

MEDIA COSTRUCTION ON GLOBAL TERRORISM: A CASE ON KENYA MEDIA

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DECLARATION

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

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ABSTRACT

Terrorism has always been rife especially the last two decades not only in Kenya but the whole globe, and specifically without forgetting the 9/11 attacks in the US. Transnational terrorism and delinquencies have obtained eminence with the coming up of novel media and international media broadcasting twenty-four hours. Nations are being confronted on their boundaries and their status in the global scene is in equal measure is being attacked by upcoming actors such as the terrorist groups and much more by the role played by both audio and print media to influence both public and foreign policy of states. The main objective of this research was to determine the construction of terrorism by media who are seen as supporters of global terrorism by their failure to gate keep and certainly setting an itinerary for the terrorists who have evidenced media as one of their crucial tools in the execution of violence on individuals. The research established how the media has set the public in the understanding of terrorism and its implication at the local and international levels. An interview with the key respondents was conducted to obtain primary data. 20 respondents were targeted to participate in the study. Secondary data was obtained from published and unpublished books, journals, and newspapers. Results showed that media framing has exacerbated ethnic or religious tensions in the aftermath of terrorism incidents, media framing as a security threat has impacted government policies and public attitudes toward national security and misinformation fueled by media perception has hindered rescue and response efforts on terrorism incidents. The study concludes that in all the four cases described in this study, the media portrayed these attacks as acts of terrorism aimed at causing fear, destruction, and casualties. They were not seen as self-defense or retaliation. These incidents were widely condemned by the international community and were considered to be massacres due to the intentional targeting of civilians. The study recommends the media to report accurately and responsibly on security-related issues to ensure that the public is well-informed and that policymakers can make rational decisions in the interest of national security.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

BBOGH Bring Back our Girls Home

NTV Nation Television

KTN Kenya Television Network

CNN Cable News Network

KDF Kenya Defense Forces

IDIS Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies

MCK Media Council of Kenya

UN United Nations

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the Study

The influence of the mainstream press in determining public perceptions of terrorist attacks and their policy implications takes the center stage of this research study. The premise of this suggested study will be that, the mainstream press has a big impact on how people throughout the globe perceive terrorist attacks. The political system in a nation can be influenced by the media which can work for it or against it. The reports by media can lead to improvement or termination of the economy of a country. In addition, there is facilitation of social equality and variation, or options can be sought to the status quo by the media. Terrorism is currently a topic that has attracted the interest of academics, legislators, security experts, and anyone concerned about peaceful coexistence around the world. It is a phenomenon that endangers civilian lives, along with societal, economic, geopolitical, and scientific progress, in any corner of the globe. According to **Jeffrey (2003)**, the current incarnation of terrorist attacks emerged throughout the French uprising around 1789, including throughout the Roman Empire, when atrocities like execution and extermination were employed to subjugate populations and civilizations. It is a regular phenomenon in contemporary culture, with various types of assaults in almost every country around the world, especially in the Middle East, America, Europe, and Asia. Prominent examples of contemporary terrorists encompass the Stalinist Soviet Union, Nazi Germany, Pol Pot's Cambodia, Maoist China, and a variety of other oppressive and tyrannical governments. Terrorist attacks are linked to a wide range of organizations with various agendas because they can take numerous shapes. Terrorism represents a very complicated and ever-changing phenomenon that has risen to the top of local and international considerations and concerns.

Terrorist attacks have occurred at various stages of civilization, from socialist upheavals to institutions vying for autonomy; and whatever was defined as violent extremism within each age was sometimes challenged. It is undoubtedly that, September 11 strikes in the United States of America opened a new topic of terrorists and their mode of their heinous operations. Following that, the global fight against fear and panic grew, and terrorists were inadvertently transformed into global players whose impact and multinational operations could no longer be dismissed as minor concerns (Magoto, 2005). This raises pertinent questions of a moral kind and especially relates to how violence is represented by the media. As soon as the attack of September 11, 2001 took place, reporters felt that these incidences brought a novel chapter in history. **Katherine E. Finkelstein**, denoted "*It was the beginning of a horrifying story*". This statement was translated as, "it was only the beginning of the dying" which was the final line of an article of the columnist **Pete Hamill** printed in the New York Daily News after the heinous incidences. Pete Hamill concludes that, after bulk incidences, through patriotism, calculation or coercion, the media, by and large decided to follow the sanctions of their governments or the emotions of public viewpoints, at the risk of unwarranted self-censorship and turning themselves into megaphones of state power.

According to **Bartholomew et al. (2004)**, "it has remained obvious that the mainstream press seems to have had a great impact on our interpretations of events and the civilization where we inhabit all across the centuries." Worldwide communication has a significant hold on our impressions over the ways people comprehend the reality around each other."...

This shows that, the mainstream press is the most powerful influencer driving terrorist sentiments, perceptions, beliefs, and terror in general. The mainstream media's involvement and significance in international, intercontinental, territorial, and domestic terrorist activity seems to

be as old as the phenomenon altogether. It is clear that, there is a synergistic relationship between the mainstream press and terrorist attacks, in which terrorist organizations use the medium to communicate their ideological messages to a specific demographic while also providing 'catching content' to the mainstream.

Farren, (1990) demonstrates this synergistic link in different facets of mainstream news, presentation of topics, and broadcast equilibrium. Aside from that, mainstream media coverage includes the imagery, thoughts, and perhaps even repetitions of terrorists' personal utterances and imagery, which together aid terrorists in achieving their goals. Sometimes, whenever no operations actually occurred, the prominence of this media contributes to the praising of terrorists' aims and goals. In the Sunday Nation, Kenya's and Eastern Africa's most widely circulated newspaper, published a piece on a planned al-Shabaab's assassination of the Kenyan legislature on March 1, 2015. The narrative provided great information about how the terrorists planned to carry out the assaults, how many they planned to conduct, and just how many prior operations had already been foiled. That type of reportage, particularly since such assaults have already been foiled, and the recurrence of earlier assaults or attempts, undoubtedly serves to highlight and realize the terrorists' associations' or planners' intentions. As a result, conventional coverage, which ignores terrorist ideals and conventions, serves only to enable the realization of their purpose-either physically or emotionally onslaught. **Howard (2001).**

At that moment, it's worth noting that the multiple mainstream press organizations proceeded to broadcast al-Shabaab communications to their spectators, frequently quoting accurate communications or replaying video communications that had been initially the main topic of interrogations and were capable of solving problems in coordinated strikes against Kenyan **Christians, Kisang A. (2014).** In this circumstance, the dilemma should be whether to strike a

compromise between media repression and terrorist cooperation, a gap of knowledge that this study aims to interrogate.

Print media also generates a certain perception on how the consumers of information view issues related to terrorism. A good example is The Sunday Nation which published a picture of a mutilated casualty in the week following the Westgate terrorism assault, eliciting outrage and public denunciation from both society and the fatalities' families. The victim had died unnoticed by the authorities, and the pictures had already been widely circulated among extremist groups, according to <http://www.buzzfeed.com>. Regardless of the premise that the newspaper had no intention of glorifying those terrorists' actions, it was unavoidably done. The al-Shabab's terror crimes have relied heavily on the deployment of photographs. The massacres in Mandera saw the usage of violent photographs in conventional outlets and network transmissions yet again. However, whereas such are among of the findings following terrorist attacks, the usage of broadcast imagery and broadcasting on terror-related operations have created considerably greater concerns about the establishment's contributing to the problem in the spread of extremism.

Terrorism conceptual framework, thus based Erving Goffman (1974), reveals consistent tendencies of choosing, prominence, and restriction that allow for a reasonable explanation of occurrences. The dominant ideology of a sociological phenomenon by broadcast and print mainstream press, economic or sociological organizations, governmental authorities, and other individuals and institutions is defined by Druckman (2011). Certain frameworks typically influenced by assumptions and standard operating procedures in investigative reporting, such as deciding where and when events are reported. The anchoring hypothesis is similar to the agenda-setting theory, which suggests that the mainstream concentrates on specific occurrences.

Although the circumstance changes, persistent structuring attempts to keep the narrative in almost the identical perspective.

The notion of continuous terrorist conceptualization raises questions about whether or not reporting on fundamentalism could ever match the empirical criteria set forth in ethically including, particularly, counter-terrorism guidance documents. Reporters can either support the terrorist narrative by perpetuating killing and so inciting more operations, or they might support the legitimate account of circumstances and the administration's assessment throughout a paradigm associated with civic representatives. As a result, it is obvious that mainstream press coverage of terrorist reports occurs to varying degrees, both intentionally and unintentionally. Research shows that following reasonable coverage norms and practicing objective accounting are critical for maintaining media impartiality.

