

**MEDIA REPORTAGE INFLUENCING TERRORIST ACTIVITIES IN
MANDERA COUNTY - KENYA**

Cliff Ooga Obwogi

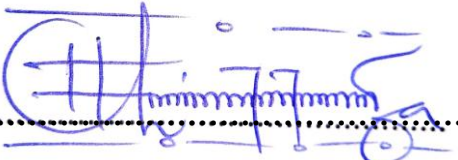
**A thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the conferment of
the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Peace and Conflict Studies of Masinde
Muliro University of Science and Technology**

JANUARY 2021

DECLARATION AND CERTIFICATION

DECLARATION BY THE CANDIDATE

This thesis is my original work prepared with no other than the indicated sources and support and has not been presented to anywhere else for the award of a degree or for any other award.

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CERTIFICATION BY SUPERVISORS

The undersigned certify that they have read and hereby recommended for acceptance by Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology a thesis entitled “**Media Reportage Influencing Terrorist Activities in Mandera County-Kenya**”.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my wife Mary Mutemi, children Amy and Adriel Ooga for their support during the entire period of my studies.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my gratitude and appreciation to the Almighty God for enabling me complete this thesis. According to White, E.G. (1903:18) “Higher than the highest human thought can reach is the ideal for His children.” I sincerely thank my supervisors Prof. Kennedy Onkware and Prof. Crispinous Itoyo, who showed concern and devoted their time correcting my work to ensure its completion. My gratitude too goes to my lecturers Dr. Kirimi and Dr. George Lutomia for the lectures well delivered to enable me finish my course work in good time. Finally, my appreciation goes to Major Maurice Masese Matundura of KDF, 1KR and Mr. Ian Luke Munyovi my research assistant for their support in the course of data collection in Mandera County.

ABSTRACT

Terrorism, often, has been used as a weapon by non-state actors like terrorist organizations, liberation movements and other clandestine organizations fighting for recognition and intending to advance different agenda. The aim of terrorism is to create an audience to pressurize governments into ceding to terrorist demands because of fear. Acts of terrorism by their nature easily endear themselves to extensive media coverage. In Mandera County, terrorist activities have become so prevalent through the acts of terrorism witnessed over the years and the intensity of their reporting makes it a unique phenomenon that needs an academic interrogation. This makes the relationship between terrorism and the media reportage in Mandera County very central to assess in relation to anti-terrorism discourse and strategies. Media reportage is the independent variable and terrorist activities is the dependent variable. This study sought to assess media influence on terrorist activities in Mandera County. The specific objectives of the study are to examine the media reportage on terrorism in Mandera County, to assess the effects of media reportage on terrorist activities in Mandera County and to assess the challenges the media faces in reportage of terrorist activities in Mandera County. This study adopted a descriptive survey research design. The study was underpinned by two theories namely: the agenda setting theory and the Liberalism theory. The Study population constituted: Mandera County Officials, Local/International Media in Mandera County, FBOs, CBOs, NGOs, KDF, NPS, NIS personnel and Local Population/Al-Shabaab returnees/Chiefs/Clan Elders. The study used purposive sampling technique in acquiring data from various institutions/departments where the researcher chose specific people within the population to use for this particular study. The study used mix methods whereby both primary and secondary data were collected. The research instrument for primary data collection in this study was questionnaires. Secondary data was collected through FGDs and key informant interviews. Once data was collected, it was analyzed and presented in the form of graphs, charts and descriptive narratives. A pilot study was conducted to test the validity of research instruments. The study also made use of Supervisors and MMUST Research experts to ensure validity of the research instruments. The findings of the study endeavor to provide new knowledge while adding to the existing body of knowledge and inform academia. The findings also help to inform the drafting of new policies and guidelines and the re-drafting of existing policies regarding to the broadcast of terrorism activities. The study found out that terrorism reports were aired mostly in radio stations which were the most preferred media category. These reports were aired in form of news, editorial analyses, interviews, expert commentaries and listener engagement calls. The source of information for the media being journalists' own observation and judgment led to media reportage portraying terrorists as heroes and being strong. It was also established that most of the media broadcasts relating to terrorism journalism were war or violence oriented and to a greater extent, media content opposed efforts aimed at fighting terrorism. The resultant effects included the media propelling the terrorists' agenda through their content and delivery. The study finally noted that there were challenges faced by the media in their reportage of terrorism. These challenges limited their ability and capacity to objectively and accurately report on terrorism. The study's overall conclusion is that, the media supply oxygen to terrorists through the sustained extensive and intensive coverage that they accord them hence the terrorists' motivation to plan and execute more terrorist activities.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

| | |
|---------|---|
| AMISOM | African Union Mission in Somalia |
| CAK | Communication Authority of Kenya |
| CBOs | Community Based Organizations |
| CDs | Compact Disks |
| CVE | Countering Violent Extremism |
| ENDF | Ethiopia National Defence Forces |
| FBOs | Faith Based Organizations |
| FGDs | Focus Group Discussions |
| ICU | Islamic Courts Union |
| IGOs | Intergovernmental Organizations |
| IMS | International Media Support |
| ISIL | Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant |
| ISIS | Islamic State in Iraq and Syria |
| KDF | Kenya Defense Forces |
| KTN | Kenya Television Network |
| KR | Kenya Rifles |
| LGA | Local Government Areas |
| MMUST | Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology |
| MCK | Media Council of Kenya |
| NACOSTI | National Council for Science, Technology and Innovation |
| NGO | Non-Governmental Organization |
| NIS | National Intelligence Service |
| NTV | Nation Television |

| | |
|--------|---|
| NPS | National Police Service |
| RAND | Research and Development |
| RTLM | Radio Television Libre des Mille Collines |
| TCF | Trillion Cubic Feet |
| TI | Transparency International |
| TOCs | Transnational Organized Crimes |
| TV | Television |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNESCO | United Nations Education, Science and Cultural Organization |
| VBIED | Vehicle-Borne Improvised Explosive Device |

OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF KEY CONCEPTS

Press - The term press refers to the means through which information is passed to the population/audience.

Terrorism - Terrorism refers to the employment of violent actions/means to achieve political ends or to force a government to act.

Media framing - This is the angle or perspective from which a story is told. It is the placing of focus/attention of certain events and then placing them within a certain field of meaning.

Self-censorship - This is an act of exercising control over what one says and does, especially with the aim of avoiding criticism.

Al-shabaab - is a militant group in Somalia that practices Sunni Islamism. They emphasize strict Sharia laws. It is an offshoot of the Islamic Courts Union.

Data – is a collection of facts, such as values or measurements. It can be numbers, words, observations or even just descriptions of things.

Sample - is a subset of a population that is used to represent the entire group.

Media Reportage– refers to how the media provides coverage of a given subject matter.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

The 21st Century began with the phenomenon of terrorism coming on top of human concerns on world peace. Society is bedeviled by frequent acts of terror meted on innocent members of society. Terrorists do not discriminate their targets like the military or the police do. They (terrorists) kill innocent unarmed civilians, women, children and the disabled people with no regard to their right to life as envisaged in the various countries laws and constitutions. One of the main aims of terrorism is not only frightening, but also to instill constant fear and intimidation.

Terrorism, often, is conceptualized as an effective weapon by insurgents and criminals like terrorist organizations, liberation movements and other clandestine organizations fighting for recognition and intending to advance sectoral/political and ideological agenda (UNESCO, 2017). States and other state backed actors, too, have also engaged in direct terrorism or state-sponsored terrorism. The concept and term terrorism gained much usage and “universality” with the French Revolution of 1789, albeit associated with state engineered terrorism (Viotti & Mark, 2001).

The main objective of terrorists to engage in terrorism activities is to achieve three main objectives according to Nacos (1994) who has conducted various studies on terrorism activities for a long period. These objectives include, to command and gain recognition, to attract the attention of the world and to gain legitimacy and be validly accepted in the world. These objectives can only be achieved by those individuals who are in a vantage position to catch the press attention reporting through undertaking these terrorism

activities. These individuals have a higher chance to mobilize the others to join them to meet their interest.

In some years past, we have witnessed extensively and intensively covered attacks ranging from the USA's New York City to Russia's Moscow; Paris in France to Istanbul in Turkey, Argentina's Buenos Aires to India's Mumbai. Even so, the intensively and extensively covered news stories are not even close to depicting the true picture that terrorism has around the globe. A number of countries in the world go through a lot of terrorism among them being countries such as Cameroon, Nigeria, Colombia, and Mexico among others. Other countries have gone through terrorism in form of drug cartels such case is witnessed in Latin America. These communities have gone through a lot of repression leading to living in fear as well as choosing to suffer in silence (Nacos, 1994).

Sea threat of terrorism continuously haunts the shores of Somalia, Yemen and the gulf of Guinea. Moreover, a closer look at the Republic of Syria to the Republic of Philippines, a number of reported people who have been taken hostage and those who have been kidnapped has soared, which has prompted security agencies and governments classifying some countries and regions as dangerous therefore dangerous for visits. The internet has also not been spared because the violent crime has also been shared on these platforms. Countries and other non-state actors are involved in large scale cyber-attacks (Nacos (1994).

It is very evident and self-explanatory to notice how well connected and symbiotic the mass media and terrorism are. It is argued that terrorism as a matter of fact widely existed even before the press did. To exemplify this, there existed in the 19th Century a form of terrorism which employed the use of mass killings and assassinations as well as other forms of terror thence subjecting the public unto pain and suffering in order to create an environment of lawlessness and make societies live in fear (Popoola, 2012).

Assassinating influential personalities and varied actions of terror were meted on individuals in a mass gatherings who witnessed these actions live. Such kind of acts were made available to the population even when the states exercised strict control over how information and to what extent information could be made available to the general public. The press during that time was expected to function within a limited scope of information sharing. Information was a preserve of government or security agencies in the pretext of national security (Popoola, 2012).

Such example of a relationship brings to the fore one of the major traits of the current human society where a one-on-one type of interaction between the government and its citizens is no longer possible. Therefore, it is in this context that the media is obligated to provide a channel of communication to bridge the gap between the subjects and the leadership which is the government of the day. A chance for the terrorists to access the media will propel them into getting involved in the community's decision making organs and thereafter influence decisions in their favour. The terrorists should not be allowed to get into the decision making cycle of the society because that will grant them

opportunity to manipulate decision makers to agree to their terms. Therefore the media has responsibility to deter this (Nacos, 2002).

Media on numerous occasions has been thought of playing the role of an enabler to the success of these acts of terror. This has been witnessed more so during the processes of reporting and covering these acts of terror whenever and wherever they take place. Their coverage intentionally or unintentionally gives so much publicity to the terrorist groups; a mileage they really crave to achieve. So in one way or the other, the media aids them achieve this. This in the view of this study is enough proof that what was witnessed in the Middle East countries, in Tunisia, Morocco, Egypt among other countries was as a result of new media which amplified the Arab Spring as it came to be referred to. Social media was a catalyst to the spread of revolution messages. If the Terrorists get opportunity to control what goes on in the media then there will be unprecedented chaos in the world (Wanta & Yusuf, 2007)

By the terrorists conducting the 9/11 attacks in the United States' capital New York, they knew that the media will cover them sufficiently and so they will have passed their message of fear and intimidation. Indeed, the attacks met the demand of the audience which craved for live coverage of the attack and which the national and international media provided. The coverage of these events attracted an immense number of media stations who spent many hours reporting on the attack. This is when the image of the terrorists was strongly projected unto the audience. The media transmitted many photos and videos of the way the attack happened. This phenomenon changed or transformed

completely the point of view and the manner in which news are broadcasted unto today. News on terrorism was elevated to all time highly selling news.

A lot of research which has been done on terrorism and the media has clearly indicated that terrorism instills fear and anxiety in communities (Sixth Framework Program, 2008). Caruthers (2011) noted the aim of terrorism as that of creating a certain audience which will sympathize with them and eventually use this audience to pressure states and governance institutions into giving in to terrorist demands because of fear. With such an audience in place the terrorists can employ any form of violence which will force governments and states to listen to them and sometimes yield to their demands. The victims are not important to the terrorists but rather what is more important to them is the message being passed to the population with an aim of putting pressure on government to give in to their political demands (Jasperson, 2012).

Intensive and extensive media reportage clearly puts into perspective the terrorists' political messages and ensures that the messages are sufficiently widely disseminated to yield into the desired effect. Similarly, the media finds news about terrorism very attractive and can easily sell to the public who are always interested in what transpires in those attacks. Therefore this calls for their working around the clock to bring such news unto the public. By doing this, they knowingly or unknowingly make terrorism to thrive. This is what the former Prime Minister of Britain once called oxygen of terrorism. By the media granting terrorists this intensive and extensive coverage, they are empowering them towards undertaking further attacks (Jasperson, 2012; UNESCO, 2017; Popoola, 2012).

Terrorist attacks are usually carefully planned and executed to bring about dramatic news meant to attract the attention of both national and international press reportage and at the end of all raise big numbers who will watch the news which is the aim of terrorism. Terrorists do not care so much about what the victims of their heinous acts go through but rather the message they want to pass across (Jaspersen, 2012; UNESCO, 2017; Popoola, 2012).

Journalistic studies by Fursich, (2010) and Thomas, (2014), have shown that, the mass media have propensity to present news stories that are of interest to the public due to their outstanding cultural background principally when such reports talk about unexpected and dramatic events. Acts of terror by their nature easily endear themselves to extensive press coverage. Cottee and Hayward (2011) have observed that terrorism involves the premeditated inflicting of physical bodily harm or injury on humans.

Azeez (2009) argues that the dramatic nature the media adopts when covering the regrettable acts of terrorism encourages increased violence and bloodshed. Moreover, he suggests whatever the magnitude of violence that happens if it goes unreported or not reported passionately or emotionally, it is likely to have a limited effect on the audience just because these events passed unnoticeably. If the media focuses so much on them, they become spectacular and attract massive audience.

For example, in a study of the coverage of two “investigative” documentaries by two local television stations, KTN and NTV, Abraham Kisang noted that the two stations continued to repeatedly broadcast and project the Al-Shabaab messages to the audiences and often quoted in verbatim or replayed terrorists’ video messages, which were in the

first place the subject of investigations or in some cases had resulted in targeted attacks against Christians in Kenya (Kisang, 2014).

In the context of the area of study – Mandera County, various terrorist acts are documented to show how they have had a toll on the local population. For instance, on 27 December 2013, at 11 pm a police officer was shot dead while his colleague escaped unharmed after being attacked by suspected Islamist in Mandera town. On the evening of 9 January 2014, two grenades were thrown into the World Food Programme (WFP) compound in Mandera Town (Daily Nation, 2014; The Independent, 2014).

In late 2014, a couple of attacks thought to have been undertaken by Al-Shabaab killed about 64 people in Mandera County. On 2 December 2014, Al-Shabaab militants attacked and killed a further 36 quarry workers, many of whom were non-Muslims, at a place known as Koromey near Mandera Town. On 22 November 2014, masked attackers ambushed a bus traveling from Mandera to Nairobi and on the spot killed 28 persons who were basically teachers and government workers who were travelling to Nairobi for holidays. Suspected Al-Shabaab militants attacked and killed two teachers at Arabia Boys Secondary school in Mandera East in September 2018 (Daily Nation, 2014; The Independent, 2014).

In Mandera County and generally along the Kenya-Somalia border, the youth being recruited into terrorism and extremism groups where they are radicalized and indoctrinated into believing in the terrorists' ideology of violence for justice through manipulation processes besides widespread social media influence (Ohito, 2018). While the Al-shabaab are targeting non-locals in Somalia, they are also trying to incite

Kenyans against each other by targeting non-locals in the North Eastern frontier counties too thereby enforcing their aim of making the locals economically disadvantaged .

The North Eastern is a region that has witnessed waves of violent extremism including the unforgettable attack on Garissa University College that left at least 148 people dead. For the first time since the problem of violent extremism and terror threats bedeviled Kenya, leaders from the fragile North Eastern Counties took a bold public stand against the extremists in unison. The expression of political will by local leaders is a welcome gesture. However, media reportage has been seen as not aiding any of these anti-terrorism efforts. Different studies have demonstrated that the visual presentation of violence and brutality by media creates feelings of fear among the population that are not directly exposed or who have not suffered the said actions (Slone, 2000).

As a matter of fact, televised coverage of terrorist attacks' effects especially if it is live coverage creates a paradoxical situation in which the spectators imagine more horrendous scenes than the very directly affected or involved victims in the area (Ganor, 2005). Terrorism's permanent and unconditional broadcast in current mass media "over-dimensionalizes" its capacity for reaching the population, strengthening the effects of its threats and coercion.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Media has a responsibility to inform, educate, and entertain among other responsibilities. However, all these should be done with responsibility, accountability and with a sense of humanity. The media are implicated in the broadcasting of sensational news about acts

of terrorism even in distant places thus making most people only experience terrorism through mass-media accounts (Chermak & Gruenewald, 2006).

Mass media around the world is seen as the most significant and strategic agent of socialization. Isaak (1981) observed that grown-ups' perspectives towards life matters are as a result of print media, television and radio broadcast news. The idea here is that if the media have a certain point of view about some matter, the public will naturally adopt the same perspective.

McQuail (1987) further argues that there is evidence which postulates that the population or citizens have a tendency to think about issues they listen or watch in the media. The challenges and dilemmas that come out as a result of this are usually clear to everyone. Audiences expect the press to inform them as accurately and consistently as possible without sensationalizing the news.

Whilst analyzing the ideal situation in relation to the actual situation, one will get to an understanding that presenting terrorism in a manner that clearly rejects violence, demystifies assassins and emphasizes victims' personal tragedies is an essential resource in any type of multi-pronged strategy that combats terror. However, a problem comes up when media gets controlled by certain ideological, cultural or religious conniving thereby beginning to look for an imagined balance between murderers and victims; when the causes being championed by certain terrorist groups are justified against others; or when a story is treated in such a way that it gives the viewer the impression that terrorist groups are political participants that deserve certain legitimacy in the competition for power.

It is crucial also to note that, terrorism thrives in publicity. Media, both local and international give a lot of coverage to terrorist activities carried out by terrorist groups. Media provides them with a lot of coverage and even sometimes revealing future intentions of fighting troops. This boosts the terror groups morale hence their continuous acts of terror are sustained. Both local and international media have played to the gallery of terror groups with regard to how they report terror activities particularly in County of Mandera.

Statistics show that, on 27 December 2013, on 27 December 2013, at 11 pm a police officer was shot dead while his colleague escaped unharmed after being attacked by suspected Islamist in Mandera town. On the evening of 9 January 2014, two grenades were thrown into the World Food Programme (WFP) compound in Mandera Town (Daily Nation, 2014; The Independent, 2014). In late 2014, a couple of attacks thought to have been undertaken by Al-Shabaab killed about 64 people in Mandera County. On 2 December 2014, Al-Shabaab militants attacked and killed a further 36 quarry workers, many of whom were non-Muslims, at a place known as Koromey near Mandera Town.

On 22 November 2014, masked attackers ambushed a bus traveling from Mandera to Nairobi and on the spot killed 28 persons who were basically teachers and government workers who were travelling to Nairobi for holidays. Suspected Al-Shabaab militants attacked and killed two teachers at Arabia Boys Secondary school in Mandera East in September 2018 (Daily Nation, 2014; The Independent, 2014). The news of these attacks was constantly broadcast by the media which gave a lot of boost to

the terrorists' agenda. At some point the Republic of Kenya was termed as the hotbed of terrorism.

Moreover, according to Mandera County Review issue of (2018), explains that, virtually every successful attack in Kenya has had a link with Mandera County through which terrorists enter Kenya. For example, the 1998 attack in Nairobi, the Westgate shopping mall attack, the Pangani explosion, the Merti vehicle stuffed with explosives and guns, the massacre of the Mandera Quarry workers and the Garissa University attack, all are believed to have been orchestrated by terrorists who entered through Mandera County.

One of the terrorists arrested at the Merti crime scene was reported to have come from Somalia but schooled in Mandera. Further to that, from the stakeholders' conference on Deradicalization, Prevention and countering Violent Extremism held from 22 to 23 October 2018 in Mandera County, it was revealed that between 2013 and 2014, Mandera town alone had suffered 119 terrorist attacks (Mandera County, 2018).

From the statistics provided and the intensity with which media reports the same as witnessed in the media platforms, it is clear that there exists a problem. Media extensively and intensively keeps the terrorists' narrative/agenda continuously visible in the media platforms thus supplying the terrorists' with the publicity which they crave for thus being motivated to plan and execute more terrorist activities. The media which is meant to provide correct information, educate the public and also entertain the public is doing exactly that but the contrary is seen happening around. A number of local youths and even middle-aged men have been radicalized while others joined the AS militia in Somalia.

There is need to interrogate the kind of media they consume which turns them against their countrymen. A research gap has been established which needs to be filled to inform both policy formulation and implementation. In view of the above research gap and the problem established, the study seeks to examine media reportage influence on terrorist activities in Mandera County, Kenya.

1.3 Research Objectives

The overall objective of this study is to assess the influence of media reportage on terrorist activities in Mandera County, Kenya.

The specific objectives are as follows:

- i. To examine media reportage on terrorism in Mandera County,
- ii. To assess the effects of media reportage on terrorist activities in Mandera County.
- iii. To assess the challenges faced by the media in reportage of terrorist activities in Mandera County.

1.4 Research Questions

- i. How do the media report on terrorist activities in Mandera County?
- ii. What are the effects of media reportage on terrorist activities in Mandera County?
- iii. What are the challenges the media faces in reportage of terrorist activities in Mandera County?

1.5 Justification of the Study

Terrorism in the 21st century has become a major security challenge to the global governments. States are striving for survival in the face of runaway terrorism. The tragic acts of terror as witnessed around the globe threaten global peace and the wellness of humanity. In the backdrop of this, the media has continuously subjugated its duty of providing accurate information to the public responsibly in favor of irresponsible journalism. This is because of the ever increasing competition for audience which translates to revenue hence the desperate sensational reporting to attract the audience's attention. This study confirmed the validity of this assertion.

1.5.1 Academic Justification

The academic justification for this study lies in the deficiency of research and scholarly materials regarding the influence of media reportage on terrorist activities in Mandera County and Kenya in general. A great deal of past studies has concentrated on Arab and Asian nations as well as America, with little focus on Africa. Furthermore, in view of the literature reviewed, most of the studies have taken the dimension of how the media have become another quarter of attacks from terrorism. This left an academic and knowledge gap with respect to how the media acts as a catalyst of terrorism. Therefore, this study was carried out so as to provide new knowledge while adding to the existing body of knowledge and inform academia.

This justification is in tandem with V. Y Aburo (2016) recommendations for his study on "Effects of underdevelopment in Mandera County-Kenya" that there is need to enlighten the local community in Mandera county on peacemaking processes in aid of

the local actors in increasing their awareness of how peaceful co-existence, knowledge and actions can improve their participation in conflict prevention and resolution. This shows that there is need for conducting more research which will go towards increasing knowledge of the locals of Mandera County on the importance of Peacemaking.

1.5.2 Policy Justification

The policy justification for this study lies in the need to inform the drafting of new policies and guidelines and the re-drafting of existing policies regarding to the broadcast of terrorism activities. There is need for not only coming up with the best practices which can be adopted by the media but also encourage the enforcement, imparting and observance of certain codes and ethical guidelines while reporting acts of terror in a way that does not enhance and promote the sustained presence and thriving of terrorist groups.

These best practices and policies if adopted will see terror activities relegated to the level of other news reported. The significance attached to terror activities makes the terrorists have the impetus and motivation to organize and execute more terror activities simply because they thrust them to news headlines hence making them look ‘heroes’. The study is significant as it will enable policy formulators to come up with ways of ensuring that there are clear guidelines on how security agencies and the media can work together to promote the public right to information and national security.

1.5.3 Philosophical Justification

The philosophy of this study is that, without much media exposure terrorism would die out. As long as the media accords terrorism intensive and extensive press airtime, terrorism will continue thriving since this is what they need – continuous reportage of their violent and extremist activities. Deny them this coverage and they will have no motivation to undertake these activities. This point of view resonates with Margaret Thatcher, who was one time the British Prime Minister for the period of about twelve years spanning between 1979 and 1990. Ms. Thatcher reiterated the issue of the media acting as the supplier of oxygen to the terrorists (Spaaij, Muller & Ruitenbergh, 2003; Vieira, 1991). As far as Ms. Thatcher was concerned, if terrorists were denied media publicity which they enjoy literally every day in the national and international media, their terrorists attacks would fade out and die.

1.6 Scope of the Study

The study focused on Mandera County, looking at how media reportage influences terrorist activities. Terror activities in Somalia have spilled over to neighboring nations such as Kenya and Ethiopia. The most common terror group in Somalia which has been carrying out terrorist activities in Mandera County is the Al-Shabaab, which has been linked to Al-Qaeda and ISIS. The study took keen focus on media outlets; broadcast media (television and radio) and the print media (newspapers, magazine). The study covered the period between the year 2014 and 2018. The study also interviewed key informants in the Security sector, the local population and also questionnaires were administered to respondents.

The reason as to why the scope spans from the year 2014 to 2018 is that, these are the years when ideally attacks started happening in Mandera County. In the previous years, though attacks happened elsewhere, most if not all of them were planned and executed from Mandera County. In the year 2014 only, 64 people were killed in Mandera County whereby 28 of those killed were passengers travelling to Nairobi by bus while 36 others were killed while working in a quarry in Mandera County. This would mark the beginning of a spate of attacks in Mandera County (Kiarie & Mogambi, 2017).

The study utilized Survey method. Focus was on Mandera County in understanding the symbiotic relationship between the media and terrorism. The study interrogated historical terror events, how they were presented by the media and the resulting effects in terms of either increased or reduced terrorist activities.

1.7 Chapter Summary

The Chapter has covered the background to the study whereby it was noted that terrorism has more often than not been used as a weapon by non-state actors like terrorist organizations, liberation movements and other clandestine organizations fighting for recognition and intending to advance different agenda. The aim of terrorism is that of creating a certain audience which will sympathize with them and eventually use this audience to pressure states and governance institutions into giving in to terrorist demands because of fear. With such an audience in place the terrorists can employ any form of violence which will force governments and states to listen to them and sometimes yield to their demands.

Terrorist attacks are usually carefully planned and executed to bring about dramatic news meant to attract the attention of both national and international press reportage and at the end of all raise big numbers who will watch the news which is the aim of terrorism. This chapter has explored the background relationship between acts of terrorism and the media, while bringing out clearly the research gaps needed to be filled.

This chapter has also identified and illustrated the statement of the problem. There is a perceived problem which arises from the way the media reports to terrorism which directly or indirectly helps perpetuate the terrorists' agenda. The intensive and extensive coverage reinforces the terrorists' desire to conduct more terrorist attacks to remain in the media. The chapter has also enumerated the three objectives the study intended to achieve. The policy academic and the philosophical justifications have been identified and explained. The scope of the entire study has also been brought out.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter presents a review of literature related to this study. The chapter discusses media reportage on terrorist activities, effects of media reportage on terrorist activities, challenges the media faces in reportage of terrorist activities, theoretical framework, conceptual model and chapter summary.

2.1 Media Reportage on Terrorist Activities

The ability for journalists to get it right while covering terrorism is challenging to them and the media organizations which they represent. The social media companies have not been spared too in this challenge. It is known world over that the journalists sometimes have played a dual role of being the megaphones and also interrogators of different messages and political statements. Journalists by intensively covering the terrorists' messages, helps to fulfill the objectives of the terrorists of spreading fear. On the other hand, stifling or scaling down reportage can serve to promote mistrust in the news media as well as prop undemocratic practices which include censorship (Beckett, 2016).

In the past few years, mainstream media has been augmented by a good number of social media platforms in guiding the discussion or the conversation of terrorism. This phenomenon has allowed every other person within the vicinity to join in the conversation which is largely unregulated. There has arose what is being termed as citizen journalism where activists, propagandists and all citizens of all walks of life participate freely in passing messages which some of them do not know the intention of the drafters. As companies which are involved in online publishing emerge, they continuously occupy an increasingly a central position which is sometimes conflicting.

Currently as we speak, social media platforms Facebook, Google, and Twitter are key participants who were one time involved in the White House summit on combating terrorism which took place in the United States of America (Beckett, 2016).

Terrorism happen to be very brutal as well as a violent practice but it is also happens to be the global media's spectacular phenomenon which they cannot escape from covering for the sake of improving their viewership which translates to profits. News on terrorism is very juicy and vital: such kinds of news often make the public want to know more and seek for further understanding on what exactly transpired. The news is very dramatic and attractive to watch or read. This is what exactly terrorists look for, the kind of publicity the terrorists get from journalists when covering such kind of news. The media in reporting such news aids the terrorists achieve the effect of disrupting society functioning provoke fear and demonstrate that they are powerful (Beckett, 2016).

This seemingly problematic relationship between the terrorists and the media came into existence long before the advent of digital technology. An American historian Walter Laqueur in the year 1999 wrote something about the relationship between terrorists and the media. He said world over, it had been decided that journalists and terrorists are best of friends simply because the journalists are always willing and able to provide terrorists with intensive and extensive media coverage. However, he chose to distance his claims from the conclusion that journalists are sympathetic terrorists although it might appear as so. He clearly postulated that violence in itself is news while harmonious co-existence or peaceful co-existence is not news. He remarked that the media need terrorists for

news just like the media needs juicy and exciting news stories which they easily find in acts of terror (Laqueur, 1999).

A question arises on what the responsibility of journalists would be when they supply the oxygen of publicity to terrorists. Any form of journalism which engages itself in reporting, analyzing and commenting on terrorism is faced with a challenge of creating responsible, intelligible and accurate narratives about terrorism. Journalists also face enormous challenges which relate to the wider practices of journalism especially when it comes to matters to do with breaking news and generally conflict journalism (Rodgers, 2012).

In the last few years, this problem has developed into a more acute and more complicated when it comes to practice, its technical aspects and the ethics involved as far as the news cycle is concerned and the emerging of new media – social media which more often than not hosts the first instance or initial copy of terror coverage. The new media platform has become the most Targeted platform by the terrorist groups and it is usually referred to by mainstream media journalists. It is clear that these new social media companies have a challenge of dealing with the ever existing pressures of politics and commerce which the main stream media have lived through with for decades (New York Times, 2016).

The world stares at a challenge of sensational reporting of terrorist news in a simplistic way and in a rush thus rendering the role of professional journalism irrelevant and diminished. The news on terrorism in a click of a button are digitally available raw with no regard for professional journalistic ethics courtesy of the digital platforms. For the

first time in the year 2016 the month of February, the government of the US invited social media executives to help in generating ideas on how to counter terrorists' use of the internet to broadcast their messages. A number of Executives who attended came from Facebook, Snapcht, Tumblr, and Google. Twitter, Instagram and Microsoft attended the forum (New York Times, 2016).

The world's concern is that the media are involved in the broadcast of news on terrorism in such a way that the news spread fear and confusion among the viewers or readers as well as listeners. Journalists struggle to catch up with the fast revolving wheel of terrorism. The fast revolving cycle of terrorism news is fast and often complex. This is more complicated especially when it comes to reporting on breaking news where journalists have to contend with the speed and complexity of the way information flow which is usually dictated by government authorities, the social media practitioners and even the terrorists themselves (Beckett, 2016).

It is unfortunate that in the process of reporting news on terrorism, the media offers publicity to terrorists through giving out wrong information without undertaking to verify the information and ascertaining the context before broadcasting it. This kind of publicity helps terrorists increase their impact or effects on the population thereby increasing their chances of recruiting more members of society into terrorism. The way in which media frames, primes their news will greatly reinforce stereotypes and add onto (Beckett, 2016).

Journalists reporting terrorism news have always been known to flout the professional and ethical conduct meant to be observed by journalists. They end up presenting news which amplifies terrorism hence increasing the impact of terrorism. Journalists sometimes misinform the society through sensationalizing news. The new media- Social media has revolutionized the very nature of news regarding terrorism for instance through provision of real time photography, eye witness accounts and live videos. However, this very kind of media can as well distort information, deceive the public and cause distraction as well. While journalists brace themselves with knowledge and skills to adapt to this context, there still exist practical and policy problems in terms of verification of news and judgment on the kind of news to present to the audience (Beckett, 2016).

Terrorism news is now easily consumed on the social media platforms due to their easy availability or accessibility. The digital media have proved to be influential in terms of shaping and sieving information of terrorism news. Unfortunately, these digital media do not uphold the ethos and practical capabilities as the mainstream media do. These platforms also have not come to full appreciation of their role or accepted their responsibilities in the check of the spread of terrorism. These digital media platforms are negotiating their relationship with mainstream media (Beckett, 2016).

These new media platforms are faced with a dilemma whereby they want to be freely available to the audience. Their aim is that the audience should stay informed in a free and prompt manner. They provide a wide berth to their journalists to provide diverse news to their audiences but they have run short of sound editorial policies. As much as

they want to inform their audience freely and promptly, they have a responsibility of ensuring that the news that reach their audience are not intimidating, do not cause panic and confusion as well as do not spread fear which the terrorists seek to spread (Beckett, 2016).

It is important that all news media houses have crystal clear guidelines and principles that should guide the process of reporting news on terrorism. These guidelines should precisely formulate the mechanism which will help achieve balance through unbiased coverage, ensure the correct use of language, recognition of the correct context achieve accuracy; recognize the significance of news on terrorism in the particular context. News coverage should be based on a self-conscious well planned process which permits journalists to reflect on news reporting discuss the challenges therein and come up with the best practices thereafter which will eventually help them improve on their respective news coverage (Beckett, 2016).

These guidelines must come out clearly and be widely shared or circulated amongst the journalists of respective media organizations that are larger or have many platforms of presenting news. Well-coordinated external and internal mechanisms such as Slack must remain firmly in place to make sure best practices are observed and upheld even in instances of breaking news or developing story moments (Beckett, 2016).

Media practitioners as well as practicing journalists must always strive to be transparent and truthful when reporting news. They ought to be as transparent as possible with regard to their audience about their news sources and their extent of their knowledge as far as the subject being covered is concerned. Being transparent is a virtue because it

wins the audience's trust in the news being presented to them. Journalists may get their news from the social media platform validly but they must ensure that they have verified the information therein and that they have contextualized it before presenting it in their coverage (Beckett, 2016).

Mainstream media and new media platforms should endeavor to formulate better editorial policies as well as technical capacity to enable them verify and ensure the news being broadcasted by their employees are accurate and valid. This might call for the use of "honest brokers" or other news agencies and experts. The element of checking for facts should always be overriding principle. The rule of "better right rather than first" must be enforced at all times across all publications or broadcasts as well as in all media platforms. Editorial management must ensure that the pressure to be fast does not jeopardize the audience's right to believe in what is broadcasted (Beckett, 2016).

While framing their stories, it is critical for journalists to think about their particular way of framing news stories. The news media conventional thinking that determines how critical a news story is and what level of significance it is accorded is too often driven by group mentality or repeated formulae. Journalists should think about whether they regard same kind of stories in different areas and scope equally and whether they include varied voices and informed comments (Beckett, 2016).

New technologies offer diversified and rich opportunities for extensive and intensive reporting and this are contingent upon respective media to invest in these new technologies for deeper or detailed reporting. This will help to not only pass information or news faster and reach more people but also to create an environment where the

audience will be in a better position to understand the news since context and clarity requirements have been met. Data visualization provides journalists with an opportunity to engage in coverage which is factual (Beckett, 2016).

The new media platforms provide creative ways for the media to engage in with varied demographics. But for journalism to be effective, it ought to dig deeper into facts. Positive themes to do with empathy, resilience and positive approaches to terrorism should be brought to the fore as part of news reportage. Journalists should endeavor to create positive narratives when framing their news so as to pass across messages which will have a positive influence on the audience rather than negative influence. The social effects of news stories which media covers must be taken to account and not just viewers' numbers and the drama of the occurrence (Beckett, 2016).

The online media platforms must seek to work closely with established mainstream media houses or organizations to ensure that there is an improvement on the production and dissemination of news which can be trusted in the environment of terrorism. The established media houses should ensure that expertise is replicated when it comes to own verification and filtering systems. There is need to employ the use of more honest broker organizations and be more open to the public when it comes to their own systems. Above everything, the media houses should always accept their responsibilities as main editors of news about terror (Beckett, 2016).

Naturally, terrorism has always been thought to challenge the normal narrative processes and frames. Immediately after a terrorist attack has happened, it is usually near impossible to establish the facts around the terrorist attack or even analyze the attack

itself. It is hard to know what exactly happened, why it happened in such a manner, who did it? What could be or what was the response of authorities and the public in general, what the act intends to achieve in policy and politically? And what kind of coverage might accelerate the effects and further encourage other terrorist acts? And how can we report these kinds of acts without escalating or exacerbating the effects? These are the questions that surround terrorist acts (Beckett, 2016).

Burke postulates that the kind of technological advancements which among them include the satellite technology which have shaped global media communication have equally given chance to an expanded platform for publicizing terrorism. He observes that in the year 1972 militants of the Palestinian Black September group assaulted Israeli athletes team at the Munich Olympics stadium, these were the first ever games to be granted a live coverage and the first of their kind to be targeted by terrorists. The media deliberately and zealously shifted their attention fully from the sporting event onto the ensuing hostage crisis (Beckett, 2016).

A former BBC Global News Director Richard Sambrook in an interview said that it is important to take notice of the fact that, terrorism in this age and time of instant news and new media or citizen journalism is a different kind of a beast. For the last three decades which he has been working in the media sphere he insists that the subject of terrorism in the news media is now more complex than ever. He observes that at least twenty years ago it was easier to broadcast terrorism news. It was easier to tell who did it. A car bomb goes off outside Harrods, and the IRA communicates directly in a veiled language (Beckett, 2016).

The law enforcement agencies would be able to tell who did the act. The issues surrounding the commission of the terror act were a bit direct and straightforward and reporters knew whom they were dealing with. However, with the current trend of terrorism, it is proving to be more complex and difficult. Terrorism has proved itself to be a different kind of beast and by the virtue that it is networked or it is more likely to be homegrown or domestically instigated raises a lot of questions than answers (Beckett, 2016).

The media has a number of times been caught unawares through providing terrorists with details of security operations sometimes unknowingly which aids the terrorists in scaling up their attacks or improving on the efficiency of their attacks. This is usually evident when media offers media coverage on an ongoing operation live on television or radio. These kind of live videos and pictures jeopardize the lives of the security forces involved in the operation or they limit or hamper the operation they are underrating. The media should learn to work together with the security agencies when covering news which relate to threat against citizens so as not to escalate the situation rather than calming it or managing the situation (Beckett, 2016).

However, there arises another challenge when covering news touching on terrorism. The politicians or authorities frame their statements to the media on terror events to suit their own positions or interests. Media practitioners or professionals have the sole responsibility to report what leaders and authorities say but they are not obliged to replicate the leaders and authorities' perspective or point of view (Beckett, 2016).

Simon Jenkins who was once a British journalist and also one time a *London Times* editor remarks that, the political class have their own hidden agenda when addressing matters terrorism. He further said that to the media, terrorism is drink and meat while to the political class it is a golden opportunity to flex their muscles and rally their supporters towards revenging against the terror attacks. When these leaders talk about war they endear themselves to their citizens hence gaining more support and approval which they always seek for. This was seen to have worked successfully during George Bush, France's François Hollande and currently President Trump's long standing disagreement with Iran and the killing of Solemani the Iranian military General.

Counter-terror theory advises caution and also emphasizes on normality on the part of leaders and the media while political necessity advises the contrary of this – it advocates for drums of war. The political leadership would always want that the terrorists' acts are amplified in the headlines and exaggerated to justify a warlike retaliation or response (Beckett, 2016).

The amount of terrorism news may have a directly proportional relationship to the occurrence of further acts in other words, the volume of news presented about terrorism have an impact to an extent that they will encourage further acts of terror. These same views are shared by Michael Jetter, a professor at the School of Economics and Finance at Universidad EAFIT in Medellín, Colombia, who postulates that increased reportage of terror attacks has a direct bearing on an increase in the frequency with which they occur (Beckett, 2016).

Jetter also observes that acts of terror attract wide media attention, for example the terrorists committing suicide attacks, are more likely to lead to their being more popular. Olivier Roy, who is a French philosopher of politics and an expert on what the causes of terror constitute also remarks that media reportage helps terrorist outfits to mobilize and recruit people into terrorism. He further observes that the framing of terrorist occurrences by the political class and the media houses provides the terrorists with a feeling that they belong and that their acts make meaning (Beckett, 2016).

The public makes meaning out of the terrorist events through the kind of language and terminologies being used. This is how the public are able to assess the amount of risk involved and thereafter make own judgment. Simply because some event creates an environment of terror, it does not make that event a terrorist act. A newspaper like the Daily Mail Online may have a headline on terrorism but when you read the story you will realize that the event was not a terrorist attack related. The headline serves the purpose of attracting attention (Beckett, 2016).

When the media gives out detailed media coverage on security agencies investigations or operations, this may aid the attackers to refine their modus operandi so as to avoid past mistakes committed. They will definitely shape their subsequent attacks alongside the media presentations so as to avoid where they went wrong in past attacks and perfect on the future ones. Therefore, editors should make it their responsibility, a duty and at the same time an obligation that the latest news they broadcast is unhelpful to the terrorists who are seeking for information to conduct more attacks (Beckett, 2016).

Research has shown that by the news media reporting on a terrorist attack we add to the chances of another one happening. Therefore, it is important that the level of reporting, the volume of the news as well as its content are taken into consideration. The drama which ensues and the danger involved together with the ideological impact and the human suffering gives rise to a cocktail of an attractive narrative. *The Guardian* takes stock of the 2015 Paris terrorist attacks which witnessed more matchless visits to its website than any occurrence in its history (Beckett, 2016).

The ever multiplying in number close home of terrorist assaults on civilians in our daily lives increases their interest and immediacy. The significance accorded to this news in terms of period of time and visibility of coverage communicates a strong indication to the population. This does not require any scientific proof to discern but the media journalists should take into account external perspectives and also the temptation to sensationalize news of a certain (Beckett, 2016).

Journalism which is centred on terror activities has a part to play in alleviating the emotional and psychological impact for the population. There is a factor of useful custom about the creation of immediate places of worship at the scene of these occurrences, the memorial prayers, and the expressions of sympathy. Social media and digital media are fully dedicated to this cause with the use of specially designed hash tags or profile photos and sometimes flags to show togetherness or harmony. News media assist societies affected by terrorism recover from the trauma suffered through showing the process of mourning the victims. Journalists are able to bring out the aspect of humanity and dignity through their frames of focusing on the victims instead of

focusing on the perpetrators' narrative of fear and destruction of these heinous acts of terror (Beckett, 2016).

CNN's Samantha Barry weighs in as follows: that the audience actually does dictate the way media houses report news. The audience actually demands that the media should focus primarily on the victims and not the perpetrators of the acts of terror. The act of Anderson Cooper choking while reading the names of the Orlando victims was the most powerful instance ever aired on CNN and it generated a lot of discussion on many media platforms. Media journalists are not robots much as they try not to get personal in their reporting. The audience needs accurate and balanced news too. Stories about survivors are good just as those that report on personal courage as exhibited by the rescuers and an example is that of individuals who returned to the Bataclan nightclub to rescue their companions (Beckett, 2016).

Solving political problems has proved to be an uphill task therefore journalists ought to very much aware of the way they frame their news because it ultimately has a lot of influence on public and societies as well as communities policy. The giving of publicity to terrorists by journalists remains an ever serious setback that cannot be solved entirely. However, reporting news can be conducted in such a way that it will trim down the propaganda effects for either politicians who are on panic mode or the terrorists by exhibiting more compassion for the victims of terrorism and airing more positive stories of courage and appreciating that media is capable of countering the terrorists' narrative instilling fear and hopelessness which news on terrorism bring about (Beckett, 2016).

Organizations which offer the technological means to the public and the media should be encouraged to develop and conduct conversations on terrorism need to improve them on how they disseminate and filter information. A very productive dialogue should be started between the media companies and the journalists to chat the way forward with regard to how they can be of best use to the public good. By promoting robust and responsible journalism would be a positive start. The press similarly has to accept a bigger responsibility for the effects they achieve while covering terrorism, the digital press conglomerates must also understand or know that they are not just information or technological companies. They are part of the shaping or framing of news stories and configuration of public point of view (Beckett, 2016).

It should be clear to everyone concerned that in the United States of America, faith in American press has plunged to its new low. At such moment in time when the press is faced with enormous economic challenges, we must work tirelessly towards rebuilding the public's confidence in the media. The audiences have so many options to access news and so many disruptions from journalism. Terrorists know how to put to test all systems of government and public ones. Improving reportage on terrorism is vital because these extremist activities are prominent matters of concern and results into enormous challenges around the globe. The need to have in place informed, trained and skillful human resources able to report judiciously on terrorism is crucial. This is not just a moral appeal but a requirement and a necessity. It is an opportunity to showcase to the world that journalism is and it retains the central spot it occupies in the modern society (Beckett, 2016).

A preview of terror attacks in Kenya paints a picture of sustained but time-spaced attacks targeting both civilians and security personnel. The most fatal terror attack which has ever happened in Kenya occurred on August 7, 1998, on the embassy of America in Nairobi the capital city of Kenya. The assault was orchestrated by Al Qaeda, a terror outfit of the Sunni Islamist group which amounted to deaths of about 213 civilians while over 4,000 more suffered fatal injuries (Kiarie & Mogambi, 2017).

On April 2, 2015, approximately ten hooded attackers conducted an assault on Garissa University in Northern Kenya and murdered in cold blood 148 out of the 815 university students in the institution of learning. Before this heinous incident, Kenyans were nursing scars inflicted by terrorism after the Al-Shabaab attacked the Westgate mall on the September 21, 2013 also killing about 67 people. Other assaults which have occurred since September 2013 are documented as follows: the June 15, 2014 highly publicized attack on hotels and bars in Mpeketoni centre which included the local police Station. This place where the attacks happened is located on the east coast of Kenya in the County of Lamu. A total of 64 people died in the attack, 10 civilian vehicles were burnt up and 64 houses set on fire - 17 private homes and 47 business premises (Kiarie & Mogambi, 2017).

In June the 16, 2014, an attack was meted on the Pokomo village which is located to the east coast of Kenya, Lamu Conty, leaving about 10 civilians dead; the July 6, 2014 attacks on small town centres called Hindi and Gamba local villages, east coast of Kenya left 29 civilians dead, on July 24, 2014 a total of 11 civilians were exterminated by Al-Shabaab in northern Kenya. On November 22, 2015, Al-Shabaab attacked a passenger

bus in Mandera, northern Kenya occasioning the killing of about 28 civilians while on November 25, 2014, about 36 civilians were attacked and killed when Al-Shabaab assaulted a quarry mine at Koromey, to the north-eastern Kenya. The most recent attacks include the January 15, 2019 attack on the DusitD2 hotel in Nairobi's Riverside Drive and the April 12, 2019 kidnapping of two Cuban doctors working in Mandera County General hospital (Kiarie & Mogambi, 2017).

The way terrorism has been religiously defined poses far-reaching ramifications and so, there is a rational need to undertake such an undertaking with marked level of seriousness, precision or accuracy. This idea also has got serious impact on research being undertaken on the matter terrorism. Prior to conducting objective and effective research, there is a requirement to ensure that the definition of the word terrorism will not be misused so that at the end it dilutes or undermines the important aspect of objective research Sproat (1991) in his essay did offer an exposition of this notion by mentioning that it would be conceptualized as a serious challenge for most if not all scholars to perceive their subjects as such – terrorists without being seen to be holding negative opinion regarding their acts of terrorism.

Sproat further noted that most researchers are in one way or the other prejudiced towards the attackers with regard to what they conceive as values which entail what is right and what is wrong. The aspect of morality defined based on individual perceptions. These biased viewpoints have a serious influence on the validity and reliability of the research being undertaken. Sproat (1991) as a scholar in conjunction with other researchers and scholars, have agitated for methodology which is neutral and not biased or prejudiced

when it comes to studying or undertaking research which has terrorists as the variable under study or the subject being considered in a research the methodology that Sproat advocates for must take account of the fact that terrorists are human beings and they should be studied as such and in their context as human beings (Strindberg, & Esler, Brannan, 2001).

There is a basic question over at what point do acts of violence qualify to be defined as terrorism? In order to sufficiently address this question a researcher or scholar needs to be clear in his or her mind with regard to differentiating between a criminal and a terrorist (Nacos, 2002). The best way to differentiate between common criminals and terrorists is that, a criminal does not engage in acts to do with breaking the rule of law and disrupting social order to make a political statement but for a terrorist, they engage in acts of violent extremism in order to make some political statement which they desire to make. To ensure that their messages capture and sustain large audiences' attention they employ the use of lethal terrorist acts so as to cause a lot of panic and drama so that in the long run attracts the intensive and extensive coverage from the media (Nacos, 2002).

The League of Nations (Afowowe, 2011) actually describes terrorism to bring out the meaning of all those criminal assaults which are directed towards the government of the day meant to instigate a state of terror, panic, anxiety and confusion in the minds of the public specific individuals who serve in a state.

Schmid and De Graaf (1982) in distinguishing these assertions observed differently make contrary remarks as to how the terrorists and common criminals perceive their subjects of terror. With regard to criminals reigning terror on their victims, they are actually their target and so they do not have any ulterior motives such as the one terrorists harbor when they conduct terrorist activities. Terrorists' activities are not meant for their victims but rather the government. They commit these heinous acts so as to gain the attention of the government so that they pass their intended message. In other words; it could be true to conclude that the acts of violence committed by terrorists are a means which enable them transmit their political messages to the government. Their victims are not the primary target but rather the wider audience. Therefore, Schmid and De Graaf (1982) conclude that for the terrorists, the message matters so much to them and not the victim of the act of terror.

Further to that, there is only one official definition of the word terrorism that researchers in the discipline of science utilize which was formally developed by the General Assembly of the United Nations which observes that Terrorism should be conceptualized as such criminal acts that are committed with the target being the provocation of a state of fear and anxiety in the population or in a certain group of individual persons for one purpose of politics and whatever the considerations of apolitical, philosophy, ideology, race, ethnicity, religion or any other natural aspect that may be referenced to justify such acts of terrorism (Koh, 2002).

Critical response to this definition emerged with Biernatzki (2002) noting that the nature in which the element of criminality of an act is construed is as vague as it could be as well as biased. In responding towards this assertion, the Federal Bureau of Investigation of the United States of America did come up with their best suited definition whereby they employ the use of the word “unlawful” in place of the conventional thinking with regard to an act is criminal or a normal act. The following is the formulated definition of the word terrorism as per the FBI:

“Terrorism is the unlawful use of force or violence against persons or property to intimidate or coerce a government, the civilian population, or any segment thereof, in furtherance of political or social objectives” (The Terrorism Research Center 2002).

Paletz and Vinson (1992) came up with a description of terrorism carried out by non-state entities called insurgence terrorism. In this view, they try to distinguish between insurgent instigated terrorism and state sponsored terrorism, which encompasses the kind of terrorism meted by governments on its citizens or terrorism instigated on the population of other nations or countries or states. This study will focus on insurgent terrorism because it is the one being perceived as taking toll on the locals of Mandera County -Kenya and the perceived relationship with the media which has intensely projected their terrorist activities in the national and international media platform.

As a way of exemplifying, Nigerians in the recent days, months and years have experienced different forms of violent acts; as a matter of fact, terrorism never ‘existed’ in Nigerians’ vocabulary for a simple reason that it was not conceived as a spiritual, economic, social and political problem up to the moment Boko Haram emerged as a major and persistent security threat. In the 1970s, for instance, an extremist group by the

name the Maitatsine Movement had mobilized jobless youths in the urban areas and other marginalized people under an Islamic banner for a campaign of violence in region of Kano, a major northern city in Nigeria. A lot of property worth millions of Naira was destroyed and thousands of lives were lost courtesy of Boko Haram assaults. An occasional spate of violence in other northern cities such as Kaduna, Yola, and Bauchi also led to the loss of many lives; yet, these were never conceived as forms of terrorism (Popoola, 2012; Ekwueme, 2011).

