the agenda for politicians and policymakers to choose from, as well as other actors. The agenda-setting strategy emphasizes the media's capacity to impact numerous national agenda topics (Chyi & McCombs, 2004).

Besides, the study reported that the two countries reported the news and covered the issue differently. The analysis of the headlines of many news pieces from different countries shows that the two countries framed the issue differently. The Somalia viewpoint was more accusatory, attempting to portray Kenya as the aggressor. Kenyan media, on the other hand, framed the matter differently. These findings are consistent with the report by Somtribune Mogadishu (2019) indicating that Somali journalists were urged to support and defend the nation's causes. This meant that Somali journalists couldn't be objective about national issues and had to advocate for them. Somali journalists should check the accuracy of sources published by Kenyan media, which Somali journalists frequently quote; Somali journalists should avoid using terms that do not serve the nation's interests, such as "the maritime dispute between Somalia and Kenya," and instead use the term Kenya's claim to Somali maritime territory. Finally, the summit stated that the government would be the primary source of information on national concerns and would build an information center for current marine issues to avoid public disinformation.

Furthermore, the type of headlines offered by the two countries demonstrate the involvement of the media in the two disputed territories. In a Kenyan mainstream newspaper, the headlines read as: "*Kenya must up her game after Somalia maritime dispute*

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loss" such headlines help in evoking public debates on how the issue would have been overcome and the territory claimed by the country. Similarly, another headline in the Kenyan media indicate that: "*Diplomacy is the only solution in Kenya-Somalia maritime dispute."* In both cases, the media worked to advance both governments' national interests. Nonetheless, it is crucial to emphasize that research on the function of the media in promoting national interest in both Kenya and Somalia is sparse. For instance, one headline read "Kenya rejects ICJ ruling over Maritime Border dispute with Somali" a headline that painted Kenya as a bully in the horn of Africa similarly another headline read out "*Somalia wins against Kenya in maritime case"* In both cases, the media worked to advance both governments' national interests. Nonetheless, it is crucial to emphasize that research on the function of the media in promoting national interest in both Kenya and Somalia is sparse. In the Kenyan context, the media has been critical of Somali pushing for narratives that suggest the maritime dispute and has often invited professionals from different fields to discuss the various issues and concepts relating to the maritime dispute.

4.7 Summary of chapter

The following chapter presents the findings and outcomes of the study. The study had a response rate of 95% with majority of the participants being individuals aged 19-29. The data generated in the study was both qualitative and quantitative. First the researcher presented the descriptive data of the sample of the study. The data related to their nationality, age, gender, and educational attainment. The information was presented in the form of charts and table. This data was collected through questionnaires. The researcher also had additional quantitative data that was collected through Likert scale. The data was used to measure the journalist perspective on the role of media in advancing the national interest of a country during an international dispute as was the case with the Kenya-Somalia maritime dispute. The participant acknowledged that indeed the media played a role in advancing the national interests of the conflicting countries. Further, the study also confirmed that television was the most interactable form of media as majority of the study's participants believed that the use of television was the most convenient way of getting news relating to the conflict.

The study confirmed that the media played an important role in advancing countries national interest. Through agenda-setting and framing of various issues allow the media to advance the country's national interest. The agenda-setting strategy emphasizes the media's capacity to impact numerous national agenda topics. The function of the media in national policy is frequently regarded as critical at various stages of policy creation and ensured that the media focused on the primary information and message that the various media agencies were driving.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.0 Introduction

With the emphasis on assessing the role of media in the resolution of international conflict, the current study sought to determine the role of media in promoting national interests of a country in international conflict. This chapter therefore covers a summary of the key findings, presents conclusion and recommendation flowing from the four study's objectives

5.1 Summary of key findings

5.1.1 To determine the place of media in the national interest in the global discourse.

The study sought to determine the place of media in the national interest and the global discourse. The participants were interrogated on the most interactable media that they followed on the issue of the dispute between Kenya-Somalia dispute. Majority of the participants confirmed that television was the most preferred medium followed by radio, newspaper, and social media respectively. The participants indicated that the risk of misinformation on social media discouraged the use of media as a reliable source of information largely to widespread misinformation witnessed in the past. Besides, before delving deeper into the research the study sought to establish the participants understanding of the conflict between the two countries. The findings confirmed that the participants were aware of the conflict between Kenya and Somalia. The participants demonstrated a thorough awareness of the issue, particularly Kenya's claim to the Indian Ocean. The respondents' perspectives on the Kenya-Somalia maritime dispute were diverse. Several respondents said the crisis was caused by Kenyan military fighting terrorism in Somalia. One response however gave insights on the dispute claiming that Kenya was trying to annex Somalia equating the approach to that of the Idi Amin in Tanzania. Furthermore, the participant mentioned the effect of political forces in the dispute, which may have contributed to the conflict between the two nations. The place of the media with regards to advancing the national interests of country in an international dispute therefore can be

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assumed to be informing the people through accurate reporting of the events and issues surrounding the conflict.