According to research by the Kenyan Media Council regarding press reporting of extremism, poor professionalism and violations of conscience in investigative pieces are aiding the growth of violent extremism by exposing terrorist crimes, promoting insecurity, and consequently contributing to societal acknowledgment of terrorists' operations. Aside from that, the mainstream continues to emphasize the most spectacular, violent, and contradictory narratives of the war on terrorism while ignoring institutional, anthropological, and societal causes for terrorists and the struggle against something. The research examined whether the mainstream media in Kenya has shaped perceptions of extremism and counterintelligence approaches, with a special concentration on Kenyans. That's also significant since participants complained of terrorists being substantially controlled, having implications for how the phenomena of violent extremism is conceived.

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From the above explanation, it's clear that, a symbiotic correlation between media and terrorism exists, which this research work aims to unearth and particularly on how the viewers and readers of media content are perceive the whole phenomenon.

I struggle to understand your background to the study. If you it understand it clearly, please try to communicate it well. A reader should not struggle to make sense of what is written.

1.2 Problem Statement

Terrorist attacks have existed globally since the beginning of civilization. It is not a modern occurrence on the planet; it has already evolved into a worldwide problem. It's a sentiment that's being felt throughout practically every corner of the globe. Terrorism has been witnessed in different shapes, ranging from suicidal attackers to coordinated attacks carried out to the extreme. The operations of extremism, particularly worldwide, intercontinental, metropolitan, or domestic, comprise aggression and criminality with the goal of promoting religious or ideological ideas. They mostly use assault, extortion, and harassment to exert pressure on the public and policymakers, where they would demand prominence and publicity. These terrorists' objectives are only realized due to the presence of media which broadcasts their acts, exerting fear to the population. The mainstream press represents a powerful force in shaping public impressions of terrorist attacks. This study aimed at cross-examining this interaction particularly the function of media in terrorism acts. First, this study established the incidences of terror attacks in Kenya for the last two decades and how the media had presented those terror attacks.

Secondly, the study analyzed media framing of terrorism in Kenya. Lastly, the study interrogated the implication of media perception on terrorism in Kenya.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

1. To explore trends of terrorism incidences in Kenya.
2. To analyze media framing of terrorism in Kenya
3. To interrogate the implication of media perception on terrorism in Kenya.

1.4 Research Questions

1. What are the major terrorism incidences in Kenya?
2. How has the media shaped the perceptions on terrorism in Kenya?
3. What are the implications of media perception on terrorism in Kenya?

1.5 Justification of the Study

Terrorism is another world phenomenon that has resulted in huge fatalities and casualties, property loss, resentment, and imprinted emotions in multitudes of individuals. The manner in which the mainstream press promulgates knowledge to the populace is critical, as that might contribute to more effective counter-terrorism measures. At around the same moment, consider how mainstream press coverage can help or hinder terrorist goals. The study was significant because it examined ways the mainstream press develops terrorist concerns again from the ground up and concentrates on the ramifications of representation in the mainstream of terrorist attacks in Kenya. The research adds to the established scholarly articles on communication production and terrorists in Kenya, along with assistance in journalists' coverage of the policy making process. Aside from that, the investigation offers insight mostly on action-oriented techniques employed by both appropriate agencies, including the internal cabinet and central

government supervision, and other important stakeholders engaged in the campaign on terrorists and the mainstream press. Researchers intrigued by future investigations in a connected field benefits from the findings.

1.6 Scope and Limitation of the Study

Kenya would become this study's topographical concentration. Regarding conventional print marketing campaigns, the analysis attempted to give special consideration to the Nation or Standard publications, which have been arguably the most accessible and dominant sections of the mainstream press. Nevertheless, knowledge from accessible surveillance video would be included in the investigation. The survey was conducted in Nairobi because of centrality of mainstream media houses and security agencies that were key sources of information in this study.

Limitation and Delimitation

The study anticipated weakness is the complexity in locating important respondents who provided necessary knowledge. Because security matters are so delicate, respondents might even want to have much less knowledge considering the research work. In this context, the investigator constructed a decent relationship with the participants in order to achieve the objectives and, therefore, a wonderful collection of inquiries for this particular research.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

Please introduce this section, by stating thematic issues that you are going to cover under this section.

By the way how is your review organized?

One of the common definitions of terrorism is the use of intimidation, or coercion to achieve political, ideological, or religious aims. The intention behind terrorism is often to create fear, panic, and a sense of insecurity among the targeted population or government. According to **W Enders and T Sandler, (1999)**, there exists a difference between international terrorism and domestic terrorism. They posit that;

International terrorism refers to acts of terrorism that cross national borders and involve the participation of individuals or groups from multiple countries. It operates on a global scale, with networks and activities spanning across different nations. Domestic terrorism is acts of terrorism which are carried out within the borders of a single country by

individuals or groups with the primary aim of instilling fear, intimidation, or achieving political, ideological, or social objectives within that country.

In such a case, it's clear that, both international and domestic terrorism can occur in the same country at the same time. A good example is a case in Kenya in the late 2014, when the Al shabaab militia used to wreak havoc in the country and at the time, armed bandits in Samburu County in Kenya were busy in cattle rustling in pastoral communities in north Rift in Kenya. Besides, according to United Nations conventions, the term Terrorism is used as *any action done with the intention of causing death or severe harm in the body to citizens or non-combatants, in the event that the aim of such an act, by its kind or place it takes place, is for the intimidation of a population or for compelling a Government or a global body to do or to desist from performing any act.*

the tactics employed by terrorists often evolve based on their access to resources, technological advancements, and responses from counterterrorism efforts. Additionally, not all acts of violence or politically motivated attacks can be considered terrorism; the designation often depends on the intent, targets, and methods used by the perpetrators.

Technological advancements have significantly impacted the landscape of terrorism, providing both new opportunities and challenges for terrorist groups. The internet and social media platforms have revolutionized the way terrorist groups communicate, disseminate propaganda, and recruit new members. These platforms enable them to reach a global audience, radicalize individuals remotely, and coordinate activities across borders.

It also has to be understood the strategy used by the media houses in broadcasting messages (**Munkler2005: 177**), to the populations with a certain agenda. In this case extensive media

coverage of terrorist incidences can provide terrorists with the publicity and notoriety they may be seeking, granting them a platform to amplify their messages and gain attention for their causes and more widely disseminate their motive, political end being one of the main objective that terrorists aim to achieve. The media can be instrumental in supporting countering violent extremism efforts by promoting counter-narratives and positive messaging that challenge extremist ideologies and promote tolerance, understanding, and resilience and Archetti states that ‘communication is the very enabler of social interaction. Balanced, accurate, and context-aware reporting can avoid inadvertently promoting the agendas of terrorists while informing the public. Additionally, media literacy initiatives can help the audience critically analyze and understand the information they receive, reducing the risk of falling prey to misinformation or extremist narratives, **Schmid Alex P. (2011)**

Bad what is the relevance of this information?

Media coverage of terrorist attacks can amplify the fear and anxiety among the general public. Sensationalized or repetitive reporting of terrorism incidents can create a perception of increased threat, potentially leading to social and economic disruptions (**Fuchs, 2004: 79**). The degree and the kind of media productions thus becomes critical promoters of operations of terrorists. The presentation of specific terrorism attacks and attention drawn is varies (**Weimann and Brosius, 1991**), making them to be significant to populations in different ways. **Borgeson and Valeri, (2008: 128)**, explains how broadcasting the terror attacks may influence not only individual and institutional decision making but also can contribute to either legalize or illegalize certain political movements in a state.

According to **Walsh, J (2010)**, terrorism is a tactic employed by a range of groups mostly to create media attention and attacks and the location where the attack has been carried out. While

the immediate goals of terrorist attacks can vary, the overarching intent is to use violence and fear to achieve political, social, or ideological change or to gain attention and notoriety for the perpetrators' cause. Terrorists seek publicity for their causes and ideologies and high-profile attacks can draw significant media coverage, providing them with a platform to spread their messages and attract potential recruits or sympathizers. Walsh additionally denotes that terrorists may carry out attacks to provoke harsh responses from security forces or governments, aiming to create sympathy for their cause and recruit more members.