Boko Haram a widely known Islamic militant sect is based in Northern part of Nigeria. The Militant group is actually known as *Jama'atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda'awati Wal-Jihad*, which is translated to mean the people who have given up their lives in spreading Prophet Mohammed's messages and the holy war against the enemies of Islam. This terrorist outfit emerged in the year 2002 basing their actions on the connotation of their name which is Boko Haram that is translated to bring to the fore a meaning that the Education system based on the Western world values and norms is sinful and so no Muslim should pursue it. A good number of people perceive Boko Haram's mission as reformist in nature. In the actual sense, Boko Haram is a radical Islamic revolutionary movement that is opposed to the orthodox economic and political customs practiced in Nigeria but which is most popularly supported in the North East region of the Republic of Nigeria (Ekwueme, 2011).

The specific place of origin of Boko Haram militant group is surrounded by historical vagueness but it is basically believed to have commenced in the late 1990s. Ajayi (2012), tries to attribute its initial stages of development to the Al-Shabaab Muslim

Youth Organisation, which began in 1995 but Andrew Walker (2012), a self employed journalist who has reported news on Nigeria since 2006, in an exclusive report for the United States Institute of Peace, associates it to a radical Islamist group for the youth in Maiduguri, which was organized in the year 2002. A young man by the name Yusuf Mohammed became the leader of this group in that year.

In the year 2004 the group of terror relocated to Kanamma in the state of Yobe where it launched its operations base which they referred to as 'Afghanistan' from where it launched a number of attacks. The Militant group assaulted number of nearby police posts and stations, killing a number of the members of police. For a bit more advanced operational based reasons, Mohammed Yusuf opened up the operations of the militant group to Maiduguri in Borno state in 2009 where he attacked and killed several religious and political leaders as well as their kinsmen especially those one who openly confronted or criticized Boko Haram's terror activities.

Since that time onwards, the group scaled up their attacks and by the year 2011 numerous government officers as well as security agents were murdered. In the same year which is 2011, the outfit hit other targets in the north among them being the Federal Capital, Abuja where they attacked the police headquarters and the United Nation's office. When the group struck at Damaturu and Potiskum, Yobe state, on November 4, 2012, the police confirmed about 65 civilian casualties.

In the words of Ekwueme (2011), Boko Haram is fast becoming Nigeria's type of Muslim extremists group operating with impunity everywhere, maiming and killing those they consider as of not of their faith - infidels.

Every one of us has cause to be worried at this turn of events especially when Ekwueme asserts that the group's teachings take after those of the Afghanistan's Taliban terror outfit. They believe that any teachings or education that does not align itself with the tenets of Islam is sinful and should not be imparted on learners. They also believe that it was the influence of western education that is watering down Islamic teachings and weakening the Islamic faith itself and therefore should be avoided whatsoever (Ekwueme 2011).

Long before the abduction of 276 Chibok girls from a school in north-eastern Nigeria in April 2014, Nigeria was already thought of as a country to be concerned about in the context of terrorism (Ette, 2012). Boko Haram, the terror group that took responsibility for the kidnapping of the school going children, has been linked to acts of terrorism in the country since the year it strongly came out that is the year 2007. However, the whole story of Boko Haram remained largely unexploited in international media until the year July 2009.

Boko Haram stole the limelight in the British press for the first time when a few of its members participated in major and serious series of attacks that resulted in the deaths of hundreds of people in the northern part of Nigeria. Since then, it was accorded limited exposure in the British media but come August 2011, its projection into the international media grew up sharply when it bombed a government house in Abuja the capital city, where the United Nations offices were domiciled, and confirmed its status as an emerging or budding terrorist group. The assault on the headquarters of the UN in Nigeria reverberated around the world and marked a critical time in the country's record of acts of terror (Ette, 2012).

In recent days past, Nigeria has experienced a sporadic wave of terrorism attacks that have caused great havoc to the political, social, economic and psychological situations in the country. Communities have been truncated, families displaced, relaxation areas abandoned and generally changing a peoples' way of life. Terrorism has turned peoples' attention from creative production to destruction, with the great loss of human lives being the most disastrous consequence. What started as mere peaceful agitations to kidnapping and robbery has now escalated to a very high level of incessant bomb attacks almost on daily basis. Insecurity is now the order of the day.

In the words of Isigugo (2011) that indeed everyone currently talks about terrorism, everyone happens to know what it is all about, and everyone seems not to know what to do as the fear of the unknown sweeps throughout the peaceful land which humanity once enjoyed devoid of terrorism. In the past though, humanity dreaded armed robbers, kidnapers and a few mysterious blasts. Today insecurity in Nigeria is all about two words, Boko Haram.

Within the Horn of Africa region, the Somalia based Al-Shabaab group, which began in 2007 after the total defeat of the Islamic Courts Union, (ICU) by Ethiopian forces is the horn of Africa's most prominent and lethal terror group with affiliation to Al-Qaeda. The Al-Shabaab is both a product of religious extremism and also a result of state collapse and mismanagement (Kisiangani, 2011).

Numerous reports have been volunteered concerning foreign jihadists trooping into Somalia to augment Al-Shabaab. These groups originate from neighboring countries as well as the US and Europe. Uncorroborated reports do indicate that the Al-shabaab outfit

may have been involved in links with other terror outfits in the continent of Africa for instance, the Islamic Maghreb and Al-Qaeda based in the Sahara desert as well as the Boko Haram outfit based in Nigeria (BBC, 2017). There are also reports that this terror group has links with Al-Qaeda in Afghanistan.

In August 2014, government-led Operation Ocean Clean spearheaded by Somali government with AMISOM involved was conceived and executed to clean up the insurgent-held locations in Somalia's rural areas. The group remains nonetheless strong and active, and has been responsible for exceptionally deadly terrorist attacks such as the Westgate shopping mall attack on 21 September 2013 and the 14 October 2017 Mogadishu bombings, attacks on civilians, teachers, police and police stations, quarry workers and even humanitarian workers in Mandera County as well as an attack on Garissa University.

Like many other terrorist organizations, Al-Shabaab is well aware that the media plays a critical role in its campaign of conducting terrorist attacks. The group operates several social media accounts, has recruited several clerics who use audio and visual CDs to reach out to as much audiences as possible. Further, their coverage in the mainstream Kenyan media as well as international media has been successful and impact almost achieved with each single act of terrorism. The coverage of terrorism by two mainstream papers that are leading in the Republic of Kenya that is the Nation and the Standard newspapers for the period April 2014 showed that there was a general tendency to cover the acts "positively" with government's counter-terrorism interventions receiving lukewarm or negative response altogether (Maina, 2014).

Maina (2014) notes that this “negative” tone and “issue framing” by the media reinforced the terrorist’s objectives of spreading fear and enhancing propaganda, which inevitably undermined government’s ability to counter the Al-Shabaab as envisaged in the government’s Counter-terrorism strategies.

Acts of terrorism also test the media freedom and independence in other words, media to a certain extent takes values hostage. Once a terrorist attack or attacks have happened, media could be as an act of patriotism or by their own calculation or under duress, generally follow the orders and regulations of their authorities or the public emotions and opinions, at the risk of measured self-censorship and eventually making themselves megaphones of the state. National security, geopolitical interests or the requirement of living in unity all legitimately lead to calls for the media to practice restraint, but also more problematically for censorship too (UNESCO, 2017).

Terrorists groups in most cases undertake the kinds of terrorist acts aimed attracting media attention (Paletz & Schmid, 1992). In other words, the acts of terror committed by the militant groups are mostly guided by the principle of newsworthiness. How endearing will they be towards the media which will translate to large audience? Therefore, three factors are critical in this relationship. In the forefront is the factor of degree of violence which is usually conceptualized in the form of the number of victims and property decimated. The extent of chaos and confusion instigated on the civilian population; the more and painful it is, the successful the act of terrorism it is.

Factor number two in the attainment of publicity in the media entails propaganda and recruitment. Acts of terror and violent extremism serve as an effective means to recruit more followers. There also exists what is termed as “legal” ways through which terrorists try to gain media and generally the audiences’ attention. There exists the employment of literature which has political connotations, meetings, posters, speeches, radio broadcasts and pamphlets. A good chunk of the audiences are well versed with the electronic video messages which the Al-Qaeda terrorists employ as a means of executing their mission. These are among of the activities employed by terrorists to attract attention so as to pass their message across (Nacos, 2006).

The third factor embodies how terrorists choose an optimal or prime time and place for their actions. Terrorists will in most cases select the news prime time as the appropriate moment for their actions such that they will be in a position to gain much of the audience’s attention fully as desired. Firstly, someone naturally expects that terrorists strike their targets whenever they think that press reportage or coverage is guaranteed and readily available. Logically speaking, a city has big chances of being hit by terrorists than a remote area. Terrorists will also take advantage of the instances where the media is concentrated in readiness to cover some spectacular event which has just happened. The terrorists know too well that if they conduct an attack, their coverage is surely guaranteed and that it will be availed (Cziesche, 2007).

The aspect of locality is significant and of criticality, the element of timing is equally important in the strategy of attracting mass media attention. Next to identifying timings, unique happenings or moments in history are usually observed to be occasions for terrorists' conducting their attacks (Paletz & Schmid, 1992).

Terrorists in trying to attain publicity tactically make use of drafted formal messages through the media. Terrorists justify their use of violence in the sense that governments have failed to listen to their demands and so to bring the government to their table for negotiation, they feel that the employment of violent means is the only way to achieve their ends or political agenda. Officially proclaimed statements allow the attackers to spread unto the public their narratives through the justification of their acts of violence. On one hand, by chance whenever terrorists do not give exposition of their acts to the public, they will risk allowing their target audience drawing unfavorable conclusions about their actions and therefore lose sympathy in their eyes (Paletz & Schmid, 1992).

The terrorist groups utilize several ways to issue their formal statements whenever they want. One way of disseminating their messages is through print media and takes the personal responsibility of distributing these statements or messages by themselves. The other platform is by preparing a written statement that functions as a *de facto* press release. More often than not, the printed messages are designed in a way that entices the press to reproduce them in their broadcasts. They air or print these messages while sometimes quoting the terrorists in verbatim. Terrorist groups sometimes employ the threat of violence against publishers and journalists in order to ensure publication of their drafted statements in verbatim (Paletz & Schmid, 1992).

A situation where terrorists contact journalists and granting interviews remains a lucrative chance and tact of disseminating and sharing their agenda with the public. Interviews are perceived to be a means to narrowing gaps which exist in the relationship between the terrorists and the public. These interviews offer a clear and easy means of drawing public attention towards the terrorists' political messages. Media remains a very crucial and an indispensable tool that the terrorist groups employ to try and shape the attitudes, values, opinions and set agenda for the public (Paletz & Schmid, 1992).

Another aspect used by terrorists to draw public's attention is through them claiming responsibility of their actions. Immediately after committing their heinous terrorist acts, terrorists want the world to know what transpired and so they do this through the mass media. Once a terrorist attack succeeds, the group which conducted the act takes to the media to publicize their actions. They are swift in claiming responsibility to take credit and castigate government by casting it in the wrong light that it cannot protect its civilians (Paletz & Schmid, 1992).

Journalistic studies by Fursich, (2010) and Thomas, (2014), have shown that, the mass media tend to favor stories that resonate well with their audiences due to their perceived cultural background especially when such reports talk about unexpected and dramatic events. Acts of terrorism by their nature easily endear themselves to extensive media coverage. Cottee and Hayward (2011) have noted that terrorism 'involves the deliberate infliction of physical harm or injury on human beings.'

Azeez (2009) argues that the dramatic ways the media report the violent and extreme acts of terrorism encourages further planning and execution of violence. Furthermore, he observes that if any kind of violence is assumed by media that it never happened or it is never reported sensationally, it is likely to have a reducing effect on such violence simply because these events have gone unnoticed. If the media focuses so much on them, they become spectacular and attract massive audience.

For example, in a study of the coverage of two “investigative” documentaries which was undertaken by two local television stations, KTN and NTV, Abraham Kisang did note that the two TV stations continued to repeatedly broadcast and project the Al-Shabaab messages to the audiences and often quoted in verbatim or replayed terrorists’ video messages, which were in the first place the subject of investigations or in some cases had yielded to targeted attacks against Christians in Kenya (Kisang, 2014).

The coverage of terrorism by two mainstream papers in Kenya, Daily Nation and the Standard for instance, for the period April 2014, showed that there was a general tendency to cover the acts “positively” with government’s counter-terrorism interventions receiving lukewarm or negative response altogether.

Conflict as it were is thought to be the bread and butter of journalism. Conflict offers media ready-made fodder for the media women and men to utilize in their quest to quench their audiences’ thirst for information. Media audiences are usually happy and satisfied to read detailed stories on how events unfolded. In the long run, these media houses add unto their profit margins regardless of the damage inflicted.

Nevertheless, there arises a pertinent question that should be posed and this question is how are journalists or reporters supposed to respond to a terrorist attack incident? What is their role in covering and reporting on such an incident? Should the journalists just introduce an attack as a direct lead, subject it to panel analysis, or provide an interpretation with the help of information from news sources?

As a way of responding to the above questions, it is crucial to look into the remarks made by Margaret Thatcher, who was one time the British Prime Minister for the period of about twelve years spanning between 1979 and 1990. Ms. Thatcher reiterated the issue of the media acting as the supplier of oxygen to the terrorists (Spaaij, Muller and Ruitenbergh, 2003; Vieira, 1991). As far as Ms. Thatcher was concerned, if terrorists were denied media publicity which they enjoy literally every day in the national and international media, their terrorists would fade out and die. The media should refrain from covering these heinous acts and so deny the terrorists the chance to be in the news; they will be less motivated to carry out attacks against civilian targets (Sixth Framework Program, 2008). She advises that journalists should stop belaboring themselves through intensive media coverage of terrorist activities.

Blaisse (1992) argues that as a journalist, one has a clear and sole responsibility on the way they report their findings from their sources or eye witness accounts. Many a times, the topic of discussion or thematic analyses may not be the dangerous ones but rather the tone which is adopted by presenters or discussants as well as the style in which the messages were broadcasted or passed over unto the audience.

Reportage of terrorism brings to the fore the position media holds in any given society. Media holds a very central position in matters that concern society and it basically shapes and sets agenda. A media journalist's ability to put to practice responsible journalism and practicing due diligence as well as present timely news in the digitally competitive age is very important while trying to fulfill the civic duty as a journalist in the contemporary world (Sahan Journal, 2013).

The reportage of terrorism by the media is not limited to just dramatic moments that sporadically occur from time to time. The quality of this kind of journalism and its usefulness to society depend largely on other factors especially its concern about the phenomenon itself, where it started and the consequences. Over and above emergencies and newflashes, the reportage of terrorism requires special investigative and analytical qualities and skills on topics of such great complexity affecting geo-politics, internal political power relations, religion and transnational crime (UNESCO, 2017).

Terrorist attacks are revelatory for the media, not only on their mode of operation, reflexes and routines, but also their principles and values. Terrorism is indeed one of the areas where professional competence is mostly needed as noted by Michel Wieviork and Dominique Wolton in *Front Page Terrorism*. Journalists are so often attracted to terrorism news reportage, for three factors of which they should be careful: first is the event- a trap that endears the press in the most stereotyped behaviors of the trade; secondly the actors mobilized by the terrorist act (which create ecstasy); and thirdly is power (from which the correct distance is neither easy to determine nor free of contradiction) (Soriano, 2008).

The stakes are therefore high thereby it becomes a question of avoiding contributing to this fatal polarization by shortcuts, imprudent phrases, stigmatizations and generalizations. The mission of the media, as the Czech writer Milan Kundera said, is to shed light on the complexity of the real and not to simplify it to the point where it no longer represents reality (Spencer, 2012).

At such moments of tension, panic and anxiety, accurate and holistic press coverage is very key than ever to guide the decisions of the public. Whenever the security of the public is directly targeted, media must at all times endeavour to stand up and protect both the citizenry and democratic rights through exercising their duly right and duty to educate and inform. The essential principle of journalism which is the pursuit of truth is central in the context of terrorist attacks. Initially, just after an attack, speculations and confusion tend to reign but the media must take the centre stage to guide their audience out of the confusion and anxiety (Spencer, 2012).

This follows that, facts must be clearly established as well as cross-checked and sensational journalism avoided. Much as Fact-checking is critical in professional journalism, it is also compulsory. While pursuing the truth there is an implication of the obligation and the duty to give detailed information, even though this is a times seen or criticized as validating terrorist acts (Spencer, 2012). Daring to make sense of the reasons for unreason, the genesis or basis of acts of terror and terrorist claims are, however, essential. The destructive nature of a terror assault cannot serve as an excuse not to analyze the cause. One of the duties of journalism is to taking to account complexity, refusing the denial of reality in the confirmation that there is nothing to

understand on the alleged reason that terrorists are “barbarians.” The essential rules of journalistic ethics cover this duty in the independent pursuit of truth.

While reporting on terrorism, the media gets tested on the right to inform on events in an independent manner. In times of crises that threaten human existence, safety and compromise national security, the population strongly gets pressured to stand on guard. The call for patriotism, which tends to be as compelling as the attack itself that was brutal threatens at all times to amalgamate with a call for censorship. In some countries, the law gives the media a very small amount of latitude and severely restricts their actions.

In a documented study on the coverage of terrorism in India and Sri Lanka, researchers Shakuntala Rao of State University of New York, Plattsburgh and Pradeep N’Weerasinghe of University of Colombo, Sri Lanka concluded that their freedom was indeed curtailed when reporting (Soriano, 2008). The media’s duty to inform demands that a significant distance be established between the media on the one hand and the responses of the public, the pronouncements and actions of the powers that be and other information channels on the other whether they are opposition political parties or organizations and famous figures involved in the public conversation. However, we can all acknowledge that it will be rough for the media if they adopt that methodology because they will run into a risk of public accusation of not being loyal in the face of the common enemy of the republic - terrorism. However, the hard decision to stand by the truth will perpetuate their integrity and thereafter enhance their democratic function as the fourth estate.

A number of reporters get worried when they witness the employment of violence against the population and this leads to their editorials reflecting their frustrations and anger. However, this kind of indignation must not be allowed to violation of the fundamental values which are the basis of professional journalism especially the duty to inform truthfully. The media's actions undeniably bear an impact on people, organizations, companies, etc., either by action or omission. The media thus should strike a balance between their right and duty to inform in relation to their desire to limit the negative effects of disseminating information on the dignity of those fatally affected, especially when protecting hostages or the safety of security-force operations.

Though the ethics upheld in the practice of journalism demand for a sense of humanity, these ethics cannot compromise the principal role the press plays which is to inform on topical issue which are in the public interest without being strangled by the atmosphere created by the public or the instructions issued by authorities. There come such a moment when interrogating self on the repercussions of informing the public which can lead to excessive media system imposed controls, to the disadvantage of population's right to know.

It is important to note that terrorism casts a shadow of doubt on the media's editorial policy. It is deemed unprofessional to publish a photo or photos as well as videos of those taken hostage as they get beheaded or tortured by the terrorists. However, some media do this and justify their actions by saying that it is important to inform the public on all that happens in the theatre (UNESCO, 2017).

This implies that transparency is upheld and that inaccuracies or errors are corrected with commendable swiftness, transparency and honesty. The public are also offered opportunity to discuss and analyse the kind of media coverage so as to point out the excesses and malpractices therein. Transparency ensures that there is the long-term credibility of the media content. It is worth noting that media may be in the know of how to report on a certain emerging crisis but in the real sense they might be lacking the knowledge of the crisis itself. Therefore, this brings to fore the need to impart journalists with skills and to train them psychologically on the approaches to adopt while reporting on complex matters in this tumultuous world of conflict - terrorism, this being Philip Seib, professor of journalism remarks which he made in 2004 when referring to Iraq conflict and media coverage.

For a journalist to effectively cover a terrorist act, he/she must have thorough knowledge on terrorism so that he/she will be in a position to report without cowering due to the horrendous scenes witnessed. There are several organizations, services, institutions and ministries which are involved in developing and implementing counter-terrorism strategies. These multi-agencies are tasked with varied missions and enjoy specific prerogatives aimed at combating terrorism. Counter-terrorism employs a number of specializations and sophisticated surveillance and intervention strategies and techniques. It engages every arm of government which includes: the executive and judicial, but also the legislative, with the Intelligence and Security Committee (ISC) of Parliament and special investigation commissions (UNESCO, 2017).

Sometimes the media may not be conscious of the news frames that embody their editorials due to the editorial policy adopted. This news at times reflect news frames developed by different people, public or private institutions, study centres, public figures, journalistic practices which include giving precedence to nearness or emotion or an ideological prejudice. All the same, the selection of the frame is important. It can manipulate the reactions of the populace and the government system (Soriano, 2008; Slone, 2000).

Authors Barnett and Reynolds were of the opinion that to a certain degree, the manner in which the United States of America media framed the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 was a dedicated effort to carry out a significant level of retaliation on the terrorists (Spencer, 2012). The press intensely published the pronouncements of political leaders who were proposing a military action as well as the concerted efforts of ordinary Americans demanding for retaliatory attacks. The frame is expressed through the choice of speakers their placement, their hierarchy, the selection or rejection of subjects and images. It can also be projected in the use of certain epithets and words or phrases.

The way media frames news has a significant bearing on the professional and honest work of the press. This consequentially may lead to neglect of civilian deaths caused by a response to terrorist attacks or the silencing of abuses carried out by own troops which will eventually raise questions on the journalistic practice of equity, truthful reporting and impartiality as well as the humanist ethics which embodies the feeling of humanity. In the process of covering terrorist acts journalists ought to check on their tone which is critical keeping check the public responses to ensure they are proportionate and hence

prevent fear from eating into the society. It is very critical to master the flow of information and ensuring its truth and accuracy which are journalistic practices are enforced which eventually will allay fear which could turn into paranoia or cause panic.

Meanwhile, Mass Media practitioners must always have it in mind that terrorism is a unique phenomenon and it has the ability to scare and shock; the amount and level of risk for each individual citizen is basically limited when comparing with other numerous factors that may not equal the same level of impact. Moreover, the Editorial groups responsible must take definite precautions to diminish the dangers posed by unknown sources: the media practitioner should, particularly try to rationalize this course of action to the editors and also give explanation or substantiate to the public as to why the source of the news would wish to maintain anonymity. Some media houses demand that their journalists reveal the identity of the anonymous sources to a superior staff among the editors.

The media has a prime responsibility to insist that their employees know the kind of tone to adopt in presenting news. The tone should be measured and calm not to feed the noise machine thereby contributing to the spreading of anxiety or fuelling anger. The media should not elevate the terrorism phenomenon or its players to a level in which they seem larger than they really are. Usually, the audience entrusts the media with the responsibility of being their custodian of accurate news to avoid being sucked into the whirlwinds of inaccurate news. Photographs and videos are at the core of terrorist acts so as to gain publicity. This has always been witnessed in plane hijackings, taking victims

of terror into hostage situations and car-bomb attacks, even as terrorists learnt in the practice of image recording and sharing onto public spaces.

The knowledge of striking an equilibrium between the obligation to inform the public, the obligation to shield and preserve the dignity of victims being paraded by terrorists and the need to evade from being used as an effective tool to spread hate and propaganda is very critical in the practice of professional journalism according to L ridon Mich le Global News Director at *Agence France-Presse*. Situations may vary from one country to the other. After the Ben Gardane assault in the West African Country, Tunisia, in the month of March 2016, the Arabic-publishing online media called *Sasa News* declared that media in Tunisia were extensively disseminating gory photos of the dead of terrorists and victims. Nasraoui Radhia the head of the Union for the Fight against Torture in Tunisia (AFTT) did criticize their unethical behaviour by stating that the respect for the dead as well as that of imprisoned people must be protected due to lack of evidence to charge them in a court of law.

Terrorism, according to Hoffman (2003) can be said to be a violent act meant to attract or draw attention of the public and thereafter through the publicity it generates a message is passed as intended. As one of the United Army leaders once explained, violent actions are shocking and scary. The leader further reiterates that terrorists want to shock people everywhere because it is a means of communicating their messages to their audience. Mass media, as the principal conduit of information about such acts, thus play a vital part in the terrorists' calculus. By terrorists reigning terror and widely spreading their heinous acts of terror to a large audience terrorists gain the maximum

potential which they always seek for to spread their intentions and actions to effect fundamental political change.

Mass media is charged with the responsibility of informing the public about terrorism activities happening around the globe especially those taken hostage and those kidnapped. By virtue of the fact that this kind of news is dramatic, updated and raise immense public attention, raise reader and viewer ratings significantly, this kind of news contribute towards an increase in profit margins for the media companies. Mass media will always do so in case of terrorist attacks because of a great public attention for such an event. Wilkinson (2002) postulates that for every percentage of rating increase there is a correspondent increase in the profit by tens of millions of pounds annually. He further states that the chief editors are not usually aware of the political implications caused by their relentless struggle to increase their media houses' ratings (profit margins).

The sustained practice by the Islamic State of conducting recorded live videos with the subject of beheading victims and eventually uploading them online have transformed this terrorist group to a global/world feared militant group. Much as they have spread the fear globally, they have also prompted serious concerns about how much such organizations should be given the mileage and oxygen of publicity. According to Jetter (2017) a publication on the *New York Times* of an article on the subject of a terror assault in a certain country led to an accelerated number of succeeding attacks in the same country by between 11% and 15%. Averagely, he estimates that an additional *New*

York Times article seemed to result into between one and two fatalities from another terrorist attack within the succeeding week.

Additionally, Jetter (2017) observed that when terrorists conduct suicide missions they tend to receive significantly more media coverage than these other ordinary terror attacks, a situation which he believes is able to explain the increase in the popularity of suicide attacks by terrorists vis-à-vis these other ordinary attacks like kidnappings and taking hostages. Jetter therefore came to a conclusion that the media attention devoted to a terrorist attack was predictive or indicative of both the likelihood of another attack in the affected country within seven days' time and of a reduced interval until the next attack.

The revolution of mass media has immensely elevated the efforts to communicate or pass messages to very large and wide audiences even miles and miles away unlike the times in past when society did not enjoy this privilege of mass communication due to technological inventions limitations. However, with the new technological advancements in place, significant steps have been made towards improving the way news are communicated thus making the news accessible to large audiences and over long distances and varied setups. Unfortunately, terrorists have taken advantage of this phenomenon successfully and recklessly thereby succeeding in instilling fear in the global audiences. Hoffman (2003) also utilizes the term symbiosis between media and terrorism to illustrate the kind of relationship that exists between the terrorists and the media whereby they each depend on one another.

Terrorists are not necessarily concerned about deaths of ten, or sixty or even of tens of thousands of people; they permit the thoughts of the target populace to do their job for them. As a matter of fact, it is possible that the terrorists can easily attain their objectives without undertaking an attack if only the desired fear, anxiety and panic can be elicited by continuous broadcasts of threats and declarations on TV and radio interviews, videos and all the readily available methods of psychological warfare (English, 2017).

In the past years in Kenya, terrorism has turned out to be a regular news story in the media in Kenya. This extensive and intensive reportage on terrorism in Kenya has elevated terrorism news items to a salient level in the Kenyan media but this has also cast the security agencies in bad light that they are not in control and that they are not able to guarantee the security of the republic. In exemplifying this, in the year 2015 when the president of the United States of America Barrack Obama visited Kenya, CNN described Kenya as a 'hotbed of terrorism' which was highly criticized by Kenyans who took to twitter to market Kenya as a tourist destination (Kiarie & Mogambi, 2017). It forced the CNN to send one of its media executives to fly to Kenya and deliver an apology.

The CNN profiling of Kenya as a 'hotbed of terrorism' evoked an hue and cry amongst the Kenyan populace, who demonstrated their displeasure regarding CNN's framing of Kenya as a country which has become a field of play for terrorists by creating a hashtag on Twitter which went as *#someonetellCNN*. This phenomenon led to the Kenyan Interior Cabinet Secretary Joseph Nkaissery condemning the international media concerned referring to the broadcast as a sustained crusade by the international press to

project Kenya in a negative manner. Nkaisseiry while addressing journalists in the capital Nairobi said that the CNN broadcast was founded on fabricated untruths and demonstrated increasing irresponsibility by the media platforms. This was a clear violation of media ethics which portrayed the terrorists as powerful and that government failed in protecting its civilians. To a great extent, the terrorists got a boost through the media frame (*Daily Nation*, 2015).

The Kenyan media in the past has faced criticism with regard to how it reports on terrorism. Various groups in Kenya have expressed dissatisfaction especially regarding live coverage of terror acts which in most cases lead to compromise of the scene of crime. This therefore led the Media Council of Kenya a legal organization mandated with regulating media operations and the discipline and conduct of journalists in Kenya creating a framework to regulate media reportage on terrorism. MCK in the year 2014 also expressed dissatisfaction in the way the media conduct especially with regard to reporting on terrorism (MCK & IMS, 2016).

Media code of ethics for the practice of news reporting in Kenya does state that the press should shun at all costs broadcasting of terrorist activities in such a way that celebrates such heinous acts against human beings and property. MCK Act of 2013 Section 5 states that journalists should be aware of the fact that they are accountable and responsible for their engagements to the citizenry, themselves and the occupation of journalism. Once they are fully cognizant of this immense responsibility, they are therefore required to ethically conduct their work and carry themselves around the field with respect. Section 23 of the Media Act of 2013 states that print media shall not permit their space to be

misused for writings which encourage or exalt warlike activities, ethnic, social evils, religious hostilities or racial (Constitution of Kenya, 2010; Kiarie and Mogambi, 2017).

It is important for the media to be the first to break news to the public but is equally important to collect accurate and detailed information as much as possible and just in case there is great media interest for that information, keep it alive as long as possible. This is a perfect meeting point between the media and terrorists because, as long as the media keeps on broadcasting the news, the terrorists objective of always being in the media are met. Nevertheless, the enhanced the drama of some nature, the intensive and extensive the reporting about it and consequently the more it will capture the audience attention, which is of interest to both media and terrorists.

MCK report 2014 observes that in coverage of Westgate attack, the media did not uphold some basic journalistic principles an upfront to harmonious co-existence of society Media Council of Kenya and International Media Support (2016). The report analysed some testimonials adapted from some TV clips which were broadcasted out to the audience for the entire period of broadcast. In particular, NTV was criticized for using word-for-word remarks from some people suspected to be Al-shabaab members without censoring parts of the messages which would instill fear among the public. One of the TV clips quoted in verbatim a person speaking in Kiswahili, quoted saying *“ku-revenge iko katika Quran na iko kwa dini yetu kuwa ukiwa pushed ama ukiona mwenzako akinyanyaswa, you have to stand up, sio kwa kiislamu peke yake ata dini zote”* which is translated to mean “to revenge is stated in Quran and our religion explains that if you are pushed or even see your colleague being exploited, you must

defend and it is not only in Islam even other religions” -Unidentified man, NTV, 23rd April, 2014 (Kiarie & Mogambi, 2017).

Maina (2014) evaluated how The Standard Newspapers and Daily Nation reported on *Operation Usalama Watch* in April 2014. He observes that, in the Daily Nation, majority of Al-Shabaab broadcasts were in the form of news items which accounted for 71%, briefs 19%, editorial 7%, caricature 1%, features 1% and pictorial 1% while The Standard had 79% as news, 13% as briefs, 4% as editorials, 3% as features, and 1% for pictorial and caricatures . Having most of the broadcasts presented in the news format guaranteed that the news items were incessantly and repeatedly projected on the media thence drawing a lot of attention to the terrorism phenomenon. The newspapers reported the news with intent to relay the events to the public; however this also gave the terrorists’ groups a lot of publicity (Kiarie & Mogambi, 2017).

On September 21, 2013, a day after the Westgate terrorist attack in Kenya, the Sunday Nation ran a splash photo of a bloodied victim which not only drew anger and widespread condemnation, but an apology to the country and the victim’s family. Unknown to the newspaper, the victim had subsequently died and the image had greatly been celebrated within the terror circles. Notable in the subsequent apology by the management of the media group was the fact that the paper never intended to glorify the terrorist’s acts, which inevitably had happened. This use of images, especially, has been critical in the Al-Shabaab’s propaganda war. The killings in Mandera, again, witnessed the use of victim’s pictures in the mainstream newspapers and in television broadcasts. But while these are some of the reports after the terrorist’s acts, the use of television

images and reporting on terror related activities has raised even more questions on the mass media plays an enabler to terrorism (Wanjiru, 2016).

Kisang (2014) while undertaking a study on the coverage of two investigative documentaries by two local television stations, KTN and NTV, he observed that the two stations continued to replicate and project the Al-Shabaab messages to the audiences, and often quoted verbatim, or replayed terrorists video messages, which were in the first instance subject of investigations, or in some cases had resulted in targeted attacks against Christians in Kenya.

Terrorists seek to enjoy four main benefits that emanate from continued coverage in the media and thus they include: firstly mobilizing wider support to champion their political cause among the general population as well as international opinion by emphasizing such slogans as the righteousness of their cause and its unavoidability or inevitability, secondly, to transmit the propaganda of their deeds and to generate excessive fear among their target audience, thirdly is to frustrate and disrupt the response of the government and security forces and finally, to mobilize, incite and boost their constituency of actual and potential supporters and in so doing to enhance their recruitment agenda, fundraise, plan more attacks as well as gain more sympathizers (Wilkinson, 2002).

In reference to the Westminster attack on March 22, the journalist Simon Jenkins warned against overreacting to such attacks, claiming that the actions of the governments and the media in response to the attack increased or elevated the hysteria of terrorism. In other words, the authorities' strong response in retaliation and the intense

media coverage hypnotized the audience hence making terrorism news tick (English, 2017).

Jenkins further in his statements published by the Guardian observes that the Westminster attack was apparently a random act of terror by an individual criminal probably without access even to a firearm. Therefore, to over-publicize and amplify such criminal acts is to be an accomplice of the act. Jenkins observes that London's reaction to the Westminster assault was a blank cheque to every radicalized person and violence monger to institute another attack. He further advises that the media should refrain from reports such as ISIS claims responsibility for the attack for the simple reason that there is nothing responsible about these violent attacks. He remarks that these are cowardly as they are attacks on those not actively involved or engaged in combat situation; people who are harmless and have nothing to do with the conflict. Finally, Jenkins states that the notion of responsibility therein exists in a different facet other than in terrorism (English, 2017).

It is common knowledge that security officers hold classified information meaning that the information is sensitive and so it is important for them to maintain a close and warm working relationship with the media to avoid improper disclosure of information which may cause harm, injure or damage to the country's reputation. On the other hand, the journalists ought to understand the procedures for information disclosure by the security officers and whoever is authorize to give information. Therefore, it follows that information should be utilized responsibly and with care without compromising the lives

of the officers, journalists, victims, survivors or an ongoing operation (Media Council of Kenya & International Media Support, 2016).

It is important to be cognizant of the fact that the police and the media can co-exist while performing two similar yet so different roles – the key is to develop a strong relationship prior to critical a incident. The two institutions should learn to work together in peace time such that when an incident occurs they will be able to harmoniously carry on with their tasks. Both sides have to be enlightened so that they are well versed with the policies of their counterpart and perhaps most importantly is that both sides have to respect the policies in place which they will work around (Media Council of Kenya & International Media Support, 2016).

The police/military and media should endeavour to conduct regular meetings between so as to create a synergy of working together. In the process they develop rules and regulations or procedures which will assist them work together successfully without infringing on one another's rights. They should also conduct joint training classes which will also greatly help in bridging the gap of mutual suspicions between the security forces and the media. Improved media and security forces working networks and sessions are vital as they can help improve information flow and build on mutual trust. The police can also assist in bridging the relationship gap by being a bit more open with the media. Regular, consistent and credible information sharing on the process and stages of security operations can help improve or create healthy working relationships and improve access to information or volunteering of information by security forces

which will translate into responsible reportage (Media Council of Kenya & International Media Support, 2016).

An article in the Business Daily of 17 January 2019, observes as a result of media freedom offered in Kenya, as many as possible international media outlets operate freely in the country. For example, media outlets which include: Al-Jazeera, CNN and Xinhua, BBC and VOA base their Africa operations in Nairobi. Therefore, the kind of media coverage given to horrific attacks here in Kenya presents Al-Shabaab with the oxygen it needs to survive and potentially thrive thence occasioning more terrorist attacks.

The success of terrorism is enhanced by the attention which is effectively provided by media to terrorists which propels them to conduct more terrorist attacks and this is supported by Hoffman (2000) who argues that, the impact of terrorist attacks would not reach a wider target who the terrorists hope to instill fear in but would be narrowly restricted in the domain of the victims of the attack if these terrorist events do not receive a lot of media attention. In existence are a number of important means which a responsible media house or organization that exists in a democratic society can employ to thwart terrorists' agenda, aims and objectives. One of these means is by broadcasting in an objective manner the cruelty of terrorist indiscriminate violence and the killing of the innocent civilians who are not involved in active combat. The media can contribute significantly to the destruction of the myth of fighters for justice and freedom as terrorists usually describe themselves.

Omoera and Ake (2016) conducted a study on extremists' violence and how the media faces enormous challenges while undertaking the task of reporting on terrorism activities in Nigeria. Reporting terrorism or extremists' violence poses a host of difficulties and dilemmas for media experts, data managers and other state actors who are charged with the duties of delivering data objectively, responsibly, and appropriately to guarantee efficient communication of growth in society.

Similarly, insurgent or terrorist groups are spreading their excessive causes, transmitting their radicalization messages, and gaining popular assistance, recognition, and legitimacy through media channels like handbills, internet, radio, and film. Media or media experts in terror acts have accidentally become accomplices or victims or threatened species. Nevertheless, they are obliged to report the events irrespective of the consequences for the audience. Indeed, it was asserted that the sensational reporting and excessive dramatization of the media operations of extremist groups propagates further terrorist acts (Omoera & Ake, 2016).

Allan (2014) conducted a study on witnessing crisis of using images in reportage regarding terror attacks which took place in Boston in the USA and London in the UK. The significance of acting as an eye witness to what is taking place in horrendous situations is a lynchpin of war and conflict reporting. However, it is fascinating to note that usually the first person to get onto the scene with a camera has always been an ordinary citizen – citizen journalism, if not one of the fighters by themselves more often than not in recent years. It is impossible to overemphasize the significance of data in

modern culture as an uninformed individual in an era defined by technological and scientific literacy could be said to be a disabled individual.

Murphy, Ewart and Cherney (2017) undertook a research on news media reportage or coverage of Muslims and Islam in Australia. The study assessed the ways which mainstream media employs in covering Muslims and Islam. Muslims' reaction to news media coverage tends to be mainly positive as a result of the absence of Muslim news to news media. The research states that Australian Muslims are extremely critical of Islam and Muslims' news media coverage and express concern over the divisiveness that such depiction might have for Australian culture.

Ebim (2017) observes that militancy is a global phenomenon. According to political, social and religious disciplines, militants have been provided multiple names that have been extremely disputed. From the Niger Delta Militants (NDM) to the Boko Haram Insurgents (BHI), the problem of media language labeling was a severe one in regards to the militants' operations. In the midst of these conflicting voices, the different labels connected with activists need to be critically evaluated as seen in the media. In the case of terrorism or other violent events, the media constructs a certain reality in viewers' minds through sensational and dramatic reporting and prioritizing or pursuing a specified narrative. It thus lays not only the public perception of the ever-present, but also the formal government policy and how to perceive and treat a specified cultural or ethnic minority.

Shoshani, Slone (2008) investigated on the drama of media coverage of terrorism. A total of 237 respondents, each subjected to an experimental or control status, were uniformly split into two groups. The experimental status was engaged exposure to terrorist news clips and threats to national security on television. The state of control involved exposure to news clips of equivalent length unrelated to domestic hazard scenarios. Results endorsed the experimental status' anxiety-inducing impact and stated different demographic and dispositional reactions to the footage by gender, religion, and dogmatism level. These findings support the mass media's strong impact and they also promote further exploration of the connections between political violence media broadcasts and psychological procedures.

Hoffman, Kowal and Kaire (2013) conducted a study on coverage of terrorism and the fear of terrorism. The surest way to render this type of violence unattractive is to take terror out of terrorism, but the methods for attaining this objective are uncertain. Media is generally seen as promoting terrorist organizations' interests by increasing government anxiety about future terrorism, but fear extinction work indicates that frequent exposure to terrorist activity material may have the opposite impact.

Yarchi, Popovich and Ayalon (2016) undertook research to determine how states should handle asymmetric conflicts with extensive and intensive media coverage. Conflicts in the 21st century vary from disputes in the past based on two key variables: the level of asymmetry and disparity between the actors involved in the conflict and the quantity of international coverage received by a dispute. Most actors in current conflicts have vast disparity levels and receive extensive media coverage; events in those conflicts are

referred to as occurrences in the information space because the boundaries of a conflict are wherever people can get information about it. The use of pictures as a guiding principle or as a replacement for traditional military means for achieving political goals is asserted as the primary instrument for better confronting opponents in the information space.

Pfefferbaum, Newman, Nelson, Nitiéma, Pfefferbaum and Rahman (2014) investigated on disaster media coverage and psychological outcomes. Terrorist attacks often dominate news coverage as journalists seek data from the public. Not all incidents are given equal attention however. The disparities in media coverage of assaults based on the religion of the perpetrator may explain why the public tends to fear the Muslim terrorist while ignoring other threats. More representative coverage could assist bring the perception of the public into line with reality.

Violence, as the saying goes, engenders violence. Emerging evidence indicates that even violence reporting may cause further assaults or attacks. Ibrahim and Mukhtar (2017) discovered that more such acts are committed as a consequence of sensationalist media reportage which is attributed to these of terrorism.

Reports published in the New York Times starting from the year 1970 to the year 2012 show that Safdar and Budiman (2018) assessed more than 60,000 terror attacks over that period of time. The research observed that the world has undergone an appalling, exponential rise in the number of terrorist attacks over the previous 15 years. In 1998, the Global Terrorism Database identified 1,395 attacks, a figure that since then has continuously risen to a record high of 8,441 in 2012. Over the previous 15 years, the

total amount of victims of terrorist attacks has risen from 3,387 to 15,396. At the same moment, more and more terrorist groups have tried to use the media to encourage their agenda (Stickel, 2016).

The group has been transformed into a worldwide feared faction of terrorists courtesy of the video recordings of beheadings which they film and gets them published on the internet. But media has faced a lot questions as to how much advertising oxygen should be given to such terrorist organizations. Extensive media attention is received by terrorist organizations, Iqbal (2015) observed.

Whether it's the Taliban, Al-Qaeda, Boko Haram, or lately ISIS, on TV stations, magazines, and radio, terrorism is everywhere. We also understand that for them to put across their message, generate apprehension and recruit supporters, terrorists need press coverage. We have not yet known, though, whether media attention is actively encouraging terrorist attacks. This document uses an empirical methodology to provide a response to that issue (Ibrahim & Mukhtar, 2017).

The study builds on other economist's previous study that indicates terrorism causes media attention and vice versa, leading to a spiral of inflation. According to Ezeah and Emmanuel (2016), an extra paper in the New York Times about an attack in a specific nation boosted the amount of subsequent attacks in the same nation by between 11% and 15%. The survey calculated on average that an extra New York Times post appears to result from another terrorist attack within the following week between causing one or two deaths. It has been discovered that various kinds of terrorist activity have distinct media effects.

Laster, and Erez, (2015) discovered that suicide attacks receive considerably more press coverage of which he feels should explain why terrorist organizations prefer employing them for speedy popularity.

Odu and Aluko (2016) discovered less attention to assaults in nations farther away from the United States. Significantly, Galloway (2016) found that the media attention to a terrorist attack predicted both the probability of another strike within seven days in the impacted nation and a decreased interval until the next attack. The results raise the issue of whether restricting the reporting of terrorist acts would lead to a decrease in attacks.

Richards and Brown, (2017) noted that 42 individuals die every day as a result of terrorist attacks, opposed to 7,123 kids who die as a result of hunger. Axford, (2017) indicated that we may need to rethink terrorism's sensational coverage and stop offering a free press platform for terrorists. The research also observed that media coverage of other occurrences that cause more damage in the globe should not be overlooked to the detriment of media marathons debating terrorists' cruelties.

Recent in history, the previous decade in particular, has given many examples of the mutually beneficial symbiotic relationship between terrorist organizations and the media (Mohamed, 2017). As some notable terrorist attacks in history show, whether in the U.S., Europe, or the Middle East, it is largely the case that terrorist architects exploit the media to the advantage of their operational efficiency, information gathering, recruitment, fund raising, and propaganda systems (Lim, 2016).

According to Dwivedi, Singh, Partlow and Sharma, (2018), whether it is the comparatively inconsistent arson by an amateur environmental group or mass attacks by a terrorist network, the media-related goals of the perpetrators are the similar: recognition, attention and perhaps even a degree of respect and legitimacy from their different audiences (Mulherin & Isakhan, 2019).

In exchange, media gets the public's attention that is essential to its life and advantages from high sales and vast audiences. To explicate it in simple terms, just as terrorism must be broadcasted intensively and extensively in order to have an impact (Allan & Peters, 2015); the press must cover the events in such a manner as to profit from the public's keenness to acquire facts on terror attacks. Therefore, it is reasonable to argue that a symbiotic connection exists between terrorism and the contemporary media.

Ellis, Smith, Bakker, Roy, Palombi, Pantucci and Gomis (2016) explain the symbiosis type of a relationship which exists between media and terrorism. They came to a conclusion that without the coverage of the media, the impact of the act is arguably wasted, remaining narrowly confined to the immediate victim(s) of the attack, rather than reaching the wider target audience to which the violence of terrorists is actually aimed. (Udeze & Chukwuma, 2016) claimed in a comparable argument that terrorists are mainly interested in the crowd, not the victims, and stresses that how the audience reacts is as crucial as the act itself.

Accordingly, one of the main objectives of terrorists is to gain media, domestic and foreign publics, and decision-makers in a state. To this end, in order to provide the finest press coverage, terrorists thoroughly pick the areas where they carry out their assaults.

As will be discussed in more detail later, the obvious example is the 9/11 attacks in the US, where the story was immediately covered by a wide variety of media. Not only were the media capable of capturing this incredibly visual attack, but the people who were both residents and tourists in New York City were also able to document this event with pictures, videos and personal stories (Ronczkowski, 2017).

Indeed, terrorists' objectives are not restricted exclusively to win the masses attention. They also aim at publicizing their political causes through the press, informing both friends and enemies about the reasons for terrorist acts, and explaining their rationale for using violence (Ayalon, Popovich and Yarchi, 2016). They also strive to be treated as periodic, acknowledged, legitimate world rulers, as they are given a comparable status by the media. That is to say, the media works as an instrument for terrorists to reduce the asymmetry of authority between them and the entity they are fighting in real and ideological warfare, generate an atmosphere of fear and suspicion, legitimize their actions, and reach a wider audience. Because of these motives, terrorists are likely to carry out their attacks employing strategy and rationality and in complete knowledge of the media coverage impact on nearly every section of a community and public officials at nearly every level.

In order to demonstrate this, Amirault and Bouchard, (2017) observed that Al-Qaeda is continuously at war and that more than half of that war happens in the media's battlefield. Al-Qaeda is engaged in a media battle for the public's hearts and minds. The means of communication for terrorists differ significantly.

Indeed, technological advances and altering audience conduct over the previous century have made it possible for terrorist groups to use more convenient media instruments. Specifically in the years succeeding the destruction of the wall of Berlin and the crumbling of the USSR, media communication platform has been transformed and changed dramatically, mostly due to the global reach of the Internet and cell phones (Simons, 2016).

Official media was substituted by the Internet, which ultimately is much easier to use, much faster and much more efficiently (Asal and Hoffman 2016). In other words, the Internet has probably taken over the position of print media in the terrorist sector as for the first time in history, terrorists can bring whatever message and pictures they choose to directly reach the worldwide internet platform (Marthoz, 2017). As their messages and narratives reach the general public through either the old media or the new media, terrorists specifically use advertisements in their recruitment attempts. In short, the Internet has evidently enlarged the reach of terrorists' propaganda and activity and became a perfect tool for terrorists to advance their operational objectives with little expense and risk.

Despite this, there should be no underestimation of the strength of other types of media and techniques for instance video, audio cassettes, DVDs, video games, popular music, as well as novels. Terrorists usually adopt the recent data, pursue the recent technological advances to be innovative and use the recent communication techniques; however, it does not necessarily show an absolute change from ancient techniques and trends, as, for example, some terrorist organizations still depend on Hawala, the

unofficial network of cash exchanges dating back to many years unto this date (Kılıçlar, Uşaklı, & Tayfun, 2018).

Yesil (2016) proposed that terrorists require mass media for their cause to access free advertising, convey their messages, and gain assistance, recognition, and being legitimate. Given emerging media and communications technology trends, terrorists are likely to use more innovative tactics to accomplish their objectives.

Terrorism is an appealing plus point for media reportage according to Horgan, Shortland, Abbasciano and Walsh (2016) primarily because terrorist attacks cause viewer ratings to rise and revenues to rise. More specifically, terrorism has many aspects that make it a very appealing media topic, as it has the components of drama, the aspect of danger, floods of blood, human suffering and tragedy, tales of miracles, sights of heroes, horrendous and shocking footage, and a lot of action.

Also, the portion of the reason why the media is that in the context of terrorism, irresponsible and excessively profitable is that a significant amount of top media managers today come from the corporate globe, but not from the ranks of reporters (Python, Illian, Jones-Todd & Blangiardo, 2016).

The issue is not why the media reports on terrorism, but how the press reports on terrorism. It is largely the case that the media cover terrorist acts by writing sensation-seeking, broadening anecdotal narratives, particularly about who is to blame, repeating the same pictures over and over again, separating the implications of disasters for physical and mental health, and establishing fresh syndromes (Al-Rawi, 2018).

Moreover, the media scares the audience by sensationalizing threat as was the case in the United States 9/11 attacks where the media repeatedly kept on showing nonstop combat scenes footage.

Sela-Shayovitz (2015) observed that fear politics is a dominant motive peddled in contemporary news and the public is largely absorbed in western oriented culture. Moreover, news on terrorism which are being constantly broadcasted are related within this framework to stories of victimization that make crime, risk, and fear very appropriate to day to day experiences.

For one to comprehend how the media portrays terrorists and reports related news and stories, the platform that the media employs should be looked at more closely. The media utilizes the setting and framing of the agenda to highlight and make some problems more prominent than others. Agenda setting is the theory that that is premised on the basis that the more attention a media outlet pays to a particular phenomenon the greater the public's attention to such a problem.

On the other hand, framing selects certain aspects of a perceived reality and makes them more prominent in a communicating text in order to prop up a specific problem definition, interpretation, moral assessment and treatment recommendation for the described phenomenon (Wolfsfeld, 2018). Thus, the words and pictures that make up the framework can be differentiated from the rest of the media by their ability to encourage either sides' assistance or opposition in a political dispute (Schils & Pauwels, 2016).

In the same vein, the press covered the September 11 2001 attacks so promptly to the extent of giving prominence to the death of thousands of people in an act of war against America through its lens, the cause was terrorists, and the solution rapidly became a strong response in terms of military action against the perpetrators of the deadly attacks on the American soil (Ewart, Cherney & Murphy, 2017). As both instances point out, the rhetoric of the media, its bias towards certain communities, and the framing of certain ethnic or religious groups as terrorists, and occurrences as acts of terrorism, can negatively affect public perception.

Mass media is actually profiting from the drama which terrorism is creating through covering the subject in a sensational manner (Agara, 2015). However, by using the above-mentioned approach, the media can serve terrorists interests directly or indirectly by simplifying the viewer's narratives to the extent that it has little to do with the real occurrences. They may also be served by repeating the traumatic scenes and stories, as the terrorists' objective is to get a lot of coverage by the media as often and as long as possible. Moreover, the bias and obsession with sensationalism in the media can assist them get the upper hand in using media as an instrument to generate an environment and eventually the politics of fear as well as to generate mature circumstances for propaganda and recruitment after any terrorist attack.