5.1.2 To evaluate the role of media in the promotion of national interests in Africa

The study also sought to determine the role of media in the promotion of national interest in Africa. The results confirmed that the media played an important role in advancing the national interest. the participants acknowledged the role of the media in setting agenda that advance national interests. Participants from Kenya cited the 2006/07 election where the consortium of media worked together to advance the agenda of peace and unity in the country. Moreover, agenda setting helps in ensuring that important topics and concern are addressed in the media and looked at various perspectives. The agenda setting role of media has also been argued in the context of post-genocide Rwanda where many peace radios and televisions sprouted promoting and advancing the ideas and notions of peace within the country. In both instances, the two countries. Besides, the African media in many countries where there is no liberation and freedom of media, they are often forced to promote the goals and agenda of the national government through various activities and procedures. In this sense the media plays an important role in advancing the national interest of various countries by pushing the notion and ideas that the government wants the citizens to know or the world to see.

Table 4.1E Key Findings on the Role of media in the promotion of national interest

Theme	Verbatim
Framing national interest	"Post the Rwandese genocide the media played an important role in the healing of the country through framing national interest which was unity during this time as such the media fraternity ensured that the national interests of the country were advanced by ensuring that the issues of the conflict are discussed objectively in different news platforms" (Ke-P#32)
	"When it came to addressing the national interest in Somalia we had a clear instruction on how to report on the various issues and

	concerns and how to label the issues that emanated from the Kenya-Somalia maritime dispute rather in the best interest of the country as such the news and all media discussions should ensure that the message and information and publication had to frame the issue in a manner that was beneficial for Somalia." (So-P#4) "Within the media practice and reporting the concept of framing is very common especially with respect to national interest. in the Kenya maritime dispute all the journalist in Somalia were expected to frame the country's national interest by focusing on salience and issue selection. All the stories were developed in a manner that painted Kenya in negative light and an aggressor at the horn of Africa, such framing of the issue enabled the issue to be picked easily and discussed in different platforms and arena both locally and internationally. In many instances, the news largely focused on ensuring that the Somalis appeared to be the victim of annexation" (So-P#28)
Social Responsibility	"As media practitioners we have a responsibility to our country and people to inform them while also ensuring that the news coverage advances the national interest of the country" (Ke-P#1) "Our country has suffered a great deal and has been a victim of negative media coverage and publicity. The mention of Somalia in news is often associated with Al-shabaab and pirates. We in the media have a responsibility of painting a positive image of the country to attract investors and promote peace among our people" (So-P#30) "Social responsibility particularly to the country cannot be overemphasized when it comes to the coverage of various issues especially delicate issues that can have an implication on the sovereignty of the country, in the coverage of the Kenya and

	Somalia dispute we journalists exercised a lot of caution to ensure that the coverage was beneficial to our country especially during the trial, this was ensured that the coverage of the dispute gave our country a fighting chance in the dispute
Issue Salience	"The issue of the Somali-Kenya maritime dispute was discussed in detail in many of the local media houses. During television talk-shows such as AM live the Kenyan media brought up the issue and had panellists providing an in-depth analysis of the conflict and the best diplomatic solutions that can be considered in addressing the problem." (Ke-P#1) "The conflict between Kenya and Somalia was given priority in the media coverage in Somalia the issue was addressed in the different television stations and radio programs considering that the issue was diplomatic in nature" (So-P#20)

5.1.3 To compare the media discourse in Kenya with that of Somalia on maritime conflict.

The study also sought to understand how Kenyan and Somali media positioned their media arguments with regards to the maritime dispute. Most of the study participants confirmed that indeed the media discourse played an important role in shaping various issues relating to the conflict. Participants from the Somalia media practitioners confirmed that the media houses were directed to promote the national interest of the country. One journalist interviewed in the study shared their view on the issue indicating:

> After several recent meetings, a consultative meeting was held today in Mogadishu on June 20, 2019, in which editors, reports, producers, journalists, owners of media Companies and expert journalists. The discussion focused on the importance of reporting news related to national interests and Kenya's claim ownership of the Somali territorial waters and how Somali media cover the national issue. The participants discussed the importance of unifying efforts on the public interest where media plays a vital role in defending national interests. At the end of

meeting, participants agreed on the following four points including: 1. Somali journalists cannot be neutral about national cause and must defend it. 2. Somali journalists should verify the accuracy of sources published by Kenyan Media which Somali Journalists often quote. 3. As of today, Somali media should not use terms that do not serve the interest of the nation, such as the use of the maritime dispute between Somalia and Kenya, but to use of the term of Kenya's claim to Somali maritime territory instead. 4. The Government provides information on national issues to Journalists and to establish an information Center for current issues of our maritime territory to avoid false information spread in public.

In this sense, the Somali media played an active role in promoting the national interest of the country in the maritime dispute

5.1.4 To determine the place of the media in the promotion of national interests in Kenya's Somali maritime border dispute

The analysis confirmed that media played important role in international territorial conflict disputes. The media plays an important role in resolving international conflicts and disputes. Through three primary techniques. First, the media plays an important role in agenda setting by framing various important issues and making them priority and new item in the media. The concept of agenda setting involves the media pushing or advancing specific agenda that are of benefit to the country. In the context of Somalia media, the researcher reported that the journalist framed the issue and ensured it was an important issue in the country's national interest. The study confirmed that the Somalia journalist were urged not to remain neutral rather be keen on pushing the national agenda and defending it. Secondly, Somali journalists should verify the accuracy of sources published by Kenyan Media which Somali Journalists often quote. Thirdly, as of today, Somali media should not use terms that do not serve the interest of the nation, such as the use of the maritime dispute between Somalia and Kenya, but to use of the term of Kenya's claim to Somali maritime territory instead. Lastly, the Government provides information on national issues to Journalists and to establish an information Centre for current issues of our maritime territory to avoid false information spread in public.

5.2 Conclusion

The findings of the study confirm that the media played an important role in advancing the national interests of a country. While Somalia overtly called on their media houses and practitioners to advance the country's national interest, Kenya adopted a more subtle approach where the issue relating to the maritime dispute was given enough media coverage in the country and debated by different professionals especially those in policy areas. Moreover, television also played an important role in the coverage and discussion of issues relating to the conflict in the two countries. most citizens relied on the television for the coverage of the conflict confirming the notion of "CNN Effect." The media also played an important role in ensuring that the reportage and news coverage was conducted without any bias as efforts were directed towards ensuring that information was justifiable and based on evidence. Besides, the study also highlighted the nature of the media house in the two countries. whereas the Kenyan media operated independently without any special instruction the Somalia media and media practitioners were under instruction to ensure that the news coverage reflected the national interests of the country. Besides from the findings it can be deduced that the role of the media in advancing the national interest of a country can be outlined and summarized by three points:

(I) the media plays an important role in agenda setting by framing various important issues and making them priority and new item in the media. (II) issue salience, which involves the media houses prioritising the coverage of certain issues that they feel is important to the country and deserves the attention of the population. Lastly, the study reported on the importance of social responsibility of the media when covering various international issues. The maritime conflict was already volatile, and the spreading of false information and propaganda was only going to make the problem worse hence it was critical that the media fraternity exercise caution in their news reports and coverage. From this perspective it is evident that the media played an important role in the promotion of national interest in the Kenya-Somalia maritime dispute as both countries positioned to the media to drive the country's agenda.

5.3 Recommendation

The following recommendations can be made from the findings of the current study:

I. The media as the fourth pillar of any democratic society should be left to operate independently to allow it in conducting its role and promoting transparency on various issues and concerns affecting the society. Besides, there is need to reduce the dependance of media on support from different parts of the world as this will result in the media houses being controlled by external factors rather than journalistic practices.

II. When covering conflict, the media needs to proceed with caution and responsibility as the matter is sensitive and any wrong move and the spread of misinformation can have adverse consequences and worsen the problem and conflict that is already at hand.