Academicians have agreed at a largely conventional meaning, that is almost by unanimity, scholarly acknowledged **Schmid Alex P. (2011)**. When covering terrorism news, media organizations apply various news value criteria to determine the significance and relevance of the stories. Terrorism is a topic that often generates intense public interest due to its immediate impact, potential consequences, and the sense of fear it can evoke. It is crucial for media outlets to approach the coverage of terrorism news responsibly and avoid sensationalism or inadvertently providing undue attention to the objectives of terrorist groups. Striking a balance between providing accurate and timely information and being sensitive to the impact on the affected communities is essential when reporting on terrorism-related events.

Comparatively, as a consequence of a rise of both formal and informal communication connections that is in existence in the global, local and regional news media, **Swanson, (2003: 69)**, has connoted that nowadays it is possible to find a news culture that is transnational, a newsroom or a news system that is global. This world set of concept is viewed to be specifically strong in media that is visual like the television, that overwhelms boundaries that are sequential and progressive borders fast compared to media that is print (Hallin and Mancini, 2004: 56; L'offelholz and Hepp, the International Communication Gazette 76(1) 2002: 15), and in telling

news in regard to world difficulties (Krotz, 2005: 34) like climatic variations or global terrorism that are significant in the world.

In regard to media coverage on terrorism, manifestation in their similarities and differences have been shown by a number of authors. Norris, (2003) gives his analysis on global normative investigation that has been determined in regard to terrorism:

Political elites virtually everywhere are expected to condemn the attacks, even (former) leaders of nations such as Libya, Syria, and Iran, that, in accordance to services from the intelligence, might be clandestinely in support of the terrorism (Townshend, 2002: 12; Tuman, 2003). According to Norris, condemning terrorism has become part of a 'world script,' in the sense of Meyer (2005), that must be endorsed - at least officially - by all countries and proclaimed by the UN in multiple declarations (UN General Assembly, 2006: 3). This script might also be typical for the coverage of media, with the portrayal of terrorism becoming consistent across nations and hence a one-sided situation (Norris al., 2003: 12). This is as a result of media tradition of biasness, and their tendency to give report that are counterproductive as far as fighting against terrorism is concerned.

Bennett's Indexing Theory (Robinson, 2001) conforms to the supposed relationship between media coverage and political elite ideas. According to the idea, during times of international war, the collection of media actors, particularly the placement of political leaders, has a specifically major impact in determining coverage (Altheide, 2006; Oates, 2006). As a result, an agreement among leaders on the significance and judgment of a subject might be intensely exposed in the media. Fragmentation among the political leaders has led to media positions become more pluralistic. These results appear to be in agreement with the terrorism media coverage of the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq in the United States. There was an earlier unanimity among US political

elites on the legality of military intervention as a consequence in a harmonious representation across the breadth of US media. However, other countries' political elites, particularly in the Arab world, did not share this consensus. As a result, Jasperson and El-Kikhia (2003) discovered considerable disparities in the assessment and explanation of the Afghanistan conflict between CNN and Al Jazeera, while Aday (2005) found comparable results for the Iraq war coverage.

According to International communication gazette, there exist similarities and differences when it comes to media construction on terrorism and how the broadcasters portray the perpetrators, victims and also the attack itself.

Despite the high frequency of terrorist incidents worldwide - according to the Rand Corporation database (2009), there were 2723 incidences between 1999 and 2008- the four global broadcasting houses i.e BBC, Aljazeera, ARD and CNN, The London, Madrid, and Sharm el Sheikh bombings were all depicted on the similar number of days during the initial week, with the Amman bombing being the only notable exception. Similarly, the quantity of airtime allocated to these occurrences and their placement in news broadcasts bear striking similarities. The evaluation of these attacks was almost similar across all global media houses by emphasizing illegitimacy of the attack.

According to this trend of current terrorism, that is frequently conducted by Arab Islamists verses 'Western' victims, some experts anticipate the greatest disparities in coverage in Western and Arab media. Most of the time, these preconceptions are based on supposed cultural variations or, conversely, commonalities plus the partners who act as sympathizers to some of global terror groups. Some scholars use Samuel Huntington's contentious "clash of civilizations" thesis to support their claims. Huntington has stated that the globe of the twenty-first century is defined by competing "cultures," particularly the clash between the Christian-dominated "West,"

with the United States as its "center," and "Islam," which is largely found in the Arab world. He contends that this battle manifests itself, in public rejection or devaluation of the opposing side (Huntington, 1998: 345), and that variations in "Western" and Arab media reporting are to be anticipated. Despite having a completely varied theoretical foundation, studies on the function of cultural closeness in media reporting yields comparable conclusions (Abrahamian, 2003; Aday, 2005; Hafez and Richter, 2007; Jaspersen and El-Kikhia, 2003). While some researchers attribute variations in Western and Arab media to cultural reasons, others argue that same discrepancies can be accredited to global variances in the various media systems. Analyses of virtual media systems reveal significant variations between Western and Arab nations. While western media systems are termed as liberal (as in the United States) or socially accountable and public service-oriented (Blum, 2005 and Siebert, 1963), Arab media systems are viewed as more dictatorial (Rugh, 2007; Selber and Ghanem, 2004), despite the fact that they are presently going through quick variations and are different internally (Iskandar, 2007; Rugh, 2007).

Due to the investigated nations and regions are implicated in critical wars to varying degrees, regional disparities in coverage may be assumed. It has been suggested that part of a journalist's job is to offer a "national perspective" (Nossek, 2004: 349), so that locally important events are examined in more depth. This tendency is explained simply by news value theory, and empirical investigations reveal that terrorist acts are evaluated as more or less 'newsworthy' by journalists and covered appropriately (Kelly and Mitchell, 1981; Weimann and Brosius, 1991). This idea fits nicely with Nossek's notion that the understanding of a terrorist act as "ours" or "theirs" determines its media coverage (Nacos, 2007). As a result, it is stated that the distinctions between terror organizations in different states do not have to be (just) culturally established. An excellent example of such current terrorism is the conflict in Palestine, Iraq, and Afghanistan,

and since nations such as the United States, United Kingdom, and Germany are participating in these conflicts to varying degrees, this may be anticipated to impact their coverage.

In addition to this, the geopolitical surrounding of terrorist acts manifests itself in a particular portrayal of victims, perpetrators, sympathizers, and reactions to the assaults. The variation between CNN and Al Jazeera's representation of victims and other channels is not in the way, but in the degree to which the victims are portrayed by the media. While the latter networks detail the fates of personal victims from the start of their coverage of the terror strikes, CNN and Al Jazeera do not and do so after discussing about the perpetrators.

Some researchers believe that national circumstances primarily impact media coverage. As a result, coverage is likely to differ significantly from nation to nation. The outer circle comprises of a nation's history and culture traits, that may be different depending on national journalism traditions, geographical or linguistic peculiarities, religious variations, or political elite value systems (Bennett, 2009; Bennett et al., 2006). The following layers of effect include nation-particular structural, institutional, and organizational elements like as economic variables, technical impacts (Weischenberg, 1992: 249, 1995: 13), or distinctive newsroom working practices. Journalist attitudes, self-perceptions, and motivations are found in the inner circle. It is considered that the features and significance of these elements vary by nation and that coverage of exterior or transnational concerns, like the global terrorism, is shaped by them into a particular, domestic viewpoint (Swanson, 2003: 57). This model correlates to the large nation disparities in media coverage of similar situations that have been observed like abortion, biotechnology or European Union enlargement. This global and regional analysis will be of great significant for this research work as it gives a clear outlook on how other media houses do carry out their reporting on terrorism.

In Kenya, the coverage of terrorism by two mainstream media, since April 2014, the Nation media group and the Standard have shown a typical inclination to cover the actions optimistically, with government counter-terrorism interferences garnering a good or bad reaction. This harsh tone and issue surrounding by the media encouraged terrorist aims of creating fear and promoting information, undermining governments' capability to resist al-Shabaab as intended.

The media in Kenya has been quite a force in the coverage of terrorism, and stories of such nature have received a lot of attention and coverage (Maina, 2014). The International Crisis Group also noticed that the post-Westgate incident generated a similar broad coverage and affected policy variations, resulting in an expansion of the KDF's war in Somalia and a greater willingness to relocate Somali refugees from Kenya. According to the International Crisis Group (2014), these attacks prompted the well-publicized Operation Usalama Watch, that targeted Somali residential regions in Nairobi, specifically the Eastleigh neighborhood. These responses were rekindled in the April 2015 Garissa assaults, in which the KDF was described to have accelerated bombings in Somalia and the Kenyan government issued UNHCR and allied agencies a three-month deadline to remove Somalia refugees from Daadab in Kenya. CNN, 11 April 2015. This clearly indicate that, the agenda setting function is a subject which has to be observed critically with objectivity since it has a crucial bearing to the effect of media reporting on terror attacks.