In view of this kind of a scenario, it can be asserted that the terrorists' goals and objectives are extremely linked to setting and framing the agenda, and that the media coverage of news and stories has a vital effect on how terrorists communicate, perform their terror attacks, and gain a foothold in the daily life of the anxious audience.

Terrorists know the kind of system behind the press, the more coverage they can get and put further measures in place while planning as they seek to get opportunity to demonstrate their capacity to strike targets.

The 9/11 attacks on New York's World Trade Center building and the Pentagon were shocking worldwide media incidents that dominated government and generally public attention and triggered discourse around the security of citizens against terrorism (Mesjasz, 2015). It is obvious that, terrorists were conscious that attacking symbolic objectives in the US, killing thousands of people, and causing tremendous harm to the USA and international economy as well as the USA image and this happened through sensational news broadcasted all round the world (O'Halloran, Tan, Wignell, Bateman, Pham, Grossman & Moere, 2019).

The media reaction in the U.S. has often been far from goal by being irresponsible and imprudent. Instead of observing the professional ethics as stipulated in the media act, media organs broadcasted hate thus invoking feelings of hysteria in their audience, calling for action as terrorists would have intended, against mostly people who hail from the Arab world and people who profess the Islamic faith weeping for vengeance. Majority of mainstream press were seen to be promoting the discourse of patriotism and practices which characterized President George W. Bush who purportedly led the country against the forces of political and social evil (Moghadam, 2017). Following a traumatic event, this way of media coverage has dramatically altered public attitudes, discourse at government and public level, and how individuals perceive events and other individuals, especially religious and ethnic minorities that can be viewed as a threat.

Consequently, Knott and Poole (2016) argued that, the discourse of fear was built through news and accounts of popular culture, and in the post 9/11 era, the primary discourse of fear obviously became terrorism. In other words, the press and politicians used 9/11 to encourage varied agenda and ideologies linked to fear. Police officers have become accustomed to security rhetoric, often requiring them to undertake police searches, condone over-aggressive police intervention and join a multitude of crime-prevention attempts, many of which involve more human and electronic monitoring of workplaces, neighborhoods, shops, as well as individuals (Bjørngo, 2016).

The 9/11 attack architects realized their media-centered goals in the sense that the media continuously conveyed messages which implied that even the USA was vulnerable to terror attacks, that terrorists could cause great harm, and that any nation could be subjected to a deadly terror attack at any time. They also managed to plunge the U.S. government into worldwide information warfare to support U.S. interests, values, and image.

Terrorists clearly knew how their attacks would generate sensational news; however, the way media covered news and stories made it possible for terrorists to achieve an unimaginable win in terms of penetrating an enormous audience's daily life (Jackson, & Hall (2016). They attracted worldwide attention, gained worldwide recognition, earned immense respect from sympathizers, gained credibility in the eyes of followers and prospective recruits through the media's fear narrative.

2.2 Effects of Media Reportage on Terrorist Activities

The creation of fear is a cherished psychological effect which terrorists seek to ultimately achieve on the general public in furtherance of their selfish political agenda. Their political agenda of discrediting the government in place in the eyes of its citizens can only be achieved through instigation of terror attacks on the general public so as to cast the government in bad light with regard to failure to protect their citizens. Caruthers (2011) noted that the aim of terrorism is to shape an audience whom they can manipulate to give them bargaining power such that they are able to put a lot of pressure on governments hence forcing them to give in to the terrorists' demands because of fear.

Once the media fall for the terrorists trap, the relationship between terrorism and the media develop hence aiding the terrorists achieve the effects they want to have on the audience which is usually a stark contrast to conventional warfare where the immediate physical targets of violence are less consequential than the message being transmitted as a result of the attack Caruthers (2011). This ensures that the effects caused by the terrorist attack are loud and clear as well as the messages have a long lasting effect on the population.

On the contrary, opposite effects can be witnessed where media's coverage of a terrorist act justifies the act against a repressive regime. A regime which oppresses its citizens will more often than not be seen as oppressive by its citizens who will support acts of violent extremism so as to try and weaken or even topple the regime. When the regimes that terrorists are engaging war with practice the acts of infringing on peoples' rights, terrorists may take opportunity to use such situations to lure the general population onto

their side in the pretext that they will agitate for the peoples' rights. This can easily influence the population to believe in the cause being agitated for by the terrorists. Acts of infringing on human rights will expose the dark side of states hence eliciting negative constructs from the people towards their governments (Paletz & Schmid, 1992).

The unsuspecting media in their broadcasting may be fall victim of terrorists by advancing their agenda of spreading the effect of fear in the public and glorying in the constant media coverage. For the media to implement the idea of self-censorship would mean that they have been defeat. The element of fear once inculcated in the public may lead to erosion of hard-won freedoms thus; defeating the fear can lead to the reclamation of hard-won freedoms and eventually reduce the variation between dictatorships (Paletz & Schmid, 1992).

Globally the media is taken out to be the central tool of socialization of community members Isaak (1981:216) noted that grown up members' of society attitudes are mostly shaped by the kind of media which they consume e.g. the newspapers they read, the kind of TV they watch and the news radio they listen to. The point is that if the media have a perspective and this has a bearing on the mass public who eventually and naturally come to have the same perspective.

McQuail (1987) further corroborated that evidence suggests that people often think about what they are told by the media. The media has that powerful effect of shaping the audience's thinking through the different media frames, the priming they attach to their broadcasts so as to ultimately set public agenda.

Terrorist groups forever pursue the goal of demoralizing the enemy as they motivate their supporters or the fighters of their terrorist groups. These are psychological goals which every other political organization pursues. However, it is important to note those terrorist groups pursue these psychological goals aggressively until in most cases resorting to the use of deadly force to achieve these goals. It is through intense and extensive publicizing that these terrorist groups seek to achieve these psychological goals. It therefore remains to the discretion of the mass media to broadcast these acts of violence or censor them by limiting the reportage after thorough research on what the motivation of the act of violence is or was so as to foster understanding among the citizens. The citizens should be made to understand the message being passed across by terrorists and why it contravenes the government's perspective (Paletz & Schmid, 1992).

Past research studies indicate that the media is a vital component for the terrorists to perpetuate and spread fear onto large audiences than the small group of victims of a terrorist act. It is a special means of attracting and maintaining the audience's attention and consequently passing over the messages of the terrorists group. Therefore the most important goal of terrorists is not just to kill and maim the target but rather to disseminate the terse messages of terror, anxiety and uncertainty among the audience as well as the spread of the group's messages through the newsworthiness of the violent terrorists' actions. In this case, a scholar or researcher may conclude that the media play accomplices to the terrorists groups' acts of terror (Schmid, 1989) or even their best companion or friend (Hoffman 2006: 183) as it does provide the oxygen of publicity which the terrorists crave for according to remarks made by Margaret Thatcher the former Prime Minister of Britain (Wilkinson, 2000).

Professor of Law Michelle Ghatti, did take note that the modern terrorist is a creation of the media. Ideally what the media does is to enlarge and broaden the terrorists' dimension beyond what it really is. Television brings everyone in the audience into the scene of terrorism rendering them helpless hence unable to chart their independent path out of the scene hence engendering the feelings of anxiousness and fearfulness which are tools of the terrorists' instruments of repression to coerce the public to conform to their narrative which they drive. The public anxiety augments the perceived influence of the terrorist in his own eyes as well as the eyes of the peer groups and the rest of the audience. This enhanced authority often replicates itself and the cycle repeats itself (Michelle, 2008).

In 2007, the retired Chief of the Kenya defense Forces – General Karangi attended a round table meeting which sought to review the role of media in the efforts of reportage of terrorism. He recommended that the media should not magnify the threat as this will offer advantage to the terrorist groups to cause more fear and anxiety in the general population. The media instead should work towards propping the security agencies' efforts and strategies to counter terrorism. Once media does this, the fear and anxiety will be allayed, eventually the terrorist activities will be managed (Coastweek.com).

The current mass media is said to be the principal conduit of terrorist messages hence playing a critical role in establishing the terrorists' calculus. Basically, without the much dedicated media reportage, the act of terror may go unnoticed and be narrowly confined to the context of the victims of the attack thus reducing the impact rather than spreading out to a wider targeted audience to whom the violence is actually aimed at. It is only

through the widespread messages facilitated by the media that large audiences are reached thereby giving the terrorists a leverage and projection of their image into the large global audience which they usually seek for in order to communicate the intended message on the need for change of government or change of course of the politics of the country (Hoffman, 2006).

Extensive research into effects of terrorism has clearly indicated that terrorist attacks induce fear in the communities (Sixth Framework Program, 2008). Therefore, of criticality is an understanding that the ultimate aim and objective being championed by terrorists is not necessarily to kill as many people as they can but rather influence and shape public agenda with regard to how legitimate the cause of which they are agitating for is. To implement this successfully, terrorists crave the media so that their acts, deeds and events as well as their political messages are broadcasted to their audience (Sixth Framework Program, 2008).

Terrorists are considered as people with political ideas which are in contention with the mainstream political views and they often think that their views are mostly ignored by government, media and the public in general. Therefore, terrorists feel that for their concerns and ideas to be heard by the government, the public and the media, they have to commit acts of violence. These acts of political violence are organized and executed spectacularly and dramatically to draw sustained attention of each and everyone in the vicinity. Terrorists with reasonably high expectations look forward to seeing their political messages and acts of violence reported in the media (Nacos, 2002). Paletz and Schmid in the book 'Terrorism and the Media' have discussed in great detail on the

specific political message that the terrorists want to pass across to their target audience (Paletz & Schmid 1992).

The first goal which the terrorists always go out to achieve is in relation to the demonstration of their group's strength while exposing the weaknesses and frailties of the governing authorities (Paletz & Schmid, 1992; Shuaibi, 2015).

In other words, these terrorist groups want to express how powerful they are while projecting a less powerful and vulnerable opponent. They ensure this happens by subjecting governments to embarrassment through showing the public that the authorities they are loyal to are after all weak and not as powerful as it may be presumed. The much they succeed is mainly dependent upon the extent to which they get media coverage for their causes. The intense the reportage they get with regard to their acts of violence, the more the motivation to plan, launch or execute further attacks so as to pressure the government to give in to their political demands (Paletz & Schmid, 1992).

Terrorists prop up the narrative that their attacks are justified and indispensable therefore heroic. This is because they portray themselves as fighters for justice against the oppression of the public by governments. Without the employment of violence terrorism to communicate their political messages will not exist simply because there will not be attention to their actions. They strongly drive a narrative that the kind of violent acts which they participate in are the only means which they can employ towards being listened to by governments rather than these acts just being mere acts of killing and maiming civilians. The sole technique which is meant to help them succeed in their

agenda is through the use of the press to pass their messages across (Paletz & Schmid, 1992).

According to Barnhurst (1991), there exist two models which are dedicated to describing the relationship between the mass media and terrorism. The culpable-media model is the first among these models and it postulates that, the media complete a vicious cycle. While broadcasting the messages on terrorist attack as news, they play a part in the process of enhancing terrorism. They indirectly assist the terrorists achieve their objectives thus carry out more attacks so as to sustain their continued presence in the headlines. In short, the media is thought to be the cause of terrorism.

The second model discussed is called the vulnerable media model which projects the media as a victim of terrorism activities rather than a cause. In this model, Barnhurst postulates that, though the media could theoretically stop covering terrorism this may not be enough to stop or bring to its end terrorism. It is logical to think that terrorists must not rely only on one media to pass over their political messages. This is because of the emergence of new media and terrorists can exploit any – online media, social media, tabloids etc (Barnhurst, 1991).

Media compete to be the first one to break news to the public. So as to gain large numbers of viewership and this translates to high profit margins. This implies that each and every radio station, newspaper or television will constantly struggle to be the first one to be the source of news items which will improve the numbers watching, listening or reading their news (Glüpker, 2008). This is as a result of the ever increasing competition in media houses to report news as promptly as they break (Kushner, 2000).

Well, due to the tight competition to break the news to the audience, the journalists might end up misrepresenting facts which bears enormous consequences as a result of wrong interpretations which will be attributed to the wrong information given unto the public.

Terrorism tries to use the media in three ways to achieve its objectives. Firstly, terrorism attempts to draw the public's attention towards its dramatic and horrific activities, secondly, it seeks for sympathy for its cause and thirdly, terrorism aims at spreading anxiety and terror in the general public and thereby effect political change. Out of these three strategies only two are generally successful.

Anonymous messages of threatening highly placed government officials that they would be killed were sent from Boko Haram leaders through the Nigerian media. Once these names were broadcasted, sent fears in the minds of those associated with the names and the public at large. There was a general concern from all quarters as to why the Nigerian media was doing that. The public and the government thought that the media was indirectly aiding the terrorists in executing their acts of violence. Nacos (2000) observed that with intensive and extensive news coverage the terrorist acts would be likened to the proverbial tree falling in the forest- a tree falling in the middle of many trees would not make any difference because there are many other trees around and so there will be no difference to notice that a tree has fallen. This proverb is meant to bring out the meaning that if the terrorists committed their acts of terrorism and not much attention is paid to them by media, then it would go unnoticed.

In Nigeria, the kidnapping incidents reported by media each moment have become a worrying scenario. The Kidnappers are using the media to instill fear in the general public with an aim of driving some political agenda (Chika, Iyere & Attah, 2012). While the media dedicates sustained and sensational reportage of these kidnappings, it gave the kidnapping gangs got mileage in these kind of coverage. Through the mass media the kidnappers know the efforts the law enforcement agents are making to smoke them out from their hideouts. With this knowledge in the mind of these terrorists, these criminals would think of change of strategy and locations thus putting victims of these acts in a precarious position which could lead to death or serious harm.

Once the media decides to project news by making them appear more salient than others then this is what is referred to as priming occurs whereby viewers are guided towards a particular way of thinking about an issue.

Miller and Krosnick (2000) observed that viewers depend largely on the mass media to get information regarding social, political and economic matters. When the media provides prominence to some news over others the audience considers the news given more prominence as weighty matters due to the precious time dedicated to the broadcasts. The audience tends to think that simply because the mass media has devoted its precious time and space to an issue, it must be an important issue. This makes the audience keep considering the matter and develop their varied attitudes around the subject matter.

A lot of public attention is drawn by media the way media content is relayed and packaged especially when the content is on terrorism. The media could be genuinely informing the public through content published in the dailies and radio as well as TV broadcasts on daily occurrences but on the other hand they could be propelling the terrorists agenda through the continued and sustained coverage of the phenomenon. With most of the stories packaged in news form, this draws a lot of attention to the phenomenon of terrorism (Kiarie & Mogambi, 2017).

Altheide (2007) asserts that by media stressing on terror news and airing them constantly casting a picture of an uncertain future promotes terror. Journalists should be careful on the kind of words they use while broadcasting news so as to avoid fuelling more violent acts of terror. Journalists should avoid words and phrases like “fear reigned everywhere following the terror attack...” Such words and phrases express an individual opinion to fuel the emotion of fear amongst the audience. Various journalists who write on terrorism have expressed their opinion that it is not a crime for journalists to express their opinions on various events they report on, however, it is a responsibility of the individual reader, consumer of the news or audience to discern and be able to tell the difference between news which are expressing facts and those materials which express an individual’s opinion or interpretation of news events.

A scholar by the name Streckfuss remarked that the idea of objectivity came into realization not because of the naivety of humans being objective but rather that these very humans could not be objective a times. Once a journalist gives a news story based on his or her own opinions then the journalist is thought of as being subjective or biased.

However, if a journalist presents a news story based on facts, then he is considered objective and impartial. A news story which is considered impartial is also considered balanced (Streckfuss, 1990).

Bilgen (2012) asserts the fact that the media should be allowed freedom to present both sides of the story to their audience in an objective way without bias so that the audience itself is able to make own judgment about the news without the media's influence. He further says that the media coverage of success stories should be balanced with the coverage of failure stories without speculation and dramatization such that it adds to the integrity of the source and public order in the aftermath of an attack.

On September 21, 2013, just a day after the terrorist attack on the Westgate mall in Kenya, the Sunday Nation splashed a photo of a bloodied victim which not only drew anger and widespread condemnation and demanded an apology to the country and the victim's family. Unknown to the newspaper, the victim had subsequently died and the image had greatly been celebrated within the terror circles. Notable in the subsequent apology by the management of the media group was the fact that the paper never intended to glorify the terrorist's acts, which inevitably had happened.

This use of images, especially, has been critical in the Al-Shabaab's propaganda war. The killings in Mandera, again, witnessed the use of victim's pictures in the mainstream newspapers and in television broadcasts. But while these are some of the reports after the terrorist's acts, the use of television images and reporting on terror related activities has raised even more questions with regard to the facilitative role that the press plays in promoting the acts of terrorism (Wanjiru, 2016).

There exists a baffling question bordering on the amount of coverage a terrorist group receives and the corresponding motivation to carry out further attacks. It is argued that the more the coverage and exposure the terrorist groups receive, the more they get motivated to arrange and execute further attacks. Therefore, if the terrorists aim at maximizing their access and stay on the headlines, then it is important for the media to understand this and limit the kind of coverage which will make them achieve their objectives; that a group is covered more when immediately preceding coverage has been high (Jetta, 2017).

Once the a terrorist group realizes that it is continuously on the news, the group will be encouraged to conduct further terrorist attacks in the hope that they will receive more news coverage which correspond to the number and intensity of the acts of violence they conduct which will eventually translate to a wide range of viewership. One may wonder as to why that is the case. But in practical terms, reporters and journalists as well as audiences may already be aware of what the agenda of the terrorist group is and their recent operations which will guide subsequent coverage of their news. Generally, a number of media organizations follow a certain reportage trajectory depending on the agenda they want to set. A situation where if a story is already in the media limelight then there is a likelihood of escalating further reportage of the story (Jetta, 2017).

The profession of media is a discipline that is governed by ethics – be it professionals from the new or old media, all are bound to play or operate within these ethical values. Much as the quick you report it, the more the views or circulation, the journalists must do this within the confines of the ethical values charged to their profession. Far and

wide, this act of breaking news should be done professionally whether the journalists' sources are net citizens or eye witnesses, all this news must be verified before airing them to the audience (Media Council of Kenya and International Media Support, 2016).

An example of where the Kenyan media amplified the terrorists' agenda is when Sunday Nation, a Kenyan publication and East Africa's largest circulating Sunday newspaper, splashed on its headlines what it described as Al-Shabaab's intended attack on Kenyan parliament on March 1, 2015. The published story went on revealing and delving into details on how the terrorists intended to undertake an attack, their number and how previous attempts had been foiled. Scholars argue that this kind of reporting, especially when such attacks have been foiled, and repetition of previous attacks, or attempts inevitably works to amplify and actualize some of the objectives of the terrorists organizations and organizers. Thus, such reporting, oblivious of terrorists' values and norms only aims at enabling actualization of their agenda which is either physical or psychological attack (Rumsfeld, 2006).

The ISIS' communications strategy of choice happens to be the use of violence which is then highly publicized in the media. The national and international media fall for the trap in the sense that as they seek to inform their audience, they indirectly assist the terrorists pass across their political messages. The manner and the language with which the media broadcasts this news add fuel to fire thus propelling the terrorists' agenda. The media has adopted a predictable pattern of coverage of deadly incidents that convey a message other than the intended one. This has the effect of encouraging terrorists to plan and carry out more deadly attacks (Rudoy, 2016).

It is arguable that press can certainly survive without terrorism but on the contrary terrorism cannot survive without the press. In other words, media does not require a situation whereby terrorists have to carry out attacks so as to broadcast them to gain profits as a result of high circulation and viewership. The media is not obliged to broadcast terrorism news so as to stay afloat but on the contrary, for terrorists to thrive, they need consistent, extensive and intensive reportage of their violent activities for them to remain relevant. Indeed, terrorists would not be in existence whatsoever in the minds of audiences if the press does not give them the kind of coverage they provide them with.

Modern media is regarded as the most effective tool that the terrorists use to pass across their political messages, results of their deadly attacks and ideologies to both their local and international audience. The media has made the terrorists look like heroes, feared and popular at the same time. The media is at home while reporting matters terrorism as they are newsworthy. International media are highly culpable as they daily take the public through horrific terrorist scenes in their news. News stations such as Aljazeera, BBC, CNN, press TV, Sky news, Reuters and many other media houses both and electronic broadcast on a daily basis news that bear terrorism content to their audience around the world (Rudoy, 2016).

Under the Agenda setting platform, news touching on violent crime as well as terrorism is given the front pages or the headlines during prime time when most viewers are watching. The sustained media coverage on terrorism will in a limited extent change the perspective of the public on terrorists but in some instances it influences negatively the

public depending on individuals' interpretation of the news. This kind of journalism will firstly, expand personal perception about the hazards of terrorism on individuals which will result in reduction in number of travels and tourism turnover. Secondly, it results into an increase in pressure on governments in catastrophic situations caused by terrorist threats (Rudoy, 2016).

Journalists must closely and strictly guard against loss of their media credibility during conflict because it is everything. If it is dented in any way, then the journalists should as well stop doing their jobs because none of their audience will believe them. Credibility is earned over time and therefore should be jealously guarded and maintained. The media ought to insist on accuracy of news, observe impartiality and ensure freedom with responsibility while reporting. The journalists should be made to understand of the powerful position the media occupies in society and the inherent power that comes with the job they do (MCK and IMS, 2016).

Journalists play very central roles in the media industry. Journalists perform the following functions among many others: collecting news, processing the news, presenting the news. But among the most important roles that journalists play is the role of verifying the news before presenting them. It will be a grave mistake for the journalists to report news which are in contention or which contradict the facts as they are on the ground. It is very dangerous to broadcast rumours as news. American journalists and authors of *The Elements of Journalism*, Bill Kovach and Tom Rosenstiel (Media Council of Kenya & International Media Support, 2016) put it plainly in their own words that the discipline of verification is what separates journalism from

entertainment, propaganda, fiction, or art. That Journalism focuses first on getting what happened down right.

The media should not engage in live reportage of terrorist incidents that include kidnapping or taking of victims of terrorism hostage. This is in order not to jeopardize human life and not to impede a government's attempts to rescue the hostages. This is not to say that the media should not cover such incidents. Rather, there should be a delay of a few minutes during which an experienced editor inspects the coverage and authorizes what should be on air and what should not, as was the case when hostages were released from the Iranian embassy in London in 1980 (Media Council of Kenya and International Media Support, 2016).

While professional journalistic ethics require that journalists practice fairness and accurately report the facts, it should be noted that the press can provide a forum to seek alternatives to armed conflict through peaceful means in a society riddled with conflict. Such situations call for the media to report the news in a fashion that will generate peace centered public opinion (Wanjiru, 2016). The media must deliver the news on the conflict in question from a historical and social perspective that will ultimately give a deep understanding of the issues at play. Under no circumstances should the media churn out propaganda or partial information as this would undermine attempts at peace building. Purposeful discussions on electronic media that offer insights from different angles and in depth as well as though provoking editorials and stories in the print media would suffice in situations of armed conflict and terrorism.

As an agent of global socialization, the media does a great deal of shaping the audience or society's attitudes. Isaak (1981) noted that adult attitudes toward most issues are the result mainly of both print media and electronic media reports. The point is that if the media have a certain perspective about a certain social issue, the mass public will naturally come to have the same perspective (McQuail, 1987) further argued that evidence strongly suggests that more often than not the masses or the public think about what they are told by the media. In other word, the media decides on the agenda that the public should think about.

The main goal or aim terrorists seek to achieve through attacks is to maximize their publicity so as to enable them create fear and panic effect on the public. Caruthers (2011) posits that the aim of terrorism is to shape an audience whom they can manipulate to give them bargaining power such that they are able to put a lot of pressure on governments hence forcing them to give in to the terrorists' demands because of fear. In the event that the media fall for the terrorists trap, the relationship between terrorism and the media develop hence aiding the terrorists achieve the effects they want to have on the audience which is usually a stark contrast to conventional warfare where the immediate physical targets of violence are less consequential than the message being transmitted as a result of the attack Caruthers (2011). This ensures that the effects caused by the terrorist attack are loud and clear as well as the messages have a long lasting effect on the population.

Customarily, all scientific research conducted on terrorism regarded the press as a central tool which propels the media into the limelight. This is simply because of the belief that the media is capable of spreading fear and communicate terror to reach a wider array of audiences which goes beyond the few victims who fall by the way side of a terrorist attack. The press is able to provide a platform on which the attention of the audience is drawn and sustained by the media messages on terrorism. Therefore, the aim of the terrorists' acts is not just to kill civilians but rather pass a particular message to the wider audience. The terrorists are so much concerned with how their messages meant to create uncertainty and anxiety gets passed effectively to their target audience due to their newsworthiness as a result of the committed act of violence. Here a researcher may consider the press to be aiding terrorists achieve their agenda (Schmid, 1989) portrays the media as the terrorists' best friend (Hoffman 2006) as it provides terrorists with the oxygen of publicity (Wilkinson, 2000).

The Guardian Newspaper carried a story on a senior CNN executive who took a flight to the Capital City Nairobi, Kenya to deliver an apology from the CNN media house in the U.S over remarks that Kenya is a hotbed of terrorism just a few days before the state visit of the 44th President of the U.S Barrack Obama. The media has a leeway to make some matters salient than others; therefore priming of news will give viewers or listeners guidance on what to think about the matter at hand (English, 2017). This clearly shows how powerful the media can get. However, they have to be careful on what aspects of their messages need priming otherwise these messages will boomerang.

Notable in the subsequent apology by the management of the media group was the fact that the paper never intended to glorify the terrorist's acts, which inevitably had happened. This use of images, especially, has been critical in the Al-Shabaab's propaganda war. The killings in Mandera, again, witnessed the use of victim's pictures in the mainstream newspapers and in television broadcasts. But while these are some of the reports after the terrorist's acts, the use of television images and reporting on terror related activities has raised even more questions on the enabling role of mass media in promotion of terrorism (Wanjiru, 2016).

Yanagizawa-Drott (2014) conducted a study on propaganda and conflict that resulted from Rwanda genocide. The study used distinctive village-level information set from the Rwandan genocide to assess the effect of a famous radio station promoting violence against the marginalized members of the Tutsi tribe. The results indicated that the broadcast had contributed towards encouraging participation in killings by both militia groups and average civilians. The findings showed that both militia groups and normal civilians had significant involvement in murders in the broadcast. Not only directly affecting conduct of the villages with radio reception, but also indirectly increasing involvement in nearby villages, the broadcasts increased militia violence.

Due to mass media influence on the militia attacks on the general population, spillover of violence was witnessed and the impact was massive. Research has proved that mass media directly due to exposure and indirectly due to social interactions can influence the public to get involved in perpetuating violence. Media broadcasts increased militia violence directly through influencing behavior in villages with good radio reception. In

fact, it is estimated that spillovers encouraged more violence in the militia than the direct effects.

Jetter (2017) investigated on terrorism and the media specifically on the effect of US television coverage on Al-Qaeda attacks. The findings indicate a positive and statistically strong impact of CNN, NBC, CBS, and Fox News coverage on subsequent Al-Qaeda attacks. In a 30-minute news section, a single moment of Al-Qaeda reportage creates an average of about one assault in the coming week, corresponding to 4.9 deaths. Media can play a crucial role in political conflict scenarios in its different forms. Coverage from radio, television and newspapers can spur or prevent political violence; it can be used as a propaganda instrument or merely as a megaphone to spread political messages across a wider audience.

Peisakhin and Rozenas (2018) investigated on electoral effects of unbalanced media reportage on Russia television in the republic of Ukraine. The study discovered that the use of television in the 2014 presidential and parliamentary elections significantly improved average electoral support for parties and candidates with a "Pro-Russian" inclination. Evidence indicates that persuasion rather than mobilization is attributable to this impact. The efficacy of biased media has risen in a politically guided manner among voters with powerful Pro-Russian inclination but has been less efficient and to some extent even counter-effective in persuading those with powerful Pro-Western priorities. Exposing an already divided community to a partial source of media can lead to even greater polarization.

Petrova, Yanagizawa-Drott (2016) investigated on persuasion of the media, ethnically sponsored hate, and large scale violence. Genocide is an intentional, purposeful and concentrated crime. In fact, of course, a terrorist's real probability of dying remains minimal and is approximately similar to the chances of drowning in one's own bath. A possibly causal link between press reportage and terrorism has been dedicated to less attention. In specific, by spreading their messages, generating fear in a target audience, and recruiting sympathizers, intensive media coverage could directly benefit a terrorist group.

Crabtree, Darmofal and Kern (2015) conducted a study on a spatial analysis of the effects of West German television with regard to mobilization of protests during the East German upheaval. Informational cascades play a central role in defeating collective action problems. The amount of terrorist attacks has risen globally with the emergence of the new millennium. The risk of terrorism has been increasingly worrying with the progress of technology, particularly as the internet has helped terrorists recruit fresh members, schedule their assaults, and amplify their emails. As all technology continues to develop, it is not hard to imagine how the new millennium's sophisticated information and technology could lead to more life threatening realities in today's world.

Warren (2015) investigated on mass media explosive connections and the geography of collective violence in African states. The study used geo-referenced household surveys in 24 African countries to assess sub-national variations in the spatial reach of radio and cellular communications infrastructure. The results shows that the geographic extent of mass media penetration produces significant pacifying impacts, while the extent of

social media penetration produces significant rises in collective violence, particularly in regions that lack access to mass media facilities. Growing evidence suggests that the spread of ICTs can significantly change the contours of collective violence in developing countries.

Fahmy (2017) while investigating on the media, terrorism and community point of view as well as the trends in the mass information age came to a conclusion that terrorist activities have been aiming for and take advantage of ideology and religion for the world community in favor of the claim that their struggle is justified. Terrorist attacks have a negative impact on the general population of subjecting them to distress, anxiety and fear. However, not all individuals are equally vulnerable or predisposed to the effects of the threat of terrorism. Radio broadcasts for instance may have played a critical role in the Nazis' triumph.

Danning (2018) conducted a study to try and establish whether Radio RTLM played a part to the Rwanda Genocide. Terrorist networks using social media covertly or openly and massively perform ideological campaigns. All societal systems seek for ethical and legal norms that fulfill the requirements for human survival without offending the significant ideological premises on which these respective cultures have come to rest. Therefore, while distinct social systems respond differently to terrorism according to their self-interest vision, no surviving society can be indifferent to the issues posed by terrorism.

Armand, Atwell and Gomes (2017) investigated on how radio communication leads to defection messaging and armed group behavior. Aggressive behaviours or violent actions rarely result from a single cause but rather, a multiple of factors converging over time contribute to such behavior. Accordingly, the mass media in its quest to broadcast violent news influences the viewers to engage in violent acts or sympathizing with terrorists. There has been a 35% increase in terrorist attacks across the world between 2013 and 2014, with the total number of innocent civilians murdered by terrorism rising by more than 80%.

Ekwueme and Obayi (2012) investigated on Boko Haram attacks in Nigeria towards effective mass media reaction. Boko Haram, the Islamic sect, has waged relentless war of attrition against Nigeria since 2009. Mostly government institutions, safety operatives, places of worship, markets, and the mass media have been assaulted by the sect. These attacks accounted for numerous fatalities and injuries to Nigerians, as well as destruction of millions worth of property. Many have voiced concern that, if not decisively controlled, the attacks could pose a serious threat to the country's stability, worsening the safety of life and property, as well as liberty of expression and other associated rights.

The propaganda activities of Al-Shabaab have concentrated on publicizing their operations, supporting their operational achievements, and criticizing Somalia's Federal Government and the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) as well as the West (Ingiriis, 2018). Twitter has fitted Al-Shabaab with an instrument for delivering 'sound bite' messages that the mainstream media can quickly pick up and share. Anzalone

(2016) states that the decision of the group to rebrand its press wing as the ‘Al-Kataib media foundation’ in 2010 enabled the branch to position itself as a news agency, targeting both followers and nations militarily engaged in Somalia e.g. Burundi, Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, and USA.

It should be observed in the context of East Africa that physical communication remains a significant way for people to interact with members of Al-Shabaab (Hennessy, Onguko, Harrison, Kiforo, Namalefe, Naseem & Wamakote, 2016). Somalia is a nation organized around clan membership and a segmented lineage model that includes powerful patrilineal ties and clan ties. The latter constitutes enforceable blood ties containing monetary compensation payable to the victim or victims' kids in instances of murder, bodily harm or damage to property. Al-Shabaab has frequently exploited these clan divisions to attract (often youthful) recruits and is deemed to be a factor in guiding people to cooperate or sympathize with the group’s activities.

In ISIS propaganda, women feature noticeably more than in past Islamic terror organizations' earlier content, and are also depicted very differently (Ali, 2015). In comparison between the propaganda techniques of ISIS and the techniques of the past terror groups, the Taliban, it is clear that unlike the Taliban, in their advertising, ISIS depends strongly on females.

A widespread internet presence is also an essential instrument for recruitment purposes. Controlling the information flow is nothing new, but the treatment of foreigners by ISIS and the attitude towards reporters is distinct from other terror organizations. Military regimes and terrorist organizations have frequently viewed the connection with a

journalist as one of mutual concern, and many, like the Taliban and Al Qaeda, have viewed collaboration with reporters as a helpful instrument for delivering their propaganda (Skillicorn, 2015).

This collaboration enabled them to create bonds with media staff and authors, allowing them to manipulate a degree of journalistic stories. Methods of cultivating impact with a journalist would include offering exclusive access to a particular region to the appropriate individual, or an interview of a desired topic. In exchange, they expect the journalist to write them a good piece while taking advantage of an opportunity to manipulate information in a story for their own benefit. In addition, integrated journalism often depicts a more humanistic and sobering coverage of the scenario. This policy is known by various names, but many authoritarian regimes around the cosmos still exercise it (Skillicorn, 2015).

The separate strategy of ISIS to exclude journalists from its arena to guarantee full control of information differs from the above scheme by forcing reporters to rely exclusively on propaganda from ISIS. As a consequence, through visiting Kurdish Iraq, many media organizations, reporters and scientists have developed fresh methods and techniques such as ISIS surveillance. The reality continues, however, that today global media is still partly dependent on the content supplied by propagandists from ISIS. Speckhard and Yayla (2017) argue that ISIS monitors the internet operations of individuals residing in their fields strictly. They monitor the outflow of any unwanted information from within their land effectively through this technique.

There is very restricted access to internet services for people in these fields, and even these are subject to rigorous regime control. According to Chuang, Candell, Ross, Beattie, Fang, Ren and Blanchard (2015), reports from individuals within ISIS fields indicate that surveillance cameras are installed around places of residence or stay, and ISIS officials are hacking into personal computers and investigating internet users' social media profiles. Any discrepancies are punishable, according to sources of resistance, and any violation of these rigid guidelines may result in the death penalty.

They have made their own propaganda techniques so as to be professional (Greene, 2015). They provide high-quality packaged, ready-to-publish content. Inside ISIS fields, they write and give daily life accounts, exclusive interviews and images, and guarantee that this information is dispersed through social media. A latest U.S. study found that the social media war is being won by ISIS. The Department of Internal State paints a dissimilar image of the Obama administration and its international allies' attempts to fight the advertising machines of the Islamic State.

Ali (2015) conducted a study on ISIS and propaganda to find out how ISIS exploits women. Through social media, ISIS grew from being an unidentified terror group to challenging world security over the period of a few months. It has created by itself as a self-declared caliphate in vast regions of Iraq and Syria, and many see it as a state. A particular interpretation of sharia law has been implemented by its rulers; one that is brutal, one-sided, and with little respect for human existence. Muslim scientists around the world disagree with this theological explanation and emphasize that the Quran or Hadith sentences adopted by ISIS are used without context to justify their law. The

group supports female and children's physical and sexual exploitation. They torture the unbelievers and kill them.

The Muslims that belong to other groups or who disagree with the description of faith by ISIS are considered outcasts and can be killed as such. This kind of act is done by ISIS in Allah's name. Half of the country's communities have been compelled to leave their homes in Syria today, while sectarian violence is part of daily life in Iraq, including regions not controlled by ISIS. The paradox remains that ISIS continues to effectively hire young individuals from all over the globe, despite their perceived violence. A latest UN study showed a rise in the number of foreigners joining the terror group, with 25,000 individuals coming from over 100 nations; of these 4,000 foreigners were recognized.

As its strength and impact grows, ISIS regulates a population of nearly 8 million individuals. Terror cells from neighboring nations like former members of Al Qaeda from nations like Afghanistan and Libya join ISIS. Boko Haram, a Nigerian terror group, also promised its loyalty to ISIS (Okoli & Iortyer, 2014). ISIS varies from any other previously emerging terror group. First, because of the reality that its objectives are not restricted to a particular area or region, the group presents a greater danger to other nations as it claims to be fighting to establish a new world order. Consequently, ISIS fighters belong to different nationalities. They come from different nations such as the United States, UK, Syria, Yemen and Norway.

Smith, Lachlan and Tamborini (2003) conducted a study on popular video games. They worked towards quantifying the presentation of violence and its context. To understand how media exposure can affect tolerance for other individuals and thoughts, they

underscore the potential significance of the model of instinctive morality examples. The writers report the effect of exposure to terrorist news on enhancing the salience of regard for power for example the respect for and respect to traditions and hierarchies, which in turn diminishes the desire to assist those related to a community not identified with the ISIS ideology.

Sikorski, Schmuck, Matthes and Binder (2017) take a look at news coverage on Islamist terrorism and ask questions whether news distinction i.e. explicitly distinguishing between Muslims and Muslim terrorists can elicit specific responses of fear. According to the intergroup threat hypothesis, the results of a controlled laboratory experiment reveal that uncensored terrorist news can have severe implications i.e. adverse perceptions of Muslims in particular. The writers indicate that such views could further ignite disputes between Muslims and non-Muslims or amongst groups. Highlighting the significance of clearly and explicitly distinguishing between news about Muslims and Muslim terrorists is one of the important outcomes of their analysis. News that has been censored and correctly attributed as well as researched, they argue, would result to an informed audience that is better educated and less hostile.

ISIS has an al-Hayat media centre; its logo is identical to that belonging to Al Jazeera. Al Hayat in Arabic means "life" and was founded in early 2014 (Macnair & Frank, 2017). Separate media divisions have been created in many of the towns under ISIS control, including Raqqa and Deir el Zoor in Syria, and Mosul, Diyala and Saladin in Iraq. Different departments manage the distinct regions of propaganda; for instance, while Al Furqan and Al Itisam provide visual content, Al Furqan deals with military

strength-showing content and then the Al Itisam handles matters on ceremonies as well as religion.

Accordingly, Islamic mythology, Dabiq is one of the group's most widely and extensively read online publications, named after a tiny site in Syria said to be the place of a historic fight. It is frequently published and interpreted to German, French and English, making it accessible to a broad ranging population globally. The language is well written and professional images are included.

The magazine is defined as visually pleasing and complex. Some of the authors in their media divisions are thought to be former reporters who once worked in towns now under ISIS control and were presented with two alternatives of working with ISIS or die. Lakomy (2018) ascertain that several Dabiq hard copy editions were marketed in paperback form on the Germany, France, Italy UK, and Spanish websites of global company Amazon. They have been withdrawn since then.

2.3 Challenges Media Faces in Reportage of Terrorist Activities

Acts of terror have alienated the youth and even the old from leading a normal life in Mandera County just like the rest of the country. Terrorism has made the County not gain much in development due to investors being scared from investing in the County (Business Daily, 2019).

It is important to reiterate the conflicts that exist between the media and the security agencies when there is a terrorist attack kind of a situation. Due to the long standing suspicions amongst the media and the security agencies that media are out to discredit

the security agencies and the security agencies are out to cover up their flaws. This has always been a bone of contention. Such incidents have been experienced in the recent past during the terrorist attacks on Westgate Mall in Nairobi, the attack on the Garissa University, in Lamu County at the border of Kenya and Somali and in Mombasa County several times (Media Council of Kenya and International Media Support, 2016).

In the recent past as experienced in the Westgate Mall attack, the Kenya Defense Forces accused the media of compromising the operation. The media while undertaking a live coverage of the operation indirectly aided the attackers. The media also did jeopardize the lives of the security officers and the victims through live coverage of the military operation revealing the military strategy towards defeating the terrorists and rescuing the victims of the attack (Media Council of Kenya and International Media Support, 2016).

While there are flaws in the way the media cover security undertakings which has contributed to lack of trust in the media from security agents, the tensions and conflicts can also be explained by the lack of understanding amongst security agencies on the role of media play in a democratic society and vice versa. If the media is not accorded the freedom to report then there is a likelihood of letting propaganda flourish. This again can lead to biased media coverage due to the lack of access to information that is provided, as well as direct threats against journalists who run the risk of imprisonment and restrictions of their rights (Media Council of Kenya and International Media Support, 2016).

It is always evident that, the media are the first to provide information or report on terrorist incidents once they take place. Media are more often than not the first source of information for citizens, well in advance and thereafter the public authorities are able to take up the communication. The aim of this kind of prompt communication is meant to help citizens and to ensure their wellbeing, in synchrony with or in parallel to the official services (police, crisis center among others). By their rigorous handling of information, their symbolic crisis management, their self-control, managing the gravity of the news and empathy, the media and especially TV news anchors can also reassure the public.

The tone of the news which the journalists present is important to help manage the public anxiety through the correct use or choice of words and images. The right tone once adopted will help reduce panic and also prevent retaliation against individuals or groups linked in the minds of the public to the perpetrators of the attacks. The press must act as a beacon of hope to the public when there is confusion and horrific events.

The proliferation of so-called citizen journalism - with social networks, mobile phones and blogs and the dawn of a sustained stream of information have made it an indispensable necessity to check, filter and interpret the information flow, which circulate amidst a chaotic clutter of rumor, extrapolation, speculation and trolling. Their mission is therefore essential: providing clear, accurate, fast and responsible information.

Pressure which is often directed onto the media to broadcast news which is premised on terrorism does not necessarily mean that the terrorist organizations have taken total control on the media. However, it does indicate that there is always an obligation for the

press to remain constantly seized by the moment to discern and refuse the manipulation of terrorists. As much as the audience pressures the media to reveal sensitive information, the media has to know the limits of the type of information to release to the public so as not to be part of propping the terrorists' agenda (Wilkinson, 1997).

Martin (2010) remarked that there exists in the world a commonly referenced quote that the person who has information has the power. Therefore, the audience needs the information to be in the position of being able to know what is happening around them. Terror attacks are often instigated on the innocent civilians so that the terrorists are able to attract media attention who will report on their heinous acts thereby drawing the audience's attention and sustaining it. Media are ever working hard to resonate well with their audiences. Television stations work extra hard through presenting sensational news so as to attract as many viewers as possible, newspapers work hard towards attracting their target audience and websites try to attract visitors onto their websites through presenting dramatic news.

Dramatic incidents, stories with emotional aspects, and negative news stories are the topics that readers find interesting. Other kinds of stories that tend to draw high levels of interest are those that are exciting and sensational, and those that directly affect the audience (Glüpker, 2008). News stories that report on terrorists' actions or attacks are a suitable example of stories which satisfy all these characteristics.

It is often suggested that media are dependent on terrorism news for their newsworthiness. The reason as to why the media is seriously preoccupied with intensive coverage of terrorism news is that the audience gets attracted to such kind of news. The

media is assured of large numbers of viewers. Some other key factors take centre stage in making decisions kind of news to broadcast, such as news based on personal concern or those focusing on the community's social welfare system. Generally, media indeed is in the knowledge of the fact of terrorism having a natural news value and that news concerning terrorism must be reported, regardless of the population's contentment. However, it is critical to understand that the press is basically responding to the demand by audience to have them informed on terrorism and terrorist organizations (Wilkinson, 1997).

Perspective from which a story is reported is significant to both the viewers and the terrorist organizations. Those in the media industry should prudently utilize the limited time they have at their disposal to assess and determine what kind of news stories to disseminate and in what manner it should be published. The highly sensitive news which the population might find upsetting is crucial that the editors give a sober and rational interpretation of the facts. Personal biases on terrorism matters are under the personal influence of the editor whom their cultural, political and personal biases are reflected in the news they present to their audiences (Martin, 2010).

Media has to sacrifice on providing the breaking news aspect on the basis that they have to broadcast well researched news based on facts. The media has to substitute the breaking news with factual news. Therefore the element of prompt news or immediate news has to be sacrificed at the expense of factually established news. The hurry to publish news often will elicit unnecessary fear in the public while at the same time encouraging more terrorist attacks through the sustained media coverage which the

terrorists desperately crave for (Martin, 2010). The media ought to take to account the obligation they have in responsibly accurately informing citizens regarding activities on terrorism whenever they occur.

The scholars' idea of the kind of responsibility the media should take is the basis of the following observations; that the journalists must be in the know that in the process of reporting on terrorists' news they are in the actual sense spreading terrorists' half-truths. Secondly, media pundits have suggested by that, in some instances, the impartiality exhibited by journalists covering terrorist attacks is a big doubt. Sensitive kind of news items as well as topics is critical in expressing sensationalized and subjective opinions. Critics of the media observe that the media's motivation to tap into large audiences easily lead to alterations of socio-political set up (Gus, 2010).

Mark Blaise is a renowned Dutch critic of the media who believes that the media have become predisposed to immense pressure from the environment and this pressure tends to suppress objective and accurate reporting. He further suggests that the main driving objective of their reporting is the creation of more profits. All the media is looking for in their quest to inform is creation of profits through mobilizing audience viewership and readership (Blaise, 1992).

Blaise (1992) once retorted that if one has enough finances, he/she will be capable of buying all the newspapers, radio stations and TV stations they want. Media concentrates its coverage on the predominant form of terrorism in that period of time. For instance, from about the 1960s to the 1980s, the news broadcasted covered mainly the extreme right and left and pre-independence political movements. As much as the right and left

extremists terrorism has not completely disappeared, currently though the media focuses much on religiously-inspired terrorism since it attracts big audiences. This kind of media coverage is usually aimed at reporting on instigated by organizations claiming to follow Islam, which generates the widest media coverage.

The manner in which terrorist news are reported has immense effects on the future of terrorist actions, the way governments will react once an attack has happened and the general public's opinion. Journalists' way of reporting constitutes description of the violence as witnessed in the terror activities, how they are emphasized, how they are structured or formulated and how unique these activities indeed are. It is from this arising scenario that we can make conclusions that there is a critical relationship which the media complements between the terrorists, states/Government administrations and the public in general (Paletz & Tawney, 1992).

Ordinarily, media as per tradition is charged with the responsibility of aiding the public in making correct and informed decisions about societal issues. However, it has been noted that professional journalism is hardly practiced at the best of moments. In a society threatened by terrorism and/or violent extremism, journalists face much greater challenges and will likely operate in an environment of threats and fear. However, it is in this very tough environment that professional journalism is most critical so as to provide the public with reliable, factual, credible and valid information (Media Council of Kenya and International Media Support, 2016).

From past experiences, it has been noted that government interests and those of the general public rarely coincide when it comes to information sharing. The government usually limits the amount of information shared with the public on the premise of national security and maintenance of the rule of law which sometimes gets achieved through repression.

Journalists and generally the media industry often view police officers and military personnel as law enforcers, managers of order and crime busters thus having a sole responsibility to maintain rule of law even during operations that include giving out information on the operations. Government officials are thus duty-bound to share information with the journalists as long as that news does not jeopardize the operation or put the lives of those involved in conducting the operations at risk (Media Council of Kenya and International Media Support, 2016).

The media are often the first source of data for people in the initial moments of a terrorist action, well before the communication can be taken up by the government officials. The objective is to assist people in ensuring their safety, together with or in conjunction with formal security agencies (including police, crisis center). The press and particularly TV news anchors can also reassure the public by their strict handling of information, their symbolic crisis management, their self-control, gravity and compassion. Their tone and selection of phrases and pictures assist not only to avoid panic, but also to discourage retaliation against people or organizations related to the perpetrators of the attacks in the minds of the public (Sacco & Bossio, 2015). The press

has to behave as a beacon of hope and direction in the midst of confusion and hopelessness.

Aguilera-Carnerero and Azeez, (2016) in their study noted that in contemporary culture there is a prevalent view that data empowers. Terror strikes are often instigated so as to capture the attention of media and thus attract wider public attention to these organizations. Media are constantly looking for means to please and satisfy their viewers/readers/listeners. All televisions are always working hard to attract many customers who view their channels while newspapers are working around the clock to win the hearts and minds of readers, websites too are running helter-skelter trying as hard to win tourists onto their pages.

Striking terrorist events, emotional stories and adverse media stories are often subjects that interest readers. Other tales that tend to attract increased interest are those that are interesting and sensational, and those that capture the attention of the crowd directly (Mohamed, 2017). Any news stories that cover terrorism or any kind of assaults are typical exemplification of subjects that meet this criterion.

Gunatilleke (2017) indicated that because of its alleged news value, the media are dependent on terrorism. The primary reason the media cover terrorist activities and events are to boost their viewers' numbers. Of course, other variables such as private interest or social responsibility always play a part in such choices.

The media certainly recognizes that news that talk about terrorism has by nature value for news and must therefore be covered, regardless of the satisfaction of the public. But it also makes sense for the media to react to the audiences' need for news about terrorist groups (Coaffee, 2016). It is of excellent vitality on how news is presented. Editors ought to utilize the brief moment of time to evaluate what kind of information is dramatic and the way to publish it effectively. It is essential that electronic or print copy editors offer a skillful understanding of the happenings which will have a serious impact psychologically or subjects that population might find extremely upsetting.

The rush to publish (or broadcast) may give rise to unnecessary concerns; similarly, this may lead to allowing attackers access media coverage which they crave to get so as to maintain access to the target population. In covering terrorist actions and/or events, the press must assume a certain obligation (Yusuf, 2018).

The following critical comments are based on the concept of this accountability by the scientists. It is essential to acknowledge that reporters are effectively spreading terrorist propaganda rather than covering news data. Second, media critics have observed that the objectivity of reporters reporting terrorist activities is dubious in some instances. High-impact news items and subjects are particularly conducive to sensational and subjective views being expressed. Lastly, media critics argue that the media's drive to reach large audiences can cause socio-political environmental changes (Kirton, 2016).

Similarly Jukes (2019) also states that the media's primary goal is more than objective reporting or entertainment and this goal or objective seems to be driven by the motivation for maximum profits as a result of a broad audience.

Ekeanyanwu and Ajakaiye (2016) argued that reporters are responsible for reporting their results. Most of the moment, it's not the article's theme or subject that can be deemed hazardous, but the style and tone in which the article was published in. Reporting terrorist activities can have far-reaching consequences for terrorist groups ' future actions, government organizations ' reactions and responses, and public judgment. The approach employed by reporters entails describing a violent activity, how dramatic it was as well as the way it was formulated and structured to make it come out saliently. We can see from this that the press is the essential connection between terrorists, the government and the public (Greenberg & Scanlon, 2016).

Sacco (2016) stated that since the terrorist attack on the United States of American's (USA's) social at the World Trade Centre (WTC), the urgency for information dissemination, intelligence processing and sharing has become heightened and more compelling globally. The media frenzy in the wake of the WTC attack (now dubbed 9/11 terrorist attack) made the then USA's president, George W. Bush to retort that you are either with us or you are with the terrorists. This was a charge to American journalists not to climb on the bandwagon of what Senam, Essien and Ekong, (2018) conceptualized as the mass-mediated terrorism. In recognition of the far-reaching support of the media in lending voice to the demands of terrorists, Margaret Thatcher, British Prime Minister for 11 years, called the media the oxygen of terrorists (Matthews, 2016).

According to Assad, and Aldanani, (2017), viewpoint may have been informed by the likelihood that the media or media professionals, while reporting terror acts, could inadvertently magnify or amplify the effects beyond normal proportions, thereby becoming tools in the hands of terrorists. Although Kugelman, (2018) suggested that some media or media operators in USA decide not to report terror acts at all in order to stifle the intentions of terrorists, media organizations find themselves in a kind of dilemma as they are expected to fulfill their avowed informational roles to the public as well as make money to remain in 'business' or continue operations.