III. The regulatory and policy climate in Kenya and Somalia can be considered unfavorable for the development and expansion of the media calling for the need to change laws and regulatory frameworks in both countries.

IV. Lastly, the media can sometimes overstep when conducting its mandate relating to setting the agenda and advancing national interest hence ending up fueling the conflict even further thus it is imperative that the regulatory bodies of both nations crack the whip on unethical media practices to help reduce conflict between the two countries

5.4 Recommendation for future research

Future research and study should be directed to understanding how media regulation influences the coverage of issues especially matters of international conflict and diplomacy. Study should also attempt to understand the impact of interactive media influences international conflict.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix I: Letter of Introduction to Media Council of Kenya and Somali Media Council

I am a master's student of the Istanbul Gelisism University, Department of Political Science and Public Administration undertaking as study on Media and the Promotion of the National Interest: Case of the Kenya-Somalia Maritime Border Dispute. Since the study is supposed to be undertaken in both Kenya and Somalia, I would be extremely grateful if you could allow me to institution as the population of the study. Secondly, since the study is to find out the role of Media and the Promotion of the National Interest: Case of the Kenya-Somalia Maritime Border Dispute. I would like to request for media reports relating to the maritime dispute. I vouch for the confidentiality of the information that would be furnished by the respondents. I hope you would give me the nod and the needed support to undertake the study in your Institution

 Yours sincerely,

Layla Sharif Isse

(Student)

Appendix II: Informed consent form

LAYLA SHARIF ISSE

currently researching on **Media and the Promotion of the National Interest: Case of the Kenya-Somalia Maritime Border Dispute.** I am seeking your consent to involve you in this study by seeking your opinion on the same. This will be through an interview which I would like to tape-record with your permission, and/or the use of questionnaires. Please feel free to ask me any questions, before and after the interview.

1. I will maintain confidentiality and anonymity throughout this study. Confidentiality will be maintained by not divulging identifiable information to other parties, except those directly involved in supervising and examining the study. Such parties will not be able to link the data to identifiable participants, as the data will be anonymized by using codes on the interview transcripts.

2. Data will be protected by keeping transcripts and interview tape recordings in a secure place. Once the study has been examined, the data will be kept until me final assessment then will be destroyed.

3. I agree/ don't agree to take part in the above study. I have read the research descriptions above and agree to be tape-recorded by. I understand that any information I provide is confidential and that no information will lead to identifying institutions or individuals involved in this study. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I can choose to withdraw at any stage.

Name_____Tel: _____Email_____

Please tear off and return to Layla Sharif Isse or on the interview day.

Interview Schedule

Appendix III: Questionnaire

Questionnaire

This is a research in fulfillment of a master's degree in. The study aims to establish the role of media in advancing a country's national interest with reference to the Kenya-Somali maritime dispute. All the information shared in this questionnaire will be handled with strict confidentiality. Please answer all the questions as best as you can

* Required

1. Gender *

   Mark only one oval.

   ◯ Male
   ◯ Female

2. Age *

   Mark only one oval.

   ◯ 20-30
   ◯ 30-40
   ◯ 40-50
   ◯ 50-60

3. Nationality *

   Mark only one oval.

   ◯ Kenyan
   ◯ Somalian

4.   What is your highest level of education attainment *

Mark only one oval.

◯ High school degree

◯ Undergraduate degree

◯ Master's Degree

◯ Doctorate

5.   What is your understanding of the Kenya-Somalia maritime dispute *

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

6.   Which is the most intractable media

Mark only one oval.

◯ Television (TV)

◯ Radio

◯ Newspaper

◯ Social media

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7. What role do you think the media of your country played in promoting its   *
   National Interests

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

8. Did the media positively or negatively impact the national interest of your country *

   Mark only one oval.

   ⬭ Positvely

   ⬭ Negatively

9. Explain your feedback of the question above *

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

   _____

10. In your view how did the media perform with respect to promoting the national   *
    interest of your country in the maritime dispute?

    Mark only one oval.

	1	2	3	4	5	
Very	⬭	⬭	⬭	⬭		Very Badly

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11. Would you say the media played its role in promoting your country's national *
     interests?

     Mark only one oval.

     ◯ Yes

     ◯ No

12. Explain your answer of the question above *

     _____

     _____

     _____

     _____

     _____

13. What would you like to see in the future in the media practice with respect to *
     promoting the national interests?

     _____

     _____

     _____

     _____

     _____

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