On the issue of agenda setting, scholars have observed the conflict that exists between what the audience think is important and what the media give attention and emphasis. This explains that, the fact that not every terrorist incidence draws consideration of the media, it is not every media content affect in enclosing concerns and community deliberations (McCombs, M., & Shaw, D.

(1972). When terrorists plan an attack, the zeal and effectiveness of the media to impact policy and community consideration on a concern is crucial. Their goal is to garner as much attention and exposure as possible. As a result, the aftermath coverage and attention is a significant aspect in their decision and focus of assault. And the media's "news values" are at the centre of all terrorist attack.

It is on this note, that the issue of ethics in media reporting becomes a concern. The use of imagery and media messaging in broadcasting on terrorism concerns has the ability to intensify or legitimate such strategies, as well as impede a vibrant and authentic investigation of concerns, particularly when such broadcasting is seen and considered as backing of such strategies. Furthermore, McCombs provides an example by making a comparison on terror attacks in Mozambique where there was lack of media consideration to those in the Middle East receiving a lot of media consideration and emphasis. Additionally, intensification by the media benefits terrorists and may lead to acceleration of incidences and thus, this intensification is viewed as counterproductive. This aids the tactics in that the group has used in mobilizing and creating understanding in the selection of its targets for incidences.

Terrorists' main goal is to get their horrible crimes broadcast on electronic media, particularly television. This has shown to be a dependable associate in this understanding (Combs & Slann, 2007). In Kenya, television stations may have accidentally promoted the al-Shabaab agenda. For example, the most recent JichoPevu story aired on KTN appeared to present all sides of the alleged terrorist. It was even clear that the majority of those interrogated were relatives of suspected cleric radicals. This proves that this thing exists and that we cannot escape it (**Media Council of Kenya, 2014, 24**).

These are the kinds of perceptions that can easily exacerbate the interreligious divisions that the al-Shabaab has worked hard to create in the country between Muslims and Christians. Following reports and al-Shabaab texts from the April 2015 Garissa University terrorist attack confirmed this. Television has also assisted al-Shabaab's cause by broadcasting brutal scenes of security operations. The Masjid Musa mosque operation in February 2014, in which NTV broadcast graphic images of the operation inside the mosque, is an example. The angle of the reports and interviews for the same is sometimes prejudiced against the state. Another example is an NTV investigative story titled "Foul Winds" in which journalists casually endorsed al-Shahab's cause and narrative. Radicals can openly situate terrorist operations in the arena of interreligious conflict in the piece. The majority of people interviewed for the narrative were heard referring to terrorist attack victims as "kafiri- infidels or non-believers." The late Abubakar Sharrif Makaburi, a later victim of Kenyan authorities' terror crackdown and a radical Muslim preacher, was cited as declaring that he welcomes death in the struggle against non-Muslims (**Media Council of Kenya, 2014, 41**). The video promotes the idea that a religious war is already underway between Muslims and non-Muslims, instilling fear and desolation among Muslims and mobilizing naive Muslim youngsters into a non-existent jihad, an issue aired by regional and national media stations.

Another piece of journalism that aids the al-Shabaab cause is "Wolves at Westgate," a documentary by a Kenyan journalist that broadcast on KTN following the Westgate terror attack. It's the type of story al-Shabaab wants to tell ("Foul Winds", NTV investigates the radicalization of teenagers on Kenya's coast," NTV, aired on 20-3-2014, source www.ntv.co.ke); it supports the perception that they're indestructible and winning. This not only promotes fear, but also

contributes in their recruiting and undermines Kenyans' belief in the capacity of the state to provide appropriate protection against terrorist companies.

Apart from visual and print media, radio has also been a major channel of disseminating information, and relied upon. According to **International Crisis Group (2012)**, some radio stations in Kenya have been used by terror groups such as Al Shabaab in radicalizing the youths by giving information that encourages them to get attracted to join the group. This report indicates that;

Radio has always been a preferred medium for disseminating political ideas. Two such radio stations, Radio Rehema and Radio Iqra, have been used to radicalize adolescents, making them easy targets for al-Shabaab recruiters. According to the investigation, Radio Iqra gave too much airplay to extremist Tanzanian preachers known as the Tabligh, who incited and indoctrinated listeners with anti-state sentiments. Some Muslims dislike these extreme preachers because they believe they do not fully comprehend the principles of the Holy Koran. Muslim radio stations that have used imported radical ministers have aided in the radicalization of youth, as seen by a January 2010 episode in Nairobi in which radical youths protested fiercely over the deportation of a radical Jamaican Muslim minister.

This indicates that, Kenya media would seem to support anti-al-Shabaab creativities although there is another side of the same. In Kenya, the practice of media of publicizing only positive news of victory in regard to al-Shabaab has unintentionally enticed youngsters who receive optional data from al-Shabaab media, such as "Gaidi Mtaani," indoctrinating them with wrong data and in the process radicalizing them (Anderson, & McKnight, 2014, p.23).

Anderson proceeds to argue that, the media in Kenya has aided the media initiative of al-Shabaab by intensifying what have been stated by them on social media, allowing individuals having no access to novel media to understand the desires of al-Shabaab. Kelly and Leftie broadcasted the wording of a tweet by the al-Shabaab requesting the departure of Kenyan troops verbatim in a 2012 story titled "Al-Shabaab warn of increased incidences in Kenya." After the Garissa University al-Shabaab attack, Muriithi Mutiga writes for the Guardian that a university student leader has demanded that every non-Muslims leave the North Eastern areas of Kenya. This will provide terrorists with the safe haven they seek on Kenyan soil. The same student also urged that the KDF withdraw from Somalia.

The victory of terrorism incidences is not limited to conducting out victorious incidences; most terror groups' important aims are the transmission of fear and ideology - assaults are simply demonstrations of attentions. Looking at the Garissa and Mandera bombings as examples, al-Shabaab's goal was realized not by the incidences themselves, but by the following evacuation of students and the staff who were working at the quarry from the districts. However, it is media broadcasting and campaigns by organizations that are led by muslims such as Muhuri, that have continued a media campaign painting the country as targeting Muslims and Somali individuals that has reduced the country's capability to gather together backing across the divide. This led to global newsrooms declaring Kenya as a dangerous place to an extent of advising their respective citizens not to visit Kenya. Although this was done in with a lot of biasness, since terrorism is a global issue, reporting of the same by the local media played a great role issuance of such sentiments.

As a result, it can be argued that the method in which terrorism is constructed by Kenyan media has caused a major influence on initiatives that are countering terrorism, and there has been

divided back up for the same which is steadily sinking. This is mostly as a consequence of the media enclosing of concerns surrounding the fight on terror and the preconceptions established in the minds of citizens.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

2.2.1 Agenda setting Theory

This theory remains a fundamental concept in media studies and understanding media influence on public perception and policy agendas (**McCombs and Shaw (1972)**). The media's selection, framing, and presentation of news significantly impact what the public deems important and what policymakers prioritize. However, the complexity of media influence, the rise of digital media, and individual differences in news consumption present challenges to traditional agenda-setting mechanisms. As media technology continues to evolve, researchers and policymakers must adapt their understanding of media influence to account for these changes. Additionally, media professionals should be cognizant of their role in shaping public agendas and strive for responsible and balanced reporting to provide accurate and relevant information to their audiences.

Media Agenda is one of the key concepts of this theory (**Littlejohn and Foss: 2009**). The media agenda is the selection and prominence given to specific news topics or issues by media outlets. The media's decisions about what to cover and how to cover it play a crucial role in shaping public perceptions. Another concept is the public agenda which represents the issues and topics that the public perceives as important or relevant at a given time. Media coverage can influence which issues the public deems significant. Intermedia Agenda-Setting concept is the influence of

one media outlet on another's news agenda. For example, prominent coverage by a major newspaper may prompt other outlets to cover the same story. Agenda-Setting Theory also explores how the media frames news stories, emphasizing certain aspects and perspectives while downplaying others. The framing of news can affect how the audience interprets and understands the issues presented. Priming is the media's ability to influence the criteria that the public uses to evaluate political leaders or issues. When the media focuses on specific aspects of a politician's performance, the audience is more likely to use those aspects to judge the politician's overall performance.