Recently Allan, (2016) noted that with such designations or terminologies attributed to terrorist groups such as the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) or Islamic State of Syria and the Levant (ISIL) and other extremists groups, these groups have become very conscious of this dilemma of the media and try to take advantage of it in their terrorist campaigns in parts of Europe, Africa, and elsewhere, as they tend to incorporate the media (whether their internally-operated or sponsored ones, especially on social media platforms such as ISIS's Dabiq or al-Naba or Amaq news agency and the broader media) in their indoctrination, radicalization, and propaganda agenda.

Television stations which are able to tap into breaking news of terror attacks usually hold audience members glued onto their screens. Terror acts of kidnapping, maiming, hijacking, bombings, etc., rest within the domain of eliciting symbolic or ritualistic acts of cohesion which are features of coronation, conquests, and contests (Notley & Dezuanni, 2019).

The media will confer importance on any event with any or all of these features and without difficulty put the same in the public domain with the hope of gaining attention. It is no surprise; therefore, Edwards, (2017) claimed that the kinship between the media and terrorism is a perfect example of win-win in what economists call a ‘common-interest game.

Dwivedi, Singh, Partlow and Sharma, (2018) noted that both the media and terrorists tend to profit from or take advantage of terrorist incidents. On the one hand, terrorists get free publicity for themselves and their unwarranted causes. On the other hand, the media make money as reports of terror attacks increase newspaper sales or the number of television viewers or traffic on social media sites. Hence, the attendant ‘rewards’ of magnifying terror activities to gain readership/viewership motivate the media to select, exclude and, include news items.

The media are keen on subscribing to terrorists-induced coverage because there is a growing competition among news media organizations or professionals. To keep ahead, they tend to indulge in coverage that has gory details to gain ratings, arrest audience attention, circulation and ultimately profit (Odu & Aluko, 2016).

In the same vein, the media culture is noted for the violent nature of television in recent times and it is crucial to the financial earnings of the outfit (Grayson, 2015). Regardless of the seeming symbiotic relationship between the two entities, there are instances where the media have received a backlash of attacks from terrorists who felt labeled or defined as evil.

Hartung, (2017) stated that in Afghanistan, for example, This Day Newspaper's office was bombed on 26th April 2012. Another news media office was also bombed in Afghanistan the same day while a number of journalists have either lost their lives or got maimed as a result of terror acts in Afghanistan and elsewhere .

Amos (2015) stated that it is precisely these kinds of situations that make us highlight the need for the media to be an effective gatekeeper, which filters news reports on terrorist crimes and propaganda. In so doing, media professionals must strive to come up with solutions to lessen the negative impacts of terrorist acts by way of gate-keeping and setting the agenda for change in their news reports (Estok, 2018).

The terrorist attack on two mosques in New Zealand, which murdered at least 50 individuals and left 50 injured, shocked every kind of humanity. The supposed perpetrator, spewing on social media manifested his hatred of Muslim immigrants; the U.S. President Donald Trump denounced the decaying culture of the white, European, Western globe as a sign of rejuvenation of the identity of white superiority and the shared values of the white people (Ojebuyi & Salawu, 2018).

Although the carnage has been widely condemned across geographical boundaries, some reports have been troubling in England and Canada. For instance, there has been the apparent reluctance of some coverage to use the shooter's label terrorist, and the characteristics of the perpetrator and victims in this and other similar events (Hardy & Williams, 2016).

While the title of the Daily Mirror called the supposed shooter an evil far-right mass murderer, a distinct tale is told by the body of the text and picture. The report claims he was an angel kid who defended former associates, was a pleasant and devoted personal trainer operating children's free athletic programs. According to Omoera and Ogah, (2016), this is not a man's best description that opened fire as individuals prayed in two mosques. As reported in the Daily Sabah, the Mirror has been strongly criticized on social media.

Uwazuruike, (2018) explains that while both acts of terror share much in common, the Daily Mirror portrayed the New Zealand mosque attacker as a once sweet pure innocent child, while the Orlando shooter was a demonic Islamic extremist. The Daily Mail called the supposed terrorist a little blond boy whose dad died of cancer. Likewise, the Australian Courier Mail called the shooter a madman of the working class. Reporting on such a tragic assault using sentences such as working-class madman, blond boy and angel boy masks the accused's Islamophobic intentions. The short-hand also minimizes his connection with white supremacy and extreme right-wing (Kanji, 2018).

New Zealand Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern instantly labeled the attack as terrorism. But an informal and initial review of the BBC reports and Global News and Ici Radio Canada shows that the word was not used by reporters at these news organizations (Manoharan, 2019).

Terrorist is a label that easily jumps into headlines and news reports when the perpetrator is Muslim, but is often handled cautiously or thrown out completely when the perpetrator is white. It appears that the editorial rules of the BBC regarding

impartiality and coverage of terrorism have not been followed. According to Manoharan, (2019), in Canada after a car assault by a Somali refugee in Edmonton outside a football stadium where five individuals were wounded, Global News and Ici Radio Canada instantly called the Edmonton terror attack.

A research conducted by Kaigwa (2017) showed that Muslim extremist terrorist assaults receive 35% more U.S. press coverage than non-Muslims. In Canada, a research by Ali and Khattab, (2018), programming director at Toronto's Noor Cultural Center in the open access journal, religions, disclosed that Muslim acts of violence received on average 1.5 times more coverage than non-Muslim acts. Five times more coverage was given to Thwarted Muslim plots.

Communication scholar such as Jennings (2018) research compared press coverage in Canada of two high-profile instances of anti-terrorism. Hart and LaVally (2017) discovered that in characterizing the event and the individuals engaged, the Globe and Mail and the National Post used radicalized indications of otherness. This kind of narrative raises concerns about how news media can standardize state violence against Muslims and radicalized minorities. Such coverage strengthens particular stories about what and who should be most feared.

This stigma and bias in the press has a true and devastating impact on Muslims daily life. Although there are other groups whose violent activities are of extreme proportions (e.g., the so-called Fulani herdsmen terrorists who terrorize virtually every geopolitical zone in Nigeria; the Niger Delta Avengers), the bestiality and inhumanness of Boko Haram, which according to Ndinojuo (2018), has now metamorphosed into the Islamic

State West African Province (ISWAP), is unparalleled in the annals of violent extremism in Nigeria or West Africa.

Indeed, the Institute for Economics and Peace in its global terrorism index states that terrorism has become the deadliest terrorist group in the world, even ahead of ISIS which it pledges allegiance to. A great deal of research gives credence to the claim that terrorism instills fear in societies (Baker & McEnery, 2019).

Aday, S. (2017) examined the culpability and victimization of the media. From the findings, In the first place, the media is blamed for being an accomplice to the crimes of terrorism by reporting the wrecking messages of the terrorists. By conveying these messages to a larger audience, terrorists are buoyed to further blood-let and this gets covered too by the media. It becomes a vicious cycle that can hardly be broken. The second model which treats the media as a victim of terrorists of terror acts proposes that with the emerging cut-throat competition among media professionals, even if some media outfits or operators refuse to purvey or escalate terror messages, others would.

This attitude makes a victim of the media as the breaking news culture developed by contemporary news media organizations makes each of them to strive to be the first to relay a developing story in their news feeds, whether the information supplied is harmful or not (Jiwani, & Dessner, 2016).

Global media, including the African media, is confronted with serious challenges of how to disseminate terror messages without aiding terror acts/terrorists or being victims. It is in this connection that we examine some of the challenges the African media professionals face and some strategies to remediate them (Iqbal, (2015).

Piccini (2018) noted that in Nigeria, many people have become traumatized or distraught as a result of being exposed to broadcast or print media reportage of suicide bombers' attacks, especially those carried out by indoctrinated young people in the cities of Maiduguri, Kano, Suleja, Abuja, town of Bosso in southern Niger Republic. In a bid to outdo each other, most Nigerian media organizations respond to the human and infrastructural carnage, with a worrying departure from the norms of objectivity, prudence and calmness. Terrorists tend to take advantage of such media confusion in terms of sensational or dramatic reportage to indoctrinate, radicalize, and enlist new members into their terrorist group.

Matters are made worse for the average Nigerian media professionals because of the many years of bad governance, political as well religious crises in the areas where Boko Haram operate as it appears to be winning and increasing number of sympathizers who now enlist as its members, alongside others who are coerced to join the terror group (Smets & Akkaya, 2016).

This negative development is likely to be in existence due to the impartial or biased reportage occasioned by sensationalism in the Nigerian media and that of its neighboring countries of Cameroun, Niger, Chad, among others. Therefore, there is the need to counter such media narratives, which subtly project Boko Haram agenda, without

knowing it. For instance, the media professionals or journalists would do well to emphasize the efforts of the Nigerian military and its allies from neighboring countries against the seeming successes of Boko Haram by downplaying, for instance, the hit and run suicide missions the terror group has recently adopted, both visually and auditory in the media (Lorenz, Kikkas & Osula, 2018).

According to Chakraborty (2018), it is right by restating the fact that African media professionals must strike a balance between the demand and supply of terror reportage. First, on sensationalism or dramatization of terror events or transnational organized crimes (TOCs), the media should as a matter of urgency play down on reporting spectacularly terrible acts. The catch word here is that these criminals aim at using the press to amplify their acts, playing them down will not only reduce the media's use for publicity but also bring about a decline in the level of fear permeating the public space. In this regard, the Nigerian experience where the Nigerian army issues press releases to douse the tension at the public level after each media furor in terms of reportage on Boko Haram carnage is commendable and should be emulated by the broader media in Nigeria and the West Africa region.

According to Anderson, (2015), majority of the African media professionals in a bid to sensationalize their reports on terror acts tend to work at cross purpose with their colleagues on the one hand and the African military and other security operatives on the other hand. The terrorists tend to capitalize on this poor networking to further unleash terror on the African populace, especially in Nigeria villages for example in Borno, Adamawa, and Yola and communities in neighboring countries. Hence, there is the need

for a collective effort of both purveyors of soft power including media professionals, intelligence officers and hard power, including the military to stop the marauding Boko Haram insurgents from gaining grounds among the Nigerian populace.

Al Nashmi (2018) noted that to this end, the issue of poor media infrastructure, particularly in north-eastern Africa must be addressed to enhance networking among journalists working in that area. This is critical for achieving the desired results of checking the excesses of the Boko Haram sect and Al-shabaab sect which appears to have penetrated the grassroots populace in most of African communities through the use of posters, CDs, VCDs containing indoctrinating messages.

Besides, practicing African journalists must update their knowledge on how to take advantage of new media and other information and communication technologies in networking among themselves and reporting terrorist acts or TOCs. Gone are the days of “we don’t have equipment to work with” because only the lazy journalist would say he or she is unaware of the latest satellite news gathering (SNG) gadgets and electronic news gathering (ENG) gadgets that are available, which could greatly enhance networking and reportorial activities (Abuza, 2015).

One of the hallmarks of journalism is objectivity. Oftentimes, media critics have accused the media of unbalanced news reportage. The news is often skewed to achieve certain effects, thus, tilting to subjectivity in favor of terror vendors or mongers. Charles and Allan (2019) observed that the media have become susceptible to influences that hinder objective and accurate reporting. Harping on the entertainment role of the media, he

bemoans the value placed on entertainment rather than fair reports (Udeze, & Chukwuma, 2016).

With particular reference to the Al-Shabaab attack in Kenya and Tanzania issue, it has been argued in some quarters that the terrorist sect has infiltrated the ranks of the broader media in East-African countries (García & Palomo, 2015). This is due, largely, to pecuniary motives as some unpatriotic journalists have had to blow a one-sided trumpet of the activities of Al-Shabaab and criminal groups because they are on the pay roll of the sect. Unfortunately, this is a very pervasive challenge in the East-African media, with regard to the coverage of terrorism-related acts.

The primary duty of the media is to serve public good by not being partisan or prejudiced. The point being made is that even though good and bad news should go hand in hand but bad news must not triumph over good news, for whatever reason. For instance, activities of the military and other security operatives, including local vigilantes in communities besieged by the these sect should be consistently lauded in media reports to strengthen public confidence in these institutions while the terror sect's acts are time and again toned down (Ewart, Pearson & Healy, 2016).

The media have ingrained in our subconscious the images of terrorists in such a way that the public is not allowed to rationalize against what the media label it. Gonen (2018) contended that the definition and branding of terrorists is ideological, and formulated in a strict sense such that gives little or no room for finding middle ground to reach at a universally agreed upon meaning of the word terrorism on the part of the target audience on whom it is being imposed. The media define terrorism with the stories they carry, the

images that accompany them, the re-enactment of past terrors in films and docu-drama. These offerings shape our mental perception of terrorism (Dodd & Hanna, 2018). This is a serious challenge the East-African media as well as those in the Africa region have to come to terms with and address.

Indeed, Babale and Nasidi (2019) argue that in stereotyping terrorism through labeling and definitions doesn't change terrorism is. The implication of Hall's input is that the media create a divide between us and terrorists, leaving us with a belief that the terrorists want us to subscribe to a belief that mythologizes terror sects. It is the job of the journalist to detect and resist such instruments of psychological warfare.

Another challenge the Kenya media professionals are confronted with in covering terror-induced events is the use of evaluative language (Riegert & Hovden, (2019). The temptation to use horrifying metaphors to paint pictures of savage acts of terrorism is so gratifying that the average Nigerian journalist, like his or her counterparts elsewhere, hardly knows when their language becomes detrimental to the physical and mental wellbeing of the audience.

It is probably in recognition of the need to regulate the terror lexicon that the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) developed an in-house reporting style for war, terror, and emergency stories. In the guideline, rather than call them terrorists, bombers, attackers, and gunmen, they are identified as kidnappers, insurgents, and militants (Nwalutu & Nwalutu, 2018). This is to play down on the emotions these lexicons evoke in the audience members. In the same vein, some scholars are now routing for what they

call peace journalism to counter the concept of war journalism (Nwalutu & Nwalutu, 2018).

Differentiation, with regard to violent acts or TOCs, is a vexed issue in the Nigerian media-space and, indeed, in the whole of West African province. Hence, it is imperative for both the new and traditional media operating in this region to properly differentiate terrorism from other forms of crimes in their reportage. Armed robbery and other criminal acts should not be lumped together with terrorism when discussing or reporting them (Neubronner, 2018).

Ethnic and communal clashes or upheavals should be delineated from terrorism. Having a clear perspective on what is in contention will go a long way in avoiding the sharing of provocative statements to the public (Chapeyama, 2018). The situation of Fulani cattle farmers in parts of the Nigeria who frequently clash with other ethnic groups, and whose group may have been infiltrated by terrorist elements across Nigerian borders comes to mind.

Ojebuyi (2017) revealed that if the media continue to prime them as terrorists, however loosely, it could lead to them being treated as terrorists, which would result in reprisal attacks. This has been the recent scenario across the country, with accusations and counter accusations being traded or exchanged in the media to the detriment of national security and unity in the country. As well, the Shiite Muslim group in Kaduna, northern Nigeria is currently brewing a legal showdown with the Nigerian army due to an attack on its members. Such scenarios could easily lead to the disruption of law and order in

parts of the country if the media fail to differentiate ethnic or religious clashes from the terrorist acts as perpetrated by Boko Haram.

Terrorists engage in war in the media-sphere with the aim of transmitting fear to the public while using the media as their conduit. Their propensity to own media airtime, be splashed on pages of newspapers, dominate the online media is borne out of the corresponding “rewards.” In January 2015, Nairaland (Onyebuchi, Obayi, Udorah & Onwukwaluonye 2019) reported the Nigerian army’s response to a news coverage by Cable News Network (CNN), which alleged that some Nigerian soldiers bought their own kits to fight the deadly terrorist sect, Boko Haram, and that they (Nigerian soldiers) take care of themselves when injured (Previsic & Winter, 2017).

This allegation by a section of “credible” media deals a great blow to the psyche of the Nigerian populace who are grappling with terrorism amidst other national woes, including massive official corruption, economic recession, and senseless political wrangling. The report is ambiguous as it does not clearly state what exactly happened. It is, perhaps, because such situations that Abraham Kisang advises that “there is an urgent need to develop guidelines for journalists covering terrorist attacks in Kenya and in the world. Hence, both local and transnational/international media must refrain from such acts and toe the line of patriotism, national cohesion and respect for international protocols (Stewart, 2017).

An enhanced conflict with Kenyan safety organizations is one danger for reporters covering terrorism and security-related news. There is a tendency for enhanced tensions and disputes between police, army and other actors operating on national security and

media whenever terrorist attacks or when security agents pursue people engaged in extreme violence. Such events have occurred on several occasions for example during the terrorists' attacks on Nairobi's Westgate Mall, the Garissa University attack, attacks in Lamu County on the Kenya-Somalia border as well as in the County of Mombasa (Ikpi, 2017).

While there are faults in the manner media cover terrorism attacks that have led to the absence of confidence from security agents in the media, the tensions and disputes can also be clarified by the absence of knowledge of the role of media in a democratic society among security agencies and vice versa. This can again lead to partial media coverage owing to the absence of access to data supplied, as well as immediate threats against reporters who are at danger of imprisonment and their freedoms being restricted (Nyabuga, 2016).

State, media companies, owners, employers, executives and publishers have the biggest obligation to guarantee efficient protection of freedom of expression and members of the fourth estate protection and security. They are therefore obliged to set up a safe and enabling environment for journalism to flourish, which is the declared and proper goal of the UN Action Plan on the Safety of Journalists and the Issue of Impunity. In this regard, they should set up security units in their newsrooms to monitor and enforce their compliance (Kinyungu & Okinda, 2019).

Terrorists' propaganda may include the use of psychological arm twisting to undermine an individual's faith in certain collective societal norms, or propagating a feeling of increased anxiety, fear or panic in a population or subset of the population. This can be

accomplished by spreading wrong or skewed information, rumors and threats of violence or pictures whose intent is to provoke acts of violence. The intended audience may include both direct content viewers and those impacted by prospective advertising from such material. The objective is often to express a willingness to attain predetermined political objectives with regard to the wider international community (Rosenfeld, 2017).

Terrorists' propaganda is often shaped to appeal to susceptible groups in society that are marginalized. The recruitment and radicalization method usually capitalizes on the feelings of injustice, exclusion or humiliation of an individual. Propaganda can be adjusted to take into consideration demographic variables such as age or gender, as well as social or financial conditions (Adhoch, 2016).

Easteal, Bartels, Nelson and Holland, (2015) observed, however, that certain intergovernmental and human rights processes have raised doubts about the fact that the notion of glorification of terrorism is sufficiently small and accurate to serve as a grounds for criminal sanctions in line with the demands of the principle of legality and the permissible constraints of the right to liberty of speech set out in Articles 15 and 19 highlighting the difference between mere propaganda and content designed to incite terrorist acts is crucial.

Finney, (2019) noted that in several member States, a demonstration of the necessary intent and a direct causal link between supposed propaganda and an real plot or execution of a terrorist act is needed in order to be held responsible for incitement to terrorism. For example, a French expert indicated in a contribution to the expert group

meetings that the dissemination of instructive materials on explosives would not be considered a violation of French law unless the communication contained information specifying that the material was shared for a terrorist purpose.

According to Salad and Omar (2017), to prevent and deter terrorism is in the interest of defending public order and national security. These grounds also comply with Ewart and O'Donnell (2018) who postulate that States are required to ban any advocacy of domestic, ethnic or religious hatred that is an incitement to discrimination, hostility or violence. However, given the basic nature of the right to liberty of speech, any limitations on the exercise of this right must be both essential and commensurate with the risk posed. The right to liberty of speech is also associated with other significant freedoms, including liberty of thought, conscience and religion, faith and opinion.

Terrorists recruiting, radicalizing and incitement can be seen as points along a continuum. The radicalization of vulnerable audience relates mainly to the indoctrination process which often accompanies the conversion of recruits into persons determined to behave with violence based on extremist ideologies. The radicalization process in principle employs the use of propaganda over time, whether communicated in person or through the Social media. Depending on individual conditions and relationships, the length of moment and efficiency of propaganda and other persuasive means used differ (Archee, 2018).

Direct solicitation relates to using chat groups, mass mailings, websites and targeted communications to ask followers for contributions. Business websites can also be used as online stores, providing fans with books, audio and video recordings and other

products. Online payment services provided via dedicated websites or communications platforms facilitate the electronic transfer of funds amongst parties. Transmission of funds are often produced through electronic wire transmission, credit card or alternative payment facilities accessible through services such as PayPal or Skype Online payment facilities can also be exploited through fraudulent means such as identity theft, robbery of credit cards, wire fraud, inventory fraud, intellectual property crimes and auction fraud (Fajimbola, 2017).

Financial support can also be diverted for illegal reasons to purported legitimate institutions such as charities and NGOs. Some terrorist organizations, disguised as philanthropic undertakings, have always been proved to set up shell corporations to solicit social media donations. These organizations often pretend to be promoting humanitarian objectives, while in the real sense these donations are used to finance acts of terrorism. Examples of openly charitable organizations used for terrorist purposes include the seemingly harmlessly-named Global Relief, Foundation, the Benevolence International Foundation and the Holy Land Relief and Development Foundation all of which used fraudulent means to finance Middle East terrorist organizations. Terrorists can also infiltrate branches of charities, which they use as a cover to encourage terrorist organizations' ideologies or to provide material support to militant groups (Krämer, 2018).

Terrorists have lately turned to social media as a means of recruiting and radicalizing audience. They use the social media and online platforms to conduct training for their sympathizers. There is an increasing variety of media providing platforms in the form of

audio, social media manuals, data and suggestions as well as video clips for the disbursement and distributing of practical guides (Nguyen & Scifo, 2018).

These Social media platforms also provide comprehensive guidance on subjects which entail how to get recruited into terrorist organizations, how to assemble explosives, firearms or other arms or hazardous materials and how to schedule and undertake or execute terrorist attacks, often in readily available multimedia format which translated into various languages such that it can reach wider audiences. The platforms function as a virtual training camp. They are employed inter-alia to share particular methods, techniques or operational expertise in order to commit a terrorist act (De & Sarwal, 2016).

For example, *Inspire*, an Arab Peninsula online magazine supposedly released by Al-Qaida with a clearly identified goal, allows Muslims to train for jihad at home. It includes a big quantity of ideological content to encourage terrorism, including statements ascribed to Osama bin Laden, Sheik Ayman al-Zawahiri, and other well-known figures from Al-Qaeda. The fall 2010 edition included practical educational resources on how to employ a four-wheel drive automobile to spring attacks on unsuspecting members of the public and how an individual person could execute an indiscriminate attack by the use of a tower weapon (Vucetic, Malo & Ouellette, 2015).

So as to advance the likelihood of murdering even one government member, the publication even proposed a target town for such an assault. Instructional content accessible online involves instruments to promote counter-intelligence and hacking operations and enhance the safety of illegal communications and social media activity

by using accessible encryption instruments and ‘anonymizing’ strategies. The interactive nature of Social media platforms helps to create a feeling of community among people from distinct geographic places and backgrounds, promoting networking to exchange teaching and tactical content (Azeez, 2009).

Boczkowski and Mitchelstein (2017) noted that many criminal justice professionals are in concurrence that the use of Social media platform involves nearly every prosecuted case of terrorism. Planning a terrorist act in specific typically includes distant communication between multiple parties. A latest case from France, Public Prosecutor v. Hicheur, shows how various types of Social media technology can be used to promote the preparation of terrorist acts, including through thorough communication within and between organizations supporting violent extremism, as well as across borders. These preliminary steps can be varied starting with the acquisition of instructions on suggested attack techniques to gathering open-source and other information about a suggested goal.

The Social media capacity to bridge space and time as well as established boundaries and the vast quantity of publicly accessible data in cyberspace, make the Social media a main instrument in terrorist acts execution as well as their planning (Jukes, 2016).

The Social media most fundamental role is to promote the effective path passing of information from the source to the recipients. Terrorists have become increasingly advanced in using anonymous communication systems which are mostly linked to terrorist acts planning. Terrorists can use an easy social media email account to pass on anonymously electronic or virtual communications (Jukes, 2016).

This relates to creating a draft message that remains unsent, leaving limited electronic traces or none at all, but that various people with the appropriate password can access from any social media terminal globally. There is also an abundance of more advanced techniques that make it more difficult to identify the originator, recipient or social media communications material. Encryption instruments and software for ‘anonymization’ are accessible for download online. These instruments may, inter alia, mask the distinctive social media Protocol (IP) address identifying each device used to access the Social media and its place, redirecting Social media communications through one or more servers to jurisdictions with reduced rates of implementation against terrorist attacks and/or encrypting traffic data related to accessed websites. Steganography can also be used to hide messages in pictures (Sahu & Ahmad, 2018).

Organizations and people often use the Social media to post large quantities of data. This may lead into some willingness to encourage their operations and streamline their communication with the public in the case of organizations. Some sensitive data that terrorists may use for illegal reasons is also made accessible via Social media search engines that can catalog and collect inadequately shielded data from millions of websites. In addition, social media access to comprehensive logistical data, such as closed-circuit television footage in real-time, and apps such as Google Earth, which is designed for and mainly used by people for lawful purposes, may be misused by those seeking free access to high-resolution satellite imagery, maps and terrain as well as buildings for recognition purposes (Chaudhuri, 2019).

In this era of popular social media such as Twitter, Facebook, YouTube, Flickr and blogging platforms, people also publish an unprecedented quantity of sensitive data on the Social media, either willingly or inadvertently. While the intention of those who distribute the data may be to provide their audience with news or other updates for informational or social reasons, some of this data may be misappropriated and used for criminal purposes (Lopatin, Samuel-Azran & Galily, 2017).

Elements of the above-mentioned classifications may be used in the use of the Social media to carry out terrorist acts. For instance, specific threats of violence, including arms use, may be disseminated over the Social media to cause anxiety, fear or panic in a population or sub-population. In many Member States, even if unfulfilled, the act of issuing such threats may be considered an offense (Nnam, Arua, & Otu, (2018).

In China the manufacture of a threat and/or the circulation of a threat which is known to be manufactured in relation to the use of chemical or bombs, biological or radioactive materials or other weapons are criminalized under domestic law when committed with the intention of seriously disrupting public order. Social media communications can also be used as a means of communicating with prospective victims or coordinating the execution of terrorist physical acts. For example, the Social media was extensively used in the United States to coordinate perpetrators of the September 11, 2001 attacks (Majekodunmi, 2015).

Using Social media to promote the execution of terrorist acts can, inter-alia give logistical benefits, decrease the probability of detection or obscure the identity of parties who are supposed to be held accountable for the acts of violence. Social media activity

may also promote the purchase of materials needed to carry out the attack. Terrorists can buy individual parts or services needed by electronic commerce to perpetrate violent acts of terrorism. In order to finance such purchases, misappropriate credit cards or other types of compromised electronic payment may be used (Sacco, 2017).

For the advice of Kenyan media experts, we fully replicate the European Union Technical Assistance to Nigeria's Evolving Security Challenges (EUTANS) framework for reporting responsibly on violent extremism as part of the effective and preferred approaches to address the challenges of reporting terrorism in Kenya. Journalism involves a high degree of government confidence. To gain and retain this confidence, sticking with the greatest professional and ethical norms is morally imperative for every journalist and news medium. A journalist should always have a good public interest at heart in the practice of these responsibilities. Truth is the cornerstone of journalism, and every journalist has to work diligently to find out the reality of every evening (Okeke & Odubajo, 2018).

Gever (2015) stated that a professional journalist should be responsible for decisions on the content of news he or she presents unto the public. The public is entitled to understand the news being broadcasted. Factual, precise, balanced and fair reporting are the ultimate goal of excellent journalism and the foundation for gaining public trust and belief. A reporter should refrain from publishing information that is incorrect and misleading. Should such information be released accidentally, timely correction should be made. As a cardinal rule of practice, a journalist must have the right to answer. A

journalist should seek to distinguish facts from assumptions and provide guidance in the course of his or her responsibilities.

A journalist should follow the principle of confidentiality that is widely recognized and should not reveal the source of confidential data. A journalist should not breach an agreement with an off-the-record source of information. In order to suppress or publish data, a journalist should not solicit or accept bribe, gratification or patronage. Requesting payment for news publishing is inimical to the concept of news as an event's fair, precise, unbiased and factual report. A reporter should not present violence, armed robbery, terrorist activity or vulgar wealth display in a way that glorifies such acts in the public's eyes (Bal & Baruh, 2015).

Recent incidents involving lone-wolf terrorist attacks have dominated live television news incidents. This provided the broadcast news media with fresh difficulties. The rapid pace in which such stories evolve prompts narrative growth that sometimes contradicts subsequent official press statements (Toker & Rae, 2017).

According to Fleming (2016), to construct their narratives, journalists depend on leaks and sometimes eyewitness accounts. Due to fewer adherences to bureaucracy, their investigations often go parallel to those of police or even quicker, which brings enormous pressure on police. It is hard to alter the established narrative in the center of the tale once the coverage starts and the narrative is formed.

Similarly Dwyer (2015) observed that police are being pressured to provide early responses to the cases while they attempt to look ready in the midst of a developing story. It's here when journalism on television gets tested. To prevent retractions of news stories, it is essential to verify sources and have accurate data. It is essential because in journalism it adds confidence and value.

The myth goes that the excellent journalist and newspaper publisher's office walls were marked with three phrases: check, check and check. Most TV reporters were discovered wanting when it comes to verifying stories during live news coverage, as the velocity with which narratives evolve leads to the negligence of this very significant principle (Paterson, 2019). Trust but check has more to do with journalism than with politics. That said, television has done more to improve the language as narratives evolve, and excellent care has been taken. Most of it was due to the backlash emanating primarily from Muslim communities that accused Islamophobia's print and electronic media.

The Council on American Islamic Relations (CAIR) Organization has developed specialized platforms to address Islamophobia and Muslims' unjustified targeting and is involved in media correction when news about terrorism is unfolding. The terrorist act in Kenya which happened in Garissa where 148 individuals were killed and led to the wounding of more than 600 individuals went on for hours in most media organizations as an act of Islamic terror, only to find that it was an act of the deeds of a non-Muslim Kenyan national terrorist (Amannah & Adeyeye, 2018).

Lone-wolf terrorists are not only intended to inflict pain and death, but also to spread terror and fear. They commit these offences to capture the public and indeed the state's attention. Their expectations are that terrorizing countries will generate public pressure and force countries to change their policies and then satisfy their requirements. The new wave of aggressive propaganda has spurred much conversation about the role of the videos of the Islamic State in attracting activists as well as the degree to which the media themselves are accountable for giving the oxygen of advertising to terrorism. Mass media and social media are mainly dependent on the transnational nature of this new type of terrorism (Bakar, 2015). The news media organization's willingness to cover such incidents promotes terror spreading. In addition, terrorists use these organizations' materials to recreate videos, train and hire terrorists for additional assaults.

Regardless of effect, the sustained reportage of terrorist attacks has a propensity to instill terror and fear. Therefore, traditional media are caught between the need to inform the public about these offences while at the same time spreading fear and terror by offering a sustained and intensive coverage of the event.

Dunbar, (2016) observed that variations in news reportage should be anticipated as no news gathering and covering is essentially apolitical, non-ideological or non-partisan and therefore the media ought to rethink on how they cover terrorist attacks.. Previous media reporting surveys of terrorism examine several elements, such as media portrayals of occurrences of terrorism or terrorists, how the media label terrorist behavior and performers (Parray, 2017), as well as reporting formats and forms of different stories.

Some others concentrate on particular occurrences of terrorist attacks and terrorist groups (Robertson-von Trotha, 2018).

Abumbe, Peter, Etim and Akah (2018) noted that a global normative assessment on terrorism has been developed: attacks are castigated almost everywhere by political class. However, it is universally agreed upon that news media tend not only to relay incidents in reporting conflicts, but also to represent key principles of the culture in which they are generated, leading to diverse reporting styles and focus.

Zunes (2017) has also shown that news reportage of international terrorism is thought to be dependent on the political agenda being driven by terrorists and the political state of the nation whose press is covering it.

News framing can be traced back to Sharma, (2016) where frames were described as epithet of organizational principles governing societal activities and this word was meant to refer to a particular set of principles used to make social circumstances meaningful.

Wehrey, (2019) then introduced Framing to the news process, noting that frames turned unrecognizable events or vague conversations into a discernible case. Framing went into maturation in the 1990s as a study stream, as highlighted by Kelsey, (2015) in the clarification of the framing process model.

Ewart, Davis, and O'Donnell, (2017) defined source of press news as external raw material providers, whether speeches, interviews, corporate reports, or public hearings. They together agree that the origin of news data and the dependence of reference

materials together cause reporters to report with a certain ideology and position; in addition, news sources can also influence news material and how a journalist makes news choices by assessing a problem or incident. Other components, such as news origin, prominence reporting, and news position, were also observed in research on terrorist news framing among various nations (Edogor, Ojo, Ezugwu & Dike, 2015).

The U.S.A and the communist republic of China have differently structured press systems (El-Nawawy & Elmasry, 2017); Chinese media are considered to be perpetuating of the Chinese government within a Communist press scheme, while U.S. media enjoy a liberal press scheme with little ideological control. News media is more than just a vehicle for disseminating truths; it is also a source for conveying ideology. Previous study discovered that news media generally build reality in a way consistent with their fundamental ideological and political functionalities (Apollo, 2018).

With respect to the role social, religious and political ideology plays in news manufacturing and dissemination, Mukherjee-Das (2015) claimed that society is relying on discourse to invent and reproduce ideologies. He argues that the production of news can thus be examined in detail, among many other media genres, as to how actions, discourses, sounds and images are organized to the extent that ideological production and reproduction, including processes among the audience, are most effective. He further argues that news production reflects what has been said about the routines and limitations of institutional manufacturing. As such, preferential access is expressed in preferential quotation, favorable views, preferred subjects, and in all media discourse elements in general.

Comparative studies between the U.S. and Chinese media have revealed the impact of ideology on the press, although the U.S. is viewed with allegedly more objectivity as the liberal press scheme. Molony, (2018) asserted that U.S. newspapers also have certain ideological trends that generate a difference between us and them. For the coverage of terrorism, "them" often relates to supporters of Muslim faith, which is often seen as the perpetrators of the world's biggest occurrences of terrorism. For China, the impact of ideology is more evident, as the press must adhere to the ideology of government in this communist country.

Chinese media never function in a political, economic, and ideological vacuum (Robinson, Goddard, Parry, Murray & Taylor, 2016); instead, they generally operate to promote authorities' need for control.

Scholars have tried to define the coherence of interactions between domestic interests and the framing of news. As Doughty (2018) argued, the United States' global reporting is compatible with the foreign policy of the government that reflects the American interest. Kelsey (2015) proposed that national interest plays a vital role in defining political world media accounts, resulting in media being strongly linked in foreign policy arenas to elite's interests and national class politics. They exemplify this view by pointing out that U.S. media tend to domesticate overseas news as variants of U.S. topics; in U.S. media reports, values strongly linked to U.S. interests are frequently discovered, and that while U.S. media condemn and disparage U.S. governance policies when reporting global news stories.

Taktikou (2016) concluded that the reporters generally prefer domestic frameworks to professional frameworks when their fellow people are victims of political violence.

2.4 Typologies of Terrorism: International versus Domestic/Homegrown/Local Terrorism

There two known types or forms of terrorism. Terrorism may take the form of internationally instigated terrorism or Domestic/local/homegrown terrorism. Internationally instigated terrorist attacks. International terrorism refers to terrorism instigated on a certain country by foreigners. The terrorists cross international borders to ‘export’ terrorist activities. On the other hand, domestic/homegrown/local terrorism is instigated by the terrorists within borders. For example, when terrorists who are Kenyan commit terrorist activities within the Kenyan borders, then that qualifies to be called local/homegrown terrorism. An example of international terrorism is an example when Al-shabaab terrorist group in Somalia crosses the border into Kenya to commit terror activities on the Kenyan soil.

Al-shabaab is a terrorist group which continues to engage in both homegrown and international terrorist activities. This group has over the years developed links with other international terrorist organizations such as the Al-Qaeda, ISIS/ISIL and Boko Haram among other terrorist groups.

Al-shabaab terrorist outfit has carried out a number of attacks on the Kenyan soil since the Kenyan troops joined international troops in Somalia in the year 2011 to fight the terror group. These attacks have been carried out across the country for instance attacks in Nairobi on the Westgate Mall, Mwaura’s Bra and restaurant attack, the Garissa

university attack and the many more attacks which have happened in Lamu, Mandera, Wajir among others. These attacks have been in one way or the other been carried out by Al-shabaab. Most of these attacks are believed to have been planned from Mandera County or the attackers infiltrate into the Kenyan borders through Mandera County. This is international terrorism and it is the most challenging typology to the Kenyan Security Agencies.

However, Al-shabaab in the recent past has embarked on an aggressive campaign to recruit youths from the coast region and the North Eastern region of Kenya. This happens through radicalization campaigns where some of them happen in the places of worship. There are a number of Kenyan youths who have been involved in the terrorist acts which have taken place in the Kenyan territory. Some of the attackers involved in the Garissa university attack and the DusitD2 Hotel attackers were Kenyan youths.

2.4.1 International Terrorism

A brief history is given on Alshabaab who are the major players in the conduct of terrorist attacks in the horn of Africa. According to Masese (2012), Somalia did not automatically emerge as the haven of terrorists. Terrorism took the centre stage in the Somalia politics largely because of the power vacuum which was left as a result of the fall of the Siad Barre government. Many clan based groups came into the fore to agitate for the power to fill the vacuum. It started with the ICU who wanted to introduce Sharia law in Somalia. Some clans were aggrieved and due to these grievances and frustrations in the political, social and economics spheres, there emerged a fertile ground for radical

groups to entrench themselves through the employment of terrorist attacks to achieve their ends.

The situation was further escalated when the selected president by the name Abdullahi Yusuf in 2005 formed a government which excluded the warlords; Sheikh Hassan Dahir declared a holy war against the government of President Yussuf terming it anti-Islam and therefore illegitimate. Dahir welcomed foreign terrorists and militants to join the war against the government of Somalia and promised the terrorists and militants assistance in settling in the areas under their control in Somalia (Masese, 2012)

It is through the above means that Al-shabaab has managed to radicalize youths to join their group through their skewed ideology. They have entrenched themselves through establishment of training camps and safe havens for those joining their ranks. Al-shabaab uses these established camps inside Somalia to plan and execute terror attacks inside and outside Somalia (Masese, 2012).

Somalis value their culture, religion of Islam and the clans. Supremacy battles play out in the complex clan system in Somalia. Islam as a religion plays a key factor that penetrates borders beyond Clanism and this has been exploited by the Sheikhs and Mosque leaders in general to carry out unification messages across all clans. The spread of these messages has been widespread and sometimes it demeans Clanism and renders it marginalized hence making religion strong. Religion has become a strong identifier constituting peoples' identity; it defines their morality and realities of life. Therefore, Islamic religion has succeeded to provide peculiar identity than the one provided by Clanism (Masese, 2012 citing Westreland and Sunberg, 2002:44). This factor is deemed

to be the most critical and responsible for the recruitment and radicalizing Somalis (Masese, 2012).

The growth of terrorism in Somalia became apparent when the Western world appeared to be supporting operations against the warlords fighting the government of president Yussuf in 2005. Therefore, this belief attracted international terrorist groups allied to Al-Qaeda operatives and volunteer jihadists from other parts of the world who believed that the West had a bigger hidden agenda of fighting Islam. The international terrorist operatives who entered Somalia came from as far as Afghanistan and Iraq (Masse, 2012).

Masese (2012) observes that, domestic/homegrown terrorism in Somalia has been part of Somalia until Al-shabaab brought it out to the international stage. The international community fighting Al-shabaab has always sought assistance from the Western world in the efforts to fight Al-shabaab. There are different players in the Somalia conflict with varied interests exploiting the vacuum created by the terrorist group in Somalia. There is total lack of strong and robust mechanisms to fill the power vacuum due to the unstable Federal Government and an incapacitated Somalia National Army.

Radicalization in Somalia

Masese (2012) remarks that radicalization of the Somalia youths has reached an all-time high with the local population estimating it to be at 55% of the youth population. This trend has been on the rise since the year 2007 when the Ethiopian Defence Forces entered Somalia to fight Al-shabaab. The Al-shabaab ideology is largely inspired by the

Al-Qaeda ideology to the extent of using their literature and reference materials to radicalize the youths.

The initial resistance of the Somalis against the ENDF was due to the belief that the ENDF was going into Somalia to perpetuate the Western world agenda of destroying Somalia. Therefore there were a massive number of youths recruited to fight against the Ethiopians. In fact the Somalis did say that they will postpone their infighting to fight the outside enemy, which was Ethiopia and once done with them they will resume with their internal conflict. The Somalis resented the Ethiopians and they did not want anything to do with them (Masese, 2012).

Even to date, whenever AMISOM makes a social media post let us say on Face book or Twitter, you will see radicalized Somalia youths demanding that AMISOM should leave Somalia and let Somalis deal with their problems internally. This is the radicalization that most of the Somalis have gone through. Al-shabaab has managed to shape their mind in such a way that, Somalia can only solve their conflicts without the international community.

The Ethiopian incursion ignited the sense of nationalism in the Somalis towards fighting the ENDF – ‘Kafirs’ to leave Somalia. Those in the Diaspora sent monetary aid to the warlords and Al-shabaab in Somalia to aid them fight ENDF. This anti-western ideology by Al-Qaeda was replicated in the Somalia people. This is largely attributed to the literature they are exposed to (Masese, 2012).

It is at this juncture that some elements of Al-Qaeda entered Somalia in order to aid the Somalis in defending 'Islam'. Originally there was no intention of inviting international terrorists into the Somalia conflict but because of the ENDF incursion, the international terrorists and indeed anyone who was ready to buy into the idea that Somalis wanted to defend Islam were invited to join the conflict. The Al-Qaeda teachings were easy bearing in mind that Somalis are deeply religious and respected religious leaders – Sheikhs. The religious leaders exploited this opportunity to radicalize the population especially youths that America and indeed the western world is an enemy of Islam (Masese, 2012).

This brief history is important to understand so that as a researcher or scholar one gets to know how this outfit is 'exporting' terrorism into Kenya through radicalization.

It is important to state that Kenya as a country has largely faced international terrorism and limited domestic terrorism. However, as days advance, we might see a reverse of it whereby domestic terrorism might take over. This is so because; there is a lot of cross-border terrorism perpetuated by the Al-shabaab terrorist group.

Mandera county has suffered immensely from international terrorism due to its proximity to the border of Kenya and Somalia. The terrorists easily cross the border through Elwak a small town centre which is approximately 7 kilometres from the Somalia border. The terrorists also cross the border through some other small town centres like Arabia, Fino, Lafey, Omar Jillo, Koromey, Kotulo Mandera, Bula Hawa, Mandera town itself among other small centres in Mandera County.

It is important to note that, security agencies have put their best foot forward in fighting terrorism in Mandera County and the North Eastern Region in general but still the terrorists manage to infiltrate into the Kenyan borders. The Somali clans stretch into Somalia and this helps the terrorists to cross into Kenya disguising as Kenyans. The Somalis along the border of Kenya and Somalia speak the same language and share clan affiliations and this sometimes makes it difficult to discriminate who Al-shabaab are and who are not. This situation is aggravated when the Somalis living in the Kenyan border harbor those crossing into the Kenyan borders not knowing that some of them have ill intentions and they belong to Al-shabaab.

2.4.2 Domestic/Homegrown/Local Terrorism

This kind of terrorism has commenced entrenching itself in Kenya. The reason behind this is radicalization which the Al-shabaab group has embarked on as a means of recruiting the youths of Kenya into terrorism. It has been observed that youths from along the coast region of Kenya and the North Eastern region too have become the target of this terrorist group. This is so probably because of them being largely Muslim affiliates which make them an easy audience to reach through Mosques.

As it has been observed in this study, the attacks in Garissa University, DisitD2 Restaurant, the youths involved were Kenyans. This clearly shows that domestic terrorism is on the rise though not so advanced. The government through the use of conventional counter-terrorism strategies can reverse this trend before it gets out of hand.

When comparing the countries which share a border with the Federal Republic of Somalia such countries as Ethiopia, Djibouti and Eritrea, it is Kenya which has witnessed a large number of recruits into Al-Shabaab. It is documented that Kenya is the producer of the largest number of foreign fighters in Al-Shabaab terror outfit. It is believed that up to 25% of the approximate figure of the Al-Shabaab of 7,000 fighters comprises of Kenyans (Burrige, 2014).

Anderson and McKnight, in their report of a study conducted on Al-Shabaab in relation to clan politics, it was established that Kenya has become the potential ground for recruitment of youths to join Al-Shabaab ranks. This did not begin in October 2011 when the KDF troops crossed into Somalia but long before that. It is believed that the recruits majorly are sourced from the Counties of Isiolo and Garissa in Kenya's North Eastern region. The same is done along the Kenyan Coastal region where recruits are sourced from majorly in Lamu and Mombasa Counties. When it comes to Nairobi County, recruits are sourced from Eastleigh area. These recruits are guided by the recruiters on the routes to follow to get into Somalia for (Anderson and McKnight, 2015). If anything, from the attacks witnessed in Kenya, it has been noted that Kenyan youths who got recruited into Al-Shabaab are the ones directly involved in carrying out those attacks.

Botha (2014) observes that it is these Kenyan-born terrorists in the Al-Shabaab ranks who assist in organizing and executing those attacks on the Kenyan soil. This is after they have received the training. They do the planning both in Somalia and Kenya because of the facilitation they receive from the sleeper cells which they activate in Kenya. These terrorists get it easier to enter Kenya as a result of them being citizens of

the country. Once they enter the country, they melt into the population which makes it hard for the government to track and arrest.

Now that we a high number of recruits into Al-Shabaab has been witnessed, it is self-explanatory that Al-Shabaab has been able to establish wide networks and sleeper cells whereby local youths who have been radicalized are engaged in the carrying out of terrorists attacks in Kenya. These homegrown terrorists are a big challenge to the security agencies of Kenya since they know their targets well enough. For instance, it was noted that, four out of the five attackers of the Garissa University were Kenyans. Another example to take note of is the Westgate Mall assault in which it was realized that those who were involved in the planning and execution of the attack were once Somalia refugees who were hosted in Kenya at some point. There has also been an influx of Al-Shabaab returnees from Somalia who are trainees of the militant group or otherwise is enough reason to show that Kenya has always been the fertile ground for Al-Shabaab recruitment and radicalization (Botha, 2014).

Adow (2015) does provide a list of eight names of returnees from Somalia who participated in merciless killings of villagers in Kwale County along the Kenyan coastal region. These criminals murdered in cold blood three village elders using crude weapons (hammers). Onsarigo (2016) makes a conclusion that, it is evident from the goings-on in the country that Al-Shabbab has a number of homegrown fighters, complex network of terror cells and enough intelligence network which makes use of both returnees from Somalia as well as the Al-Shabaab sympathizers who live within the population.

Radicalization in Mandera County – Kenya

From the onset, it is important to underscore the fact that there are a lot of efforts put in place by Al-shabaab and generally the international terrorists to radicalize the youths and the population in general. This happens sometimes in the auspices of Mosques and other meetings held locally. It has been reported a number of times that the militant group sneaks into the Kenyan borders in Mandera County and takes the stage especially on the religious prayer meetings to spread their messages meant to radicalize the locals.

The media contributes towards radicalization agenda being spearheaded by terrorists through their tone and angle adopted in reporting their news. The tone and angle adopted by the media - while reporting about Mandera County is a negative one in the sense that, the county is depicted as a hot-bed of terrorism. Moreover, the media portray the county as neglected by national government over the years hence the locals adopting a negative perception about the government. This has made a number of youths develop a don't-care attitude towards government and even going further ahead to join the terrorist groups.

In order to mitigate this threat of terrorism in Mandera County, the County government of Mandera in conjunction with the National government has organized a number of forums to discuss and come up with strategies to deter Al-shabaab from radicalizing the members of Mandera County. The county government has come up with a fully-fledged department of counter-radicalization and violent extremism which is responsible for fighting radicalization and violent extremism in the County (Daily Nation, 2019).

Mandera has always been known as the 'hot-bed' of terrorism for several years. The incidents of attacks have led to many deaths and injuries. Most of these attacks started in the year 2011 climaxing in the year 2014 where within ten days 64 people were killed (Daily Nation, 2019).

The presence of terror sleeper cells in Mandera County has aggravated the matter. The local community has suffered too the consequences of the presence of the terror cells through terrorist attacks and economic neglect. The security agencies have also not been spared. Through IED attacks on the roads, many lives have been lost (Daily Nation, 2012).

According to the experts involved in these meetings, it was put forth to the local population that there is need for them to be wary of the twisted Islamic teachings used by extremists in radicalization. One of the participants did remark that, the locals need to be in position to identify early signs of radicalization in the way the extremists approach the Islamic teachings in the County (Daily Nation, 2012).

The forum did suggest some behaviour to watch in identifying the people who have been radicalized which include: the radicalized persons tend to avoid the company of other people, they want to be alone. They also feel ostracized by their peers. They further argued that, a radicalized person is always looking for a new thrill or source of excitement and more often than not, these kinds of people have the urge to go out and correct a perceived injustice (Daily Nation, 2012).

One speaker in the Mandera Building Local Capacities for Prevention and Countering Violent Extremism (anti-radicalization) forum did suggest that to prevent radicalization in Mandera County, the County government and generally national government officials need to develop a communication strategy to explain government policies and also development of inter-cultural dialogue amongst the communities living in the county. This will diffuse the suspicions and the lack of information which leads to the local population feeling neglected by government and hence susceptible to radicalization. The government must provide jobs to the youths and security agencies to develop friendly approaches to dealing with the local population so as to win their hearts and minds so that they ultimately win the local population to support the security initiatives in the county (Daily Nation, 2012).

In the CVE forum, 350 locals from 30 wards in Mandera East, Lafey Kotulo and Mandera South sub-counties were involved. The Governor of Mandera County Ali Roba did indicate that, about 210 religious across the County leaders had been engaged in the efforts aimed countering terrorism and violent extremism – Radicalization. A resident of Arabia centre in Mandera County appreciated the efforts of countering violent extremism by saying that the locals lacked training on the effects of radicalization (Daily Nation, 2012).

From the conclusion made through a baseline study conducted by Malaika Foundation in Mandera County is that, the incidents of radicalization, violent extremism and terrorism taking place in the County are mainly linked to the Al-shabaab militant group which is based in Somalia. The study found out that the biggest challenge in the County was just

the attacks themselves but the ideology which convinces the locals to participate or support the attacks. Al-shabaab has subjected the local population into living in fear and intimidation due to the ideology of fighting the enemies of Islam as it is purported by the militant group (Daily Nation, 2012).

There has been witnessed a rise in the levels of radicalization attributed to many factors. First and foremost being high levels of poverty among the population in Muslim dominated areas in the region. Development has not been trickling down effectively to the marginalized areas and Mandera County is one of these marginalized areas. The high poverty levels present a fertile ground for radicalization. People here are willing and ready to receive the twisted teachings which promise of a better livelihood. Thus, the radical religious leaders take this opportunity to present their teachings unimpeded to their audience. The youths find solace in these teachings and thus opt to join the extremist groups so that they are able to lead a better life as promised.

It is important to note that the countries in the region where Muslims are majority have not either been able to deal comprehensively or completely with the socio-economic problems which their citizens face present chance for their people to be available recipients of the extremist ideas. Some members of the population rise and broadcast resentment and hatred for government policy making the local population adopt their stand hence the susceptibility to the joining of the extremist groups. Members of the community feel excluded from government projects and development agenda and mainstream politics. This kind of feeling of exclusion makes members vulnerable to radicalization.

The government strategy of countering terrorism and violent extremism is another factor which encourages the spread of terrorism. When the government uses unconventional means, this acts as an ember to terrorism. Some governments may opt to conduct extra judicial killings (e.g. the killing of Aboud Rogo) and disappearances. This evokes anger against the government thence making the local population fight government strategies aimed at combating terrorism.

