

**AN ANALYSIS OF THE REPRESENTATION OF TERRORISM AND SOMALIS
IN KENYA IN THE NATION AND THE STANDARD NEWSPAPERS, 2015**

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DECLARATION

This research is my original work. It has not been presented for an award of a degree in any other university

Signature.....

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This research has been presented for examination with my approval as university supervisor.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my beloved wife; Xafida and my three lovely daughters; ZamZam, HabibaRayan, and Ugbaad for their enormous moral support and sacrifice throughout the period during which this study was undertaken. I also dedicate this project to my late father; Sheikh Mohamed Diriye who practiced and taught the value of tolerance and instilled the same in me. May Allah protect his soul!

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION.....	ii
DEDICATION.....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
LIST OF FIGURES	viii
LIST OF TABLES	ix
ABSTRACT.....	x
CHAPTER ONE	1
INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1: Overview.....	1
1.2: Background to the Study.....	1
1.2.1 Kenyan Media in Historical Perspective.....	2
1.2.2: The Nation and The Standard Newspapers.....	5
1.2.3: Ethnic Somalis in Kenya.....	6
1.3: Statement of the Problem.....	8
1.4: Aims and Objectives of the Study	9
1.5: Research Questions.....	9
1.6: Rationale for the Study	10
1.7: Significance of the Study	10
1.8: Scope of the Study	11
1.9: Operational Definition of Terms.....	11
CHAPTER TWO	12
LITERATURE REVIEW	12
2.1: Overview.....	12
2.2: Media and Terrorism: A Case of Symbiotic Relationship.....	12
2.3: Media and Representation of Ethnicity	18
2.3.1: Media and Representation of Ethnicity: The Case of the Westgate Attack.	20
2.4: Theoretical Framework.....	22
2.4.1: Critical Discourse Analysis	23
2.4.2: Representation, Meaning, and Language Theory	25
2.4.3: Coding and Decoding	26

2.4.4: Framing Theory	27
2.4.5: Summary.....	28
CHAPTER THREE	29
METHODOLOGY	29
3.1: Overview.....	29
3.2: Research Design	29
3.3: Research Approach.....	29
3.4: Research Method	30
3.4.1: Rationale for Content Analysis and Discourse Analysis	31
3.4.2: Discourse Analysis	31
3.4.3: Discourse Analysis Techniques, or the Six-Stage Approach	32
3.5: Target Population and Sample Size	33
3.6: Sample Design and Sampling Techniques.....	34
3.7: Data Collection Methods	35
3.7.1: Content Analysis.....	35
3.7.2: Interview Guides (KII).....	37
3.8: Data Analysis	37
3.9: Data Presentation	37
3.10: Data collection procedures.....	38
3.11: Reliability and Validity.....	38
3.12: Ethical Considerations	38
CHAPTER FOUR.....	40
DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTEPRETATION	40
4.1: Overview.....	40
4.2: Response Rates of Data Collection Tools.....	40
4.2.1 Context Analysis	41
4.2.2 Key Informant Interviews	43
4.3: Framing of Ethnic Somalis in the Reportage of Terror News and Analyses.....	44
4.4: The Nation and The Standard’s Associations of Ethnic Somalis with Terrorism	50
4.5: Kenyan Mainstream Print Media Reliance on stereotypes about ethnic Somalis	55
5.7: Summary of Findings and Interpretation	58

CHAPTER FIVE	61
CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	61
5.1: Overview.....	61
5.2: Conclusion	61
5.2.1: Framing of Ethnic Somalis in the Reportage of Terror News	62
5.2.2: Mainstream Print Media's Associations of Ethnic Somalis	63
5.2.3: Ethnic Stereotypes and Reportage of Terror.....	64
5.3: Recommendations.....	65
5.4: Recommendation for Further Studies.....	66
REFERENCES.....	67
APPENDICES	76
APPENDIX I: Certificate of Field Work.....	76
APPENDIX II: Request Letter for Interview.....	77
APPENDIX III: Certificate of Corrections.....	78
APPENDIX IV: Certificate of Originality.....	79
APPENDIX V: Key informants Interview Guides (KII)	80

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Framing of Ethnic Somalis in the Reporting and Analyses of Terror News.....	44
Figure 2: Whether the Framing Agenda Applied to Ethnic Somalis	47
Figure 3: Publications having Ethnic Somalis as Part of the News Sources	48
Figure 4. Mainstream Print Media's Associations of Ethnic Somalis with Terrorism.....	51
Figure 5: Whether Publications have an In-house Policy on Reporting Terrorism.....	53
Figure 6: Use of Ethnic Stereotypes in Reporting and Analyzing Terrorism Reports among Kenyan Mainstream Print Media	55