Several mechanisms contribute to this theory including media gatekeepers, such as editors and news directors, play a critical role in deciding which stories to cover and how to present them. Their choices shape the media agenda and, consequently, influence the public agenda. The media cannot cover all news events due to time and resource constraints. Thus, certain issues may receive more attention than others, leading to a selection bias that affects the public's perception of issue importance. News organizations rely on sources, such as government officials, experts, and interest groups, to provide information. These sources can influence the media agenda by shaping the narrative of news stories. The way news stories are framed influences how the public perceives and interprets the issues. Framing effects can determine whether the public views a particular issue positively or negatively. Journalistic news values, such as timeliness, proximity, impact, and prominence, also influence the media agenda. Stories that align with these values are more likely to be covered prominently.

Critics argue that the theory focuses mainly on the influence of media on public perceptions and neglects other factors, such as individual differences and social interactions. The theory assumes

a relatively passive audience that merely absorbs media content without critical engagement. However, research suggests that individuals can actively select and interpret media messages. Further, agenda-setting is just one of many factors that shape public opinion and policy decisions. The influence of media is often intertwined with other social, economic, and political forces. The rise of digital media and social networks has transformed the media landscape, challenging traditional agenda-setting mechanisms. Concerns about media ownership and potential biases in news coverage raise questions about the objectivity of the media's agenda-setting function (Littlejohn, 2002)

1. How does this theory underpin a work in international relations.
2. How is this theory inform your particular study on terrorism in Kenya.
3. Are there other competing/possible theories

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This section discusses the research design, the research site, population sample, the sampling procedure, the data collection instruments, the methods of data collection and data analysis.

3.2 Research Design

The study adopted descriptive survey. **Mugenda and Mugenda (2003)**, connotes that descriptive research establishes and report the how things are. In this case, the trend of terrorism in Kenya were outlined clearly with close analysis of media framing on the same. Descriptive research aims to provide a clear and comprehensive picture of the characteristics, attributes, and features of a particular group, population, or phenomenon. It often serves as a foundational step in the research process, providing essential baseline data for future studies or investigations. It establishes a starting point for further exploration or hypothesis testing. Descriptive surveys are used to describe and analyze the characteristics, attitudes, behaviors, opinions, or experiences of the participants without manipulating any variables or establishing cause-and-effect relationships. This research design was fitting for it helped to obtain data from the respondents especially when interrogating the implications of media perception on terrorism here in Kenya.

3.2 Site of the Study

The study was conducted in Nairobi. The choice of Nairobi city was because the major media houses that were of great importance to this research were located in Nairobi. It is also the city other key respondents such us counterterrorism center are found.

3.3 Study population

Study population is entire group of individuals that the researcher is interested in studying and from which they intend to draw conclusions or make inferences. The target population comprised of security agency officials and official members of media houses in Kenya. Besides this, lecturers from the department of international relation and diplomacy were of great help for guidance and direction. A total of 20 respondents were expected to participate.

3.4 Sample technique and size

This study used purposive sampling in which case specific groups of people who are said to be rich in information on media and terrorism not only in Kenya, but also globally were targeted. According to **Kombo and Tromp (2006)**, purposive sampling allows researchers to leverage that expertise to select the most relevant and informative participants such as the relationship between the ideologies and the practice of terrorists' movements vis a vis the media. Therefore, this procedure assisted in getting more information about the issue at hand and also bringing out varied views on it. Seventy two (72) respondents were sampled, as this size was representative. This was informed by the fact that, security related issues are very sensitive, and its approach should be handled diligently with utmost care for the researcher to get substantial information.

3.5 Research Instruments

The researcher used questionnaires and interviews. These provided the researcher with qualitative data. In addition to this, documentary and print media such as past newspapers that has recorded terrorism incidences were of great importance. Great care was observed in order to gather as much information as possible especially during interviews. Security issues were highly concealed, especially the security agents.

3.6 Validity and reliability

Validity is the degree to which a research instrument accurately measures the construct or concept it is designed to assess. A valid instrument accurately captures the true meaning of the variable being studied. The study tested the validity of the questionnaire using two expert's opinion. The opinion of the experts on the items of the questionnaire were compared to check on the commonness in their response towards the same items. In this context, the trend of where and when the terror incidence happened is the same irrespective of which media reported. However,

what triggered, how it was reported and whose interest the media house serves are key issues that this research work had to put in consideration in order to get into conclusion and check legitimacy and dependability of the apparatuses used.

Reliability is the consistency and stability of a research instrument's results when used repeatedly under the same conditions **Mugenda and Mugenda (2003)**

Isaiah your methodology is full of notes. Please be explicit on how you are going to collect which kind of information and from where.

3.7 Data Collection Procedures

As a requirement, when carrying out such a research in Kenya the researcher acquired a research permit from Nairobi County Government. This allowed for the distribution of questionnaires to the relevant respondents and conduct of interviews in Nairobi. The questionnaires were administered to people working in media offices and also to the security experts on terrorism.

3.8 Data Analysis Procedures

Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) was used to study the links between variables. The data was then coded into the database. Frequency distribution and correlation tables were used to analyze the links between variables. The differences that may arise can be the reporting of terror incidences due to the media house inclination side and biasness. However, there is always a common ground where that gives a link on all the variables that helped the researcher to come into conclusion.

3.9 Ethical Considerations

Researcher subscribed to high ethical requirements in the scholarly field. Ethics were observed by seeking consent and maintaining confidentiality of the information given. To avoid

plagiarism, researcher acknowledged every work done by various authors whose work was relied on by the researcher. The respondents had the right to be explained to why the research was being carried out and the importance of them giving the information fully in order for the research to be well done and information to be consistent.

3.10 Data Presentation

The data collected was presented in form of diagrams, pie chart outlines, reference diagrams and detailed descriptive analysis with various examples. Besides, presentation was via tables and figures. The study zeroed in at the precise comments and statements from the sampled persons who were interviewed during the interviews. Charts were then used to display information. The research focused on the specific observations and assertions made by the people questioned throughout the conversations.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the results and the discussion of data that was collected for the study. The results are presented in line with the objectives of the study. Descriptive findings are presented.

4.2 Trends and presentation of terrorism incidences in Kenya

1998 US Embassy attack

Terror attack on the morning of September 11, 2001 where four commercial airliners were hijacked by terrorists, can be featured as one of the best examples of heinous attacks in the history of terrorism, globally. This, to a certain extent defined a paradigm shift on power politics among the superior entities and their perspectives on security apparatus became a matter of concern. Two of them, American Airlines Flight 11 and United Airlines Flight 175, were crashed into the North and South Towers of the World Trade Center in New York City, while American Airlines Flight 77 was crashed into the Pentagon in Arlington, Virginia. United Airlines Flight 93, which was also hijacked, crashed in a field in Pennsylvania after passengers attempted to regain control of the plane. The attacks were immediately covered by major news networks like CNN, Fox News, and MSNBC. The most iconic images of the day were the planes hitting the Twin Towers, which were broadcast live. News anchors and reporters were on the scene providing continuous updates and commentary (National commission, 2004).

According to Stempel (2019), the initial reactions from media personnel, experts, and the general public were ones of shock and horror. The scale and magnitude of the attacks were unprecedented in American history. The attacks dominated news coverage for days and weeks afterward. News networks provided continuous 24/7 coverage of the aftermath, rescue efforts, and the investigation into the attacks. Media outlets discussed the national and global impact of the attacks, including the economic consequences, the initiation of the War on Terror, and the effects on travel and security. Media outlets also covered human interest stories, such as the heroism of first responders, survivors' accounts, and the stories of those who lost loved ones.

The abduction of approximately 276 schoolgirls in Chibok, Nigeria by Boko Haram occurred on April 14-15, 2014. When news of the abduction first broke, it was widely covered by both local and international media outlets. Initial reports focused on the number of girls kidnapped and the group responsible, Boko Haram. Media outlets faced challenges in reporting on the incident due to the remote location of the abduction and the sensitivity of the situation. Access to information and the affected area was limited. Media outlets reported on efforts to locate and rescue the abducted girls, including involvement from Nigerian security forces and international assistance (BBC news, 13th November 2014). Over time, there were reports of some girls being released or escaping from captivity. Media outlets covered these developments and the challenges the girls faced upon their return. Media also reported on ongoing activism and advocacy efforts, such as the continued calls for the release of the remaining girls and efforts to address the root causes of the conflict (BBC news, 8th May 2017).