Radicalization has largely been successful along the Kenyan North Eastern region and along the coastal region. Terrorists' sympathizers and recruiters as well as the radical preachers have succeeded mainly due to their meticulous planning and execution of their teachings and messages with an aim of achieving maximum effects. The messages are formulated in such a way that one cannot distort them. They have studied their audience over time and thence designed effective ways of delivering their messages to ensure that those messages are understood in the intended context. In most cases, these messages developed are very simple and straightforward for one to understand. Their arguments are so compelling and attractive as well as convincing.

The process of radicalization has also been thought to have succeeded due to the fact that the ones involved in the efforts to radicalize understand very well the cultural sensitivities of the particular communities thus making it easier for them to pass those messages easily and win the trust of the locals. Due to their background in Islam this too endeared them to their audience which is composed of Muslim believers. The parents were convinced that their children who will be recruited into Al-shabaab were in the right place to agitate for the religion of Islam.

Due to the foregoing, the young people were convinced to get recruited into terrorism due to the radical preachers' carefully designed radicalizing messages. These preachers' superior knowledge exhibited which is able to bring about relevant scenarios to the local conditions to fit into their grand strategy of recruitment is a great asset towards spreading the tentacles of terrorism.

The internet technology has also contributed to the success of terrorists' recruitment of youth into its ranks. The internet is used as a platform to pass across radical religious ideologies and messages to the population. It is difficult for government to regulate the internet space. Messages are passed to the youths castigating government and portraying it as weak and not interested in improving their lives. This makes the youths hate government and any other strategy thereof.

It has been established that the radical Islamic ideology is rapidly spilling over into Kenya from Somalia. The radical ideology has witnessed a bit of tensions between the Muslims and Christians in Kenya. Radicalization areas in Kenya include: areas in Nairobi such as Eastleigh and Majengo. Other areas are Mombasa's South Coast, North Eastern Kenya and parts of Eastern Kenya. Of interest is the Mandera County where radicalization is taking place on an alarming rate. Some of the messages peddled are that once Somalia is liberated then they would move to Kenya and beyond to deal with the injustices faced by Muslims and eventually liberate the Muslims (Masese, 2012).

A study conducted by Masese (2012) indicates that while some preachers spread their radical teachings in Mosques, others did so outside the Mosques though informally in social events. Those targeted for the recruitment were young people below the age of 24 years.

Recruitment goes on in the Madrassas by some radical preachers who usually take advantage of lack of supervision in the Madrassas to spread their radical teachings. These radical preachers are able to access these places easily in disguise of teaching Islamic religion.

The study found out that there is a deliberate move to target the youths with low level of education majorly those with education level of primary school with a few with a few high school drop outs. In this kind of a set-up, facts are easily misrepresented to win the hearts and minds of these young people to join terrorism. It is very easy to indoctrinate such kind of young people considering their low level of education. This is so because they are easily convinced on matters to do with religion and can seldom question anything (Masese, 2012).

It is from these radical teachings that these young people are confronted by life's fallacies and contradictions as presented by the learned and radicalized preachers. Some of these preachers are so learned and well informed such that they are able to pass their messages easily to win the conviction of the young people. Some of these preachers who purport to have been once engineers, doctors etc left to join terrorism so as to fight for the cause of Islam without regarding their education. The common messages preached

centre on helping Muslims faced with injustices to revenge against the injustices or discrimination by governments and individuals (Masese, 2012).

Al-Shabaab and Terrorism

The Al-Shabaab terrorists by the year 2007 had become a great threat to the Transitional Federal Government of Somalia (TFG). Radicalized Islamic extremist groups had formed an internal extremist group which they referred to as terrorism. A big number of radicalized youths in Somalia had been recruited to lend a helping hand to the Taliban who had the control of the “warriors of God” – the Mujahideen who were based in Afghanistan. Eventually, during the US led war in Afghanistan, the Al-Qaeda terrorist group would reach out to other international militant groups to continue in pursuit of their terrorist interests. About such times, Somalia which is a failed state became a fertile breeding and training ground for terrorism (Okoth, Matanga & Onkware, 2018).

A good number of fighters in Somalia went to Afghanistan to fight for the Taliban while others got recruited to join the Al-Qaeda terrorist groups. It is during this nexus of Al-Shabaab emerged, determined to employ the use of terror to reign terror on the TFG and their supporters who were that time Ethiopia and Kenya apart from the Western powers (Okoth, Matanga & Onkware, 2018).

Al-shabaab has emerged as the main fighting group in Somalia. The real potential of the Al-shabaab militant group provoked the African Union’s troops’ intervention in Somalia in the year 2007 being led by Ethiopia, Uganda later on Sierra Leon, Burundi and Kenya (Okoth, Matanga & Onkware, 2018).

In the pursuit of peace in Somalia, the Intergovernmental Authority and Development (IGAD) has been in the fore front in support of the TFG for a stable Somalia. IGAD was in the fore front in the formation of TFG and when the TFG was threatened by attacks from terrorists, the IGAD demanded for the AU intervention in Somalia. The United Nations Security Council passed the resolution that barred the neighbouring countries from joining the intervention. After the sustained attacks escalated, the UNSC permitted the IGAD to intervene in Somalia and AMISOM came into effect I n the year 2007. Kenya joined the war in Somalia in the year 2011 under the operation code named ‘Operation Linda Nchi’ and after 6 months rehated into AMISOM (Okoth, Matanga & Onkware, 2018).

Due to lack of a stable government in Somalia, this situation has led to the thriving of Al-shabaab. This outfit has in the recent past been effective in carrying out terrorist attacks in Somalia and across borders due to the amount of preparations they put into their training activities. The persistent nature of Al-shabaab, careful planning and training has largely made Al-shabaab succeed in conducting serious attacks in Somalia and in other neighbouring countries (Okoth, Matanga & Onkware, 2018).

According to Okoth, Matanga and Onkware (2018) the complex linkages between Al-shabaab and Al-Qaeda terrorist group and their training activities both in Sudan and in Somalia culminate into illegal and sometimes forced recruitment into terrorism of youths in Somalia and Kenya as well as other neighbouring countries in the horn of Africa. According to a senior public administrator, Al-shabaab recruiters have targeted street children from the Cities of Nairobi and Mombasa. The youths are given hope that their

unemployment, land alienation, poverty, lack of proper curriculum especially in the Madrassas will be sorted through accepting to be recruited and deal with those injustices. The ethnic profiling of Somalis in Kenya has also acted as a catalyst for the youths getting radicalized into accepting the extremists' groups' ideology.

Most recruitment centres for the Al-shabaab militia are found in the Jubba region near the Kenya-Somalia border. They make use of foreign fighters as their trainers. These foreigners have closely guarded identities. They mostly come from countries such as Chad, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Eritrea, Egypt, and Nigeria among other countries (Masese, 2012).

Al-shabaab outfit does not enjoy fully support from the people of Somalia simply because of the nature of the activities they engage in. They engage in these acts in the name of fighting the enemies of Islam. They are involved in a forceful collection of tax – *Zakat*. They are also involved in kidnappings and bombing of the civilian population. For example in the year 2017, Al-shabaab was involved in bombing in Mogadishu killing hundreds of civilians. These acts make them unpopular to the citizens of Somalia.

Terrorism carried out in Kenya is largely international terrorism. This is especially attributed to the Al-shabaab terror outfit domiciled in Somalia. One cannot talk about terrorism in Kenya and Mandera as a county without referring to Al-shabaab because they are the terrorist group that conducts these acts of terror in Kenya and Mandera as a County. This terrorist group has spread its tentacles not only into Kenya but also to other neighbouring countries such as Uganda and Tanzania. It is documented that, the terrorist attack which happened in the year 2010 in Kampala Uganda killing 76 people and

leaving over 78 others with injuries were planned from inside Somalia by Saleh Nablan together with Abu Godane the leader of Al-shabaab that time (Masese 2012 Citing GOU 2011).

The use of Somalia as the planning and staging ground for terrorist attacks in the neighbouring countries has been a great concern to the security practitioners who conceive Somalia as a big contributor in the spread of international terrorism in the region. There are a number of factor which contribute towards the spread of international terrorism from Somalia to neighbouring countries which include: porous borders among the region countries, illegal cross border trade, lack of cross border counter-terrorism strategy, lack of strong cross border collaboration amongst neighbouring states, lack of robust information exchange, limited cross border security collaboration, absence of legal framework to punish culprits, terrorist financing and money laundering across borders, lack of effective cross border security, lack of intelligence sharing across borders and presence of uncensored media involved in perpetuating terrorism to gain audience which translates to profits (Masese, 2012).

Mass media plays a key role in aiding international terrorism. The media which always projects terrorist attacks in the region has attracted international terrorists into Somalia. If these terrorists did not find media which is readily available to bring their agenda into the international stage then they would not come into Somalia. It is not that the government should introduce draconian laws to suffocate the media or strangle the media. It should be left to the media to impress on their employees to observe strict ethical conduct while undertaking their duties of reporting new (Masese, 2012).

The press should be objective when reporting news especially those ones dealing with terrorism. If terrorists know that their messages are less likely to reach their target audience, they may be persuaded to abandon those acts. Therefore this will result into waning influence of public opinion by terrorists. The media has a responsibility of not reporting a terrorist event as a heroic event but should help in castigating and condemning the terrorists thereby propping the counter-terrorism strategies put in place by government in fighting terrorism (Masese, 2012).

2.4.3 Interrogating the Role of the Military: Media in Setting Agenda for Military

After reviewing all the literature relevant to how media directly and indirectly aids terrorists in advancing their agenda, a number of questions arise. What is the role of the Military/Police or other Security Agencies in countering the threat posed by the Terrorists? Should the Security agencies watch helplessly as these terrorist attacks increase in intensity and fatality? Is there something to be done to mitigate these attacks? Can media work together with the security agencies to alleviate the pain and suffering caused by terrorists?

According to Ligawa (2018), states have a responsibility to protect (R2P) their citizens against terrorism. The principle of R2P recognizes the fact that states have the sole responsibility to protect their populations from war crimes, ethnic cleansing, crimes against humanity and genocide. The International community too has an obligation to support states to ensure the R2P succeeds.

There is an established joint office of the advisers to the Secretary General of the UN on genocide prevention and Responsibility to Protect (Global Centre for Responsibility to Protect, 2011).

Bellamy (2012) claims that between the years 2006 and 2010, approximately 16 million civilians were killed in the Somalia conflict. There is no much which has been done to stop these heinous killings. The element of R2P has not been well received by the Citizens of Somalia who see AMISOM as an abuse to their sovereignty. The radicalized ones think that the R2P intervention in Somalia is a ploy for the West to recolonize or effect regime change in Africa and Somalia in particular.

The R2P includes three aspects: the responsibility to react, the responsibility to prevent and thirdly, the responsibility to rebuild. The intervening force in this case the AMISOM forces should be in position to rebuild the country of Somalia (Scahill, 2013).

When a state intervenes in response to human rights abuse in another country, the intention must be the right one contrary to the just-case intention. The stated intention objective must be at the heart of the intervening state and not some ulterior motive or some unstated strategic interests (Khadiagala, 2008).

However, under the international statutes on conflict resolution, mounting a military operation should be the last resort. It should be considered an option though once other plausible peaceful resolution mechanisms have failed. In the case of Somalia many options of peaceful coercion open in interstate conflict such as diplomacy, negotiations and sanctions are not feasible due to lack of a stable and a state that can be put to task to

account for human rights violations. This is because the Federal Government of Somalia is not recognized internationally as a legitimate government (International Crisis Group, 2008).

Considering the above, the Kenya Defence Force entered Somalia as a response to protect its interests in the region and beyond. Al-shabaab, an internationally recognized militant group had become a nuisance in conducting kidnappings from Kenya. The notable one being the kidnapping of a tourist from Lamu called Marie Dedieu aged 66 years in October 2011. Kenya cited Chapter 7 of the UN Charter which allows states to adopt robust measures to protect themselves.

Globally we have witnessed a number of terrorist attacks being staged by terrorist groups against civilians so as to instill fear and repression in the population. Many people have expressed their feelings that the scariest and threatening aspect to human existence is terrorism. It has taken many innocent lives and it threatens world peace. It is in these situations that political movements with hidden political agenda take centre stage to pit the citizens against one another in order to gain greater support from their target audience. There is need for the world to come together and sit down at the table of discussion to reflect on how the media is knowingly or unknowingly is contributing to the tense climate created by terrorism and the practical steps to be taken to address this matter (UNESCO, 2017).

Terrorism is not a new phenomenon in the contemporary world today. It is a phenomenon which has existed for a while now. A good number of countries have suffered due to terrorism in the last many decades both internally and externally to the

extent that even some states get involved in state terrorism as a political strategy against their civilians. However, many a times the local population triumphs against state terrorism emerging even stronger and more resilient a proof enough that repression and brutal rebuttals are not equal to the desire for long term progress, shared values and UNESCO, 2017).

Contextually, media is critical in providing verifiable news and informed opinion. In such times of tense and critical environment when the populace is at the edge of moral collapse and tempers have flared the media occupies a central role in bringing calm and reassurance to the population. Fraught and complicated is the relationship between the media and terrorism and it should be understood as such. At its worst however, is a wicked symbiotic kind of a relationship in which the terrorist groups through their terrorist attacks, the media provides them with sustained and sometimes live coverage for a an extended period of time and the process the media draws huge attention from the audience due to such acts of terror UNESCO, 2017).

By providing this sustained media coverage, the media is not at all alleviating human suffering that terrorism causes but rather aggravate it. Many lives have been lost in these acts of terror and so much publicity by the media on these terrorists should be shunned. These acts of terror should be criticized and condemned and those involved must be pursued and brought to justice as soon as possible so that further acts of terrorism are discouraged and deterred UNESCO, 2017).

The terrorists do not commit these heinous acts against the population just for the sake of it. Their ultimate agenda is to divide the population along certain lines through the creation of fear and suspicion among them simply because of their veiled selfish interests, bad ideology and hatred. They desire to ignite repression, discord and discrimination. Their aim is to present themselves as correct in their prediction of widespread persecution and to attract sympathizers to their violent ideology of terrorism. They seek to create an environment of hopelessness in the face of attacks and polarized responses from the public UNESCO, 2017).

Terrorism thrives in the hope that the fear being instilled in the population will drive a new wave of populism and nationalism such that in the end of it all the freedoms which a nation has worked hard to achieve they are subjected to retribution. These attacks are not direct to just a certain country or nation but to the whole world. Governments and those in authority should consider carefully the response to these attacks so that they do not play into the hands of the enemy which generates its own victims who become martyrs for further terrorist recruitment UNESCO, 2017).

In the contemporary world of fragmented audiences and numerous media platforms going through difficult economic times, media practitioners must refuse the urge to make news sensational with an aim of attracting and retaining large audiences. The journalists must seek to focus on the global point of view as they endeavour to pay more attention to the kind of words they use, the examples they refer to and the photos they project UNESCO, 2017).

Media and indeed journalists should avoid speculation as well as blame game in the heat of confusion which is occasioned by an occurrence of a terrorist attack whenever enough information is lacking yet there is immense demand for information from the public. The media houses and journalists must take to account carefully the fact that there is something that naturally accompanies terrorism as a violent act that ignites an element of fear in many people that is far unequal to the actual level of risks involved (UNESCO, 2017).

They must do all of this by ensuring that they do not put themselves (media houses) or their staff in harm's way while pursuing for a news story. Most importantly, they must avoid promoting hatred and division as well as radicalization in the society. Terrorism and violent extremism are challenges which most likely stay with us for a long time into the future yet if we choose to work in unity to bring down these explosive news which are usually blown out of proportion through sustained coverage and stigmatization of minority groups we shall surmount these challenges. Definitely some of the motivation to commit violence against civilians will disappear (UNESCO, 2017).

The problems and dilemmas that result from acts of terrorism are immediately clear. Citizens anticipate that the media will accurately and promptly inform them as timely as possible without exaggerating the news or sensationalizing the news. The authorities constantly call for judicious coverage by bringing to the fore the kind of risks involved as a result of excessive reportage on the integrity of operations or the calmness of the citizens. Accusations of media playing accomplices of terrorism to attract audiences

constantly are leveled against the media, who are often operating on the rush to break the news in the midst of confusion (UNESCO, 2017).

Acts of terrorism also test the media freedom and independence in other words, media to a certain extent takes values hostage. Once a terrorist attack or attacks have happened, media could be as an act of patriotism or by their own calculation or under duress, generally follow the orders and regulations of their authorities or the public emotions and opinions, at the risk of measured self-censorship and eventually making themselves megaphones of the state. National security, geopolitical interests or the requirement of living in unity all legitimately lead to calls for the media to practice restraint, but also more problematically for censorship too (UNESCO, 2017).

Many times governments have used the terrorism premise to silence the media within their reach or jurisdiction and tried to tame outspoken journalists. They have also abused the term to incriminate and criminalize legitimate demands or actions. The population has also acted as a censor by criticizing the media that appeared to them to covering an attack or an armed conflict (UNESCO, 2017).

2.5 Conceptual Framework

The study was underpinned by two theories namely: Agenda setting by Shaw & McCombs (1972), and Liberalism by Immanuel Kant (1795).

2.5.1 Agenda Setting Theory

The function of media in influencing or helping in forming opinions and behavior formations, especially on issues of public interest is important in understanding how media plays a role in either promoting or combating war against terrorism. Albert Bandura (1977) in his Social Learning Theory argues that people learn “through storage of observations” as framed by the media. The theory, drawing its findings from research on television effects on children, argues that people learn through attention, retention of what they have seen and then they replicate that in their behaviors.

Exposure to certain messages over a long time has the effect of influencing peoples’ thinking and behavior. McCombs and Shaw (1972), outlines the various steps that people, consumers of media products, undergo in changing and influencing their behavior; attention, comprehension, yielding, retention and actions. Media consumers thus should have the interest to pay attention to the message; they must understand the message for effective communication and meaning sharing; they must yield to the message and be persuaded into accepting and adopting/adapting; must have the capacity and willingness to retain the messages – the staying power and remembrance; and finally replication through informed actions that result into the desired behavior or effect desired.

This process of media messaging is thus critical in shaping consumers’ perceptions and behavior formations. This is also shared by McQuail and Windahl as cited in McCombs and Shaw (1972) who argue that the agenda setting takes a three step approach. First, media’s agenda is transformed into the public agenda through priming and prominence.

This sustained coverage of the agenda is then able to influence policy makers into policy agenda and decisions.

McCombs and Shaw (1972) posit that what media sets as agenda is not necessarily the agenda of the mass consumers/ public and the resultant effect may not be the desired and/ or with beneficial impact. They argue that there is a likelihood of a dissonance between media agenda, and public agenda; that there was great difference between what audiences thought was important vis-à-vis actual media content. Katz Lang observed that while it is doubtful whether the media have great power to change people's attitudes, it has great influence on what people think about and perceive as important based on the prominence and choices of stories made by the media. He notes that there is a direct proportion between the emphasis placed on an issue and their manner of presentation in the media (Littlejohn, 2002).

The agenda setting theory which propounds issues of salience in the society by the media stems from the assumption that the media predetermine what issues are regarded as important and worthy of public attention at any given time a given society. The theory argues that though the media may not change a person's perspective on a certain matter, it may have an influence on an individual person's perception with regard to that which is significant (Agbo and Ukozor, 2000). Shaw and McCombs (1977) describe media's role as the agenda setters as the media's capability to psychologically arrange and systematize our planet for us. This study aims at helping to understand how agenda setting can be used by the media to hide inconsistencies in news presentation as the public are confined to a certain issue of discussion as already charted by the media.

Along with the manner in which the news is presented, the frequency of publication plays an important role. Readers tend to consider items which are reported on frequently as being very important. From the readers' perspective, agenda setting is more important when issues are relatively new or unknown, since the need for orientation would then be greatest (Oosthuizen, 1996).

Granting wide publicity and attention to acts of terrorism piles public pressure on government to give in to terrorist's demands and agenda. For example, the continued reproduction and republishing of Al-Shabaab's agenda and calls for withdrawal of KDF from Somalia has put the Kenyan government on the defensive with the Al-Shabaab's agenda being elevated into the national discourse. Could the media have framed the issues differently from that of terrorist? Could the media have excluded some of the messages from the public in their publications and broadcasts?

This study employed the agenda setting theory in a move aimed at showing how the media sets the terrorists' agenda in the public domain by immense publicity it gives to their news. The media plays a major role in shaping what their audience should think about as well as talk about. This theory puts into perspective the independent variable of Media. It is relevant in the sense that it explains how the media sets the agenda of terrorism in society. When the media continuously discusses matters terrorism, they end up providing terrorists with the much needed publicity. However, the theory did not cater for the dependent variable of Terrorism. Therefore, this necessitated the use of a second theory called Liberalism theory.

2.5.2 Liberalism Theory

The liberalism theory of international relations has its origins in the idealism theory. Drawing from the works of Immanuel Kant, Perpetual Peace, the basic assumptions of liberalism theory, which seek to counter the realists' notion of absolute sovereignty and unchallengeable role and power of the state, the theory seeks to advocate for plurality of international relations actors (Shoemaker, 2006).

Liberalists argue that the human being is perfect/ or perfectible and even when he results to violence, it is because the structures forming the international systems are imperfect and make it inevitable to engage in violence. They also question the global balance of power and argue that the world can only function aptly through a system of "complex interdependence" where all actors, not just the states, are accorded equal opportunities and leeway to function. Just like Realism, Liberalism admits that the international system is anarchic in the sense that there is no authority higher than the state itself (Moravcsik, 1992).

Liberalists hold the view that states are interdependent and by enhancing their cooperation in trade, international accords and shared goals, will possibly yield gains in world peace. As such, terrorism can as well be combated by globally uniting and cooperating (Goldman, 2013).

Liberalists value the role of multiple actors (states and non-state actors), multilateralism rather than unilateralism) in addressing global issues like security and others. States' security depends on mutual collaboration and cooperation, as it helps to foster trust among allies and hence enhance security. Nevertheless, it is important to raise the

question of whether tactics and measures taken are in line with the international law (The National Defence Journal, 2018).

Ideologies of democracy, freedom of the individual and civil societies is paramount, and private sector (the media for example) must be allowed to function without state's intervention; that strong institutions are integral part of a functioning global system. The concept of freedom and rights, especially as advocated in the democratic states like Kenya, is a function and ideology of liberalists. And these rights and freedoms cut across individuals and institutions, including the media (Nye, 2003).

This study assessed how the liberalist approach to governance and management of institutions including public participation fuels terrorism. The study sought to assess the doctrines of democracy and freedom, multiple actors and institutions internationally and their impact on domestic and global terrorism; how expression of such doctrines in instances where actors like media and related institutions transmit messages which reach millions of people without paying due diligence to its impacts of continuity of terrorism (Lumbaca & David, 2011).

This theory caters for the terrorism variable which is the dependent variable in the sense that, we live in a community of states and nations. These communities have various state and non-state actors e.g. the media, the security agencies, CBOs, FBOs, IGOs etc. all these actors must be involved towards successfully combating terrorism. No one given body will succeed alone in combating terrorism.

2.6 Conceptual Model

The conceptual model for this study was based on the interrelationship between the dependent variable and the independent variable. The dependent variable in this study was terrorist activities while the independent variable was the media reportage. Intervening variables include: Language barrier, Illiteracy, poor infrastructural development and Clanism.

In this study, ‘media reportage’ was the independent variable. The media gives massive coverage to terrorist acts because they satisfy their certain conventional requirements of live broadcasts, as they are emotionally significant or highly dramatic, compelling to view or read.

In interrogating this variable, the research focused on the media in terms of objectivity and accuracy, framing, reporting and magnifying the threat by the media when reporting terrorism. Although the media look for drama in all the events they consider worthy of being reported, the emphasis on the tragedy, violence, reactive and theatrical aspects of terrorist acts at the expense of detailed analysis of the events is so one-sided.

Azeez (2009) argues that the dramatic ways the media report the unfortunate acts of terrorism encourage further violence. Furthermore, he suggests that if any form of political violence goes unreported or not reported sensationally, it is likely to have a reducing effect on such violence simply because these events have gone unnoticed. If the media focuses so much on them, they become spectacular and attract massive audience. For example, the *Sunday Nation* (2015), Kenya’s and East Africa’s largest circulating Sunday newspaper, published sensational news on what it described as Al-

Shabaab's intended attack on Kenyan Parliament. The published story went into details on how the terrorists intended to carry the attacks, their number and how previous attempts had been foiled.

Scholars argue that this kind of reporting, especially when such attacks have been foiled, and repetition of previous attacks, or attempts inevitably works to amplify and actualize some of the objectives of the terrorists' organizations and organizers (Herman, 1998). Thus such reporting oblivious of "terrorists' values and norms" only aims at enabling actualization of their agenda – that of either physical or psychological attack.

In this study, 'Terrorist activities' was the dependent variable. Terrorists groups in most cases undertake the kinds of terrorist acts aimed attracting media attention (Paletz & Schmid, 1992). In other words, the acts of terror committed by the militant groups are mostly guided by the principle of newsworthiness. How endearing will they be towards the media which will translate to large audience? Therefore, three factors are critical in this relationship. In the forefront is the factor of degree of violence which is usually conceptualized in the form of the number of victims and property decimated. The extent of chaos and confusion instigated on the civilian population; the more and painful it is, the successful the act of terrorism it is. The more people hurt, the more interesting the action will be for journalists.

Factor number two in the attainment of publicity in the media entails propaganda and recruitment. Acts of terror and violent extremism serve as an effective means to recruit more followers. There also exists what is termed as "legal" ways through which terrorists try to gain media and generally the audiences' attention. There exists the

employment of literature which has political connotations, meetings, posters, speeches, radio broadcasts and pamphlets. A good chunk of the audiences are well versed with the electronic video messages which the Al-Qaeda terrorists employ as a means of executing their mission. These are among of the activities employed by terrorists to attract attention so as to pass their message across (Nacos, 2006).

The third factor embodies symbolism; how terrorists choose an optimal or prime time and place for their actions. Terrorists will in most cases select the news prime time as the appropriate moment for their actions such that they will be in a position to gain much of the audience's attention fully as desired. Firstly, someone naturally expects that terrorists strike their targets whenever they think that press reportage or coverage is guaranteed and readily available. Logically speaking, a city has big chances of being hit by terrorists than a remote area. Terrorists will also take advantage of the instances where the media is concentrated in readiness to cover some spectacular event which has just happened. The terrorists know too well that if they conduct an attack, their coverage is surely guaranteed and that it will be availed (Cziesche, 2007).

But as Wilkinson (1997) notes, 'for as long as terrorists commit acts of violence the mass media will continue to scramble to cover them in order to satisfy the desire of their audiences for dramatic stories in which there is inevitably huge public curiosity about both the victimisers and their victims'. Journalists cover acts of terrorism to justify their public role to inform, educate and set the agenda for issues of interest to their audience and not simply to serve the cause of terrorists despite the symbiotic nature of the relationship between news media and terrorist organizations.

In their book “Terrorism and the Mass Media”, Paletz and Schmid recommend that scholars and researchers should not whatsoever overemphasize the ever central role media plays in reinforcing terrorist groups’ strategies. They remark that terrorist groups neither depend on radio broadcasts, television channels nor survive on printed media to achieve their objects or aims. In other words, terrorists may choose other modes of communication to effectively deliver their messages unimpeded. But ultimately, it must be remembered that media play a critical role in helping terrorists succeed in planning and implementing their strategies (Paletz & Schmid 1992).

The intervening variables as enumerated earlier serve as the factors that propel or hinder the successful or failure of the media to influence positively or negatively as it may apply the outcome of terrorist activities. For instance, the intervening variable of Language barrier for instance propels the terrorists’ narrative of injustices against the people of Mandera occasioned by the presence of Security agencies in the area. The messages broadcasted in local dialects sometimes escape the knowledge of the security forces in the area. Therefore, this propels the terrorists’ agenda through gaining sympathizers and recruiting more members into the militia. Regarding the poor infrastructural development, the media lacks capacity to reach the remote areas of the County to verify news.

The intervening variable of poor communication network especially the mobile phone network coverage is poor in the area. Local militias and Al-Shabaab destroy communication masts and also the masts installed in the county are not sufficient to cover the entire county. Therefore some areas are not well covered with internet.

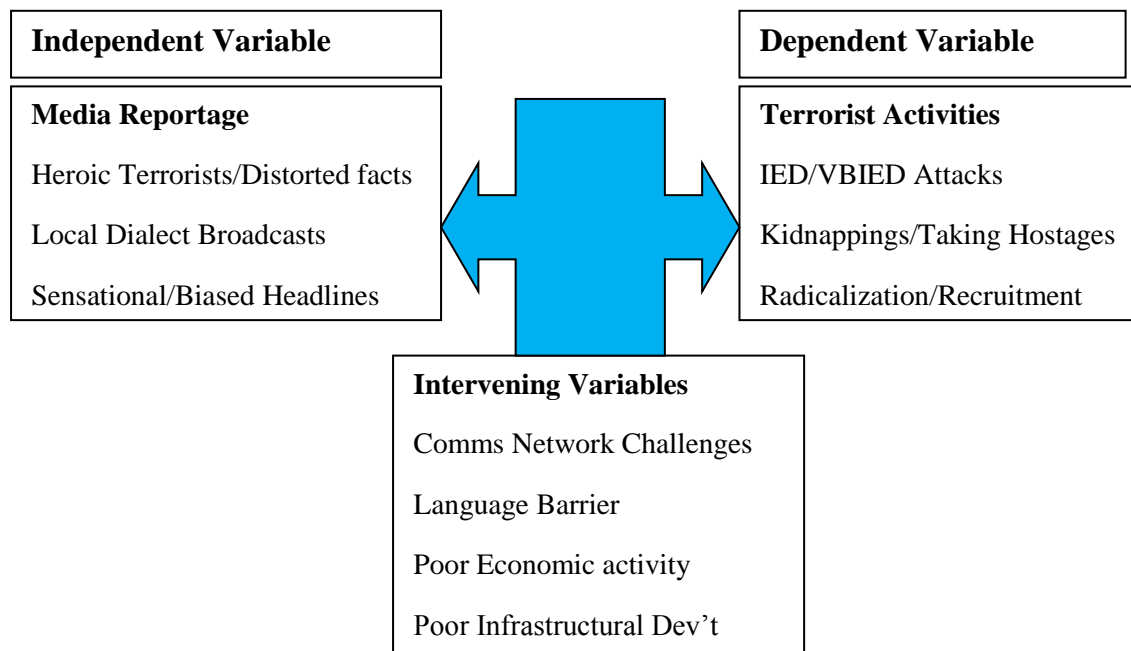


Figure 2.1: Conceptual model
Source: Researcher, 2019

2.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter has delved much into review of the relevant literature with regard to how media reports or covers terrorism. The literature reviewed shows the nature of media coverage towards terrorism, the effects this coverage has on the population and eventually the challenges the media faces while undertaking the reportage.

From the literature reviewed it is clear that conflict as it were is thought to be the bread and butter of journalism. Media audiences are usually happy and satisfied to read detailed stories on how events unfolded. Conflict offers media ready-made fodder for the media women and men to utilize in their quest to quench their audiences' thirst for information.

Terrorists in trying to attain publicity tactically make use of drafted formal messages through the media. Terrorists justify their use of violence in the sense that governments have failed to listen to their demands and so to bring the government to their table for negotiation, they feel that the employment of violent means is the only way to achieve their ends or political agenda (Paletz & Schmid, 1992).

Conflict as it were is thought to be the bread and butter of journalism. Conflict offers media ready-made fodder for the media women and men to utilize in their quest to quench their audiences' thirst for information. Terrorist attacks are revelatory for the media, not only on their mode of operation, reflexes and routines, but also their principles and values.

While reporting on terrorism, the media gets tested on the right to inform on events in an independent manner. In times of crises that threaten citizens' safety and compromise national security, the population strongly gets pressured to stand to attention. The media has a prime responsibility to insist that their employees know the kind of tone to adopt in presenting news. The tone should be measured and calm not to feed the noise machine thereby contributing to the spreading of anxiety or fuelling anger.

In the past years in Kenya, terrorism has become a constant news item in the Kenyan media. This extensive and intensive reportage on terrorism in Kenya has elevated terrorism news items to a salient level in the Kenyan media but this has also cast the security agencies in bad light that they are not in control and that they are not able to guarantee the security of the republic.

The chapter has also delved into the aspect of International and Domestic terrorism. It is clear that international terrorists are the ones responsible for the spread of terrorism into Mandera County. They are the ones involved in the campaign to radicalize and recruit youths from Mandera County into terrorism. The chapter has also dealt with the conceptual framework which explains the relationship between the independent variable (Media) and the Dependent variable (Terrorism). There are also the intervening variables such as infrastructure and communication which in one way or another assist the media or terrorists achieve their objectives.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter will discuss the methodology and processes followed in collecting and analyzing data in order to effectively meet the objectives of this study. It elaborates on the study area, study population, research design, sampling strategy, data collection, reliability and validity of instruments, data analysis, assumptions, and limitations of the study, budget and work plan.

3.1 Research Design

This study adopted a descriptive research design. Descriptive research is meant to assist in the making of careful and well considered observations and detailed and accurate documentation of a matter of interest. These observations must be premised on the scientific method and therefore are more reliable (Anol, 2012). Descriptive research design seeks to describe systematically a condition, problem or a service or provides information about, for example a living condition of a community. A descriptive study is aimed at determining the regularity with which something occurs or the relationship between variables under evaluation (Moore and McCabe, 2006).

There exist three main types of descriptive methods: observational methods, case-study methods and survey methods. This study employed a survey method. In survey method research, participants answer questions administered through interviews or questionnaires. After respondents answer the questions, researchers describe the responses given. In order for the survey to be both reliable and valid it is important that the questions are formulated correctly. Therefore, questions were written so that they were clear and easy to comprehend.

Thus, this study aimed at describing how the media has influenced terrorist activities in Mandera County. The elements of a descriptive study are evident, as this study presents details with regard to the link that exists between media and terrorism by indicating how media has influenced terrorist activities in Mandera County. In this study, with the use of descriptive survey research design, the researcher utilized FGDs, interviews and questionnaires. Mixed method was applied in data collection whereby, primary data and secondary data were collected. The study examines the terrorist activities through the examination and analysis of primary data and the secondary one.

3.2 Study Area

The study was undertaken in the Mandera County. Mandera County is a County which is found in the former North Eastern Province of Kenya. The capital of Mandera County is the Mandera town which also happens to be the largest town in Mandera County. As per the census which was done in the year 2019, the County has a total population of 867,457 (2019 census) and an area of 25,797.7 km².

The county has got six constituencies namely: Mandera West, Mandera East, Mandera South, Lafey, Mandera North and Banissa Constituencies. Administratively the County is subdivided into six Sub Counties which include: Banissa, Mandera South, Mandera West, Lafey, Mandera North and Mandera East as well as to 30 administrative wards. Mandera South sub-county is the largest in terms of area (6,148.4 Km²) while Mandera East sub-county happens to be the smallest in terms of total area (2,797 Km²) (eLimu eLearning Company Limited, 2015).

Mandera was literally disconnected from the rest of Kenya for close to 50 years and its economy was largely dependent on Somalia. The socio-economic ties of the population were such that for close to 23 years after the fall of Siad Barre, whatever that was happening inside Somalia was also finding sympathy in Mandera (Mandera County official magazine, 2018). While the problems of terror sounded most pronounced between 2014 and 2018, the truth is that Mandera has been under terror rule since the fall of Siad Barre and the rise of extremism inside Somalia (Mandera County Official Magazine, 2018).

Mandera's proximity to the Gedo Region of southern Somalia, which has been infested with terror activities over the last two decades, witnessed its economy slowly dying, with the fall of the president Siad Barre. What followed shortly after the fall of Siad Barre was a series of Islamist regimes, starting from Islamic Courts Union, Al-Itihad, Ahlu Sunna Waljamm'a (ASWJ) and finally Al-Shabaab. The people of Mandera were subjected to repeat radical preaching from these Islamists by use of radios that were the only formal way of public information, with radical Islamist group radios operating from inside Somalia (Mandera County Official Magazine, 2018).

Over the years, the radical Islamists radio stations became powerful, influential and no one was capable of countering the radicalization messages they were passing. The impact was that Mandera was exposed and socialized to radical messages that influenced the youth negatively. Local population became sympathetic to radical Islamist views and no sheikh was bold enough to oppose this without risking their lives, in fact, it was impossible to mention the word Al-Shabaab in public. Those who attempted were

profiled and targeted with threats via SMS and killed (Mandera County Official Magazine, 2018).

Al-Shabaab operatives crossed into Kenya and target four-wheel drive vehicles used by NGOs and international aid agencies; rob workers and drive off in broad daylight into Somalia with impunity. What followed was not only suffering because of government neglect, but the non-governmental organizations who were the only source of hope in Mandera were also driven out, leaving Mandera as a haven for terrorists. From 5pm to 6am Mandera town was ruled by Al-Shabaab terror cells. During the night, sounds of Al-Shabaab gunfire rent the air regularly as they instilled fear and killed perceived opponents. During the day, the Kenya security forces would give the impression that they were in control (Mandera County Official Magazine, 2018).

“On March 7, 2013 soon after the General Election, I was confronted by the harsh reality of insecurity of a town ruled by terrorists. During the period following the announcements of the official results, I went to the County Commissioner to get briefing about the security arrangements for my swearing in and he frankly said “Governor, I must confess that we have not had any public Baraza for the last three years because of fear of terror attacks, and it would be better to have the swearing in ceremony conducted in my compound. I was shocked and disturbed, as he told me the situation was helpless. I very firmly said the swearing in ceremony must take place at Moi stadium, and not any other place” (Mandera County Official Magazine, 2018).

He reluctantly agreed and promised to mobilize his security team. We gathered courage and resolved that we would not be prisoners in our own country any more. We swept the stadium for any IED with the help of the military, and posted the KPR to guard it at night. During the day, the police and APs took over. Later, the military joined in providing security for the function and the venue we had was a very successful ceremony in a public arena for the first time in three years.” Governor Capt. Ali Roba quoted in (Mandera County Official Magazine, 2018). “This marked the beginning of night patrols, which resulted in improved security for six consecutive months. Thereafter, the police accepted to join KPRs in carrying out patrols. The police got them uniforms and they were organized with ranks and given supervisors.”

However, the celebration was short-lived because the terror cells were studying the movement patterns over the period. Shortly after six months of quietness in Mandera, a number of successful terror attacks took place. A serious consultative forum had to be arranged to discuss the changing trend. A radio control room was established at the county offices and competent radio controllers were recruited to man them. The county purchased and distributed radios to all the security forces in Mandera town and operationalized the radio room. What followed was unprecedented. Several terror attacks were foiled and for the first time, active terror attacks were countered with many fatalities on the terrorists’ side. This is something that had not been witnessed in Mandera before (Mandera County Official Magazine, 2018).

As Al-Shabaab threats were being neutralized, they changed tact and started using Improvised Explosive Devices to carry out attacks. What followed were more than 10 IED attacks, five out of which targeted the Governor's convoy and a few personnel suffered minor injuries and minor damages to vehicles. One incident involved the killing of 12 local security officers. The Administration Police camp was attacked three times. The police canteen was attacked twice and the County Government offices also attacked twice. Most of these attacks led to fatalities of both locals and non-locals (Mandera County Official Magazine, 2018).

Mandera County has in one way or another been at the centre of terrorist attacks in Kenya. This is so because virtually every successful terror attacks in the country, particularly the most severe ones have had a link to Mandera as an access point through which terrorists have entered Kenya. For example, two of the 1998 attackers of the US Embassy in Nairobi were believed to have entered the country and exited through Mandera. One of them was later killed in Somalia. The Westgate shopping mall attackers are also believed to have entered the country through Mandera. The Pangani explosion terrorists as well as the vehicle packed with explosives captured at MertiIsiolo County also had links to Mandera. In fact, one of the terrorists captured was reported to have been from Somalia but was schooled in Mandera (Mandera County Official Magazine, 2018).

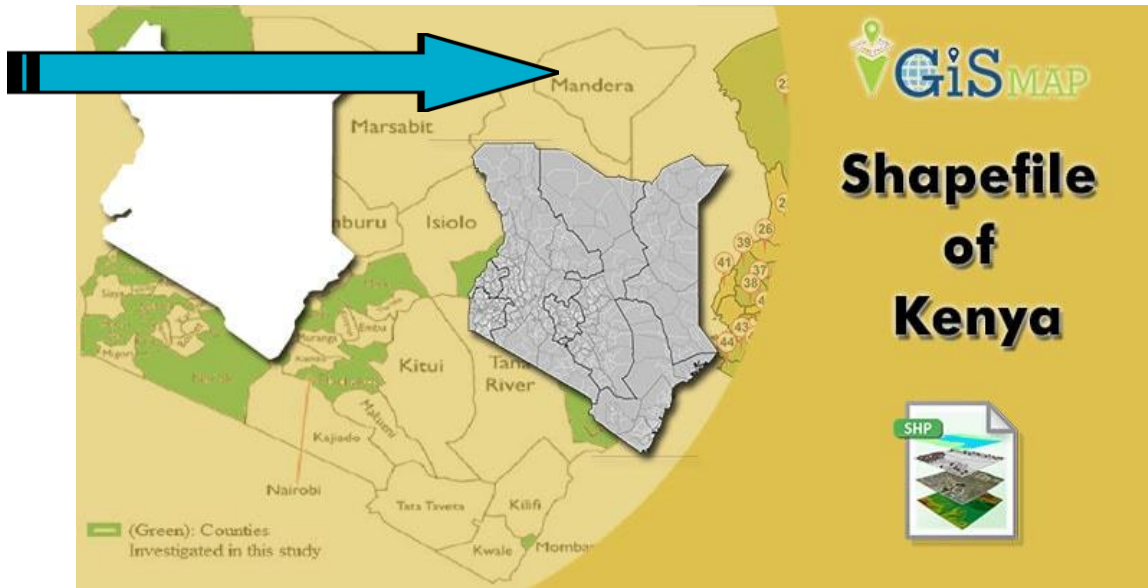


Figure 3.1: Map of Kenya showing Manderia County
Source:<https://www.igismap.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/shapefile-of-kenya.jpg>

It is evident that in the county, pastoralism is the main economic activity practiced in the county with cattle, camels, sheep & goats being the main type of domestic animals reared in the County. The region’s expansive pasture land has allowed this activity to be viable. The main source of water in the region is river Daua. There are a number of shallow wells and few major water pans with also provide water to the region. The region has small scale agriculture production with small scale horticulture producers supplying pawpaw, mangoes, banana onions and kales to the local market (Information Cradle).

Manderia County is mainly occupied by ethnic Somalis with the Garre tribe as majority in the county. Other well represented communities in the larger Manderia County are Degodia, Murulle and other smaller tribes known as corner tribes Sharmoge, Leysan, Marehan, Rer aw Xasan, Waraabeye, Shabelle and Gabaween (Seen2).

3.3 Study Population

Study population entails a sampled number of people, animals, locations that the study focuses on when studying and collecting data from (Moore *et al* 2006). Phelan and Julie (2006) defined study population as the group of animals, people that a scholar would like to draw a conclusion about once the research study is completed. The study population includes both residents and non-residents in Mandera County.

The study population consisted of Mandera County Officials, the NPS personnel, KDF personnel, media personnel (both local and international media representatives in Mandera County), NIS personnel as well as officials from NGOs, FBOs and CBOs, Local population/chiefs/clan elders/Al-Shabaab returnees.

3.4 Sampling Techniques and Sample Size

According to Orodho and Kombo, (2002) sampling is a method of selecting a number of people, animals or objects from a population of which the selected group must contain elements representative of the characteristics established in the entire group. Singleton, (1998) further explains that it is the process of selecting a few cases from a large population for the purpose of studying them and generalizing onto the large population.

Purposive sampling was employed to obtain key informants from the population of officials from Mandera County Government, the NPS personnel in Mandera County, KDF personnel, local and international media representatives in Mandera County, NIS personnel, Officials from NGOs, FBOs and CBOs within Mandera County, Local population/chiefs/clan elders/Al-Shabaab returnees.

Taylor and Steele (2008), identifies the method as useful in the context of evaluation research because it involves identifying major stakeholders who are involved in designing, receiving, giving or administering the program or service being evaluated, and policy analysis and who might otherwise be affected by it. The sampling strategy targeted specific individuals such as departmental heads, administrators and editors. Sample size calculation formula proposed by Fisher *et al* (1998).

$$n = \frac{z^2 pq}{d^2}$$

Where:

n=the desired sample size

z=the standard deviate at required confidence level (usually set at 95% confidence interval which is 1.95)

p=the proportion estimated to have characteristics being measured. The characteristic of interest which is recommended by Fisher *et al* (1998) is 50%

$$Q=1-p$$

d=the level of statistical significance set and the degree of accuracy which is usually 5%

$$n = \frac{(1.95)^2 \times 0.5 \times (1-0.5)}{(0.05)^2}$$

$$n=384$$

| Unit | Number |
|--|---------------|
| Residents and Nonresidents of Mandera County/Al-Shabaab Returnees/chiefs/clan elders | 304 |
| County government officials | 10 |
| NPS personnel | 10 |
| KDF personnel | 10 |
| NIS personnel | 5 |
| Local media representatives | 10 |
| International media representatives | 5 |
| NGO officials | 10 |
| FBO officials | 10 |
| CBO officials | 10 |
| Total | 384 |

Mandera County has got 6 sub-counties; most of its leaders live and operate from Mandera town to undertake their day-to-day activities. Therefore, it was not be necessary to visit all the 6 sub-counties for data collection. These leaders were met in Mandera town.

3.5 Instruments of Data Collection

Instruments of data collection are devices employed towards obtaining data that will be analysed and findings presented. These tools include: a paper questionnaire or computer assisted interviewing system (Census Bureau, 2010). This study used mix method whereby both primary and secondary data were collected. The research instruments for primary data collection in this study included questionnaires. Secondary data was obtained through key informant interviews and FGDs. The interview schedule, FGDs and questionnaires were formulated with a lot of focus on achieving the research

objectives. The researcher and research assistant undertook to conduct the task of data collection in the Months of April and May 2019.

3.5.1 Questionnaire

The above stated tool of data collection refers to a technique which is carefully structured for obtaining primary data. It constitutes a series of carefully crafted questions aimed at obtaining relevant information from the respondents once they fill them out. (Bell 1999). DeVaus (1996) conceptualizes a questionnaire in a much wider context. To him, a questionnaire as a technique in which various persons are asked to answer the same set of questions. Mellenbergh (2008) defines a questionnaire as a research instrument which consists of a series of questions and other prompts for the purpose of collecting information from respondents.

A questionnaire expects or calls for individual respondents to fill out the form by themselves and so requires a high level of literacy. In a set up or context where multiple languages are common, questionnaires should be prepared using the dominant languages of the target audience or population. Special caution needs to be exercised in these cases to ensure accurate translations. Questionnaires, like interviews, can contain either structured questions with blanks to be filled in, multiple choice questions, or they can contain open-ended questions where the respondent is encouraged to explain in depth their responses and choose their own focus to some extent. In this study, questionnaires were useful in collecting survey information that yielded qualitative data. Questionnaires containing both closed and open ended questions were used in this study to explore as much necessary information.

Questionnaires used in this study (Appendix II) were semi-structured and contained both open ended questions and closed ended questions. Gill & Johnson (2001) stated that Semi-structured questionnaires include a combination of both closed ended and open ended questions within the same questionnaire and are often designed in a way that a close ended question is followed by an open ended question to probe for further explanation about why the respondent selected a given response to the preceding question. Open ended questions are questions in which unlike in a multiple choice questions, possible answers are not suggested, and the respondent answers it in his or her own words (Gill & Johnson, 2001).

They have the advantage of offering a variety of responses that help to capture the various perspectives held by individuals reflected in people's responses, while not influencing the outcome of the question by pre-determining possible responses. Closed-ended questions come in a number of forms, but are defined by their need to have clear and direct options for a respondent to select from (Gill & Johnson 2001). According to the authors, these kinds of questions tend to be easier on the respondent and equally on the questionnaire-interpreter later on. The mode of data collection using questionnaires was drop and pick, and in cases where respondents were able to fill the questionnaires in real time or immediately, the researcher allowed time for the respondents to fill and hand over the questionnaires there and then. The questionnaires targeted the population that is able to read and write. This was a prerequisite simply because they had to be filled by individuals themselves.

3.5.2 Interview Schedules

The interviews conducted in this study were key informant interviews where the respondents were selected purposively. Ordinarily, key informants yield qualitative data. They are all about deep or detailed information from the subject matter experts. The respondents are selected depending on their level of understanding or expertise in the area of interest in a study. These interviews usually are loosely structured taking into consideration the issues identified for discussion (USAID, 1996).

These interviews take after a conversation taking place among people who are friendly to one another or people who are familiar with one another. This makes the interviews an environment of people interacting freely with each other or among one another. This environment leads to free flow of ideas and eventually the required information is extracted for analysis. Interviewers formulate their questions frame questions in an unstructured way; they undertake an activity of probing their informants so that they get the information which they need. While doing the interviews, they take notes and elaborate the notes later. The study employed an interview guide as attached in the appendices (Appendix III).

Information from key informants was obtained through inquiry and recorded by researchers. Structured interviews were performed by use of open interviews; the researcher taking notes while talking with respondents. Interviews began with a set of baseline questions to obtain new and perhaps unexpected information by requesting that the key informant expand on his or her answers to these initial questions. Probing was also be used in obtaining detailed explanations of sequences, emotions, feelings and

perceptions of the respondents towards the subject. This method was ideal for this study in obtaining in-depth descriptive data on beliefs and practices including historical practices and events. In addition, was useful for gaining insight and context into a topic and allowed respondents to describe what is important to them. The interviews targeted the population who are key informants who hold high positions in the policy and decision making cadre.

3.5.3 Focus Group Discussions

An FGD is a way to gather people from similar backgrounds or experiences to discuss a specific topic of interest. The group is guided by a moderator/facilitator who introduces topics for discussion and helps the group to participate in a lively and natural discussion amongst themselves (Toolkits, 2009). The strength of FGD relies on allowing the participants to agree or disagree with each other so that it provides an insight into how a group thinks about an issue (Toolkits, 2009). FGDs can be used to explore the meanings of survey findings that cannot be explained statistically (Toolkits, 2009).

The rules governing the composition of an FGD include: the members should be between 5 to 12 members. The members should be in the same age bracket that is to say, the youths must be grouped together as youths, the old should be group together, religious beliefs should also be considered such that, Muslims are grouped together as Muslims and Christians together as Christians. The level of education should be considered such that people are grouped together according to their level of education.

The composition of FGDs catered for age whereby the youths and the old were grouped separately. Another criterion was based on security agency that included KDF, NPS Chiefs/Elders. Moreover, some FGDs were based on NGOs. Each group composed of at least 5 individuals. Due to logistics challenges, the researcher managed to conduct 3 FGDs. The composition of the 3 FGDs was as follows: FGD 1 Comprised of Media, FGD 2 Comprised of people a Security Agency and FGD 3 Comprised of NGO officials.

3.6 Reliability and Validity of Research Instruments

The reliability of a research instrument concerns the extent to which the instrument will be consistent. Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill (2009) have defined reliability as the extent to which data collection technique will yield consistent findings, similar observations would be made or conclusions reached by other researchers. Reliability is a measure of the degree to which a research instrument yields data after repeated trials. They further contend that as random error increases, reliability decreases. Random error is the deviation from a true measurement due to factors that have not effectively been addressed by prior researches, that is, inaccurate coding, interviewers' fatigue, and interviewers' bias. However, random error will always exist regardless of the procedure used in a study (Wolf, 2010).

Validity in research determines whether the study truthfully measures what it was envisioned to measure, or how honest the research results are (Cooper and Schindler, 2011). Validity is the degree to which an instrument measures what it purports to measure. Hence, validity is the degree to which results obtained from the analysis of the

data obtained in the study represent the phenomenon under study (Lim, 2012). Validity is the strength of our conclusions, inferences or propositions.