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Composition of Study Key informants	34
Table 2: Volumes and Format of Newspaper Items Analyzed	43
Table 3: Framing Agenda by the Publications.....	46
Table 4: Verification of Terrorism Reports with Somali Opinion Leaders Before Publication	49
Table 5: Whether publications have associated Somalis with terrorism in the past	52
Table 6: Key Informants' views on whether Somalis are responsible for terrorism	57
Table 7: If Publications Received Complaint on Biases from Ethnic Somalis.....	58

ABSTRACT

This study analyzed how *The Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers in Kenya represented ethnic Somalis in their coverage of terrorism in 2015. The study was motivated by the fact that 2015 was a difficult year in Kenya, with terror incidents occurring in different parts of the country. The study had three objectives; to examine how the mainstream print media in Kenya framed ethnic Somalis in the context of reportage of terror news and analyses, to evaluate trends of associations of ethnic Somalis in Kenya with terrorist activities in mainstream print media in Kenya and, thirdly, to examine the extent to which mainstream media in Kenya drew on ethnic stereotypes in the framing of terrorism reportage and analyses. The research was guided by three major theories, thus the Michael Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Erving Goffman's Framing Theory. Where needed, the researcher also drew on Stuart Hall's Language Theory and the idea of representation, especially the notions of coding and decoding and their implications to meaning and social interactions. The study deployed mixed method approaches as its overarching methodology, triangulating empirical and library-based tools of data collection. There was the use of Key Informant Interviews with editors, other media staff and academics of media and journalism; Focused Group Discussions with opinion leaders associated with Kenyan Somalis; and Library Literature Review. This mixed method approach also informed data analysis and representation of the findings. From all these, the research established that *The Nation* and *The Standard* considerably misrepresented ethnic Somalis in the coverage of terrorism. The study noted a tangible presence of several representational elements that negatively framed ethnic Somalis in the articles analyzed. The study concluded that both *The Nation* and *The Standard* rely on stereotypes, associations, and Infographics to appeal to the common readers' supposed knowledge of terrorism and the presumed role of Kenyan Somalis in the menace. This was done through adversely implicating articles without clear sources, use of sensational quotation and pictures and portraying the community as the villains in the war against terror. Based on these findings, the researcher recommends that a similar study be conducted with regard to other media, particularly social and digital, for purposes of comparison on just how pervasive the phenomenon is currently.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1: Overview

This chapter discusses the primary issues that have been examined in the study. It presents the background of the study and provides; a historical perspective of the media in Kenya and the realities of Ethnic Somalis in Kenya. It also introduces the statement of the problem, study objectives and scope of the study.

1.2: Background to the Study

The question of the relationship between terrorism and how it is represented in the media continues to attract academic interest given the increasing prevalence of terror acts in the world. Indeed, although the menace of terrorism has been around for a long time (Chaliand & Blin, 2007), the beginning of the 21st Century has witnessed a greater prevalence and increased devastation of terrorism acts wherever they have occurred. The immediate implication of this phenomenon – spread in terrorist ideologies, acts and increased casualties – has yielded a widespread panic that has been manifested lapses in critical reportage, religious and ethnic profiling, and creation of secondary victims – those who are without proof presumed to be actual or potential terrorists. In this regard, Muslims and Somalis in Kenya have been thus profiled. Therefore, this section provides a background to the problem of representation of terrorism and Somalis in Kenya's mainstream media, with a specific focus on The Nation and The East African Standard. We begin by providing a broad view of the history of media in Africa generally and Kenya specifically; the institutional histories of The Nation and The Standard and their struggles with the representation of terrorism at reportage and analyses levels. The rest of

the chapter is made of; statement of the research problem, aims and objective of the research, research questions, rationale for the study, and lastly limitations and delimitations of the study.

1.2.1 Kenyan Media in Historical Perspective

The media across Africa are underpinned by a turbulent history that is characterized by state control through censorship and other difficult operational environment. Years of repression and political hostility from the governments of the day had made the possibility of a free, professional and competent press difficult. The result has been a scenario where the political parties in power and the governments of the day had a complete control of the media in majority of African countries (Nyangue, 2001). In addition, Africa's media are criticized for their dearth of ethical standards in their execution of their role as public watchdog. Common areas of criticism include subjectivity and biased approach to reporting, explicit sexual content and corrupt practices (Lando, A. (2013)), and creation of the phenomenon of moral panics (Shafir & Schairer, 2102; Cohen, 2002; Abuga, 2016).