The 1998 U.S. Embassy bombings in Kenya were a significant and tragic event that garnered extensive media coverage at the time. The attacks, which occurred on August 7, 1998, in Nairobi, Kenya, and Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, targeted American embassies and resulted in a large number of casualties. The immediate aftermath of the bombings saw a flurry of breaking news coverage on television, in newspapers, and on radio. The media quickly reported the facts as they were known, including the locations of the bombings, the number of casualties, and the extent of the damage. Journalists on the ground provided eyewitness accounts and interviews with survivors and witnesses (Bennett, 2011).

The media covered the international response to the bombings, highlighting how various countries expressed their condolences and solidarity with the United States. This aspect of the coverage emphasized the global nature of the incident and the fact that American embassies were

seen as symbols of American presence worldwide. Media outlets extensively covered the human toll of the bombings, emphasizing the tragic loss of life and the injuries sustained by both American and local embassy staff, as well as Kenyan and Tanzanian civilians. Heart-wrenching stories of survivors and families searching for their loved ones added an emotional dimension to the coverage.

According to the Department of State website in the US, the media overwhelmingly presented the U.S. Embassy bombings as acts of terrorism. The deliberate targeting of American diplomatic missions and the loss of civilian lives made it clear that this was not a military engagement or an act of self-defense. Instead, it was perceived as a heinous act of terrorism, aimed at causing fear and destruction. The media extensively covered the response by the U.S. government, including President Bill Clinton's condemnation of the attacks and his promise to bring the perpetrators to justice. The subsequent U.S. missile strikes on suspected Al-Qaeda bases in Afghanistan and Sudan also received significant media attention.

The media portrayed the international community's outrage and solidarity with the victims. Vigils, memorial services, and public demonstrations in various countries were widely covered, emphasizing the global condemnation of the bombings. In general, the 1998 U.S. Embassy bombings in Kenya were reported as a coordinated terrorist attack on the U.S. embassies in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam. The media portrayed it as an act of terrorism orchestrated by Al-Qaeda, led by Osama bin Laden. The attack was not seen as self-defense or retaliation, but rather as an act of mass murder intended to harm American interests in East Africa (Higgins, 2001).

The Garissa University terror attack took place on April 2, 2015 and was widely covered as a horrifying incident in which Al-Shabaab militants stormed a university in Garissa, Kenya, and

killed 147 people, mostly students. This attack was portrayed as an act of terrorism intended to cause fear and destabilize Kenya. It was not seen as self-defense or retaliation but rather as a massacre of innocent civilians (NTV, 3rd April 2015, KTN TV 3rd April 2015). The attack on Garissa University College created a sense of shock and urgency. News outlets around the world provided extensive breaking news coverage, reporting the unfolding events as they happened. The media quickly conveyed the gravity of the situation, as Kenyan security forces engaged in a standoff with the terrorists (Fox News Channel, 4th April, 2015).

Media coverage emphasized the human tragedy and loss of life. It was reported that the attackers targeted students and university staff, causing a significant loss of innocent lives. Personal stories of survivors and victims' families added an emotional dimension to the coverage, highlighting the devastating impact of the attack. The media reported that Al-Shabaab claimed responsibility for the attack. This connection was a focal point in the coverage, shedding light on the regional and transnational nature of the extremist group's activities. The media overwhelmingly presented the Garissa University terror attack as an act of terrorism. The targeting of a civilian educational institution, where students were pursuing their studies, was seen as a heinous act of terror aimed at sowing fear and chaos. The media covered the Kenyan government's response, including statements from President Uhuru Kenyatta condemning the attack. The declaration of three days of national mourning and a vow to pursue the terrorists were key elements of this response (The New York Times, 4th April 2015). Media outlets discussed security and intelligence concerns raised by the Garissa attack. The incident prompted a reevaluation of security measures in educational institutions and the need for regional cooperation to combat terrorism. It was perceived as an attack on education and the pursuit of knowledge, and the coverage focused on

how such incidents could disrupt the normal functioning of educational institutions and society at large.

The Westgate Mall terror attack in Nairobi, Kenya, was extensively covered by the media. It involved a group of Al-Shabaab militants taking hostages in a shopping mall, resulting in numerous casualties. The media presented this attack as an act of terrorism, targeting civilians in a public place, to instill fear and show of power and presence of terror group in the country. It was considered a massacre. The Westgate Mall attack began with a sudden and shocking assault by heavily armed militants. Media outlets provided extensive breaking news coverage, reporting the unfolding events as they happened. The immediacy of the situation, with innocent civilians trapped inside the mall, intensified the coverage (The New York Times, 21 September 2013).

The media emphasized the human tragedy and loss of life resulting from the attack. The militants targeted shoppers, families, and mall employees, leading to a significant number of casualties. Personal stories of survivors and the families of victims were shared, highlighting the devastating impact of the attack (Citizen TV, 21st September 2013). It was widely reported that Al-Shabaab claimed responsibility for the attack. The media coverage discussed the motivations and goals of the extremist group, shedding light on their transnational activities and objectives. The media overwhelmingly presented the Westgate Mall terror attack as an act of terrorism. The targeting of a civilian shopping center and the indiscriminate killing of innocent people was perceived as a heinous act of terror intended to create fear and chaos. The media extensively covered the Kenyan government's response to the attack. The response included the deployment of security forces and a prolonged standoff with the terrorists. The media highlighted international outrage and expressions of solidarity with Kenya. Numerous countries and international organizations

condemned the attack, offered support to the Kenyan government, and expressed their condolences to the victims and their families. Vigils, memorials, and demonstrations were organized worldwide to demonstrate global condemnation of terrorism.

Media outlets discussed security and intelligence concerns that arose from the Westgate Mall attack. This event prompted a reevaluation of security measures in public spaces, particularly malls, and led to discussions about the need for improved intelligence sharing and regional cooperation in the fight against terrorism. The media addressed the broader impact of the attack on Kenyan society. It was perceived as an assault on the sense of security and normalcy enjoyed by Kenyans and an attack on the country's multiculturalism and inclusivity. The incident raised questions about the potential impact of such attacks on tourism and the economy (NTV, 21st September 2013, KTN 24th September 2013)

The DusitD2 Terror Attack in Nairobi, Kenya, which occurred on January 15, 2019, was a tragic event that drew significant media attention. The attack was orchestrated by the Somalia-based extremist group Al-Shabaab and targeted the DusitD2 hotel complex, resulting in multiple casualties. The DusitD2 terror attack occurred in Nairobi, Kenya, and was covered by the media as a hostage situation in a luxury hotel complex. Al-Shabaab claimed responsibility for the attack (BBC news, 19th January 2019)

The attack began with a sudden and shocking assault on the DusitD2 hotel complex. Media outlets provided breaking news coverage, reporting the unfolding events as they happened. The immediacy of the situation, with guests and employees trapped inside the complex, intensified the coverage (Citizen TV, 16th January 2019, KTN News, 16th January 2019). The media emphasized the human tragedy and loss of life resulting from the attack. The militants targeted

not only hotel guests but also employees, adding to the casualties. Personal stories of survivors and the families of victims were shared, highlighting the devastating impact of the attack. Al-Shabaab claimed responsibility for the attack, and the media extensively covered this connection. The coverage discussed the extremist group's motivations, its regional activities, and its continued threat (Citizen TV, 16th January 2019).

The media overwhelmingly presented the DusitD2 Terror Attack as an act of terrorism. The targeting of a hotel complex and the indiscriminate killing of civilians was perceived as a heinous act of terror designed to create fear and chaos. The media extensively covered the Kenyan government's response to the attack. The media highlighted international outrage and expressions of solidarity with Kenya. Many countries and international organizations condemned the attack and offered support to the Kenyan government. The attack also triggered global conversations on the need for coordinated international efforts to combat terrorism (BBC News, 16th January 2019).

Media outlets discussed the security and intelligence concerns that arose from the DusitD2 attack. This event prompted discussions about the need for improved security measures in public spaces, particularly in major cities, and the importance of intelligence sharing to preempt such attacks. The media addressed the broader impact of the attack on Kenyan society. It was perceived as an assault on the country's security, economy, and its aspirations for growth and development. The incident raised questions about its potential impact on tourism and foreign investment.

Much of the information in the information above and especially on media fits within the section below. It is good to analyse and present your findings according to objectives

4.3 Media framing of terrorism in Kenya

Media framing is a concept that refers to the way news stories and events are presented and interpreted by media organizations. It involves the selection of certain aspects of an issue or event while downplaying or omitting others, which can influence how the audience perceives and understands the subject matter (Ridout & Ashley, 2008). Framing is not just about what is reported but how it is reported. Media framing is a powerful tool because it can shape public opinion, influence policy decisions, and impact how people view and engage with current events and issues. Journalists, editors, and media organizations play a crucial role in framing the news, and the framing they choose can have a significant impact on the public's understanding of the world around them (Schildkraut, 2009).