The more results prove consistent over time and reflect accurate representations of the total populations under study, the more scientifically reliable they are. If the results of a study can be reproduced under a similar methodology, then the research methods are considered to be reliable (Cooper and Schindler, 2011). To make sure that the instrument measures the same thing at different times the researcher will use a test-retest method prior to the actual data collection. All resulting discrepancies were corrected to ensure that the results remain the same as if the research was to be repeated under similar circumstances. A pilot study was conducted in the following places: Elwak, Lafey, Fino, Arabia and Omar Jillo as well as supervisors and MMUST Research Experts who ensured that the research instruments were valid.

3.7 Piloting

It is important to take note that prior to conducting the study, a pilot study was carried out in Elwak, Fino, Arabia and Omar Jillo areas for one month where the primary and secondary instruments of data collection were tested. The researcher conducted the pilot by himself being assisted by one research Assistant who is a specially trained researcher. After the pilot study, the instruments were amended accordingly to capture the required data which was needed to undertake the study successfully.

The Researcher and research assistant were able to experience the first hand reach in the field which really helped out in the actual research. After the assessment of the kind of data yielded in the pilot study, it was therefore agreed to continue using the instruments for the actual study because they were found appropriate. In the pilot study, 10% of the target population was sampled in the Month of April 2019.

3.8 Data Analysis and Presentation

Yin, (2003) while defining the terms data analysis observed that it is an exercise which involves looking at the data, assigning categories and putting together emerging issues into themes in an attempt to answer the research questions. Data analysis is a systematic process of transcribing, collating, editing, coding and reporting the data in a manner that makes it sensible and accessible to the reader and researcher for the purpose of interpretation and discussion (Jwan & Ong'ondo, 2011). Mugenda (2008) notes that in a scientific inquiry, data is transformed into knowledge when it is properly analyzed, interpreted and interpretations given meaning.

After gathering the data, the next step was analyzing the data, which generally called for the use of statistical techniques. The researcher employed mixed (qualitative and quantitative) methods in data analysis so as to offer the researcher a suitable method required for descriptive rationalization. Quantitative data underwent the process of data management. This process involves data cleaning, sorting, identification of duplicates and identification of missing data (IBM, 2017). UIS-UNESCO (2010) defines data management as a series of manual, automatic or electronic operations such as validating,

sorting, summarizing, and aggregating data. These operations are usually followed by data retrieval, transformation, classification, and analysis and reporting.

Thereafter, the data was coded and entered into a computer software program- Statistical Packages for Social Sciences Version 20 (SPSS) for analysis. This version of the computer program used in data analysis is one of the latest in its category and has advanced analysis tools, data capture tools and an inclusion of qualitative data analysis tools. The results were presented in form of tables, charts and graphs.

The qualitative data got analyzed by the use of a summary sheet whereby there was a compilation of specific phrases and key words as they were used by the population under study to assist when describing certain themes and representing specific scenarios. Moreover, the researcher made use of some sort of short abbreviations as codes in labeling data. In most cases, comments which originate from key informants or key respondents under a suitable grouping such as number codes are organized taking into consideration the themes, concepts, questions, or relevant ideas. Differences and similarities were identified then put together into larger groupings then they were further classified into sub-themes.

A scholar as well as researcher by the name Kumar acknowledges the fact that summary sheet analysis method is crucial in analyzing data obtained from interviews because it yields summarized data from interview schedules. He observes that the major strength of a summary sheet is that it helps to reduce large amount of data to manageable main thematic areas which are easily managed or analyzed. These summary sheets will assist team members who are involved in the field conducting interviews to review one

another's notes when they are time constrained with regard to preparation of typed transcriptions which can be circulated in good time. When a team member misses some information he or she can clarify from the notes of his or her team mate (Kumar, 1989).

Data presentation refers to the form in which data is presented after analyzing and interpreting it. With regard to this study, after data was collected, it was subjected to data cleaning; later on it was analyzed to yield results. After the results were obtained, they were presented in form of descriptive narratives, graphs, tables, figures and charts.

3.9 Limitations of the Study

Terrorism is a sensitive security issue and as such, the researcher faced challenges while interrogating terrorism from the point of view of a civilian. This sometimes raised eyebrows within the security apparatus. However, the researcher was categorical that this interrogation was for academic purposes only and no other purposes.

The researcher sought for information from the media, hesitance and self-defense manifested itself since the media representatives would not want to paint themselves as accomplices to terrorism. This limited the scope and nature of the data the researcher intended to collect and use to achieve the study objectives. To address this challenge, the researcher maintained confidentiality and anonymity of all the sources of information while at the same time, assuring such respondents that the study was purely academic and would not in any way be used against them or against the media they represent.

3.10 Ethical Considerations

The hard fact is that survey research is inherently intrusive and the data obtained could easily be abused. The researcher, therefore, purposed to observe five basic research ethical principles as advocated by drawing on Bryman (2008). First, no harm shall come to the respondents as a result of their participation in the research. This is the primary ethical principle governing data collection and it overrides all other considerations. Respondents' right to privacy will always be respected, and no undue pressure will be brought to bear. That is, respondents are perfectly within their rights to refuse to answer questions without offering any explanation, and they have the right to decide to whom and under what conditions the information can be made available.

No information will be published about identifiable persons or organizations without their permission. Respondents will be provided with sufficient initial information about the survey to be able to give their informed consent concerning participation and the use of data. Authorization to conduct the research was sought from MMUST and the National Council of Science and Technology Innovation (NACOSTI). This ensured that relevant authorities were informed on the research. In adhering to the ethical standards and procedures, the researcher sought authority to conduct research from the NACOSTI before commencing the study. This is in relation to the guidelines of NACOSTI (NACOSTI Act, 2013).

The researcher made sure that the participants were informed of the study and the intentions of the study. This was done through introductory letters. The respondents were not coerced to participate in the study. Consent was sought from the respondents

prior to their participation in the study. Willingness to partake in the study was obtained from respondents after clear explanation of the course of the study and data collection. Respondents who were not willing to participate in the study were not included in the process of data collection. They were given the freedom to choose to participate or not to in the study. The researcher ensured confidentiality and anonymity of the respondents' identities. This was achieved by not asking participants to write their names on the questionnaires as well as not disclosing the information given by each respondent to the lead host.

3.11 Chapter Summary

This chapter covered research design which is descriptive survey design, the area of study which is Mandera County. The study population consisted Mandera County Officials, Local/International Media in Mandera County, FBOs, CBOs, NGOs, KDF, NPS, NIS personnel and Local Chiefs/Elders. A sample of 384 respondents was drawn. The study realized a return rate of 93%. Of the 344 questionnaires administered to the study sample 320 were returned. Furthermore, a total of 21 interviews materialized and they were conducted successfully with the researcher obtaining information from 21 key informants while 9 interviews were unsuccessful. The researcher further successfully conducted 3 focus group discussions. FGD for Media constituted 5 journalists, for the Security agency the FGD comprised of 5 people and for the NGO the FGD comprised of 9 people.

CHAPTER FOUR: NATURE OF MEDIA REPORTAGE ON TERRORISM IN MANDERA COUNTY

This chapter presents the results of the data analysis process for this study. The chapter discusses the background characteristic/demographic characteristic of the respondents. The study considered the basic and important aspect of the demographics which zeroed in on who took part in the study (Residency) and the return rate. Therefore, the study's objective one is captured beginning with the aspect of accessible media. The study sought to understand the characteristics of the participants in the study which included residency, knowledge of and use of media platforms in obtaining information on terrorism and preferences of media channels. This information provides data regarding research participants and was necessary in determining whether the individuals in the study were a representative sample of the target population for generalization purposes. Capturing background information enabled the researcher to actually determine whether the information that was being sought by the study was from the right sources.

The study realized a return rate of 93% among the questionnaires which were 344 questionnaires administered to the study sample. As such, the researcher found information in a total of 284 questionnaires valid while 36 were not valid and as such, used the information to inform the study as Mugenda and Mugenda (2008) noted that a return rate above 75% is sample enough to inform a study and the findings can be used to generalize characteristics of a population. Furthermore, a total of 21 interviews materialized and they were conducted successfully with the researcher obtaining information from 21 key informants while 9 interviews were unsuccessful. The researcher further successfully conducted 3 focus group discussions.

The high return rate noted in the study is attributed to the fact that Mandera County has been prone to terror attacks over a considerably long period of time and as such, any bid of finding a solution to end these activities attracts the attention and participation of the people of Mandera County, organizations and even the security arms working in the region. Table 4.1 illustrates the distribution of the return rate.

Table 4.1: Return rate of the data collection tools

| Instrument | Returned | Percentage |
|------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| Questionnaires | 320 | 93% |
| Interviews | 21 | 70% |
| Focus group discussion | 3 | 60% |

Source: Field Data, 2019

4.1 Residency

The study sought to establish whether the respondents were residents of Mandera County or were visitors. In this regard, visitors included tourists, persons on work related visits, visiting business people and students in institutions. The residents were those who permanently resided within Mandera County. The results of this analysis are given in Figure 4.1.

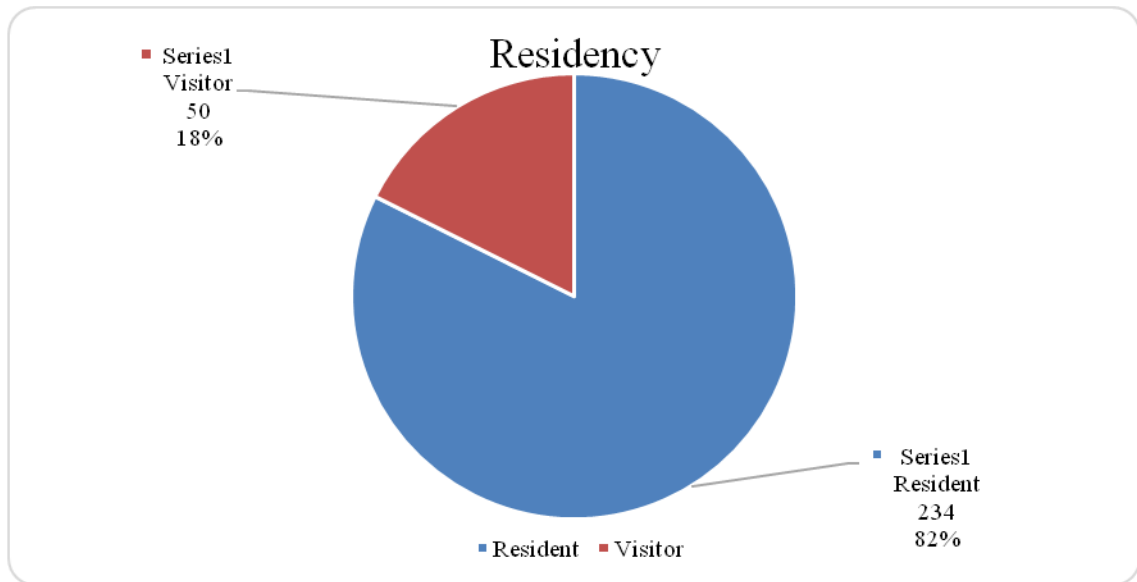


Figure 4.1: Residency
Source: Field Data, 2019

From the data collected, it was evident that 82% (234) of the respondents were residents of Mandera County with 18% (50) being visitors in the County. The study noted that key informants who included government administrators (chiefs), Faith Based Organizations and Community Based Organizations leaders were all local residents of Mandera County. Other respondents such as media reporters and correspondents were mostly visitors who were in the County to gather news from their duty stations and report back.



Plate 4.1: Mandera County Aerial View
Source: Field Data, 2019

The respondents had a wide knowledge of Mandera County with regard to the incidents of terrorism which have happened in Mandera in the past years. The respondents also exhibited knowledge on how terrorists have turned Mandera County into a haven of terrorist activities. It was noted that it is in Mandera County where most terrorist activities have been planned from and executed within the County and elsewhere in the Country.

The Respondents exhibited pains caused by terrorist activities in the County which has alienated the youth and even the old from leading a normal life just like the rest of the country. Terrorism has made the County not gain much in development due to investors being scared from investing in the County (Business Daily, 2019). The respondents showed a genuine desire of defeating terrorism so as to realize development through attracting investment in the County.

4.2 Type of Media Accessible

The focus of this study was media reportage and as such, the study sought to establish the types of media that were accessible to the participants and the people of Mandera County. The results of this enquiry are presented in Figure 4.2

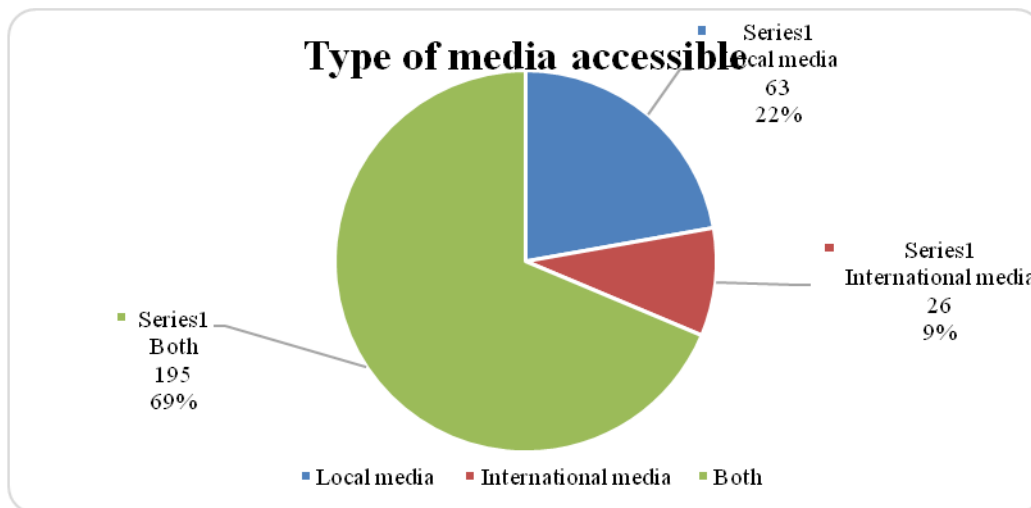


Figure 4.2: Types of media accessible in Mandera County
Source: Field Data, 2019

The study established that both local and international media were accessible in Mandera County. It was noted that 69% (195) of the respondents cited both local and international media as accessible, 22% (63) cited local media as accessible while 9% (26) cited international media as accessible in Mandera County. Similar sentiments were

echoed by the key informants in the study, most of who noted that both local and international media were accessible in Mandera County. One of the journalists further noted that;

Mandera County people have access to both local and international media that is why I am here, a reporter of one of the international broadcasters. (FGD with Journalists, 2nd April 2019)

Similarly, the Deputy County Commissioner interviewed noted that;

Here, the people have access to local media stations and even international media stations. We get news from BBC, CNN, Aljazeera which are some of the international and the locals like KBC, KTN, Citizen and others. So there is plenty. (Interview with DCC, 5th April 2019)

Therefore, it was confident to say that Mandera County has access to an array of media types both local media and international media.

Both Local and International media accessible in Mandera county carry with them varied content of news. The news on terrorism has had influence on the readers and viewers in different ways. It is the varied content that has had negative influence especially to the youths in Mandera County in terms of radicalization. The media to a certain extent depending on the tone adopted and the publicity it gives to terrorism news gives the terrorists an urge to continue committing acts of terrorism on the populace. The Locals have access to plenty of materials on terrorism which are easily accessed through the media.

The Leadership in Mandera County expressed frustration on the kind of media content presented by the media to the residents of Mandera County especially the radio content broadcasted in the local dialect. This presented itself as the main source of radicalization to the youths of Mandera County. The radio broadcasts tend to portray government as unconcerned with the on goings in Mandera County. This and more other reasons make the youth feel neglected and hence the only option remains joining the Al-Shabaab militants’ cause.

4.3 Most Preferred Media Platform

In understanding attitudes and preferences with regard to media use, the study sought to understand which media platform was most preferred in Mandera County. This was important as it informed on the attitudes towards media platform in general and media reportage on terrorism in particular. The results of this analysis are presented in Figure 4.3.

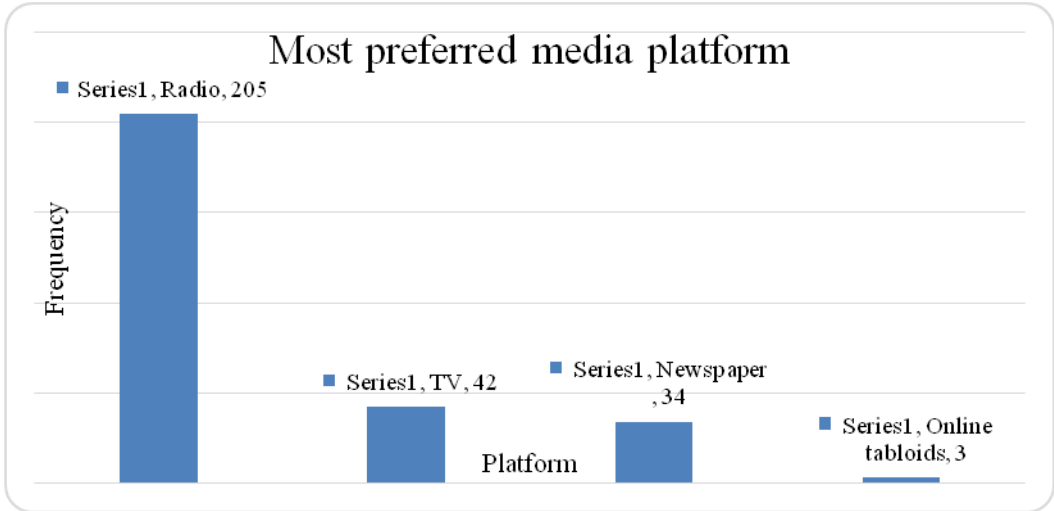


Figure 4.3: Most preferred media platform in Mandera County
Source: Field Data, 2019

The study established that there was a very high preference for radio over all other media platforms. A total of 205 respondents (72%) noted that they preferred radio, 42 (15%) preferred televisions, 34 (12%) preferred newspapers while 3 (1%) preferred online tabloids. The researcher noted that there was a high preference for radio among the people of Mandera County due to the fact that radios are easy and cheap to acquire, there is high network reception of radio stations unlike other media types and the presence of radio stations that broadcast in the local dialect that is well understood by the people. The following are the radio stations broadcasting in Mandera County: BBC Somali service, Radio Gaalkacyo, Radio Garowe, Hargeysa, Dawa FM, Midnimo FM, Sahan FM, TUSMO FM, Bullahwa FM Frontier FM, Al Andalus radio station operated by Al-Shabaab and Star FM (Kenya).

Furthermore, residents of Mandera County can easily afford buying a radio compared to buying a TV and install the entire infrastructure that goes with TV to enable them access news broadcasts. Therefore, since Radio does not require much infrastructure, then it becomes their most favorite source of news. They rely so much on radio as their main source of news not just because it is cheap but also because reception in terms of frequencies is good. Radio is also easily portable and since a number of Mandera County residents are pastoralists, they are able to move with the radio easily. Moreover, since the radio broadcasts in the local language, it becomes easier for them to understand easily the messages being broadcasted.

Radio as a media platform in Kenya and Mandera in specific plays a key role in informing, educating and entertaining the populace. To further contextualize the finding, it is important to note that Mandera is one of the furthest counties from Nairobi where National Government sits. The county over the years has experienced little development. There is poor road network just as communication network. Both print and broadcast media were limited in the county until recently when devolution happened.

A newspaper could take days to reach Mandera. Flights never existed until recently (Business Daily, 2019). The residents could only get information through radio being the cheapest means of accessing information. The media from the sources broadcasts in Somali language. Some radios broadcast from our neighbouring country – Somalia. Some disgruntled people use these radios to propagate propaganda and incitement against government. This has led to youths and old people in Mandera getting radicalized to support and sympathize with terrorists.

The terrorists being well aware of the fact that the locals of Mandera County listen mostly to radio have infiltrated these radios. They have put their sympathizers in these radio stations and influenced the messages they broadcast. These broadcasts are packaged with messages which are meant to radicalize the youths and the general population. That is why acts of terror in Mandera County have become so rampant. The youths are made to believe that the government has neglected the area since independence. They have developed cold feet to government initiatives since they are already negatively influenced by sympathizers of terrorism.

The locals also watch news repeatedly on terrorist activities on television and this also influences their perception on terrorism. The media by repeatedly magnifying the terrorist activities influences the youth to view terrorists as people fighting for a just cause and not necessarily evil. This has contributed to most youths joining the Al-Shabaab terrorist group in Somalia.

4.4 Media Category with Most Terrorism Reports

Terrorism acts always attract the attention of the media and through their reporters and correspondents; they cover and air these terrorism reports. The study sought to establish the category of media that aired the most terrorism reports. The results of this enquiry are presented in Figure 4.4.

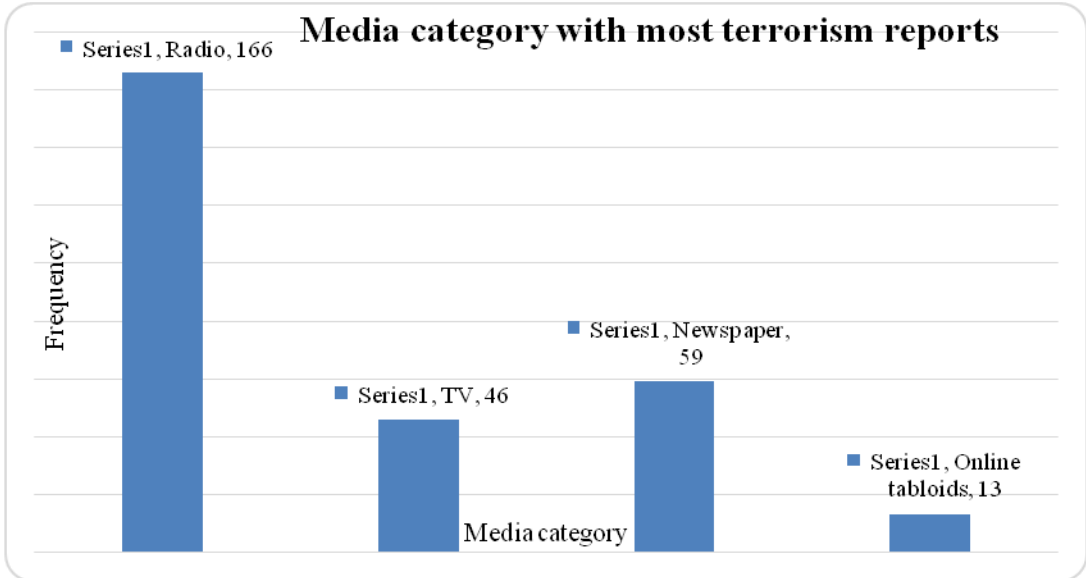


Figure 4.4: Media category with most terrorism reports
Source: Field Data, 2019

The study established that terrorism reports were aired most in radio as compared to televisions, newspapers and online tabloids. As such, radio was singled out by 166 respondents (58%), television was identified by 46 respondents (16%) and newspapers were identified by 59 respondents (21%) while online tabloids were cited by 13 respondents (5%). These findings can be related to earlier findings of this study which noted that radio was the most preferred media category and hence, it would only be practical to have most terrorism reports being aired through that particular media category.

As noted in the review of literature, terrorism acts always attract the attention of the media and through their reporters and correspondents; they cover and air these terrorism reports. The researcher noted that that radio was the most preferred media category and hence, it would only be practical for the respondents to note that radio had the most terrorism reports being aired through that particular media category.

The study further established that terrorism journalism was broadcasted most in local radio stations. This was noted in (58%) of the respondents (Figure 4.4) with similar sentiments being echoed by key informants in the study. An analysis of responses by key informants clearly directs most of the terrorism reports and news to be via radio. The study noted that radio; being the most preferred media category as earlier noted in the study, had the most terrorism journalism. Other media such as television and newspapers were also cited, albeit not having much terrorism journalism appearing in them.

It was further evident that terrorism reports appeared less in online tabloids as cited by the respondents. This could be associated with the fact that online tabloids were not the preferred media channels by the respondents and as such, terrorism reports aired or broadcasted via this media category were not at the disposal of the respondents.

However, key informants in the study noted that terrorism reports were almost equally spread across all the media categories. From this foregoing, the study noted that all media categories were awash with terrorism reports. Like many other terrorist organizations, Al-Shabaab is aware of the critical role of media in its campaign. The group operates several social media accounts, has recruited several clerics who use audio and visual CDs to reach as much audiences as possible. Further, their coverage in the mainstream Kenyan media as well as international media has been successful and impact almost achieved with each single act of terrorism.

Terrorists groups in most cases undertake the kinds of terrorist acts aimed attracting media attention (Paletz & Schmid, 1992). In other words, the acts of terror committed by the militant groups are mostly guided by the principle of newsworthiness. How endearing will they be towards the media which will translate to large audience? Therefore, three factors are critical in this relationship. In the forefront is the factor of degree of violence which is usually conceptualized in the form of the number of victims and property decimated. The extent of chaos and confusion instigated on the civilian population; the more and painful it is, the successful the act of terrorism it is. The more people hurt, the more interesting the action will be for journalists.

Factor number two in the attainment of publicity in the media entails propaganda and recruitment. Acts of terror and violent extremism serve as an effective means to recruit more followers. There also exists what is termed as “legal” ways through which terrorists try to gain media and generally the audiences’ attention. There exists the employment of literature which has political connotations, meetings, posters, speeches, radio broadcasts and pamphlets. A good chunk of the audiences are well versed with the electronic video messages which the Al-Qaeda terrorists employ as a means of executing their mission. These are among of the activities employed by terrorists to attract attention so as to pass their message across (Nacos, 2006).

The third factor embodies how terrorists choose an optimal or prime time and place for their actions. Terrorists will in most cases select the news prime time as the appropriate moment for their actions such that they will be in a position to gain much of the audience’s attention fully as desired. Firstly, someone naturally expects that terrorists strike their targets whenever they think that press reportage or coverage is guaranteed and readily available. Logically speaking, a city has big chances of being hit by terrorists than a remote area. Terrorists will also take advantage of the instances where the media is concentrated in readiness to cover some spectacular event which has just happened. The terrorists know too well that if they conduct an attack, their coverage is surely guaranteed and that it will be availed (Cziesche, 2007).

On the other hand, key informants in the study noted that terrorism reports were almost equally spread across all the media categories. Terrorists know well that they have to win the war on media platforms. Publicity is the oxygen which drives their agenda and

so they make every effort to dominate all the media platforms. Media being too ready to sell their news, they are aware that sensational news on mass destruction and mass loss of lives are best expressed in terrorism. The media therefore burns midnight oil to ensure that the masses are glued to TV to watch live news on terrorism, the masses are glued to radios to here developments in the terrorism world and also thousands get attracted to reading print media which carry sensational news on terrorism. One of the chiefs interviewed noted that;

In today's world, terrorism reports we see them in all media platforms. I read a newspaper every day and I see these reports almost on a daily basis, same as social media and those online tabloids and blogs. (Interview with Chief, 5th April 2019)

In the same vein, one of the mosque leaders interviewed noted that;

All media report terrorism like equally. We see, read and hear these reports almost daily in TVs, our radios, those who read newspapers we do read these stories. Right now we have internet, we get these stories from social media and blogs. So, in my opinion, all the media categories have these reports equally. It is everywhere. (Interview with a mosque leader, 4th April 2019)

Furthermore, a security personnel interviewed by the researcher noted that;

All media platforms have these reports. If it is not news, it is an article or an expose or an expert analysis of a terror act and things like that. We also have documentaries in televisions and online streaming media. I would say it is equally distributed in all media platforms from my view. (Interview with Administration Police Officer, 3rd April 2019)

From this foregoing, the study noted that all media categories were awash with terrorism reports. Like many other terrorist organizations, Al-Shabaab is aware of the critical role of media in its campaign. The group operates several social media accounts, has recruited several clerics who use audio and visual CDs to reach as much audiences as

possible. Further, their coverage in the mainstream Kenyan media as well as international media has been successful and impact almost achieved with each single act of terrorism.

Take an example of the terrorist act of the kidnapping of the Cuba Doctors in April 2019 (Business Daily, 2019). The media was awash with sensational news trying to portray the security forces in a negative way that they are not doing much in averting terrorist activities in Mandera County, let alone rescuing the captured medics. The matter of fact is that security agencies make frantic efforts to defeat terrorist activities in the County. In fact there have been numerous terror threats which have been thwarted by security agencies.

It is this hopelessness as reported by media that predispose the populace towards joining the terror outfit in Somalia coupled with the difficult economic and harsh weather conditions in the County. The Radio platform broadcasting in the local language was observed to be the major contributor towards aggravating terrorism in Mandera County though other media platforms play to the gallery of terrorism in Mandera County.



Plate 4.2: An Organization mitigating effects of drought in Mandera County
Source: Field Data, 2019

4.5 Type of Reportage Done

Media reports come in different forms and as such, the study sought to identify the type of reporting that was done by the media with regards to terrorism reportage. The results were presented in Figure 4.5.

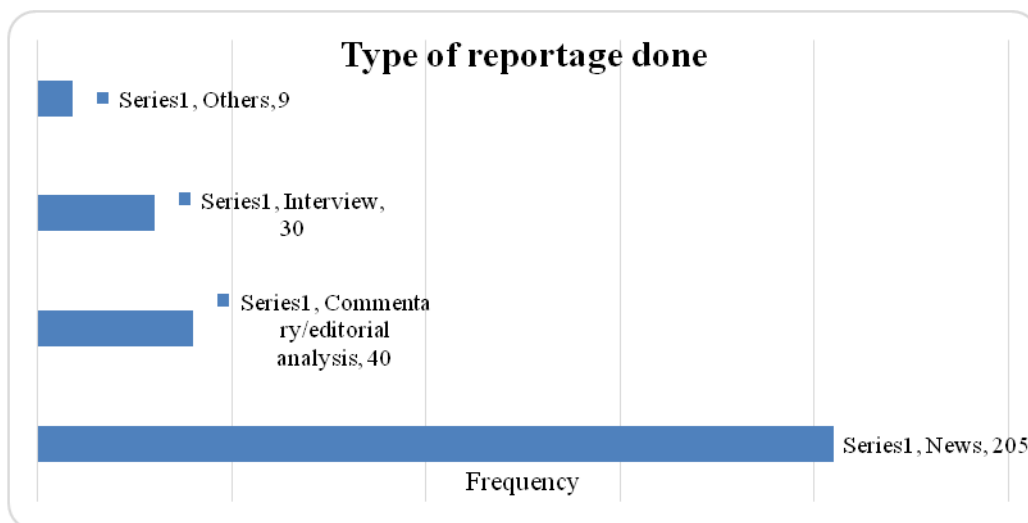


Figure 4.5: Type of reportage done by the media on terrorism
Source: Field Data, 2019

The study established that most of the media platforms aired or broadcasted news about terror activities. A total of 205 respondents (72%) cited news, 40 respondents (14%) cited commentary and editorial analyses and 30 respondents (10%) cited interviews. 9 respondents (4%) who cited other types of reportage noted panel discussions, documentaries, investigative exposes and listener engagement talk shows.

In most of these presentations, topics of discussion revolved around analysis of terrorism, its causes and effects, recruitment through radicalization and violent extremism, dissection of propaganda audios, videos and press release from terrorists, terror acts among other topics.

The media space generally in Kenya has really expanded. The media invite panelists into their studios and conduct live interviews. They also allow callers to voice their views during the interviews. This gives the terrorists chance to shape their agenda by making contributions towards these interviews. The media does this sometimes unknowingly or even knowingly. The terrorists themselves or their sympathizers participate in the interviews with an aim of brainwashing their audiences.

In Mandera County, locals have access to media broadcasting as far as inside Somalia. The news they listen to, watch, read are tailored in such a way that they do not castigate terrorism activities. The media in Somalia does this for their own survival because once they go against the wishes and aspirations of the Al-Shabaab they risk closure or even attack. Therefore, the tone of their news and the content has to resonate well with the Al-Shabaab and the sympathizers.

The study noted that a “breaking news mentality” makes things run into confusion in the media as everyone pursues the story so that they can be the first one to supply the information to the audience. This phenomenon is by large deeply grounded in the media industry. All the media platforms, be it the electronic or the print want to be the first ones to break the story to the public. Therefore this creates competition to get the news first before the other one gets them. By doing so, it enables media draw huge audiences to their news. There is stiff competition for media to cover a news story which has emerged as fast and promptly as possible. Due to this tight competition for news, the journalists end up misreporting and misrepresenting news. This is so because sometimes due to the pressure they go through, they do not have enough time to clarify and verify information before broadcasting it. They end up misinterpreting terrorist activities and eventually mislead their audiences Glüpker (2008).

However, journalists who attended the focus group discussion noted that terrorism journalism was concerned with presenting news and information as it is so as not to miss-inform their audiences. Responses by the Deputy County Commissioner and the County anti-radicalization and extremism officer painted a picture of a media that is driven by the need to satisfy curiosity and earn viewership without caring about the authenticity of the information they broadcast or the sense that the information carries.



Plate 4.3: FGD with members of a security agency
Source: Researcher, 2019

Journalistic studies by Fursich, (2010) and Thomas, (2014), have shown that, the mass media tend to favor stories that resonate well with their audiences due to their perceived cultural background especially when such reports talk about unexpected and dramatic events. The findings of this study are in tandem with the writings of Cottee and Hayward (2011) noted that terrorism ‘involves the deliberate infliction of physical harm or injury on human beings.’ Acts of terrorism by their nature easily endear themselves to extensive media coverage.

For example, in an study of the coverage of two “investigative” documentaries by two local television stations, KTN and NTV, Abraham Kisang noted that the two stations continued to replicate and project the Al-Shabaab messages to the audiences, and often quoted verbatim, or replayed terrorists’ video messages, which were in the first instance

subject of investigations, or in some cases (had) resulted in targeted attacks against Christians in Kenya (Kisang, 2014).

Similar sentiments were echoed by the key informants interviewed by the researcher. One of the CBO officials at the Rural Agency for Community Development and Assistance noted;

Those kinds of reporting comes in form of news, sometimes breaking news, we have seen reporter do documentaries and investigative pieces, interviews with experts and security personnel, so the media reports on terrorism come in many shapes and forms. (Interview with an official from the Rural Agency for Community Development and Assistance, 5th April, 201)

Similarly, an official at the County Government in charge of anti-radicalization and extremism noted;

I can name very many, talk of news, documentaries, exposes, interviews, talk shows, media briefing and press statements, they are many. (Interview with the County anti-radicalization and extremism officer, 2^{dn} April, 2019)

It therefore follows that media platforms presented their reports on terrorism in form of news, documentaries, expert analyses, interviews, investigative exposes and talk shows. In most of these presentations, topics of discussion revolved around analysis of terrorism, its causes and effects, recruitment through radicalization and violent extremism, dissection of propaganda audios, videos and press release from terrorists, terror acts among other topics.

The news on terrorism in Mandera County contributes largely towards encouraging more terrorist activities in Mandera County. The tone and angle from which the news are presented tends to support the terrorist agenda. The gory images of terror presented on media platforms, the perceived just cause the terrorists want the populace to believe in tends to be reinforced. The repeated presentation of terrorist activities keeps their presence in the media hence earning them sympathizers. The continued announcements and news updates tend to develop an audience for the terrorists to exploit and hence gain followers. Some presenters take advantage of being able to speak to the masses in the local language by spreading propaganda and unverified reports aimed at propping up the terrorists' agenda in Mandera County and Kenya as well as Somalia and other neighboring countries (Kiarie and Mogambi, 2017).

Since the media houses also need audiences, they invite well known analysts to the studios to explain terror activities. Some of these so called security experts end up spreading rumors and propaganda to the public through their analyses in the media. This has impacted negatively on counterterrorist strategies being employed in the County and the Country at large.

Locals who love listening to Radio stations broadcasting even from across the border – Somalia get access to news broadcasted with a hidden agenda trying to discredit the Government. Some locals who have their own agenda try to do so such that they gain audience which they influence towards supporting their agenda. The locals believe so much in what they hear being discussed and presented by the media. The locals find it

cheap to buy radios which are easily available, affordable and easy to operate and carry. This makes them rely on news from radio stations broadcasted in the local language.

4.6 Sources of News for the Media

Before any report is carried out by the media, there is always the need to identify the source of information for such a report. The study sought to establish the sources of news and information for the media with regard to terrorism activities. The results of this enquiry are presented in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Sources of news for the media

| Source | Frequency | Percentage |
|---------------------------------------|-----------|------------|
| Government Official/agency | 191 | 67% |
| Opposition | 16 | 6% |
| Foreign country/agency | 164 | 58% |
| NGO experts | 101 | 36% |
| Journalists' own judgment/observation | 211 | 74% |
| Hearsay/rumors/propaganda | 34 | 12% |
| Terrorists | 79 | 28% |

Source: Field Data, 2019

From a cumulative analysis, the study established that journalists' own judgment and observation was the most prominent source of news and information for media reports on terrorism. This was as cited in 74% (211) of the cases analyzed. Government officials and agencies were the second most cited source being cited 191 times (67%). Foreign countries and agencies were cited 164 times (58%), Non-Governmental Organisation experts were cited 101 times (36%), terrorists were cited 79 times (28%), hearsay,

rumors and propaganda were cited 34 times (12%) while the opposition was cited 16 times (6%).

Key informants in the study seemed to take divergent views on the source of news and information for the media on matters terrorism. The Deputy County Commissioner interviewed noted with concern that;

Despite my office being open and accessible to journalist to seek and obtain verifiable news and information about terrorism activities, they choose to use ad hoc means like using their own spies and other unverified sources. Some of them have even decided to go and find the information from the terrorists themselves, only to come back to us- the security personnel seeking protection and authentication of the information they get. (Interview with DCC, 5th April 2019)

In the same vein, one of the religious leaders from Mandera Catholic Mission noted that;

The media, through their representatives (reporters and correspondents) have what I can call their own sources, some are insider sources among the terrorists, and sometimes they get information from the government through the police or County Commissioner. However, some of this information is too limited, especially from the police. This pushes them to look for their own sources such as using NGOs and others. (Interview with an official of the Catholic Mission in Mandera, 2nd April 2019)

Journalists on their part were quick to defend their sources of information. One of the journalists quipped;

Our sources are supposed to include the government through the police, military and the County administration. However, we are forced to use other sources like Al-Shabaab insiders, local residents, people in NGOs that work in terror prone areas and international countries and agencies that deal with terrorism. Sometimes we also just observe terrorists carry out their activities like in West Gate and DusitD2 Hotel, and we report news about it. (FGD with Journalists, 2nd April 2019)

One other journalist added;

Some other sources include terrorists themselves. They are a source of information for example, when they post pictures, propaganda audios and videos and their press release. So there are many sources of news. (FGD with Journalists, 2nd April 2019)

From the foregoing, it is clear that news sources are very central in providing the right information to the general public. To be in a position to report the true and verifiable news, the media ought to verify the news on the ground with security agencies, the local population and the local County Administration. However, this to a great extent does not happen. The Journalists simply interview the locals and instead of taking time to verify the news, they just sit and write a story for publication. It is possible that the local person they interviewed is an Al-Shabaab sympathizer. This kind of news will never be objective and they will never present the reality on the ground. The news will be biased since they have not taken to account the views of all those engaged in the war against terrorism. The terrorists gain mileage once journalists keep them in the news consistently. This drives their agenda to a very great extent. This kind of publicity coupled with their propaganda wins them sympathizers.

Key informants in the study seemed to take divergent views on the source of news and information for the media on matters terrorism. It was noted that journalists used their own informers and sources despite the fact that there were relevant and well informed sources such as the security and administration personnel who could have provided verifiable and accurate information. The habit of using own judgment places accuracy and objectivity in the line of bias and using unverifiable sources and informants is equally risky.

It is important to note that in the media industry, sources are very crucial and they need to be protected. The sources should be credible and consistent. However, in the world of social media, credible sources have become rare. In the world of fake news, credible sources must be credible such that once a story is out, the journalists can verify with them. However, this does not always happen. This leads to journalists sitting somewhere and think on how to write a story without verifying it from sources. This places objectivity in jeopardy. If the journalist is not careful then they end up promoting the terrorists agenda.

Sometimes the journalists get opportunity to interview the terrorists and also their sympathizers then thereafter broadcast these stories in verbatim without bothering to verify the news from the security agencies and County administration that are the ground. This happens a lot in Mandera County. Journalists just fly to Mandera County for interviews and sometimes do not bother to verify the news with the administration on the ground. This definitely makes the story one sided and that is why we realize that all the news concerning Mandera County are largely negative. It is as if in Mandera County nothing like development happens. It is like terrorism is the order of the day.

Terrorists in trying to attain publicity tactically make use of drafted formal messages through the media. Terrorists justify their use of violence in the sense that governments have failed to listen to their demands and so to bring the government to their table for negotiation, they feel that the employment of violent means is the only way to achieve their ends or political agenda. Officially proclaimed statements allow the attackers to spread unto the public their narratives through the justification of their acts of violence.

On one hand, by chance whenever terrorists do not give exposition of their acts to the public, they will risk allowing their target audience drawing unfavorable conclusions about their actions and therefore lose sympathy in their eyes (Paletz & Schmid, 1992).

The terrorist groups utilize several ways to issue their formal statements whenever they want. One way of disseminating their messages is through print media and takes the personal responsibility of distributing these statements or messages by themselves. The other platform is by preparing a written statement that functions as a *de facto* press release. More often than not, the printed messages are designed in a way that entices the press to reproduce them in their broadcasts. They air or print these messages while sometimes quoting the terrorists in verbatim. Terrorist groups sometimes employ the threat of violence against publishers and journalists in order to ensure publication of their drafted statements in verbatim (Paletz & Schmid, 1992).

However, the researcher critically observed that if in any case journalists are going to keep in touch with terrorists with a view of getting information from them for purposes of reporting, then that could easily be linked to aiding terrorism.

The media sometimes just publishes word by word without verifying the articles and videos developed by the terrorists. This makes the terrorists achieve their objective of making news material easily accessible to the population. Journalists in some instances conduct interviews with the terrorists and publish or broadcast the interviews in verbatim (Wanjiru, 2016). These forms of news which are unverified assist the terrorist groups in propelling their agenda. Their aim of getting support from the population to agitate for their cause is aided by such kind of journalism.

It has been witnessed before in the media Journalists conducting investigative journalism which sometimes they never get varied opinion and verified information and they broadcast such stories. Without listening to all parties involved in the conflict then one is susceptible to publishing a one-sided story. This will only aggravate the already dire situation and further entrench the terrorists' way of life in the populace. The media ought to moderate, verify and censure their news such that they do not seem to glorify terrorism.

4.7 How Media Portrays Terrorists

Acts of terrorism have to an extent been associated with media reportage. To ascertain this assertion, the study sought to establish whether media reportage on terrorism in general had an effect on continued terror activities. First, the study examined whether media reportage portrayed terrorists as heroes and being strong. The results of this enquiry are presented in Figure 4.6.

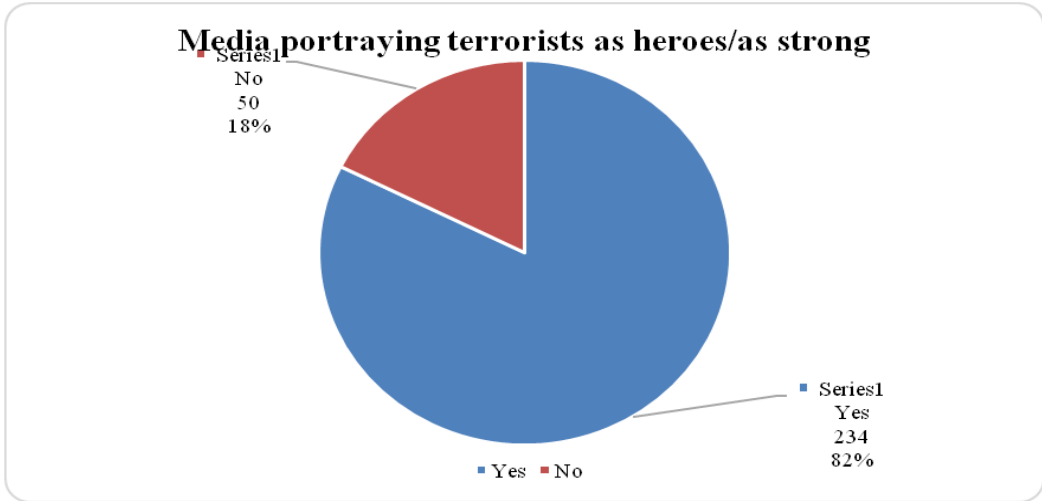


Figure 4.6: Media reportage portraying terrorists as heroes
Source: Field Data, 2019

From the data collected, the study established that most of the respondents were of the opinion that media reportage portrayed terrorists as being heroes. This was noted in 82% (234) of the respondents with 18% (50) noting that media reportage did not portray terrorists as being strong. One of the main objectives of a terrorist act is to maximize publicity in order to create a psychological effect on the public. Acts of terrorism have to an extent been associated with media reportage.

Similar sentiments were echoed by the key informants in the study. From the point of view of the key informants, it was noted that media reports paint a picture of a terrorists group (Al-Shabaab) who are too sophisticated to track down and bring to book. It is from this point that the researcher noted that despite some of the news being facts; there is a tendency of the terrorists gaining leverage from it to feel stronger and heroic. It was clear that media reportage paints a picture of terrorists who are strong and can easily outmaneuver the security apparatus in the region.

The kind of coverage accorded to terrorists has a bearing on how they will conduct their future actions. The reportage will also influence on how the government security agencies and officials will respond in the future when faced with attacks occasioned by terrorists. The public opinion will also be shaped in a certain way with regard to future responses towards terrorist activities. The media for sure creates a complex link between the government agencies, the public and the terrorists. This relationship is usually complemented by the way journalists report on news to do with terrorism. The way journalists formulate, frame and present news, how they describe the violent acts, how

they prime these actions and how they emphasize the news has a great impact on terrorist activities in the future (Paletz and Tawney 1992).

Similar sentiments were echoed by the key informants in the study. One of the religious leaders at the Christian Community Church and Services noted;

The media when they show live coverage of terror acts, when they broadcast that security personnel are unable to bring back hostages or stop terrorists from crossing our borders, that is a clear portrayal of terrorists being strong, which is bad for this country. (Interview with an official from the Christian Community Church and Services, 2nd April 2019)

Similar comments were shared by an Administration Police Officer who noted that;

The media sometimes portrays we the security as weaker than the terrorists. For example, some weeks ago they said that we have been unable to restrict the Al-Shabaab from crossing our boarder. They also said that we failed as security personnel to rescue the Italian lady abducted in the Coast region in 2019. This is painting us in bad light and showing that these terrorists are stronger than us (Interview with an Administration Police Officer, 5th April 2019).

On their part, journalists who took part in the focus group discussion presented different opinions in relation to the key informants. One of the journalists noted that;

For us, we only present facts as we receive them. Sometimes those viewing or reading about these might feel like we are portraying the terrorists as stronger than the government personnel, but no. We just present the news in form of facts. (FGD with Journalists, 2nd April 2019)

One of the objectives of terrorists' is to portray the government as weak and to discredit the government on the premise that it is not doing much to its citizens (Bilgen, 2012). The Terrorists work so hard to humiliate state security agencies so that they are viewed as strong and capable of challenging the government. The media fall victim of aiding

this objective of terrorists when they constantly show and broadcast on radio inhumane acts of terror against innocent civilians. Sometimes we see on media the security agencies scrambling to save lives and the dire situation at the scenes of these heinous acts and the citizens seem to conclude that the terrorists are very strong for the government.

Long after the grueling experiences of terrorism, the terrorists issue statements full of propaganda on deaths and destruction that are exaggerated. The media broadcasts them word for word. This also lowers the morale of troops involved in counterterrorism (Jetter, 2017). The media should endeavor to present the truth which is verified instead of sensationalizing news for the sole purpose of gaining audiences and making sales of their news. The huge explosives and bloodied bodies, maimed victims of terror and shocked survivors presented in the news by the media glorify terrorism. The sensational headlines meant to capture and retain audience all amount to making the terrorists look immutable and immortal.

In the same vein, this study went out to find from the informants if media reportage portrayed terrorists as fighting for people's rights. The results of this enquiry are presented in Figure 4.7.

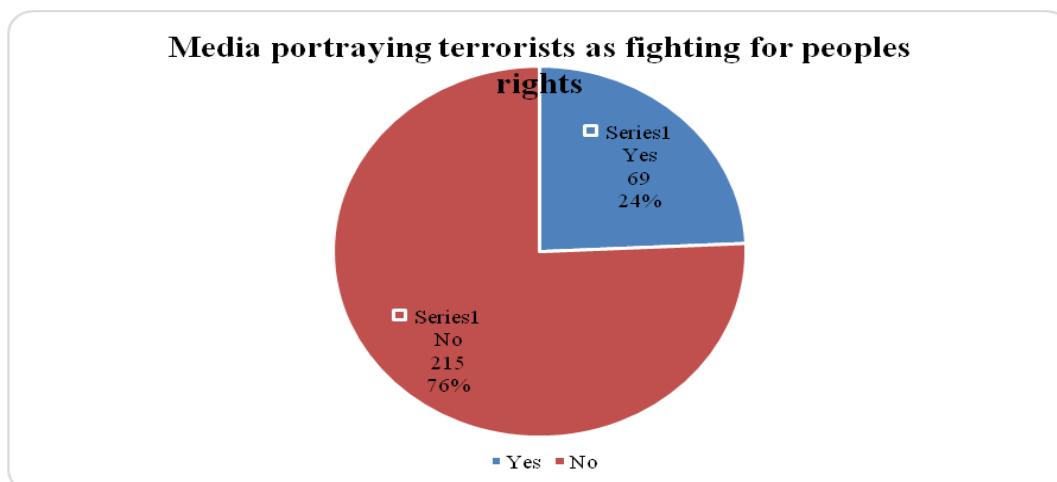


Figure 4.7: Media reportage portraying terrorists as fighting for peoples’ rights
Source: Field Data, 2019

The study established that most of the respondents were in disagreement that media reportage portrayed terrorists as fighting for people’s rights. This was noted in 76% (215) with 24% (69) being in agreement that media reportage portrayed terrorists as fighting for people’s rights.

There was a resounding echo of these sentiments from the key informants in the study.

One of the officials at the Islamic Relief Services noted that;

The rights of the people are already protected and provided for by the government, so which other rights are they fighting for? They are just enslaving people. The media from my point of view has not portrayed these terrorists as fighting for their people’s rights. They fight for other things. (Interview with an official from the Islamic Relief Services, 5th April 2019)

Similar sentiments were shared by one of the mosque officials who noted;

First, these terrorists are not fighting for any rights, not even the people’s rights. Secondly, the media I’m sure have not been portraying that too. (Interview with a *madrassa* teacher, 4th April 2019)

However, one of the chiefs interviewed noted that;

The media have in the past shown us clips and articles of Al-Shaabab terrorists saying that they are fighting Kenyans as a way of revenge for what they believe is injustice meted on their people back in Somalia by peace keeping forces. In such a case, I can confidently say that the media there portrayed these terrorists as fighting for the justice of their people. (Interview with the area chief, 3rd April 2019)

There was further a resounding echo of these sentiments from the key informants in the study who noted that terrorists as a matter of fact, do not fight for the peoples' rights but for their own evil desires. Not ignoring the fact that the media have to an extent broadcasted messages that allude to terrorists fighting for the perceived "injustice" meted on the people of Somalia in this case, the researcher noted that in reality, media reportage did not directly broadcast of terrorist fighting for the rights of the people.