Thematic framing is a media communication approach that involves highlighting specific themes or aspects of an issue, event, or story in a way that shapes how the audience perceives and understands it. Thematic framing in the context of terrorism involves how media organizations and other communicators choose to emphasize specific themes or aspects of terrorism-related stories (Tewksbury & Riles, 2018). This approach is significant in shaping public perception, understanding, and policy responses to acts of terrorism. Thematic framing in terrorism coverage often includes some media outlets focusing on the root causes of terrorism, such as political grievances, socioeconomic disparities, and historical conflicts. This approach aims to contextualize acts of terrorism within a broader framework, emphasizing the underlying factors that contribute to radicalization (Ridout & Ashley, 2008).

According to Semujju (2018), episodic framing is a media communication approach that focuses on presenting news stories or events as individual, isolated incidents, often without providing a broader context or understanding of the underlying causes and consequences. This framing style

emphasizes specific events or episodes while neglecting the larger patterns, trends, or systemic factors that may contribute to the issues being discussed. Episodic framing tends to highlight the immediate and dramatic aspects of a story, often concentrating on sensational or emotionally charged elements. It can make the audience view events in isolation, without considering the bigger picture. This approach is particularly common in breaking news coverage or sensational reporting, as it can capture attention quickly and maintain viewer or reader interest.

Episodic framing in the context of terrorism involves presenting acts of terrorism as isolated, dramatic incidents without delving deeply into the broader context, causes, or consequences of these acts (Benequista, 2016). This approach tends to focus on the immediate and sensational aspects of terrorist attacks, such as the dramatic scenes, casualties, and the shock factor. It often provides minimal background information about the underlying motivations, political or social contexts, or the larger framework in which acts of terrorism occur (Moernaut et al., 2018).

Conflict framing is a media communication approach that emphasizes the conflicting perspectives, interests, and tensions within a given story or issue (Tayebwa, 2017). This framing style highlights the contention and controversy surrounding an event or topic and often portrays it as a battle or dispute between different parties or stakeholders. Conflict framing is commonly used in journalism and media coverage to make stories more engaging and to capture the audience's attention. Conflict framing in the context of terrorism emphasizes the contentious and opposing perspectives, interests, and tensions associated with acts of terrorism, counterterrorism efforts, and the political, social, and ideological factors that drive such conflicts. This framing style highlights the confrontations between extremist groups, governments, security

forces, and international organizations involved in the struggle against terrorism (Ndamah-Arthur, 2018).

According to Vossen et al. (2018), human interest framing is a storytelling technique used by the media to create emotional connections between the audience and news stories by focusing on the personal, relatable, and often emotional aspects of an issue. This framing style places individuals or their experiences at the center of a story, often highlighting their struggles, triumphs, or personal journeys. The aim is to engage and evoke empathy from the audience. Human interest framing in the context of terrorism seeks to humanize and personalize the often complex and harrowing experiences of those affected by acts of terror, including victims, survivors, and their families. This framing approach aims to create emotional connections between the audience and the stories related to terrorism, highlighting the human element in the midst of tragic events and turmoil (Ochieng, 2019).

Crisis framing is a media communication approach that presents stories as crises, emergencies, or threats that require immediate attention and action. This framing style aims to convey a sense of urgency and alarm in order to capture the audience's attention and encourage a response. Crisis framing is often used to highlight situations that are perceived as critical, life-threatening, or potentially catastrophic. Crisis framing in the context of terrorism involves presenting acts of terrorism as crises or emergencies that require immediate and decisive action. This framing approach is designed to convey a sense of urgency and alarm, aiming to capture the audience's attention and prompt them to view terrorism as a severe and imminent threat (Ileri et al., 2019).

Al Jazeera often employs thematic framing when reporting on terrorism. This approach allows the news outlet to highlight underlying themes and causes of terrorist activities. For instance, Al

Jazeera might focus on the political, social, or economic factors driving terrorism, providing a more comprehensive context than episodic framing. It may refer to certain groups as "militants" rather than "terrorists," particularly if the group's actions align with their political or regional objectives. This terminology can influence how audiences perceive these groups and their actions.

According to Forrester (2011), Al Jazeera, as an international news network, is known for providing context to its stories. It often delves into the historical, geopolitical, and cultural factors that contribute to acts of terrorism. This framing helps the audience to better understand the broader narrative surrounding such events. For instance, in its coverage of conflicts in the Middle East, the network may explain the historical roots of these conflicts and their implications, helping the audience understand the broader picture beyond the immediate acts of terror.

Al Jazeera, like many media outlets, sometimes employs conflict framing in its terrorism coverage. This framing emphasizes the contentious aspects of terrorist activities and the ideological or political conflicts that drive them. The network may provide a platform for different perspectives on terrorism, contributing to a more nuanced understanding of the issue. Al Jazeera occasionally uses human interest framing to personalize the experiences of those affected by terrorism. This can include in-depth interviews with survivors, victims' families, or individuals who have experienced radicalization, offering a human face to the larger issue. These stories help humanize the issue and evoke empathy from the audience (Chappell, 2021).

Al Jazeera's international reach allows it to provide a global perspective on terrorism. The network often covers international responses, cooperation, and implications of terrorism, making

it easier for the audience to see the global impact of such acts. For example, in its coverage of an attack in one region, the network might explore the international implications, such as how it affects global security or responses from various countries and organizations. Al Jazeera sometimes frames its coverage to discuss the responsibility and accountability of governments and security forces in addressing terrorism. This can include investigations into government actions and the effectiveness of counterterrorism strategies. This approach holds governments and security forces accountable for their role in addressing terrorism (BBC News, 2005).

Al Jazeera may delve into the social and cultural contexts surrounding terrorism, shedding light on issues such as the integration of immigrant communities, the role of religion, or the impact of radicalization within particular cultural and social contexts. The network often frames its reporting to encourage responses, such as promoting dialogue, understanding, or the need for diplomatic solutions to conflicts. This can counterbalance narratives that promote radicalization or violence (Habib, 2011).

4.4 The implication of media perception on terrorism in Kenya

Media framing has a significant influence on the perception of terrorism in Kenya, as it does in any country. The media plays a pivotal role in shaping how the public understands and reacts to acts of terrorism. In Kenya, like many other places, media framing has had both positive and negative impacts on how the public perceives terrorism. Media framing in Kenya often includes elements of fear and sensationalism. When acts of terrorism occur, especially if they involve high casualties or dramatic scenes, media outlets have emphasized these aspects. While this is important for informing the public about the gravity of the situation, it has also contributed to heightened fear and anxiety among the population. Sensationalized coverage has perpetuated a perception of Kenya as a dangerous and unstable place (The Independent, 2 Dec 2014). This

negatively affects the economy of the country, since foreign investors are always reluctant to invest in the country. This also creates a negative image portraying failed or incapacitated government security apparatus.

Frequent media coverage of terrorist incidents has led to desensitization among the public (BBC News, 26th May 2015). Over time, people have become less shocked by acts of terror, seeing them as routine occurrences. Al shabab attack at westgate, Gikomba market, Eastleigh and along Thika road happened very closely between 2015 and early 2017. It was almost predictable that every moment the words “breaking news” appeared on screen, terror news could follow. This has negative consequences, as it has diminished the sense of urgency and action required to address terrorism effectively. How media outlets in Kenya has framed the perpetrators of terrorism has significantly affected public perception in that media focusing on the radical ideologies of these groups or their violent actions, has reinforced a perception of them as dangerous and hostile entities. On the other hand, the media exploring their grievances and motivations, it has humanized them in a way that has been controversial (Pflanz, 2010).

Media framing in Kenya has political implications and the coverage of terrorism has influenced political debates and policy decisions (Kiruga, 2013). For example, media portraying the government's response to terrorism as ineffective or highlighting corruption within security agencies, it has undermined trust in the government and its ability to address terrorism. Kenya relies heavily on tourism as a major source of revenue and when media framing has portrayed the country as an unsafe destination due to terrorism, this has had a significant negative impact on the tourism industry and the economy and the perception of terrorism as a constant threat can deter tourists from visiting Kenya (Daily nation newspaper, 23 September 2014).

On a more positive note, media coverage has promoted resilience and solidarity. The media often highlights stories of survivors, heroes, and communities coming together. These narratives have fostered a sense of unity and inspired individuals to stand strong in the face of adversity. Some media outlets in Kenya engages in framing that encourages community involvement in preventing terrorism including coverage of community initiatives, anti-radicalization programs, and the role of religious and community leaders in countering extremist ideologies (Odula, 2014).