The findings of this study resonate with the writings of Paletz and Schmid, who postulate that terrorists, in trying to attain publicity tactically make use of drafted formal messages through the media. Terrorists justify their use of violence in the sense that governments have failed to listen to their demands and so to bring the government to their table for negotiation, they feel that the employment of violent means is the only way to achieve their ends or political agenda. Officially proclaimed statements allow the attackers to spread unto the public their narratives through the justification of their acts of violence. On one hand, by chance whenever terrorists do not give exposition of their acts to the public, they will risk allowing their target audience drawing unfavorable conclusions about their actions and therefore lose sympathy in their eyes (Paletz & Schmid, 1992).

On the contrary, opposite effects can be witnessed where media's coverage of a terrorist act justifies the act against a repressive regime. A regime which oppresses its citizens will more often than not be seen as oppressive by its citizens who will support acts of violent extremism so as to try and weaken or even topple the regime. When the regimes that terrorists are engaging war with practice the acts of infringing on peoples' rights, terrorists may take opportunity to use such situations to lure the general population onto their side in the pretext that they will agitate for the peoples' rights. This can easily influence the population to believe in the cause being agitated for by the terrorists. Acts of infringing on human rights will expose the dark side of states hence eliciting negative constructs from the people towards their governments (Paletz & Schmid, 1992).

It is important not to ignore the 24% who think that the media tries to cast the terrorists as fighting for peoples' rights in Mandera County. While it is expected of the media to support the government's counterterrorism strategies, it is also possible that they could be casting terrorists as fighting for the rights of the people of Mandera County. The locals think that the government has neglected them in terms of development. The terrorists took control of Mandera for awhile now until the local population has come to terms of living in the circumstances.

The study also sought to establish in general, whether media reportage encouraged more terror attacks. The results of this enquiry are presented in Figure 4.8.

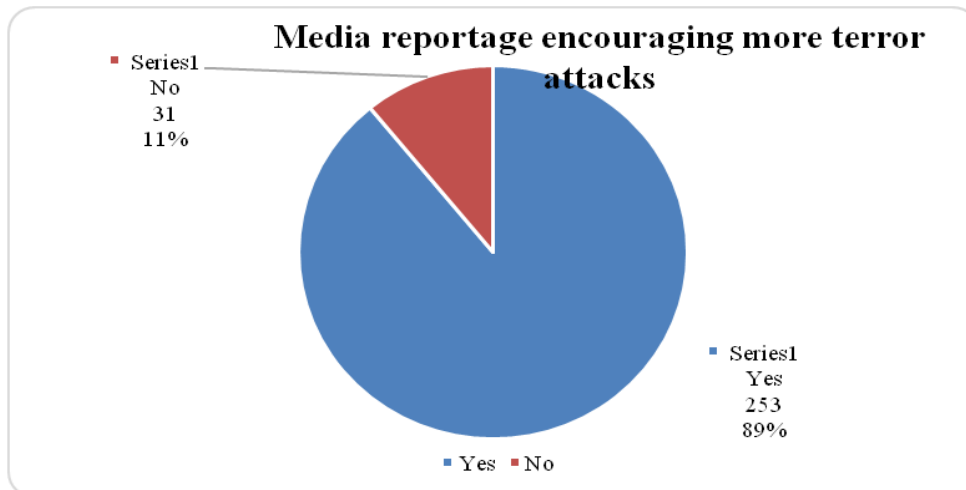


Figure 4.8: Media reportage encouraging more terror attacks
Source: Field Data, 2019

As supported by the data collected, the study established that media reportage encouraged more terror attacks. This was affirmed to by 89% of the respondents with 11% noting that media reportage did not encourage more terror attacks.

Terrorist groups forever pursue the goal of demoralizing the enemy as they motivate their supporters or the fighters of their terrorist groups. These are psychological goals which every other political organization pursues. However, it is important to note those terrorist groups pursue these psychological goals aggressively until in most cases resorting to the use of deadly force to achieve these goals. It is through intense and extensive publicizing that these terrorist groups seek to achieve these psychological goals. It therefore remains to the discretion of the mass media to broadcast these acts of violence or censor them by limiting the reportage after thorough research on what the motivation of the act of violence is or was so as to foster understanding among the citizens. The citizens should be made to understand the message being passed across by terrorists and why it contravenes the government's perspective (Paletz & Schmid, 1992).

The current mass media is said to be the principal conduit of terrorist messages hence playing a critical role in establishing the terrorists' calculus. Basically, without the much dedicated media reportage, the act of terror may go unnoticed and be narrowly confined to the context of the victims of the attack thus reducing the impact rather than spreading out to a wider targeted audience to whom the violence is actually aimed at. It is only through the widespread messages facilitated by the media that large audiences are reached thereby giving the terrorists a leverage and projection of their image into the large global audience which they usually seek for in order to communicate the intended message on the need for change of government or change of course of the politics of the country (Hoffman, 2006).

The need for attention and to publicize their acts pushes terrorists to use the media as a tool to instill fear and as such, leverage on that to carry out more attacks. Key informants in the study further agreed that media reportage encouraged more terror attacks. One of the officials from the County anti-radicalization and extremism officer noted;

Media reporting encourages more terror attacks. Look at the live coverage of terror events like in our neighboring county Garrisa, at the Garrisa University, look at West Gate, DusitD2 hotel, it all boils down to the terrorist wanting to have a field day of media attention and public attention every other time. (Interview with the County anti-radicalization and extremism officer, 2nd April, 2019)

The Deputy County Commissioner interviewed noted;

These people, the Al Shabaab, they want public attention and they know they can get that through media reports and coverage of things like when they are attacking a place. Am sure should their terror acts never be broadcasted in our media, they shall lose relevance and their acts shall reduce. (Interview with DCC, 5th April 2019)

Additionally, as noted by an official from the Catholic Mission in Mandera;

Reporting about them in national and international media is like praising their ego and this only makes them want more media attention, and as such, they carry out more attacks to achieve the same. (Interview with an official of the Catholic Mission in Mandera, 2nd April 2019)

The researchers' take home was that media reportage breathes more energy in to the plans and activities of terrorists. The need for attention and to publicize their acts pushes terrorists to use the media as a tool to instill fear and as such, leverage on that to carry out more attacks. Terrorists groups in most cases undertake the kinds of terrorist acts aimed attracting media attention (Paletz & Schmid, 1992). In other words, the acts of terror committed by the militant groups are mostly guided by the principle of newsworthiness. How endearing will they be towards the media which will translate to large audience? Regarding content analysis conducted of various press platforms, the researcher came to a realization that, terrorist groups survive on media reportage, further, terrorist groups will most definitely scale down their attacks when they cannot guarantee that their attacks will elicit drama hence media publicity.

The coverage of terrorism by two mainstream papers in Kenya, Daily Nation and the Standard for instance, for the period April 2014, showed that there was a general tendency to cover the acts "positively" with government's counter-terrorism interventions receiving lukewarm or negative response altogether. Maina (2014) notes that this "negative" tone and "issue framing" by the media reinforced the terrorist's objectives of spreading fear and enhancing propaganda, which inevitably undermined government's ability to counter the Al-Shabaab as envisaged.

It can be summed up that in Mandera County, the media has largely boosted the terrorists' impetus to conduct and plan more attacks in Mandera and outside Mandera. The kind of Publicity the media has accorded the terrorists in the past makes Mandera be presumed to be the 'hotbed of terrorism' as one time the CNN referred to Kenya as the 'hotbed of terrorism' (Media Council of Kenya and International Media Support, 2016).

Customarily, all scientific research conducted on terrorism regarded the press as a central tool which propels the media into the limelight. This is simply because of the belief that the media is capable of spreading fear and communicate terror to reach a wider array of audiences which goes beyond the few victims who fall by the way side of a terrorist attack. The press is able to provide a platform on which the attention of the audience is drawn and sustained by the media messages on terrorism. Therefore, the aim of the terrorists' acts is not just to kill civilians but rather pass a particular message to the wider audience. The terrorists are so much concerned with how their messages meant to create uncertainty and anxiety gets passed effectively to their target audience due to their newsworthiness as a result of the committed act of violence. Here a researcher may consider the press to be aiding terrorists achieve their agenda (Schmid 1989) portrays the media as the terrorists' best friend (Hoffman 2006) as it provides terrorists with the oxygen of publicity (Wilkinson, 2000).

The first goal which the terrorists always go out to achieve is in relation to the demonstration of their group's strength while exposing the weaknesses and frailties of the governing authorities (Paletz & Schmid, 1992; Shuaibi, 2015).

In other words, these terrorist groups want to express how powerful they are while projecting a less powerful and vulnerable opponent. They ensure this happens by subjecting governments to embarrassment through showing the public that the authorities they are loyal to are after all weak and not as powerful as it may be presumed. The much they succeed is mainly dependent upon the extent to which they get media coverage for their causes. The intense the reportage they get with regard to their acts of violence, the more the motivation to plan, launch or execute further attacks so as to pressure the government to give in to their political demands (Paletz & Schmid, 1992).

Terrorists in their larger scheme to create fear in the population also seek to radicalize a large portion of the population and polarize the political environment with an aim of causing chaos and anxiety. These groups find it important to create fear and anxiety as well as uncertainties to enable them achieve their intention of manipulating government to heed to their demands. By doing all these, they want to expose government to ridicule and derision from their citizens who will feel that government has been overpowered by terrorists. This puts them at pole position to show that government is either defeated or overwhelmed and can no longer guarantee its citizens security thereby forcing government to discuss with them on the best way forward to avoid social and political conflicts. This can easily be achieved when media offers them the oxygen they need to survive (Paletz & Schmid, 1992).

Terrorists prop up the narrative that their attacks are justified and indispensable therefore heroic. This is because they portray themselves as fighters for justice against the oppression of the public by governments. Without the employment of violence terrorism

to communicate their political messages will not exist simply because there will not be attention to their actions. They strongly drive a narrative that the kind of violent acts which they participate in are the only means which they can employ towards being listened to by governments rather than these acts just being mere acts of killing and maiming civilians. The sole technique which is meant to help them succeed in their agenda is through the use of the press to pass their messages across (Paletz & Schmid, 1992).



Plate 4.4: A vehicle wreckage attacked using an IED in Mandera County
Source: Field Data, 2019

The findings of this study are in tandem with the propositions of Barnhurst (1991) who says that there exist two models which are dedicated to describing the relationship between the mass media and terrorism. The culpable-media model is the first among these models and it postulates that, the media complete a vicious cycle. While broadcasting the messages on terrorist attack as news, they play a part in the process of enhancing terrorism. They indirectly assist the terrorists achieve their objectives thus

carry out more attacks so as to sustain their continued presence in the headlines. In short, the media is thought to be the cause of terrorism.

The second model discussed is called the vulnerable media model which projects the media as a victim of terrorism activities rather than a cause. In this model, Barnhurst postulates that, though the media could theoretically stop covering terrorism this may not be enough to stop or bring to its end terrorism. It is logical to think that terrorists must not rely only on one media to pass over their political messages. This is because of the emergence of new media and terrorists can exploit any – online media, social media, tabloids etc (Barnhurst, 1991).

The kind of stories published on about Mandera County almost all have a bearing on terrorism until one can think that nothing on development happens in Mandera County. It is this kind of news that has kept the morale of terrorists high in Mandera County. What follows then is the perpetration of more attacks in Mandera County and also planning for more attacks from the county. The terrorists from our neighbouring country Somalia have always sneaked into Kenya through Mandera County. The attacks which have happened in Kenya have in one way or the other been associated with Mandera County.

Sensationalizing news and persistent reporting on incidents of terrorism keeps the terrorists in the limelight thus achieving their objective of publicity. Terrorists as noted by English (2017) want their activities magnified by the media and since the media craves for news that sells, they fall for the trap of propelling the agenda of terrorists. Once an act of terrorism happens, the media produces numerous news broadcasts on the

act of terror. The news takes the audience back to past acts of terror in the name of giving the act of terror context. This gives the terrorists mileage. The audience gets treated to unending news coverage sometimes live coverage for days. The terrorists wherever they are enjoy seeing the government grappling with the effects of the terror act. They enjoy seeing the population looking scared and helpless.

The most recent act of terror of kidnapping of Cuba doctors in Mandera and the attack and killing of security personnel by a landmine set up by terrorist suspects (Business Daily, 2019) received a lot of media attention. This was done via radio, live television, print media and even social media. The media never bothered to censure the news. Live television could show how dire the situation was and how government agencies were struggling to track down the kidnappers. For the government to succeed in fighting terrorism in Mandera County and indeed elsewhere, concerted efforts between the government and the citizens where journalists also belong must support the counterterrorism strategies. The media must endeavor to deny the terrorists the publicity they crave to put their agenda across.

4.8 Terrorists' Position in the Media

To determine the nature of coverage the terrorists get from the media, it is important to enquire on whether terrorists have projected themselves better in the media than the reigning government. The results of this enquiry are presented in Figure 4.9

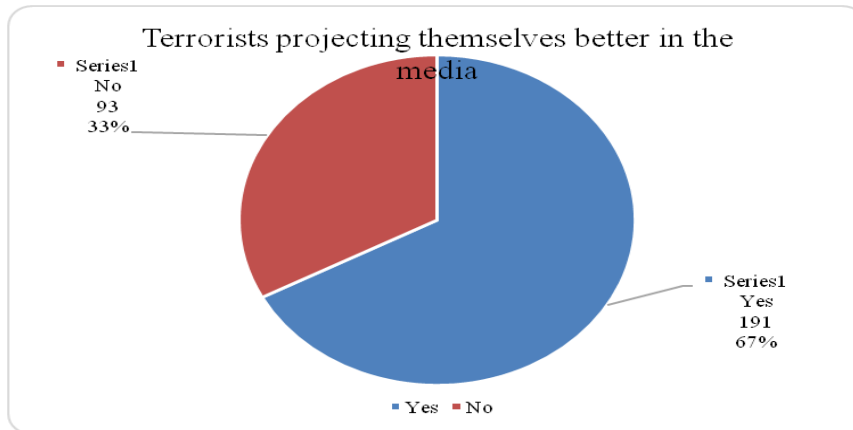


Figure 4.9: Terrorists projecting themselves better in the media than the government.

Source: Field Data, 2019

The study established that most of the respondents felt that terrorists have projected themselves better in the media than the government. This was noted among 67% (191) of the respondents with 33% (93) noting that terrorists had not projected themselves better in the media than the government. The study noted that with the day-in day-out coverage of terrorist activities in the media is a depiction of terrorists projecting their presence better than the government through the media.

Key informants in the study were further in agreement with these sentiments, most of who noted that terrorists have mastered the art of strategically positioning themselves well in their media to justify their acts and advance their agenda. The mosque leader interviewed in the study noted;

We all have seen the huge newspaper headlines covering terrorist activities, the different propaganda videos and audios in the media, even when there is a terror act and the media offer live coverage even over a period of 3 consecutive days, what is that? They have put themselves out there in the media as very strong. (Interview with a *madrassa* teacher, 4th April 2019)

Furthermore, the area chief added;

Not being biased, sometimes they are just in the media too much, mostly in our local radio stations here issuing threats and propaganda. I would not say they are more popular in the media than the government but they have been given a lot of airtime than government activities sometimes

These resounding sentiments further paint a picture of a media that gives much airtime to terrorists and terrorism in general. However, the journalists who were part of the study defended the notion that terrorists have projected themselves better in the media than the government. One of them noted;

No one can portray themselves well in the media; it is the media that determines who to project better than the other. So, in this case, terrorist cannot project themselves better than anyone, leave alone a whole government. (FGD with Journalists, 2nd April 2019)

One other journalist noted;

If there is news of terror acts, why would one say the terrorists are projecting themselves better in the media than anyone else? News is just news, reports are just reports whether they show someone or something much more than the other. (FGD with Journalists, 2nd April 2019)

The media has on a number of occasions been seen to play an accomplice to the success of these acts of terror. This has been witnessed more so during the processes of reporting and covering these acts of terror whenever and wherever they take place. Their coverage intentionally or unintentionally gives so much publicity to the terrorist groups; a mileage they really crave to achieve. The example of the September 11, 2001, attacks were sufficiently visual to meet the demands of the TV culture and to satisfy the public fascination for live coverage of events.

By attacking cities like New York, among others, where the largest concentration of television stations and film studios and equipment exist, terrorists not only guaranteed for themselves an exhaustive coverage and a global projection of their actions, but the existence of multiple tourists and citizens who had their own film equipment. This allowed news broadcasters to utilize domestically filmed news materials in which the news did not have as much to do with the terrorist attack as with the existence of new images that allowed the viewing public to contemplate the horror and destruction from a different point of view.

Terrorist attack news has a large spectrum of audience. The news attracts many viewers due to the big magnitude of loss of lives and damage to property occasioned. This is a very fertile ground for the terrorists to achieve their agenda of instilling fear in the public so as to try and change a people's way of life. Therefore, the media should try to minimize such news from the public. This is so because, if the public live in fear and tension, then they will tend to change their lifestyle so as not to fall victims of terror. The population due to fear may opt to shy away from public interaction and involvement in public matters.

4.9 Accuracy and Objectivity of Media Reportage of Terrorism Activities

Media reports and news are expected to inform the public accurately without compromising efforts aimed at fighting terrorism. The study sought to understand how respondents agreed or disagreed with various statements regarding to the accuracy and objectivity of the media when reporting terrorism activities. The results are presented in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3: Accuracy and objectivity of media reportage of terrorism activities

| | SA | | A | | N | | D | | SD | |
|---|-----|-------|-----|-------|----|-------|-----|-------|----|-------|
| | F | % | F | % | F | % | F | % | F | % |
| The media is never objective when reporting terrorism acts | 28 | 9.9% | 147 | 51.8% | 64 | 22.5% | 36 | 12.6% | 9 | 3.2% |
| All media reports on terrorism acts are accurate | 8 | 2.8% | 9 | 3.2% | 57 | 20.1% | 172 | 60.5% | 38 | 13.4% |
| Accuracy of media reports on terrorism is influenced by accuracy of the source of information | 128 | 45.1% | 76 | 26.8% | 48 | 16.8% | 29 | 10.2% | 3 | 1.1% |
| The media can only be objective in reporting terrorism acts if the reporting is aimed at promoting anti-terrorism fight | 140 | 49.3% | 81 | 28.5% | 43 | 15% | 20 | 7% | 0 | 0 |

(Where SD=strongly disagree, D=disagree, N=neutral, A=agree, SA=strongly agree)

Source: Field Data, 2019

From the data collected, a cumulative 61.7% of the respondents were in agreement that the media is never objective when reporting terrorism acts with 22.5% being neutral and a cumulative 15.8% being in disagreement. On the same note, a cumulative 6% were in agreement that all media reports on terrorism acts are accurate with 20.1% being neutral and a cumulative 73.9% being in disagreement. A cumulative 71.9% were in agreement that accuracy of media reports on terrorism is influenced by accuracy of the source of information with 16.8% being neutral and a cumulative 11.3% being in disagreement. The study also noted that a cumulative 77.8% were in agreement that the media can only

be objective in reporting terrorism acts if the reporting is aimed at promoting anti-terrorism fight with 15% being neutral and 7% being in disagreement.

It was therefore noted that the fact that not all the media reports on terrorism acts were accurate, the cause could have been due to the fact that the media was not always objective when reporting terrorist acts. Consequently, the study noted that in order to achieve accuracy and objectivity, the media need to have accurate sources of information besides their reporting being aligned towards supporting and promoting the anti-terrorism fight.

Agreeing sentiments were shared by key informants in the study who noted lack of total objectivity by the media which influenced the accuracy of reports and news on terrorism acts.

This follows that, facts must be clearly established as well as cross-checked and sensational journalism avoided. Much as Fact-checking is critical in professional journalism, it is also compulsory. While pursuing the truth there is an implication of the right and the duty to explain, even though this is a times seen or criticized as justifying terrorist acts (Spencer, 2012). Daring to decode the reasons for unreason, the origins of terrorist acts and terrorist demands is, however, essential. The destructive nature of a violent act cannot serve as a pretext not to analyze the cause. One of the duties of journalism is to include complexity, refusing the denial of reality in the affirmation that there is nothing to understand on the pretext that terrorists are “barbarians.” The essential rules of journalistic ethics cover this duty in the independent pursuit of truth

In view of this foregoing, it was prudent for the study to establish ways in which the media can best report on terrorism and terror activities. The study sought to collect information that would contribute to enhancing better and professional practice in reporting on terrorism activities in print media, radio, television and online tabloids. This view in tandem with the views expressed by Becket who postulates that, when the media gives out detailed media coverage on security agencies investigations or operations, this may aid the attackers to refine their modus operandi so as to avoid past mistakes committed (Beckett, 2016).

They will definitely shape their subsequent attacks alongside the media presentations so as to avoid where they went wrong in past attacks and perfect on the future ones. Therefore, editors should make it their responsibility, a duty and at the same time an obligation that the latest news they broadcast is unhelpful to the terrorists who are seeking for information to conduct more attacks (Beckett, 2016).

Media has to sacrifice on providing the breaking news aspect on the basis that they have to broadcast well researched news based on facts. The media has to substitute the breaking news with factual news. Therefore the element of prompt news or immediate news has to be sacrificed at the expense of factually established news. The hurry to publish news often will elicit unnecessary fear in the public while at the same time encouraging more terrorist attacks through the sustained media coverage which the terrorists desperately crave for (Martin, 2010). The media ought to take to account the obligation they have in responsibly accurately informing citizens regarding activities on terrorism whenever they occur.

In today's world "religious-inspired terrorism" attracts the most attention, and particularly attacks instigated by organizations claiming to follow Islam, which generate the widest media coverage. Therefore, media broadcasts should be void of myopic and mythically inspired terrorism reports. Furthermore, the study established that the tone of reporting and writing of articles as well as the sensational type of reporting is an additional fire in the furnace that should be avoided at all costs.

These findings are in agreement with Blaisse (1992) who argues that as a journalist, one has a clear and sole responsibility on the way they report their findings from their sources or eye witness accounts. Many a times, the topic of discussion or thematic analyses may not be the dangerous ones but rather the tone which is adopted by presenters or discussants as well as the style in which the messages were broadcasted or passed over unto the audience.

Conflict is the bread and butter of journalism. It provides ready-made material for media men and women to exploit. Media audiences are usually excited to read detailed stories and view live coverage of how events unfolded. However, it should be noted that such can have a devastating effect on the victims, their family members and the security forces attempting to neutralize terrorists. Airing live broadcasts of terrorists' activities and publishing of pictures and vides of people killed in terrors activities was viewed as one of the practices that media outlets should cease henceforth.

Widespread media attention alone ensures that the terrorists' axe swinging through the forest is sufficiently audible to produce the desired "effect". And yet, coverage of terrorist acts is too juicy for journalists to ignore, promising higher circulation and

audience numbers. One of the main objectives of a terrorist act is to maximize publicity in order to create a psychological effect on the public. Margaret Thatcher, who was one time the British Prime Minister for the period of about twelve years spanning between 1979 and 1990 reiterated the issue of the media was acting as the supplier of oxygen to the terrorists (Spaaij, Muller & Ruitenbergh, 2003; Vieira, 1991). As far as Ms. Thatcher was concerned, if terrorists were denied media publicity which they enjoy literally every day in the national and international media, their terrorists would fade out and die. By withholding the “oxygen” in this way, she contended, terrorism would die.

Additionally, the findings of this study are in tandem with the observations of UNESCO (2017) whereby the quality of journalism and its usefulness to society depend on other factors, particularly its questions about the phenomenon itself, its origins and consequences. Beyond emergencies and newsflashes, the coverage of terrorism requires special investigative and analytical capacities on topics of great complexity affecting international politics, internal political power relations, religion and transnational crime.

Whenever the peaceful co-existence of the society is under threat, the media must at all times endeavour to stand up and protect both the population and democracy through exercising their duly right and duty to educate and inform. The essential principle of journalism which is the pursuit of truth is central in the context of terrorist attacks. Initially, just after an attack, confusion and speculation tend to reign but the media must take the centre stage to guide their audience out of the confusion and anxiety. The facts must be scrupulously established, and fuzzy journalism avoided. Fact-checking is also compulsory. Mastering the flow of information and ensuring its truth and accuracy are

journalistic practices that can prevent fear from turning into panic or paranoia Spencer (2012).

The study established that there is need for journalists to seek authoritative information from verifiable sources such as the security apparatus, conduct objective and accurate investigative journalism and only publish or air reports whose information is objective, accurate and supports anti-terrorism efforts.

Key informants in the study noted lack of total objectivity by the media which influenced the accuracy of reports and news on terrorism acts. The Deputy County Commissioner interviewed noted;

The media can only have accurate reports if their sources are accurate and verified. And one such source is we in the government security system. (Interview with DCC, 5th April 2019)

Additionally, the Administration Police Officer interviewed noted that;

The media can help in the fight against terrorism by giving accurate information to the public through clear and objective investigation and sourcing of information. Otherwise, if they are driven by the need to sell stories and documentaries, they only help terrorists against us. (Interview with an Administration Police Officer, 5th April 2019)

An official from Christian Community Services and Church noted;

The reports we sometime see, hear or read about in the media are not always accurate. Some journalists lack professionalism and objectivity when doing these reports, sometimes out of malice or blackmail. It can only be right if the media helps the fight against terrorism by being true, real and accurate. (Interview with an official from the Christian Community Church and Services, 2nd April 2019)

An essential principle of journalism, the pursuit of truth is imperative in the context of terrorist attacks. Initially, confusion and speculation tend to reign. Consequently, the facts must be scrupulously established, and fuzzy journalism avoided. Fact-checking is also compulsory. The pursuit of truth also implies the right and the duty to explain, even though this is sometimes perceived or criticized as justifying terrorist acts (Spencer, 2012).

The media must endeavor to report truthfully, objectively so that the news is credible. The media should avoid broadcasting non-factual news just for the sake of selling news to make profits. The media should not dwell on explaining news to the public which lead to the perception that the media are justifying terrorism Spencer (2012).

4.10 Chapter Summary

This chapter endeavored to discuss the nature of media reportage on terrorist activities in Mandera County. The chapter discusses on the residency of the respondents and it was realized that most of the respondents were residents of Mandera County. The chapter further explores the kind of media which is preferred by the people of Mandera County and it was established that the locals of Mandera County prefer Radio as a means of accessing news. This is so because Radio does not need a lot of infrastructure as TV would need. Radios are also cheap and can be accessed with ease.

The Chapter further looked into the media category which carried most terror related news reports and it was realized that the Radio as the most preferred medium of accessing news in the County conveyed most terror related news. The Radios are mostly

the conduits used by terrorists to relay their messages to their target audience. This has resulted in youths and the elderly joining the militia and also being radicalized.

The chapter also delved into the way/format which these messages were passed through to the audience. It was realized that the messages were in form of news broadcasts and live studio commentaries. The sources of this news were also examined and found out to be journalists' own judgment and some security agencies. This raises the question of the credibility of the news presented. In terms of how media portrays terrorists, it was established that media portrays terrorists as strong. They send security agencies scrambling to regain order after attacks. The tone in which the media presents the news casts security agencies as weak and trying to catch up with the terrorists tactics.

Finally, the chapter handled the issue of media portraying terrorists as fighting for people's rights. It was realized that to a greater extent, the terrorists have their own agenda and not the people's interests at heart. However, other respondents felt that the media does portray the terrorists as people fighting for the citizens rights. The chapter also expound on how the media encourages more attacks when it gives extensive coverage to the terrorists activities. Terrorists have projected themselves well in the media. They always appear in the headlines. This serves as their oxygen which they really need.

CHAPTER FIVE: EFFECTS OF MEDIA REPORTAGE ON TERRORIST ACTIVITIES

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of the effects of media reportage on terrorist activities. The chapter will discuss the ranking of terrorism journalism as it appeared in the media, the outlets that reported the most on terrorism journalism and the effects of media reportage on terrorist activities. Bryant and Zillmann defined media effects as the social, cultural and psychological impact of communicating through the media (Zillmann D. and Bryant J., 1985).

The following effects were tabulated as follows:

Table 5.1: Effects of media reportage

Radicalization and Youth Recruitment into Al-shabaab

Youths and the elderly adopt radical/hard stances or positions on matters political, economic, spiritual and social

Increase in the number of Al-Shabaab sympathizers

Increase in the number of youths joining Al-Shabaab

Poor Infrastructural Development

Education standards are low – teachers refusing to work in Mandera County

Livelihoods affected - Evoking a sense of hopelessness in the population who feel neglected by Government

Poor economic activity – the investors have shied away from investing in Mandera County

Disruption of software and hardware materials – foodstuffs, vandalism of communication masts

Increased Hatred for Security Agencies

Psychological disturbances to locals and non-locals working in the County

Insecurity – the media coverage has attracted the terrorists to Mandera County since it is offering oxygen to their activities therefore more attacks are witnessed. They are planned and executed from Mandera County

Source: Field Data, 2019

5.1.1 Radicalization and Youth Recruitment into Al-shabaab

First and foremost there is the effect of increase in the number of youths and the elderly who join Al-Shabaab militia. The number of sympathizers also was noted to be high. The local youths and elderly people have become radicalized while others have developed the sense of helplessness and hopelessness. This has affected economic activity of the County. This finding is in tandem with Nacos (2006) who remarks that, from repeated coverage of terrorist activities, the terrorists groups are able to recruit more members from the population.



Plate 5.1: Ministry of Education offices in Mandera town

Source: Field Data, 2019

All the assaults undertaken by Al-Shabaab in Kenya have seized opportunity gaps and can be termed as propaganda driven. They are meant to attract attention of the media to project them into the international limelight so that they are visible thus survive. This is an attraction to the sympathizers to get recruited into the terror outfit through the spread of fear. Ideally, when the assault is more heinous, it will make the group be perceived as more powerful and thus relevant. It can be acknowledged that Al-Shabaab attacks in

Kenya have been horrendous and so have had a frightening effect thence attracting immense and strategic media reportage both locally and internationally. This is the opportunity which this militant group is looking for, the opportunity to be publicized so as to retain their international relevance (Chaliand & Blin, 2017).

It is obvious that the capital city, Nairobi is much more recognized internationally than any other city in the East and Central Africa region. Therefore by Al-Shabaab and other terrorist organizations attacks targets therein guarantees them a higher level of media reportage. This is because, in Kenya, there are a number of tourists' destinations and other international bodies like the United Nations Environmental Programme office (UNEP) is located in Nairobi. This makes Nairobi a lucrative target which will attract international and national media coverage. A similar attack let us say in Ethiopia for instance might not attract the same magnitude of reportage. The unprecedented media coverage on the Westgate attack is a case in point whereby many media houses both locally and internationally were involved. Summarily, an Al-Shabaab assault in Kenya guarantees them immense publicity which they always crave for such that they remain relevant in the international stage as well as gain more recruits (GTD, 2015).

5.1.2 Poor Infrastructural Development

If the foregoing is anything to go by, then it has an effect on the investors who have shied away from investing in Mandera County. The county has lagged behind in terms of infrastructural development, livelihoods have been negatively affected, and the local population lives in perpetual fear of attacks hence the feeling of insecurity in the County.

Another finding is that, when the media continually persists to provide extensive coverage to terrorists, then, the media encourages the terrorists to conduct more attacks so as to maintain their continued stay in the headlines. This finding is in tandem with Journalistic studies by Fursich, (2010) and Thomas, (2014), have shown that, the mass media tend to favor stories that resonate well with their audiences due to their perceived cultural background especially when such reports talk about unexpected and dramatic events.

Acts of terrorism by their nature easily endear themselves to extensive media coverage. Cottee and Hayward (2011) have noted that terrorism ‘involves the deliberate infliction of physical harm or injury on human beings.’ For example, in an study of the coverage of two “investigative” documentaries by two local television stations, KTN and NTV, Abraham Kisang noted that the two stations continued to replicate and project the Al-Shabaab messages to the audiences, and often quoted verbatim, or replayed terrorists’ video messages, which were in the first instance subject of investigations, or in some cases (had) resulted in targeted attacks against Christians in Kenya (Kisang, 2014).

The study noted that there was a tendency by the media to portray terrorism to be associated with all persons of Somali decent. Such media coverage made locals to fear identifying themselves as residents of Mandera County. There have been also cases of profiling of locals of Mandera County as people who are in one way or the other connected to terrorism. Further, locals of Somali decent who had intelligence or information concerning feared giving out this information or sharing their intelligence

with security personnel for fear of being branded as terrorists or their (terrorists) sympathizers.

5.1.3 Increased Hatred for Security Agencies

The negative mentality which is expressed by locals to security agencies is to a greater degree occasioned by the way the media misrepresents facts on the fight against terrorism in Mandera County. The Media may not be in agreement with this finding but the fact is that, the local dialect broadcasts on radio have contributed towards misinforming the public on the efforts of fighting terrorism. The locals think that the security agencies are out to fight their community which is not correct. Journalists who attended the focus group discussion noted that terrorism journalism was concerned with presenting news and information as it is so as not to miss-inform the audiences. One of them noted;

I can confirm that when it comes to a sensitive issue like terrorism journalism, we the media people are only concerned with giving facts and information as it is on the ground. This is to avoid miss-informing the public but if it turns out to be propaganda, then that's subject to verification. (FGD with Journalists, 2nd April 2019).

One other journalist concurred by saying;

If terrorists are causing war and using violence, that is what the media is supposed to show. If we don't show it and we broadcast none of it, then we shall be lying to the public. If there is victory as you asked, we can only show victory on the anti-terrorism fighters. But there are also cases where terrorists have defeated the security personnel like where they killed and kidnapped people. They won but the media is not supposed to say that they won; they are to say that it is just a matter of time and the terrorists will lose. (FGD with Journalists, 2nd April 2019).

On their parts, interviewees who participated in the study harbored different views. The mosque leader interviewed in the study noted;

The media during reporting on terrorism is shrouded with pictures and videos that depict the use of war and violence by the Al-Shabaab. They even air some propaganda audios and videos, some of which are fake. If I was to rate the media in terms truth oriented broadcasts, I would say less than 30% truths when it comes to terrorism activities. This is because they rarely seek truths before going live or printing newspapers. (Interview with a *madrassa* teacher, 4th April 2019)

In the same vein, responses by the Deputy County Commissioner and the County anti-radicalization and extremism officer painted a picture of a media that is driven by the need to satisfy curiosity and earn viewership without caring about the authenticity of the information they broadcast or the sense that the information carries.

5.2 Ranking of Terrorism Journalism

The study sought to rank the portrayal of media broadcasts related to terrorism. This is important because, the frames that the media attribute to terrorism will make it appear heroic or defeatist ideology trying to impose their will on the people. This kind of ranking will help to see how the media reinforces the effects created due to their broadcasts that intensively and extensively feature the news on terrorism. The results of this enquiry are presented in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2: Ranking of terrorism journalism

| | Ranking | | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| | Most appearing | Moderately appearing | Sometimes appearing | Least appearing |
| War/violence oriented | 193 (68%) | 35 (12.3%) | 30 (10.6%) | 26 (9.1%) |
| Propaganda oriented | 15 (5.3%) | 172 (60.6%) | 49 (17.2%) | 48 (16.9%) |
| Truth oriented | 23 (8.1%) | 90 (31.7%) | 101 (35.6%) | 70 (24.6%) |
| Victory oriented | 141 (49.6%) | 63 (22.2%) | 49 (17.3%) | 31 (10.9%) |

Source: Field Data, 2019

The study established that most of the media broadcasts relating to terrorism journalism were war or violence oriented. This was noted among 68% (193) who cited that war or violence was most appearing in broadcasts, 12.3% (35) noted that war or violence was moderately appearing in broadcasts, 10.6% (30) noted that war or violence appeared sometimes in broadcasts while 9.1% (26) noted that war or violence was the least appearing in terrorism journalism.

With regard to media broadcasts being propaganda oriented, the study established that 5.3% (15) of media broadcasts which were propaganda oriented were most appearing, 60.6% (172) noted that propaganda oriented broadcasts were moderately appearing, 17.2% (49) noted that propaganda oriented broadcasts appeared sometimes while 16.9% (48) noted that propaganda oriented broadcasts were least appearing.

Media broadcasts that were truth oriented were cited as most appearing by 8.1% (23), 31.7% (90) noted that media broadcasts were truth oriented, 35.6% (101) noted that

media broadcasts that were truth oriented appeared sometimes while 24.6% (70) noted that media broadcasts that were truth oriented in terrorism journalism.

Victory oriented broadcasts were cited as most appearing by 49.6% (141) with 22.2% (63) noting that victory oriented broadcasts were moderately appearing, 17.3% (49) noting that victory oriented broadcasts appeared sometimes while 10.9% (31) noted that victory oriented broadcasts were the least appearing in terrorism journalism.

It was thus noted that war and violence dominated the broadcasts made by the media in relation to terrorists' activities. This is reinforced by the fact that the terrorists in question (Al Shabaab) have a tendency of using propaganda to advance their agenda thus, the study noted that propaganda oriented broadcasts also featured prominently. Truth oriented terrorism journalism appeared sometimes to a larger extent and moderately to a smaller extent. Victory oriented broadcasts also featured prominently in terrorism journalism. To ascertain who this victory was attributed to, the study obtained further information from key informants to shed more light on this enquiry.

The study further sought to establish the media outlet with the most terrorism journalism among the local media outlets that were a focal point of this study. The results are presented in Figure 5.1.

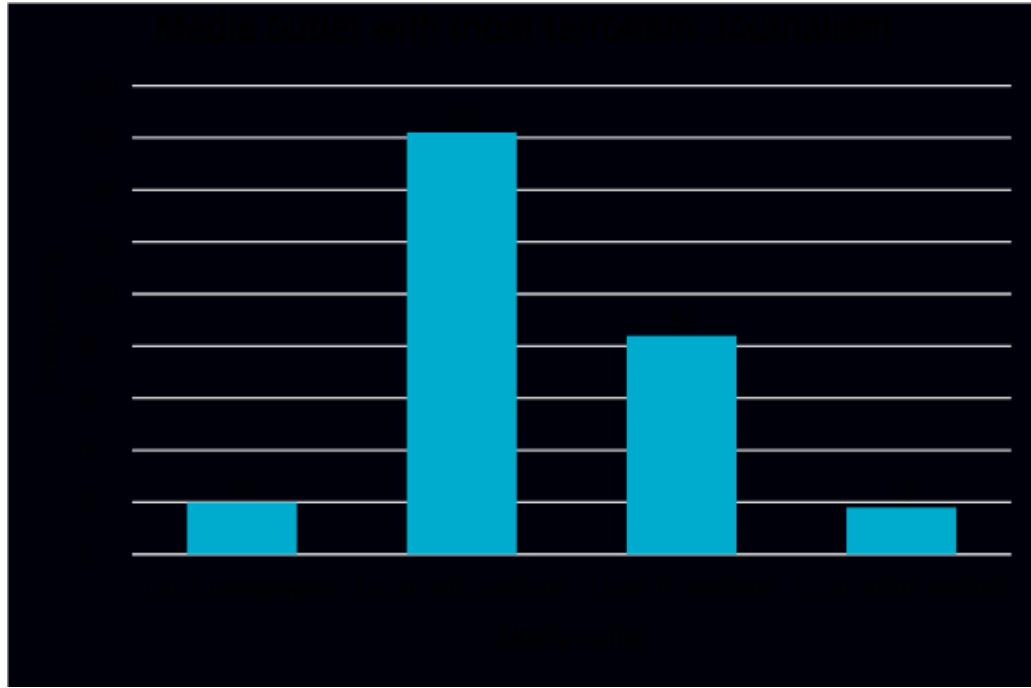


Figure 5.1: Media outlet with the most terrorism journalism among the local media outlets

Source: Field Data, 2019

The study established that terrorism journalism appeared most in local radio stations. This was noted in 162 respondents (57%). A total of 84 respondents (29.6%) noted that terrorism journalism appeared most in local television stations, 20 respondents (7%) noted that terrorism journalism appeared most in local newspapers while a total of 18 respondents (6.4%) noted that terrorism journalism appeared most in local online tabloids.

Similar sentiments were echoed by key informants in the study. The area Chief interviewed in the study observed that;

I would say most of this news is in local radio stations. In this part of the country, people prefer listening to radio so much so the media people know where to direct news about terrorism. (Interview with the area chief, 3rd April 2019).

The Administration Police Officer interviewed agreed with these sentiments noting;

Most of this terrorism news appears on local radio stations in this region. Maybe the reason for this is because here, radio is everything; it is through radio that the people here get all the news from all over the country. (Interview with an Administration Police Officer, 5th April 2019)

An analysis of these responses clearly depicts that most of the terrorism reports and news to be via radio. The study noted that radio; being the most preferred media category as earlier noted in the study, had the most terrorism journalism. Other media such as television and newspapers were also cited, albeit not having much terrorism journalism appearing in them. The study also noted that while the media might be exercising their roles of informing the public, the airing and publication of terrorists' acts in the eye of the terrorists is simply publicity of their success.

5.3 Effect of Media Reportage in Relation to Efforts in Fighting Terrorism

The study sought to understand the interaction between media reportage and efforts aimed at fighting terrorism. The results of this enquiry are presented in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3: Media reportage and anti-terrorism efforts

| Statement | Frequency | Percentage |
|---|------------------|-------------------|
| Media content supports all efforts aimed at fighting terrorism | 37 | 13% |
| Media content opposes efforts aimed at fighting terrorism | 163 | 57.4% |
| Media content is neutral on efforts aimed at fighting terrorism | 84 | 29.6% |
| Total | 284 | 100 |

Source: Field Data, 2019

The study established that media content opposed efforts aimed at fighting terrorism. From the data collected, it was observed that 57.4% (163) of the respondents were of the opinion that media content opposes efforts aimed at fighting terrorism. On the other hand only 13% (37) were in agreement that media content supports all efforts aimed at fighting terrorism with 29.2% (83) noting that media content was neutral on the efforts aimed at fighting terrorism.

Key informants in the study however noted that media content was prominent on informing audiences of terrorism acts rather than supporting efforts aimed at fighting terrorism. An official from Christian Community Services and Church noted;

The media are focused on making money by airing news and reports, gaining more viewers and things like those. Supporting anti-terrorism efforts is like 10% of what they do. (Interview with an official from the Christian Community Church and Services, 2nd April 2019)

One other interviewee noted;

Broadcasting a live terror event like DusitD2 Hotel attack or the one at West Gate mall, airing propaganda videos and audios even on their social media pages, is that helping the fight against terrorism or supporting it? Doing this gives mileage to the terrorist and not to anti-terrorism fighters. (Interview with DCC, 5th April 2019)

The study observed that it would not be helpful in any way for media content to be neutral on the fight against terrorism. The study noted that to a large extent, media content does not directly oppose efforts aimed at fighting terrorism but does that indirectly through giving terrorist energy by giving them a larger audience to spread fear into and to justify their acts.

The coverage of terrorism by two mainstream papers in Kenya, Daily Nation and the Standard for instance, for the period April 2014, showed that there was a general tendency to cover the acts “positively” with government’s counter-terrorism interventions receiving lukewarm or negative response altogether. Maina (2014) notes that this “negative” tone and “issue framing” by the media reinforced the terrorist’s objectives of spreading fear and enhancing propaganda, which inevitably undermined government’s ability to counter the Al-Shabaab as envisaged.

The moment the media gives a positive toned coverage then it tends to reinforce the objectives of terrorists. This is because the positive news coverage accorded to terrorists they are able to attract followers and sympathizers. The framing of news should be done carefully to avoid reinforcing the terrorists’ agenda. The findings of this study are in tandem with the findings of Okpara (2010) cited in Hamid and Baba (2014) who observed that the Nigerian media are yet to effectively play the surveillance function of the media in their reportage of insurgency. He contended that this led to the unabated insurgent activities in Nigeria.

If the terrorists’ news is covered more in the media than the government, then every member of the society should have every reason to worry about this kind of trend. This is because by continuously making it to the media, the terrorists achieve their objectives. This also works against the government’s counterterrorism strategies. The media instead should help government by supporting the counterterrorism strategies by minimizing on their coverage of terrorist activities.

5.4 The Media Propelling the Terrorists' Agenda

The study set out to establish whether the media; through their reportage, were propelling the terrorists agenda. The results of this enquiry are presented in Figure 5.2.

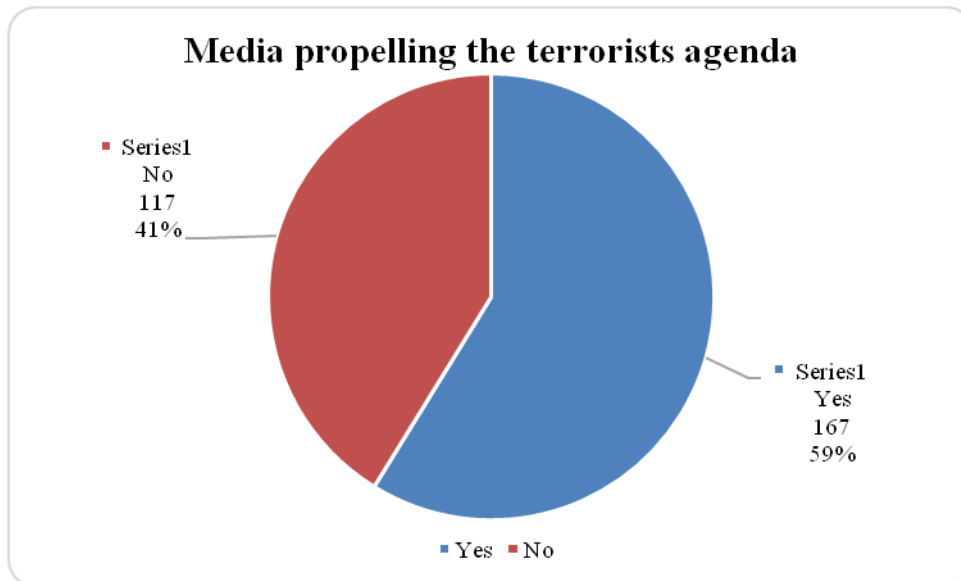


Figure 5.2: The media propelling the terrorists' agenda through their broadcasts
Source: Field Data, 2019

From the data collected, the study established that most of the respondents were of the opinion that the media was propelling the terrorists' agenda through their content and delivery. It was observed that 59% of the respondents were in agreement that the media was propelling the terrorists' agenda with 41% noting that the media was not propelling the terrorists' agenda. A subsequent analysis on information provided by the key informants painted a picture of a media fraternity that indirectly breathes fresh air into terrorism.

As observed in the study, it would not be helpful in any way for media content to be neutral on the fight against terrorism. The study noted that to a large extent, media content does not directly oppose efforts aimed at fighting terrorism but does that indirectly through giving terrorist energy by giving them a larger audience to spread fear into and to justify their acts. The coverage of terrorism by two mainstream papers in Kenya, Daily Nation and the Standard for instance, for the period April 2014, showed that there was a general tendency to cover the acts “positively” with government’s counter-terrorism interventions receiving lukewarm or negative response altogether. Maina (2014) notes that this “negative” tone and “issue framing” by the media reinforced the terrorist’s objectives of spreading fear and enhancing propaganda, which inevitably undermined government’s ability to counter the Al-Shabaab as envisaged.

A subsequent analysis on information provided by the key informants painted a picture of a media fraternity that indirectly breathes fresh air into terrorism. The study noted from this foregoing that media content and the way it is delivered, aids to propel the wheel of terrorism ahead. As noted from the responses collected, ‘screaming’ newspaper headlines, live coverage of terrorists’ acts and the sensational delivery of content by the media acted as a catalyst to the terrorists, making them yearn to commit more acts in order to justify themselves, their acts and gain popularity among other things.

Furthermore, the study established that the manner in which stories were written, the connotations used and the way the terrorists were compared to the security and defense forces, sparked a sense of same comparison that would otherwise be easily used by the terrorists to gauge their strength and capabilities against the security forces. Such

insinuations by the media about the Kenyan government for example not being able to bring back persons kidnapped by Al Shabaab made the terrorists feel strong and thus, able to carry out more kidnappings without being caught up.

Caruthers (2011) noted the aim of terrorism as that of creating a certain audience which will sympathize with them and eventually use this audience to pressure states and governance institutions into giving in to terrorist demands because of fear. With such an audience in place the terrorists can employ any form of violence which will force governments and states to listen to them and sometimes yield to their demands. The victims are not important to the terrorists but rather what is more important to them is the message being passed to the population with an aim of putting pressure on government to give in to their political demands (Jasperson, 2012).

Journalistic studies by Fursich, (2010) and Thomas, (2014), have shown that, the press tends to favor stories that reverberate with their audiences due to their perceived socio-cultural background especially when such reports talk about unexpected and dramatic events. Acts of terrorism by their nature easily endear themselves to extensive and intensive press reportage. Cottee and Hayward (2011) have noted that terrorism constitutes a well-coordinated deliberate scheme meant to inflict physical bodily harm or injury on the public.

Azeez (2009) argues that the dramatic ways the media report the violent and extreme acts of terrorism encourages further planning and execution of violence. Furthermore, he suggests that if any kind of political violence goes unreported or not reported sensationally, it is likely to have a reducing effect on such violence simply because these

events have gone unnoticed. If the media focuses so much on them, they become spectacular and attract massive audience.

Professor of Law Michelle Ghatti, did take note that the modern terrorist is a creation of the media. Ideally what the media does is to enlarge and broaden the terrorists' dimension beyond what it really is. Television brings everyone in the audience into the scene of terrorism rendering them helpless hence unable to chart their independent path out of the scene hence engendering the feelings of anxiousness and fearfulness which are tools of the terrorists' instruments of repression to coerce the public to conform to their narrative which they drive. The public anxiety augments the perceived influence of the terrorist in his own eyes as well as the eyes of the peer groups and the rest of the audience. This enhanced authority often replicates itself and the cycle repeats itself (Michelle, 2008).

Terrorism, according to Hoffman (2003), can be said to be a violent act meant to attract or draw attention of the public and thereafter through the publicity it generates a message is passed as intended. As one of the United Army leaders once explained, violent actions are shocking and scary. The leader further reiterates that terrorists want to shock people everywhere because it is a means of communicating their messages to their audience. Mass media, as the principal conduit of information about such acts, thus play a vital part in the terrorists' calculus. By terrorists reigning terror and widely spreading their heinous acts of terror to a large audience terrorists gain the maximum potential which they always seek for to spread their intentions and actions to effect fundamental political change.

One of the officials at the Rural Agency for Community Development and Assistance noted;

These people in the media know what they are doing. They are after making money and as long as the story sells, they don't mind whether it promotes terrorism or not. Their goal is to create and broadcast or write stories that sell. Even if the story will portray for example, the KDF as weak, they will publish it, not knowing that this informs terrorists (Interview with an official from the Rural Agency for Community Development and Assistance, 5th April, 2019).



Plate 5.2: NGO assisting in Development in Mandera County
Source: Field Data, 2019

The anti-radicalization and extremism officer further noted;

Media content, unless verified and censored, is directly propelling the terrorist agenda. For instance, in my area of specialization, when the media portray terrorists as fighting for the rights of people and saying that they die as heroes, it lures most of these young Kenyans into the Al-Shabaab group. It is not fair at all. (Interview with the County anti-radicalization and extremism officer, 2^{dn} April, 2019)

In addition, one of the religious leaders from Mandera Catholic Mission noted that;

The media, in some of the shows and even the live coverage of terror attacks or those huge screaming newspaper headlines, makes those attacked to look weak and very hurt. This makes those enemies happy and it makes them want to continue their acts so that they hurt even more people. (Interview with an official of the Catholic Mission in Mandera, 2nd April 2019)

However, on their part, journalists who were enjoined in the study were quick to defend their content and delivery as not propelling the terrorists' agenda. One of the journalists exclaimed;

No! Never! The media is impartial and ethical; we cannot help anyone or group to propel its agenda if it hurts human beings. (FGD with Journalists, 2nd April 2019)

One other journalist noted;

Our content is clean, it is rated and the media is regulated, hence, our content or the way we deliver it or the way we collect news and information does not in any way propel terrorists' agenda. In fact, we endeavor to help in anti-terrorism efforts. (FGD with Journalists, 2nd April 2019)

The study noted from this foregoing that media content and the way it is delivered propels the wheel of terrorism ahead. As noted from the responses collected, 'screaming' newspaper headlines, live coverage of terrorists' acts and the sensational delivery of content by the media acted as a catalyst to the terrorists, making them yearn to commit more acts in order to justify themselves, their acts and gain popularity among other things.

Furthermore, the study established that the manner in which stories were written, the connotations used and the way the terrorists were compared to the security and defense forces, sparked a sense of same comparison that would otherwise be easily used by the terrorists to gauge their strength and capabilities against the security forces. Such insinuations by the media about the Kenyan government for example not being able to bring back persons kidnapped by Al-Shabaab made the terrorists feel strong and thus, able to carry out more kidnappings without being caught.

The coverage of terrorism by two mainstream papers in Kenya, Daily Nation and the Standard for instance, for the period April 2014, showed that there was a general tendency to cover the acts “positively” with government’s counter-terrorism interventions receiving lukewarm or negative response altogether. The findings of this study are in tandem with the findings of Maina (2014) notes that this “negative” tone and “issue framing” by the media reinforced the terrorist’s objectives of spreading fear and enhancing propaganda and taking advantage of situations to attack.

In addition, in an study of the coverage of two “investigative” documentaries by two local television stations, KTN and NTV, Abraham Kisang noted that the two stations continued to replicate and project the Al-Shabaab messages to the audiences, and often quoted verbatim, or replayed terrorists’ video messages, which were in the first instance subject of investigations, or in some cases (had) resulted in targeted attacks against Christians in Kenya (Kisang, 2014).

The continued live coverage of terrorist activities and the airing of investigative journalism documentaries serve to strengthen the resolve of terrorists to commit more acts of terror. When the terrorists commit acts of terror and follow the occurrences live on their screens on how security forces have been cornered, their motivation to commit more acts of such kind are reinforced. Therefore, as much as media want to sell news, they need to be responsible which kind of news and the ethics thereof.

The findings of this study observed that the media, in exercising its freedom of expression and sharing of information, has had running battles with those in position of authority; security agencies in particular. For instance, according to Shettima (2015), security agencies devise strategies aimed at fighting insurgents but these strategies end up being disclosed by the media and as a result, these steps are killed by these media reports despite enormous human and material resources that might have been put in by security agencies overtime. Furthermore, media reportage on terrorism has created a sort of “enmity” between locals and the security personnel whereby locals feel unfairly targeted by operations by security personnel meant to flush out the Al-Shabaab terrorists. Due to the mounting of roadblocks, checkpoints and imposition of curfews, local residents felt that their freedoms were being curtailed and as such, rubbing each other’s shoulders the wrong way.

Additionally, Shettima (2015) also observed that in some cases, deployments made to haunt insurgents get reported thus giving insurgents clues about number of boots coming after them, sometimes including telling the world the routes being taken by troops. This according to him makes insurgents to prepare to ambush troops. Apart from these

instances, certain avoidable reports give undue superiority to terrorists and this boosts their confidence and further, help disorganized commanders to reach their fighters by relying on the media. For example, In April 2015, Shettima (2015) noted that a national and respected media house reported that leader of Boko Haram Abubakar Shekau was calling on his followers to continue fighting and should not relent in their struggles.

From this study, it was noted that presently, terrorists are having a “good-day” because of the undue publicity given to them. Most terrorists often play on the psychology of media practitioners by carefully planning attacks that would compel them to cover and disseminate globally. Once the spotlight is on Al-Qaeda, for example, the group may be encouraged to conduct further attacks in the expectation that the corresponding media attention would also be higher (Jetta, 2017).

A report by the Media Council of Kenya concludes that there is a tendency for media to emphasize the dramatic and most violent and conflicting accounts on war against terror and ignores historical, cultural and social explanations for terrorism and the war against it (Media Council of Kenya and International Media Support, 2016). It is important to note that there is an inherent tension or contradiction between the journalist and the terrorist: the journalist wants the story and the terrorist wants the publicity and to instill fear. And in most cases, in the process of reporting and covering these important stories, the journalist instills fear and anxiety in the public, to the joy of the terrorists.

It is the kind of narrative that al-Shabaab would like told; it reinforces the idea that they are invincible and are winning. This not only perpetuates fear, but also aids in their recruitments, and denting the trust of Kenyans on the capacity of state to offer them

adequate protection against terrorist organizations. A later victim of the Kenyan authorities' crackdown on terror and a radical Muslim cleric - the late Abubakar Sharrif Makaburi – was quoted saying that he welcomes death in the fight against non-Muslims (Media Council of Kenya, 2014).



Plate 5.3: Religious facility reaching out to communities

Source: Field Data, 2019

The clip played by media outlets encourages the notion that a religious war between Muslims and non-Muslims is already on, creating fear and despondency among Muslims and energizing impressionable Muslim youth into a non-existent jihad.

Muslim radios that have used imported radical preachers have served to help radicalization of youth as a January 2010 incident where radical youths protested violently in Nairobi over the deportation of a radical Jamaican Muslim preachers shows (International Crisis Group, 2012).

Kenyan media may, therefore, have been used by Al Shabaab to promote the feeling that Somalis are being victimized for their ethnicity and religion. This has the unintended effect of increasing dissatisfaction among the Somali community and their families, the Muslim community and those who were affected by “*Operation Usalama Watch*”. This may have been used by Al-Shabaab recruiters to recruit from among members of this community who felt victimized, especially the young.

5.5 Chapter Summary

The chapter begins by ranking of terrorism journalism where it was realized that, news on war, violence and propaganda oriented were aired most in the media thereby enhancing the objectives of terrorists of instilling fear in the general population. In Mandera, the locals or even the visitors live in perpetual fear of being caught on the crosshairs of terrorists. There is an eerie of tension when walking or working in Mandera County. The media has not helped by trying to demystifying this notion. All kinds of media present Mandera County as a ‘hotbed’ of insecurity due to the threat posed by Al-Shabaab. This may not be true always but the media has made everyone believe that Mandera County is so insecure which is not necessarily the case.

Various effects were realized too which include radicalization, poor economic activity, increase in the number of defections to Al-Shabaab, increase in the number of attacks due to the motivation terrorists draw from the constant coverage they receive from the media, investors shying away from investing their resources in Mandera County due to the constant fears on security, media propelling terrorists agenda through the kind of content they broadcast and last but not least, media content not supporting strategies put in place by government to fight terrorism in Mandera County.

CHAPTER SIX: CHALLENGES FACED BY THE MEDIA IN REPORTAGE OF TERRORISM ACTIVITIES

This chapter discusses the challenges faced by the media in their reportage of terrorism activities. The chapter further looks at some of the ways that the media can best report on matters terrorism and terrorists' activities.

6.1 Challenges Faced by the Media in Reporting Terrorism

The study sought to establish whether the media faced any challenges in reporting on terrorism activities. In addition to that, the study further sought to capture some of these challenges as informed by the respondents. The results are presented in Figure 6.1.

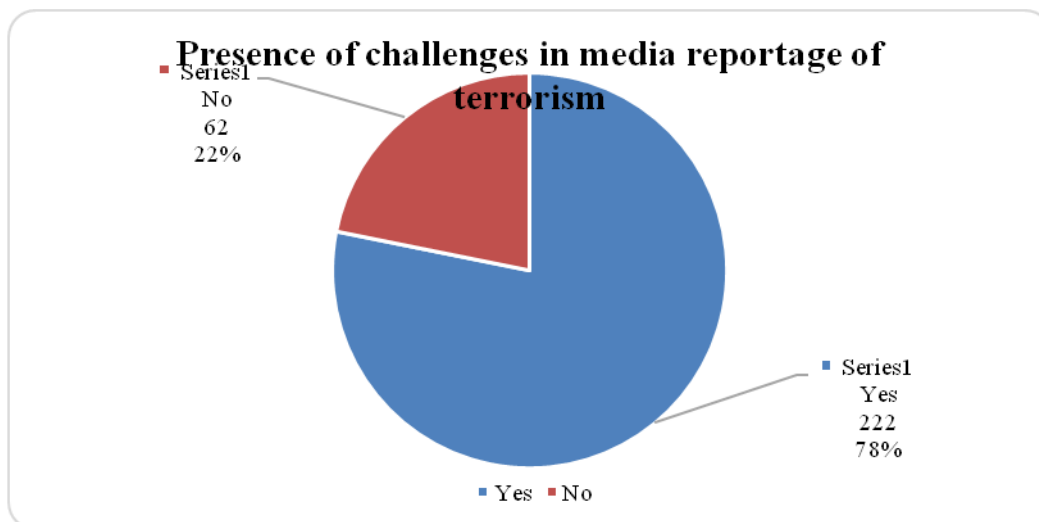


Figure 6.1: Presence of challenges in media reportage of terrorism
Source: Field Data, 2019

The study established that there were challenges faced by the media in their reportage of terrorism. This was as noted by 78% (222) of the respondents with 22% (62) noting that there were no challenges faced by the media in their reportage of terrorism. Some of the challenges noted by respondents are summarized in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1: Challenges faced by the media in reportage of terrorism

| |
|--|
| <p>Conflict of interest <i>Conflict of interest – the right to information vi-a-avis the protection of National Security Interests</i></p> <p><i>Corruption whereby informants demand bribes and kickbacks in order to give information or create linkages to sources of information</i></p> <p><i>Lack of balance between objectivity and accuracy against the need to make stories and reports that sell</i></p> <p><i>Spread of propaganda and unverified information on social media sometimes works against facts presented by journalists</i></p> <p>Poor communications network <i>Lack of access to government information on terrorism</i></p> <p><i>Broadcasting in Local dialects sometimes denied international media the feel of how Media in Mandera Reports on terrorist activities.</i></p> <p><i>Infrastructural challenges - Poor facilities such as road network, transport and communication</i></p> <p>Myths on Terrorism <i>Myths surrounding the whole subject of terrorism. Such myths make it difficult to obtain and verify information</i></p> <p>Lack of Mutual trust <i>Dishonesty and lack of trust in the informants</i></p> <p>Fear and Intimidation <i>Fear of being attacked and hurt by terrorists</i></p> <p><i>Intimidation and blackmail by terrorists and sources of information</i></p> <p>Pressure and Coercion <i>Harassment and lack of cooperation from security agencies</i></p> <p><i>Lack of means of verifying information obtained from their sources</i></p> <p><i>Pressure on the media to report terror activities which suppresses objectivity and accuracy</i></p> <p><i>Negative criticism from the general public when reporting on terrorism activities especially live coverage of terror acts</i></p> |
|--|

Source: Field Data, 2019

6.1.1 Conflict of Interest

The study noted that the media was faced by the challenge of conflict of interests when it came to balancing their right and duty to inform against their concern to minimize the negative impact of the dissemination of information on the dignity of the victims, particularly when protecting hostages or the safety of security-force operations. Lack of balance between objectivity and accuracy against the need to make stories and reports that sell was also cited as a challenge within the media circles.

Press pundits have over time questioned if media practices objectivity in its quest to inform the public and thus, a challenge to media reportage of terrorist activities. This challenge has been exacerbated by the pressure on the media to report terror activities which suppresses objectivity and accuracy. As noted by Gus, (2010) when working under pressure, journalists tend to pre-conclude situations and give personal opinions on issues with a view of meeting deadlines for going to press or going on air and thus, the information reported is most likely subjective.

Both the print and electronic media covered extensively the heinous assaults which were visited on the Westgate mall, attacks in Mandera County, assault on Mpeketoni in Lamu County and the Garissa university assault in Garissa County. Both Kenyan and international press were awash with photos exhibiting grueling pain which the survivors were going through. Others broadcasted raw photos showing physical injuries and several deaths in cold blood. It is the presence of these media outlets that hampers the strong efforts put in place by the Kenyan Government to control damage and safeguard the integrity of the rescue operations and also coordinate on the methodology to be

employed when reporting on these acts of terror. It is such type of circumstances where media inadvertently offers an opportunity for Al-Shabaab to display their attacks with little if any censorship and also exploit such circumstances to spread their propaganda. Therefore the media unknowingly grants them the oxygen to survive as well as thrive (Jacobs, 2012).

Several reasons have been put forth as to why Al-Shabaab is hell bent on attacking Kenya and not other neighbours. Among the reasons given is that Al-Shabaab wants to sabotage the Kenyan economy, another reason being that Al-Shabaab wants to influence the Kenyan foreign policy by forcing the withdraw of KDF troops from Somalia. These reasons could be true but it is important to consider the bigger picture of Kenya being a tourist hub in the region and this grants the terrorists opportunity to attack these tourists. This comes about with a lot of media coverage which keeps Al-Shabaab in the visibility so as to remain relevant in the international stage. The associated media coverage and damage done to Kenya's image and economy also bleeds into Al-Shabaab's pursuit for survival and equally global and regional publicity (Galgalo, 2015).

6.1.2 Poor Communications Network

Poor facilities such as road network, transport and communication have been a painstaking limitation for journalists when gathering information in the field. Poor road networks and inadequate means of transport have made it impossible for journalists to travel and meet informants. The unreliable communication system available has made it difficult not only to obtain information but also to verify the authenticity of the information provided.

6.1.3 Myths on Terrorism

The myths and misconceptions surrounding the whole subject of terrorism make it difficult to obtain and verify information. Journalists who were enjoined in the study noted that because of the myths and misconceptions surrounding the issue of terrorism, it has become difficult to authenticate or verify information especially in cases where the sources of information are from different cultural and ideological backgrounds. For instance, while some myths assert that terrorism is associated with Islam and all Muslims, informants who are non-Muslims would readily give information that is biased against the Muslim community. This challenge is aggravated by the lack of means of verifying information obtained from their sources.

It is common knowledge that security officers hold classified information meaning that the information is sensitive and so it is important for them to maintain a close and warm working relationship with the media to avoid improper disclosure of information which may cause harm, injure or damage to the country's reputation. On the other hand, the journalists ought to understand the procedures for information disclosure by the security officers and whoever is authorize to give information. Therefore, it follows that information should be utilized responsibly and with care without compromising the lives of the officers, journalists, victims, survivors or an ongoing operation (Media Council of Kenya & International Media Support, 2016).

6.1.4 Lack of Mutual Trust

It has been noted that the working relationship between media and security agents working on countering violent extremism, radicalization and terrorism has not been good or cordial as it were. There are suspicions amongst these institutions developing, and implementing or carrying out anti-terrorism strategies. Despite this, the Kenya Defense Forces tends to be a bit more organized and robust in terms of information sharing and their relationship with the media more than the National Police Service who most times are not comfortable with the media (Media Council of Kenya & International Media Support, 2016).

It is important to be cognizant of the fact that the police and the media can co-exist while performing two similar yet so different roles – the key is to develop a strong relationship prior to critical incident. The two institutions should learn to work together in peace time such that when an incident occurs they will be able to harmoniously carry on with their tasks. Both sides have to be enlightened so that they are well versed with the policies of their counterpart and perhaps most importantly is that both sides have to respect the policies in place which they will work around (Media Council of Kenya & International Media Support, 2016).

The police/military and media should endeavour to conduct regular meetings between so as to create a synergy of working together. In the process they develop rules and regulations or procedures which will assist them work together successfully without infringing on one another's rights. They should also conduct joint training classes which will also greatly help in bridging the gap of mutual suspicions between the security

forces and the media. Improved media and security forces working networks and sessions are vital as they can help improve information flow and build on mutual trust. The police can also assist in bridging the relationship gap by being a bit more open with the media. Regular, consistent and credible information sharing on the process and stages of security operations can help improve or create healthy working relationships and improve access to information or volunteering of information by security forces which will translate into responsible reportage (Media Council of Kenya & International Media Support, 2016).

6.1.5 Fear and Intimidation

Fear of being attacked and hurt by terrorists as well as intimidation and blackmail by terrorists and sources of information was further cited as a limitation to media reportage. Serious professional journalism is difficult work at the best of times. In a society threatened by terrorism and/or violent extremism, journalists face much greater difficulties and will likely operate in a climate of fear and threats. The spread of propaganda and unverified information on social media sometimes works against facts presented by journalists. In the current times where information flows very quickly in the digital world, journalists have had the challenge of countering falsehood, propaganda and unverified information shared on social media and blogs by unverified sources. This has placed media houses at the center of confusion trying to clear the air on what are the real facts and what is unverified.

Further in understanding the challenges faced by the media in reportage of terrorists' activities, the study interrogated the position of terrorists in the media. The study established that 67% of the respondents felt that terrorists have projected themselves better in the media than the government (Figure 13). The study noted that with the day-in day-out coverage of terrorist activities in the media is a depiction of terrorists projecting their presence better than the government through the media. Key informants in the study were further in agreement with these sentiments, most of who noted that terrorists have mastered the art of strategically positioning themselves well in their media to justify their acts and advance their agenda. Their resounding sentiments further paint a picture of a media that gives much airtime to terrorists and terrorism in general.

The media has on a number of occasions been seen to play an accomplice to the success of these acts of terror. This has been witnessed more so during the processes of reporting and covering these acts of terror whenever and wherever they take place. Their coverage intentionally or unintentionally gives so much publicity to the terrorist groups; a mileage they really crave to achieve.

The example of the September 11, 2001, attacks were sufficiently visual to meet the demands of the TV culture and to satisfy the public fascination for live coverage of events. By attacking cities like New York, among others, where the largest concentration of television stations and film studios and equipment exist, terrorists not only guaranteed for themselves an exhaustive coverage and a global projection of their actions, but the existence of multiple tourists and citizens who had their own film equipment. This allowed news broadcasters to utilize domestically filmed new materials in which the

news did not have as much to do with the terrorist attack as with the existence of new images that allowed the viewing public to contemplate the horror and destruction from a different point of view.

Dramatic incidents, stories with emotional aspects, and negative news stories are the topics that readers find interesting. Other kinds of stories that tend to draw high levels of interest are those that are exciting and sensational, and those that directly affect the audience (Glüpker, 2008). News stories that report on terrorists' actions or attacks are a suitable example of stories which satisfy all these characteristics.

Terrorism happens to be very brutal as well as a violent practice but it also happens to be the global media's spectacular phenomenon which they cannot escape from covering for the sake of improving their viewership which translates to profits. News on terrorism is very juicy and vital: such kinds of news often make the public want to know more and seek for further understanding on what exactly transpired. The news is very dramatic and attractive to watch or read. This is what exactly terrorists look for, the kind of publicity the terrorists get from journalists when covering such kind of news. The media in reporting such news aids the terrorists achieve the effect of disrupting society functioning provoke fear and demonstrate that they are powerful (Beckett, 2016).

6.1.6 Pressure and Coercion

The study further established that the media received a lot of pressure from different quarters to inform on terrorists activities including from terrorists themselves through coercion and threats. The findings of this study are in tandem with Dutch journalist Mark Blaisse who observes that the media have become predisposed to immense

pressure from the environment and this pressure tends to suppress objective and accurate reporting. He further suggests that the main driving objective of their reporting is the creation of more profits. All the media is looking for in their quest to inform is creation of profits through mobilizing audience viewership and readership (Blaisse, 1992).

6.2 Ways in Which Media Can Best Overcome the Challenges in Its Reportage

The study, further sought to establish ways in which the media can best report on terrorism and terror activities. The study sought to collect information that would contribute to enhancing better and professional practice in reporting on terrorism activities in print media, radio, television and online tabloids. These best practices are summarized in the following tables.

Table 6.2: Print Media (Newspapers)

| |
|---|
| <p>Responsible Journalism</p> <p><i>Avoid headlines that depict terrorists as strong or as heroes</i></p> <p><i>Not to publish gory photos of people killed as a result of terrorism</i></p> <p><i>When stories are written, they should not be sensational or emotional</i></p> <p>Pursuit of truth</p> <p><i>Seek to air news which depict reality the ground</i></p> <p><i>The tone of the editor or writer should be positive and sympathetic to the victims and not terrorists</i></p> <p><i>Articles should not be based on myths and misconceptions about terrorism</i></p> <p>Report Verified Information</p> <p><i>Journalists should find a way of verifying facts from the ground</i></p> |
|---|

Source: Field Data, 2019

On the platform of Radio, the following aspects were brought to the fore as the best practices which can be employed by the radio network so as to be in position of not propping up terrorism:

Table 6.3: Radio

| |
|---|
| <p>Responsible Journalism <i>Avoid airing propaganda audios whose effect is to instill fear into people</i></p> <p><i>When it comes to expert discussions, the discussions should greatly focus on anti-terrorism efforts and strategies</i></p> <p><i>Radio presenters, when presenting news and reports, should not be emotional and sensational, they should watch their tone</i></p> <p>Pursuit of truth <i>On air callers contributing to discussions should desist from giving views that excite terrorists and views that sympathize with terrorists</i></p> <p><i>Radio presenters should avoid biased information that give more information about terrorists and not about the anti-terrorism efforts</i></p> <p>Report Verified Information <i>Radio programs should be censored</i></p> <p><i>There is need to radio stations to obtain only verifiable information and they should maintain accuracy and objectivity</i></p> <p><i>News and topical discussions should not show Kenya to be weak or limited when acts of terrorism happen</i></p> |
|---|

Source: Field Data, 2019

With regard to the platform of Television, the following aspects were brought to the fore as the best practices which can be employed by the TV network so as to be in position of not perpetuating terrorism:

Table 6.4: Television

| |
|---|
| <p>Responsible Journalism</p> <p><i>Avoid airing gory photos or videos of people killed in terror acts</i></p> <p><i>When covering live terror acts, televisions should not divulge information about the government security agencies operations as it gives terrorists crucial intelligence</i></p> <p><i>In the course of broadcasting live terror acts, they should limit their broadcasts to giving hope, sympathizing with the victims and not showing the disturbing terrorists acts</i></p> <p><i>When holding expert discussions and analysis, they should focus mostly on anti-terrorism efforts and less on giving undue credit and airtime to terrorist groups</i></p> <p><i>Television presenters, when presenting news and reports, should not be emotional and sensational, they should watch their tone</i></p> <p>Pursuit of truth</p> <p><i>Cease from airing propaganda audios and videos</i></p> <p><i>Seek to publish stories depicting the truth as depicted on the ground</i></p> <p>Report Verified Information</p> <p><i>Television reporters and correspondents need to only use verifiable informants and sources of information like government security agencies.</i></p> <p><i>On air callers contributing to discussions should desist from giving views that excite terrorists and views that sympathize with terrorists</i></p> <p><i>Be patriotic and report on terrorism with patriotism and loyalty to the spirit of Kenya and peace</i></p> |
|---|

Source: Field Data, 2019

On the platform of online tablets, the following aspects were brought to the fore as the best practices which can be employed by the online tablets network so as to be in position of not propping up terrorism:

Table 6.5: Online tabloids

| |
|--|
| <p>Responsible Journalism</p> <p><i>Avoid publishing gory photos and videos of people killed in acts of terror</i></p> <p><i>Avoid headlines that depict terrorists as strong or as heroes</i></p> <p><i>When stories are written, they should not be sensational or emotional</i></p> <p><i>The tone of the editor or writer should be positive and sympathetic to the victims and not to the terrorists</i></p> <p>Pursuit of truth</p> <p><i>Write their stories as objective and accurate as possible</i></p> <p><i>Online tabloids should also focus on anti-terrorism efforts and fight against cyber-terrorism, cyber-attacks and cyber-bullying by terrorists</i></p> <p>Report Verified Information</p> <p><i>Since it has been noted that rumors and propaganda spread easily and very fast through the internet, there is need for online tabloids to publish information that has been verified and accurate</i></p> <p><i>Articles should not be based on myths and misconceptions about terrorism, they should be based on verifiable accounts and statements</i></p> |
|--|

Source: Field Data, 2019

6.2.1 Responsible Journalism

It is an acknowledged fact that the mass media has a very important role to play in tackling insurgence and to serve the goal of national development. This is because the mass media is described as a pivot of social interaction, seeking to use the power of mass information to solve the problem of national cohesion and integration, which are both critical to the growth of healthy society.

The findings of this study echo the sentiments of the Sahan Journal (2013) which alluded that coverage of terrorism reveals the position of the media within society. The researcher established that a reporter's ability to practice responsible reporting and due-diligence with the speed needed in our digital age is critical to fulfilling the civic duty that journalists maintain in our world. Across all the media categories analyzed, it was noted that the stakes are therefore considerable: it is a question of avoiding contributing to this fatal polarization by shortcuts, imprudent phrases, stigmatizations and generalizations.

The essential principle of journalism which is the pursuit of truth is central in the context of terrorist attacks. Initially, just after an attack, confusion and speculation tend to reign but the media must take the centre stage to guide their audience out of the confusion and anxiety. This follows that, facts must be clearly established as well as cross-checked and sensational journalism avoided. Much as Fact-checking is critical in professional journalism, it is also compulsory. While pursuing the truth there is an implication of the right and the duty to explain, even though this is a times seen or criticized as justifying terrorist acts (Spencer, 2012).

6.2.2 Pursuit of Truth

Daring to decode the reasons for unreason, the origins of terrorist acts and terrorist demands is, however, essential. The destructive nature of a violent act cannot serve as a pretext not to analyze the cause. One of the duties of journalism is to include complexity, refusing the denial of reality in the affirmation that there is nothing to

understand on the pretext that terrorists are “barbarians.” The essential rules of journalistic ethics cover this duty in the independent pursuit of truth (Spencer, 2012).

While the journalists and other media workers are urged to engage in responsible journalism committed towards discouraging the acts of insecurity in the nation, the public should step-up the use of citizens or civic journalism through the mass media as a way of complementing media workers’ role in exposing and combating insecurity in the nation. Media practitioners should be more constructive in their critical appraisal of actions taken by individuals or groups, including government officials, especially when such actions are presumed to be in the national or public interest as supported by Ghetti (2008). Furthermore, neither the mass media nor the government should behave as if it has a monopoly of understanding and in protecting the national interest. Both government officials and media practitioners are bound by the constitution to protect the interest of the nation and both should work together in this regard.

6.2.3 Report Verified Information

The study affirmed the fact that new media platforms provide creative ways for the media to engage in with varied demographics. But for journalism to be effective, it ought to dig deeper into facts. Positive themes to do with empathy, resilience and positive approaches to terrorism should be brought to the fore as part of news reportage. Journalists should endeavor to create positive narratives when framing their news so as to pass across messages which will have a positive influence on the audience rather than negative influence. The social effects of news stories which media covers must be taken

to account and not just viewers' numbers and the drama of the occurrence (Beckett, 2016).

6.3 Chapter Summary

The chapter delved into the challenges faced by the media in reportage of terrorist activities. It was indeed established that there were challenges faced by the media in their reportage of terrorism. This was as noted by 78% (222) of the respondents while 22% (62) noted that there were no challenges faced by the media in their reportage of terrorism.

The following were the challenges faced by the media in reportage of terrorist activities in Mandera County: Lack of access to government information on terrorism, language barrier, broadcasting in local dialects sometimes denied international media the feel of how media in Mandera reports on terrorist activities, poor communication network, dishonesty and lack of trust in the informants, infrastructural challenges - poor facilities such as road network, transport and communication, fear of being attacked and hurt by terrorists, intimidation and blackmail by terrorists and sources of information.

More challenges also include corruption whereby informants demand kickbacks in order to give information or create linkages to sources of information, harassment and lack of cooperation from security agencies, lack of means of verifying information obtained from their sources, myths surrounding the whole subject of terrorism. Such myths make it difficult to obtain and verify information, inadequate skills among some journalists in carrying out information gathering, reporting and writing of stories.

Moreover, there is lack of balance between objectivity and accuracy against the need to make stories and reports that sell, spread of propaganda and unverified information on social media sometimes works against facts presented by journalists, exaggeration and variations of information from one media outlet to another, pressure on the media to report terror activities which suppresses objectivity and accuracy, negative criticism from the general public when reporting on terrorism activities especially live coverage of terror acts, Conflict of interest – the right to information vi-a-avis the protection of National Security Interests among other challenges.

CHAPTER SEVEN: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Summary of Findings

Terrorism, often, has been used as a weapon by non-state actors like terrorist organizations, liberation movements and other clandestine organizations fighting for recognition and intending to advance different agenda. Terrorists have an aim of creating a certain audience which will sympathize with them and eventually use this audience to pressure states and governance institutions into giving in to terrorist demands because of fear. With such an audience in place the terrorists can employ any form of violence which will force governments and states to listen to them and sometimes yield to their demands.

In response to objective one on **nature of news coverage**, the study found out that both local and international media were accessible in Mandera County. The people of Mandera County have very high preference for radio over all other media platforms simply because radios are easy and cheap to acquire, there is high network reception of radio stations unlike other media types and the presence of radio stations that broadcast in the local dialect that is well understood by the people. This finding is in tandem with a report carried on the business daily which stated that a newspaper could take days to reach Mandera. Flights never existed until recently (Business Daily, 2019). The study established that terrorism reports were aired most on radio as compared to televisions, newspapers and online tabloids. It was further established that terrorism journalism was broadcasted most in local radio stations in local dialects.

The study established that most of the media platforms aired or broadcasted news about terror activities. A total of 205 respondents (72%) cited news, 40 respondents (14%) cited commentary. It therefore follows that media platforms presented their reports on terrorism in form of news, documentaries, expert analyses, interviews, investigative exposes and talk shows. In most of these presentations, topics of discussion revolved around analysis of terrorism, its causes and effects, recruitment through radicalization and violent extremism, dissection of propaganda audios, videos and press release from terrorists, terror acts among other topics.

In response to objective two on **effects of media reportage**, the study found out that, the news on terrorism in Mandera County contributes largely towards encouraging more terrorist activities in Mandera County. The tone and angle from which the news is presented tends to support the terrorist agenda. The gory images of terror presented on media platforms, the perceived just cause the terrorists want the populace to believe in tends to be reinforced. The repeated presentation of terrorist activities keeps their presence in the media hence earning them sympathizers. The study established that journalists' own judgment and observation was the most prominent source of news and information for media reports on terrorism. The media reportage portrayed terrorists as being heroes and that media did not so much portray the terrorists as fighting for peoples' rights but their own objectives of destabilizing governments.

That media encouraged more terror attacks which was affirmed to by 89% of the respondents. The study established that most of the respondents felt that terrorists have projected themselves better in the media than the government. Moreover, 61.7% of the

respondents were in agreement that the media is never objective when reporting terrorism acts with 22.5% being neutral and a cumulative 15.8% being in disagreement.

The study found out that the following are the effects of media reportage on terrorist activities in Mandera County: Radicalization – youths and the elderly adopt radical/hard stances or positions on matters political, economic, spiritual and social, Education standards are low – teachers refusing to work in Mandera County, there is an increase in the number of Al-Shabaab sympathizers, locals livelihoods have been affected - Evoking a sense of hopelessness in the population who feel neglected by Government.

There is poor economic activity – the investors have shied away from investing in Mandera County due to the overwhelming negative news about Mandera County. There is an increase in the number of youths joining Al-Shabaab. There is also an increase in hatred on Security Agencies in Mandera County by sympathizers because they think that they are out to infringe on their rights. Some locals exhibit psychological disturbances due to the fear which they have developed over time due to the sensational and negative news coverage on their county.

Marked rise of insecurity – the media coverage has attracted the terrorists to Mandera County since it is offering oxygen to their activities therefore more attacks are witnessed. They are planned and executed from Mandera County. Further, poor health standards - hence high mortality rates due to abandonment by health workers due to the media's sensational news, disruption of software and hardware materials – foodstuffs, vandalism of communication masts.

Due to the negative image portrayed by media on Mandera County, it has led to Al-Shabaab Scaling up/being motivated to conduct more terrorist attacks since they find it a fertile ground readily prepared by the negative news reportage on Mandera County.

In response to objective three on **challenges on media reportage**, the following are the challenges that the researcher found out with regard to the media's efforts to provide reportage on terrorist activities in Mandera County. There is generally the lack of access to government information on terrorism, language barrier as a result of radios which mostly locals rely for news broadcasting in local dialects hence sneaking in some terrorist messages in the broadcasts. Broadcasting in Local dialects sometimes denied international media the feel of how Media in Mandera Reports on terrorist activities.

Poor communication network as a result of limited coverage of mobile networks, dishonesty and lack of trust in the informants, infrastructural challenges - poor facilities such as road network - transport and communication, fear of being attacked and hurt by terrorists, intimidation and blackmail by terrorists of sources of information, corruption whereby informants demand kickbacks in order to give information or create linkages to sources of information, harassment and lack of co-operation from security agencies, lack of means of verifying information obtained from their sources.

Moreover, there are many myths surrounding the whole subject of terrorism. Such myths make it difficult to obtain and verify information, inadequate skills among some journalists in carrying out information gathering, reporting and writing of stories, lack of balance between objectivity and accuracy against the need to make stories and reports that sell. Spreading of propaganda and unverified information on social media

sometimes works against facts presented by journalists, exaggeration and variations of information from one media outlet to another. There is also pressure on the media to report terror activities which suppresses objectivity and accuracy, negative criticism from the general public when reporting on terrorism activities especially live coverage of terror acts and last but not least the conflict of interest – the right to information vi-a-vis the protection of National Security Interests.

From the Literature reviewed, it is clear that the Communication Authority of Kenya (CAK) and the Media Council of Kenya (MCK), the bodies mandated to oversee the operations of media, have put effort in developing policy towards regulating the conduct of media houses and individual journalists. However, the enforcement of the same is still a challenge because the same unethical practices are still experienced in the field of journalism. These bodies' mechanism of enforcing these policies has not taken to task the media houses and individual journalists who flout the set rules in their policies.

7.2 Conclusions

The study reached at the following conclusions:

That the source of information for the media being journalists' own observation and judgment led to media reportage portraying terrorists as heroes and being strong. Media reportage consequently encouraged more terrorist attacks. That the nature of terrorism reporting was done mostly through radio stations which were the most preferred media category. The Radios were also noted to be the medium through which most terrorist messages were broadcasted. These reports were aired in form of news, editorial analyses, interviews, expert commentaries and listener engagement calls.

Since the locals of Mandera County preferred to listen to radios which furthermore mostly broadcasted in their local dialects, it was noted that the messages passed on these media encouraged more terrorist activities. Most of the news was broadcasted as news bulletins and commentaries in the studios during live broadcasts. The Media portrayed the Terrorists as heroes as expressed by 82% of the respondents. The media did a play a role in encouraging more attacks as expressed by 89% of the respondents sampled.

Secondly, the study concluded that there have been a wide range of effects as a result of the extensive media broadcasts which are awash with terrorist messages on the local population. These effects are mostly negative and of a wide range. Among the effects noted are: Radicalization, low Education standards, Increase in the number of Al-Shabaab sympathizers, livelihoods affected thereby evoking a sense of hopelessness in the population who feel neglected by Government, poor economic activity due to the investors shying away from investing in Mandera County, increase in the number of youths joining Al-Shabaab, increase in hatred of Security Agencies in Mandera County by sympathizers.

Moreover, other effects include psychological disturbances to locals and non-locals working in the County, insecurity – the media coverage has attracted the terrorists to Mandera County since it is offering oxygen to their activities therefore more attacks are witnessed, poor Health standards as a result of health workers abandoning the area due to the media's sensational news on levels of insecurity in the County, disruption of software and hardware materials – foodstuffs, vandalism of communication masts and last but not least, the scaling up/encouraging more terrorist attacks.

The study also concluded that there were challenges faced by the media in their reportage of terrorism. These challenges limited their ability and capacity to objectively and accurately report on terrorism. These challenges include: Conflict of interest – the right to information vi-a-avis the protection of National Security Interests, lack of access to government information on terrorism, language barrier-broadcasting in local dialects sometimes denied international media the feel of how media in Mandera reports on terrorist activities, poor communication network, dishonesty and lack of trust in the informants, infrastructural challenges - poor facilities such as road network, transport and communication, fear of being attacked and hurt by terrorists, intimidation and blackmail by terrorists on sources of information, corruption whereby informants demand and kickbacks in order to give information or create linkages to sources of information.

More challenges include harassment and lack of cooperation from security agencies, lack of means of verifying information obtained from their sources, myths surrounding the whole subject of terrorism -such myths make it difficult to obtain and verify information, inadequate skills among some journalists in carrying out information gathering, reporting and writing of stories, lack of balance between objectivity and accuracy against the need to make stories and reports that sell, spread of propaganda and unverified information on social media sometimes works against facts presented by journalists, exaggeration and variations of information from one media outlet to another, pressure on the media to report terror activities which suppresses objectivity and accuracy and last but not least negative criticism from the general public when reporting on terrorism activities especially live coverage of terror acts.

Overall Conclusion

The overall conclusion is that, the media supplies the oxygen to terrorists through the sustained extensive and intensive coverage that is provided to them by media hence terrorists becoming motivated to plan and execute more terrorist attacks. The intensive and extensive news coverage on terrorism keeps the terrorists in the limelight always an act they always crave of being covered in the media which they easily get in the media.

7.3 Recommendations

The following recommendations were made as informed by the findings of the study as follows:

There is need for immediate and adequate training of journalists on reportage of terrorists' activities with core skills and areas being not limited to ethics, objectivity and accuracy in information gathering and reporting. This will assure the process of media reportage is air-tight in terms of collecting verifiable and authoritative information for purposes of consumption by the public.

The media should shift focus towards ensuring their broadcasts and publications support fully, all efforts aimed at fighting terrorism in their reportage of terrorism. The media should endeavor to understand the kind of effects that their broadcast messages will have on their audiences. These effects will negatively influence their livelihoods.

In view of the challenges faced by the media, the study recommends the media fraternity to draft and adopt a policy that encourages professional journalism that relates to reportage of terrorist activities. The policy once developed by the national government

will reduce the effects of the challenges faced by the media in the reportage of terrorists' activities.

7.4 Suggestion for Further Studies

In research, after presentation of findings of the study, the researcher notices other gaps which come up in the process or after the task of conducting research. The researcher has an obligation to present these gaps as experienced in the field while undertaking the study or even after conducting the research such that these arising gaps can be researched to bridge them. This will compliment his or her research to comprehensively tackle the problem under study or the problem which has been researched on. Therefore, the researcher noted some gaps while undertaking the study which need to be researched on. The following are the areas suggested for further studies:

In view of the key role played by the ever evolving social media and the internet, the study proposed further research to be conducted on the influence of social media and internet on terrorist activities in Mandera County. This is so because; social media has changed the whole of media spectrum in terms of news presentation. It is not easy to censor social media which is seemingly promoting the speedy spread of terrorism.

The study further suggests that, the state of economy of Mandera County should be investigated to establish if it contributes towards encouraging the local population being recruited into terrorism. Mandera County is lagging behind in matters development. There is need to interrogate this aspect of underdevelopment if it contributes to enhanced terrorists' activities in Mandera County. Infrastructural development has made the

County lag behind in development hence the mostly likely fertile field to radicalize the locals.

Finally, the study proposes that there is need to conduct further studies to establish if broadcasting of news in the local dialect (Somalia) encourages terrorism. The locals prefer listening to news on the radios in the local dialect. There is need to look into this to discover if it plays a role in promoting terrorism in Mandera County.

When news is reported to the target audience which is vulnerable to radicalization and recruitment into Al-Shabaab then there is a likelihood of relaying of messages meant to spread terrorism ideology considering the proximity of Mandera County to Somalia where the international militant group Al-Shabaab is domiciled.

7.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter brings to the fore the summary of findings. The study found out that media indeed contributes towards the spread of terrorism in Mandera County. This is through the sustained coverage which it offers the terrorists. The study found out that both local and international media were accessible in Mandera County. The people of Mandera County have very high preference for radio over all other media platforms simply because radios are easy and cheap to acquire.

The study established that terrorism reports were aired most on radio as compared to televisions, newspapers and online tabloids. The study established that most of the media platforms aired or broadcasted news about terror activities. The news on terrorism in Mandera County contributes largely towards encouraging more terrorist activities in Mandera County. The tone and angle from which the news is presented tends to support

the terrorist agenda. That media encouraged more terror attacks which was affirmed to by 89% of the respondents. The study established that most of the respondents felt that terrorists have projected themselves better in the media than the government.

Since the locals prefer listening to radio, the terrorists have found their way into the studios to influence the population through the messages they broadcast. The chapter brings out the conclusions of the study among them being that the source of information for the media being journalists' own observation and judgment led to media reportage portraying terrorists as heroes and being strong. The study also concluded that there have been a wide range of effects as a result of the extensive media broadcasts which are awash with terrorist messages on the local population. These effects are mostly negative and of a wide range. Among the effects noted are: Radicalization, low Education standards and the increase in the number of Al-Shabaab sympathizers.

Moreover, the study concluded that there were challenges faced by the media in their reportage of terrorism. These challenges limited their ability and capacity to objectively and accurately report on terrorism. These challenges include: Conflict of interest – the right to information vi-a-avis the protection of National Security Interests, lack of access to government information on terrorism among others. The overall conclusion is that, the media need to be judicious in their framing of news, they should not spread propaganda and they should tone down on terrorism reports and support fully the efforts by Government to fight against terrorism and violent extremism.

The chapter also covers a number of recommendations which include: the need for immediate and adequate training of journalists on reportage of terrorists' activities with core skills and areas being not limited to ethics, objectivity and accuracy in information gathering and reporting. The media should shift focus towards ensuring their broadcasts and publications support fully, all efforts aimed at fighting terrorism in their reportage of terrorism. The study recommends the media fraternity to draft and adopt a policy that encourages professional journalism that relates to reportage of terrorist activities.

Finally the chapter covers suggestions for further studies firstly on the role played by the ever evolving social media and the internet, the study proposed further research to be conducted on the influence of social media and internet on terrorist activities in Mandera County. Secondly, the state of economy of Mandera County should be investigated to establish if it contributes towards encouraging the local population being recruited into terrorism. Finally the study proposes that there is need to conduct further studies to establish if broadcasting of news in the local dialect (Somalia) encourages terrorism.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: CONSENT FORM

Title: Media Reportage Influencing Terrorist Activities in Mandera County - Kenya.

Name of researcher: Cliff Ooga Obwogi

My name is **Cliff Ooga Obwogi** a PhD student at Masinde Muliro University carrying out a research on the subject: **Media Reportage Influencing Terrorist Activities in Mandera County, Kenya**. As an important stakeholder, you have been selected to participate in the study by filling this questionnaire. This form has important information about the reason for doing this study, what we will ask you to do if you decide to be in this study, and the way we would like to use information about you if you choose to be in the study.

The objective of this study is to examine whether the media acts as an accomplice to the aims of terrorists with a Mandera county. The study is positioned to take place between September 2018 and August 2019 and at the end of the study, a report of the findings will be produced. The study is purely academic and no part of the information you give shall be used for any other purposes other than for the academic purposes of the study.

Your information shall be important in forming part of the knowledge in policy formulation and implementation aimed at promoting the antiterrorism efforts and objective and accurate journalism. There shall be no any form of payment for taking part in this study. However, the researcher shall ensure you have a good and ample environment that facilitates you to comfortably respond to the questions. All

information, which you provide will be kept strictly confidential and used for academic purposes only. Your identity shall not be revealed to anyone in addition to you not writing your name on any of the questionnaires provided.

PARTICIPANT

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactory
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time by informing the researcher and without my rights being affected.

Statement of Consent: I have read the above information, and have received answers to any questions I asked. I consent to take part in the study.

Your Signature _____ Date _____

Your Name _____

Printed name of person obtaining consent **Cliff Ooga Obwogi**

Date _____

This consent form will be kept by the researcher for at least three years beyond the end of the study.

APPENDIX II: QUESTIONNAIRE

My name is **Cliff Ooga Obwogi**, a PhD student at Masinde Muliro University carrying out a research on the subject: **Media Reportage Influencing Terrorist Activities in Mandera County, Kenya**. As an important stakeholder, you have been selected to participate in the study by filling this questionnaire. All information, which you provide will be kept strictly confidential and used for academic purposes only. Please, fill out the questions as honestly as possible.

SECTION A

1. Type of media accessible in Mandera County.

Local media () International media () both ()

2. Which media platform is most preferred by Mandera County locals in accessing news?

Radio () tv () Newspapers () Online tabloids ()

3. In what media category were terrorism reports aired most?

Newspapers () radio () tv () Online tabloids ()

4. What type of reporting was done?

News () commentary/editorial analysis () interview ()

others.....

5. What are the media sources of news?

Government official/agency () opposition () foreign country/agency () NGO
experts () journalist's own judgment/observation ()
hearsay/rumors/propaganda () Terrorists ()

6. Do the media portray terrorists as heroes/as strong? Yes () No ()

7. Do the media portray terrorists as fighting for peoples' rights () No ()

8. Does the way media report on terrorism in Mandera encourage more terror attacks? Yes () No ()

SECTION B

1. Ranking of terrorism journalism(**Rank the following on a scale of 1-4, with 1 being the most appearing and 4 being the least appearing**)

| | |
|-----------------------|--|
| War/violence oriented | |
| Propaganda oriented | |
| Truth oriented | |
| Victory oriented | |

2. In which of the following outlets did terrorism journalism appear most in local media in Mandera County?

Local newspapers () local radio stations ()

Local tv stations () local online tabloids ()

3. In general, would you say

Media content supports all efforts aimed at fighting terrorism ()

Media content opposes efforts aimed at fighting terrorism ()

Media content is neutral on efforts aimed at fighting terrorism ()

SECTION C

1. Do you think terror groups have projected themselves better in the media than governments? Yes () No ()

If yes above, why?

.....

.....

2. Rate the following statements accordingly (**where SD=strongly disagree, D=disagree, N=neutral, A=agree, SA=strongly agree**)

| | SA | A | N | D | SD |
|---|-----------|----------|----------|----------|-----------|
| The media is never objective when reporting terrorism acts | | | | | |
| All media reports on terrorism acts are accurate | | | | | |
| Accuracy of media reports on terrorism is influenced by accuracy of the source of information | | | | | |
| The media can only be objective in reporting terrorism acts if the reporting is aimed at promoting anti-terrorism fight | | | | | |

3. Do you think the media propels the terrorism agenda through their different broadcasts?

Yes () No ()

4. In what ways can the following media types best report incidences of terrorism and violence without appearing to propagate the terrorists' agenda?

Print media (newspapers)

.....

.....

.....

Radio

.....

.....

.....

Television

.....

.....

.....

Online media (online tabloids).....

.....

.....

.....

5. In your opinion, are there any challenges faced by media reportage of terrorist activities in Mandera County?

Yes () No ()

6. If yes, what are some of these challenges?

.....

.....

.....

APPENDIX III: INTERVIEW GUIDE

| | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------|
| Interviewer | Respondent |
| Location | Designation |
| Date | Institution |
| Start time End time | Remarks |

1. Tell me a little about terrorism in Kenya to the best of your knowledge.
2. Are you aware of terrorism activities appearing in the media?
 - a) What media exactly (local or international, type of media outlet)
 - b) In what form is the information appearing? (probe further on news, images, articles, commentaries, documentaries, expert analyses)
3. Are terrorist activities taking place in Mandera County?
4. Who or what would you say is the source of information on terrorism activities for the media?
5. Have you ever encountered a case where information in the media has been perceived as rumors or hearsay or propaganda? (Probe further on the precise media, the exact information that was broadcast/published)
 - a) How did the people react to this information?
 - b) How do the victims and those affected by terrorism activities feel and respond when they see or hear or read of information that is not accurate and objective?
 - c) How does such a situation affect the war on terrorism?
 - d) Do you think such situations give more energy to terror activities? If yes, kindly explain.

6. Would you say the media (journalist and editors) are objective when reporting, publishing and broadcasting reports on terrorism? Kindly explain your answer.
7. Would you say the media (journalist and editors) are accurate when reporting, publishing and broadcasting reports on terrorism? Kindly explain your answer.
8. Would you say that the media is giving too much airtime to terrorism and terror activities instead of focusing on anti-terror programs and campaigns?
9. In your opinion, does the media, in their reporting on terrorism, fuel further acts of terrorism and give terrorists mileage and publicity? Kindly explain your answer.
10. Are there any challenges faced by media when reporting on terrorist activities in Mandera County?
 - a) What are some of these challenges?
 - b) How do these challenges relate to the continued terrorist attacks?
11. Is there anything that can be done to reduce and ultimately eliminate the influence that the media has on continued terror activities as a result of their reporting and publishing?
12. In what ways can the following media types best report incidences of terrorism and violence without appearing to propagate the terrorists' agenda?
 - a) Print media
 - b) Radio
 - c) Televisions
 - d) Online tabloids

APPENDIX IV: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS GUIDE

NAME OF FGD.....LOCATION.....

NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS.....

1. Which media do the people of Mandera County listen/watch/read?
2. Are you aware of terrorism activities broadcasted in the media?
3. Are there any international media outlets accessed in Mandera County?
4. Are terrorist activities taking place in Mandera County?
5. Have you ever encountered a case where information in the media has been perceived as rumors or hearsay or propaganda?
6. Would you say the media (Journalists and Editors) are objective when reporting, publishing and broadcasting reports on terrorism?
7. Do the people of Mandera have access to online media e.g. tabloids?
8. How is the news presented on these online platforms?
9. Would you say the media (journalist and editors) are accurate when reporting, publishing and broadcasting reports on terrorism?
10. Would you say that the media is giving too much airtime to terrorism?
11. How does such a situation affect the war on terrorism?
12. What is the effect of media reportage on terrorist activities in Mandera County on the youth and also the old?
13. What do you think are the challenges media face in reportage of terrorist activities in Mandera County?
14. Does the media, in their reporting on terrorism, fuel further acts of terrorism and give terrorists mileage and publicity?

**THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:
MR. CLIFF OOGA OBWOGI
of MASINDE MULIRO UNIVERSITY OF
SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY, 8271-200
NAIROBI, has been permitted to conduct
research in Mandera County**

**Permit No : NACOSTI/P/19/18308/29321
Date Of Issue : 23rd April, 2019
Fee Recieved : Ksh 2000**

**on the topic: MEDIA INFLUENCING
TERRORIST ACTIVITIES IN MANDERA
COUNTY - KENYA**

**for the period ending:
23rd April, 2020**



.....
**Applicant's
Signature**

[Handwritten Signature]
**Director General
National Commission for Science,
Technology & Innovation**

**THE SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND
INNOVATION ACT, 2013**

The Grant of Research Licenses is guided by the Science,
Technology and Innovation (Research Licensing) Regulations, 2014.

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NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref. No. **NACOSTI/P/19/18308/29321**

Date: **23rd April, 2019**

Cliff Ooga Obwogi
Masinde Muliro University of
Science and Technology
P. O Box 190-50100
KAKAMEGA

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on "*Media influencing terrorist activities in Mandera County - Kenya*" I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Mandera County** for the period ending **23rd April, 2020**.

You are advised to report to **the County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Mandera County** before embarking on the research project.

Kindly note that, as an applicant who has been licensed under the Science, Technology and Innovation Act, 2013 to conduct research in Kenya, you shall deposit a **copy** of the final research report to the Commission within **one year** of completion. The soft copy of the same should be submitted through the Online Research Information System.

DR. STEPHEN K. KIBIRU, PhD.
FOR: DIRECTOR-GENERAL/CEO

Copy to:

The County Commissioner
Mandera County.

The County Director of Education
Mandera County.

National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation is ISO9001:2008 Certified



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OFFICE OF THE COORDINATOR, NAIROBI CAMPUS

REF: CPC/H/01-56539/2016/1

Date: 29th March 2019

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Dear Sir/Madam

RE: AUTHORITY TO CARRY OUT RESEARCH - MR. CLIFF OBWOGI, CPC/H/01-56539/2016

This is to confirm that Mr. Cliff Obwogi, CPC/H/01-56539/2016, is a student of Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology pursuing a Doctor of Philosophy degree in Peace and Conflict Studies.

He successfully defended his proposal titled, "*Media Reportage Influencing Terrorist Activities in Mandera County, Kenya.*"

He is awaiting the research permit from NACOSTI whose issuance is impending.

Kindly allow him to collect data towards development of his PHD thesis.

Thank you


Peter M. Jire
COORDINATOR, NAIROBI CAMPUS
SCIENCE & TECHNOLOGY