Media framing has impacted the public opinion on security measures. When media highlights the importance of strong security measures and the need for vigilance, it has led to greater public support for counterterrorism efforts. Media framing has also affected Kenya's international relations, especially when acts of terrorism have a transnational aspect. How the media portrayed Kenya's response to terrorism, as well as the international response, has influenced Kenya's relationships with other countries and international organizations (BBC News, 21st Dec 2015).

By the way Isaiah, you indicated in your methodology that you you did some field research. You even indicated that you would use SPSS and present data through tables, chart. Where is such information. I suggest that you undertake content analysis. Did you attempt to do that. When you write that our perception was infleunced by media what does that mean. If you say that media presented an incidence as terrorims. What does that mean?

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the summary of the findings, conclusion and recommendations.

5.2 Summary of the Findings

The 1998 U.S. Embassy bombings in Kenya were presented by the media as a devastating act of terrorism with global implications. The coverage emphasized the human tragedy, the international response, and the responsibility claimed by Al-Qaeda. The perception was that of an unprovoked and heinous attack against innocent civilians and American diplomatic missions, rather than an act of self-defense or retaliation. These events had a profound impact on counterterrorism efforts and the world's understanding of the evolving threat posed by Al-Qaeda.

The media's presentation of the 2015 Garissa University terror attack portrayed it as a brutal act of terrorism that resulted in a tragic loss of innocent lives. The attack on a college campus was

perceived as an attempt to create fear and undermine education and societal values. The international response emphasized global solidarity and condemnation of terrorism, and the incident raised significant security and intelligence concerns. Ultimately, the Garissa University attack was overwhelmingly seen as an act of terror rather than an act of self-defense or retaliation, highlighting the importance of addressing extremist violence and its impact on society.

The media's presentation of the 2013 Westgate Mall terror attack portrayed it as a brutal act of terrorism that resulted in a tragic loss of innocent lives. The targeting of a civilian shopping center and the prolonged standoff with terrorists were emblematic of an attempt to create fear and chaos. The international response underscored global solidarity against terrorism, and the incident prompted discussions about security, intelligence, and the broader societal impact. The Westgate Mall attack was overwhelmingly seen as an act of terror rather than an act of self-defense or retaliation, emphasizing the need for coordinated efforts to combat extremist violence.

The media's presentation of the DusitD2 Terror Attack portrayed it as a brutal act of terrorism that resulted in a tragic loss of innocent lives. The attack on a hotel complex in the heart of Nairobi was emblematic of an attempt to create fear and chaos. The international response emphasized global solidarity against terrorism, and the incident prompted discussions about security, intelligence, and its broader societal impact. The DusitD2 attack was overwhelmingly seen as an act of terror rather than an act of self-defense or retaliation, emphasizing the importance of coordinated efforts to combat extremist violence and ensure public safety.

Thematic framing can have significant consequences, influencing public opinion on counterterrorism measures, policies, and even public perceptions of specific religious or ethnic

groups. The choice of themes in terrorism coverage can shape the narrative and guide the audience's understanding of the complex and multifaceted issue of terrorism.

Episodic framing can create a limited and sometimes distorted understanding of terrorism, as it isolates individual events without connecting them to the larger patterns, root causes, or the evolving dynamics of terrorist activities. It may foster fear, sensationalism, and misunderstanding by portraying acts of terrorism as random, unconnected occurrences, rather than as part of a broader narrative involving political, ideological, or socio-economic factors.

While conflict framing can provide insight into the complexities of terrorism, it can also oversimplify the issues, polarize public opinion, and overshadow the underlying root causes of terrorism. It is important for media consumers to critically evaluate the framing used in terrorism coverage and seek a more nuanced understanding of the multifaceted factors contributing to this global challenge.

Human interest framing in terrorism coverage plays a crucial role in ensuring that the human stories at the heart of such events are not overshadowed by geopolitical or security discussions. By focusing on personal narratives and the emotional journeys of those impacted, it enables the audience to connect with the human aspect of these tragic events and underscores the importance of compassion, empathy, and solidarity in the face of adversity. However, ethical reporting and sensitivity to the individuals involved are essential when using this framing approach.

Crisis framing in terrorism coverage is often used in situations where there is a perceived heightened risk of terrorism, such as after a terrorist attack or when there is credible intelligence about potential threats. While it can be effective in mobilizing public support for security

measures and counterterrorism efforts, it's crucial for media consumers to critically evaluate the framing used and seek a more nuanced understanding of the complexities of the issue. Responsible and accurate reporting is essential to ensure that the public is well-informed without unnecessary panic or sensationalism.

Al Jazeera's editorial policies and its unique focus on the Middle East and North Africa region can result in distinct framing choices compared to Western media outlets. While it is known for providing a platform for diverse perspectives and in-depth analysis, media consumers should be aware of the potential biases and framing choices of any news outlet, including Al Jazeera, and critically evaluate the information presented to gain a comprehensive understanding of the complex issue of terrorism.

Media framing has a significant impact on how terrorism is perceived in Kenya. It can shape public opinion, influence government policies, and impact the economy. The media has the responsibility to balance its coverage, providing information that is accurate, comprehensive, and empathetic, while also taking into account the potential consequences of its framing choices. Media consumers, in turn, should critically evaluate the framing used by various outlets and seek a well-rounded understanding of terrorism and its complex dynamics.

Your summary need to be done reflecting the entire work.

1. What you set out to do
2. How you did it
3. What you found out (objective by objective)

5.3 Conclusion

What did you set out to do

What have you find out

And what can you say as an overall statement

In all four cases described in this study, the media portrayed these attacks as acts of terrorism aimed at causing fear, destruction, and casualties. They were not seen as self-defense or retaliation. These incidents were widely condemned by the international community and were considered to be massacres due to the intentional targeting of civilians. However, acts of terrorism, like those described, are typically characterized as indiscriminate acts of violence with the intent to terrorize and harm civilians, rather than as acts of self-defense or retaliation.

Media framing is a powerful tool because it can shape public opinion, influence policy decisions, and impact how people view and engage with current events and issues. Journalists, editors, and media organizations play a crucial role in framing the news, and the framing they choose can have a significant impact on the public's understanding of the world around them. Media framing in the reporting of terrorism, exemplified by Al Jazeera, can encompass various approaches, from providing historical and contextual understanding to highlighting the human aspects of terrorism. It plays a significant role in shaping public perception and global discourse surrounding acts of terror and the underlying issues associated with them. By understanding these framing choices, media consumers can critically evaluate the information presented and gain a more comprehensive view of the complex issue of terrorism.

There are significant implications of media reporting since media framing affects Kenya's international relations, especially when acts of terrorism have a transnational aspect. How the

media portrays Kenya's response to terrorism, as well as the international response, can influence Kenya's relationships with other countries and international organizations.

5.4 Recommendations

Effective and responsible media presentation and coverage of terrorism in Kenya are vital to inform the public, promote understanding, and contribute to the country's security and stability. It is important to ensure that reporting is accurate and based on verified information. Fact-checking sources and statements to prevent the spread of false information, which can create unnecessary panic or misinform the public is key. Also, while it's essential to cover the gravity of terrorist incidents, avoid sensationalism. Overly dramatic or graphic reporting can contribute to fear and desensitization and thus need to prioritize responsible and balanced reporting.

Responsible framing is essential for shaping public perception and fostering a sense of resilience and unity in the face of terrorism. There is need of avoiding sensationalizing terrorist acts. Media need to present the facts responsibly without overemphasizing dramatic or graphic elements since sensationalism can contribute to fear and desensitization. Further, the media can humanize the impact of terrorism by highlighting the personal stories of survivors, victims, and those affected by these acts. Sharing the stories of resilience and recovery to provide a more empathetic view.

Media perception of terrorism in Kenya plays a significant role in shaping public opinion, government policies, and the country's overall response to the issue. To ensure that media perception has positive implications and contributes to the country's stability and security, there is need to provide comprehensive context when covering acts of terrorism. Explaining the historical, social, political, and economic factors that contribute to these incidents helps the public better understand the root causes and motivations behind acts of terror.

5.5 Areas for Further Research

The research was conducted in the mainstream media stations in Kenya and thus another research can be done in other media stations to investigate whether same findings would be found which will fill the scope gap while other studies can be carried out using other research designs for the filling of the methodological gap posed by this study.

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