In Kenya, the history of the media is intertwined with the preservation of racialism and sectarianism. Introduced at the turn of the twentieth century by the colonial settlers, the media in Kenya was used as a tool to maintain racial prominence and sectarian pursuits. The colonial settlers used the media to enhance and legitimize their colonial practices; the Asians used it to augment their special place as second most important race to the whites in Kenya, while the Africans used it as a tool for championing their pursuit for freedom and equality (African Media and the Digital Public Sphere, 2009)

After independence, media manipulation by different interest groups within society became even more prominent. The political class of the day, especially in the 1980s under the Moi regime, became characterized for restricting and limiting media freedom, where any critical press was criminalized and banned (Ogola, 2011). This created a scenario where the media became uncritically subservient to the state and responsible only to the interest of the government of the day and not for the public good. As a result close relations were developed between the media and the government of the day, which also meant that the media more often than not acted as government mouthpieces. Further, directorship of the board of leading media houses became political appointees and powerful media owners driven purely by business agenda could influence political processes (Gecau, K. (1996). There seems to be a hang-up of this past histories of the media and its involvement in addressing public interest issues like terrorism, where the media seems to adopt the position preferred by the government of the day.

This is despite the fact that while in later times; firstly, during the liberalization of the media in the 90s and, secondly with the promulgation of the new constitution of 2010, the Kenyan media gained considerable space in terms of independence of editorial policies as well as content and reportage and as a result.

Today, Kenya enjoys more diverse media than most other African countries (Windeck, F 2010). Kenya's mainstream media today is largely private and fairly responsive to the needs of their audiences and have played a critical role in influencing the democratic process in Kenya (Ogola, 2011). At the same time, robust legal instruments governing the sector exist, chief among which is Article 33 of the Constitution of Kenya (2010).

There is also the Media Council of Kenya Act (2013) and a number of self-regulatory codes of conduct for journalists in Kenya. Yet, despite all these, the Kenyan media seems unable to positively utilize the favorable dispensations to the furtherance of their independence and realization of their role of pursuing public interest. As Allen and Gagliardone (2011) argue, the media in Kenya remains hostage to institutional, economic, and political pressures. This reality has apparently created a scenario where different media houses are politically aligned to different political and economic camps leading not huge challenges in terms of professional independence, objective reporting and general credibility in the eyes of the public. This scenario seems to have severely compromised the media's capacity to report on topical issues – such as terrorism – without pandering to government's wishes or ideological convictions. That the media is deficient in this regard is captured in Oriare et. al.'s (2010) report on the ideal media for Kenya.

Allen and Gagliardone (2011) further aver that in terms of professionalism and journalistic competence, the Kenyan media is beset by subjectivity and socio-political biases and non-verification of facts. The sum effect of these problems only mean that news and analyses in the Kenyan media will be greatly characterized by ethnic and political biases. Nowhere is this more evident than in reportage of terrorism, where the media in Kenya, after its global counterparts, seem to push a preconceived idea that terror and terrorists are associated with particular people and religions.

The question of media subjectivity and representation of ethnicity has especially been given credence by the emergence of increasing acts of terrorism in the country. Apart

from the legal or ethical questions of how the media should report violence, (Oriare, et al 2010), there are also emerging questions of how the media represents particular groups within the larger populace (Kisang, (2014) and has often been accused of carrying unbalanced stories and sensationalizing issues around Somalis and terrorism (Media Council of Kenya, (2014). Because the leading print media in Kenya remains The Nation and The East African Standard, it is necessary to pay particular attention to these as the shapers of opinion in the media sector.

1.2.2: The Nation and The Standard Newspapers

The *Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers are owned by the Nation Media Group (NMG) and the Standard Group (STG), respectively. The two media houses are largely private and foreign owned and both run various other media outlets across the print and electronic platforms. Together they form the leading newspapers in the country (GeoPoll, 2015).

The Standard newspaper was started in 1902 by Alibhai Jevanjee. It is the oldest newspaper in Kenya, and the second biggest in terms of circulation. Currently, S.N.G Holdings Limited is the principal shareholder. The Nation newspaper, on the other hand, was launched in 1960. The founder and principal shareholder is the Aga Khan who holds majority shares of 43% (Abuoga et. al., 1988). While both publications are considerably independent in their editorial mandate and have a strong financial standing, they are still not immune from the maladies that beset the Kenyan media including; government controls, commercial pressures, political inclination of the owners and legal restriction and threats (Abuoga et. al., 1988).

In addition, according to the Kenya Media Rating, (2006-2007), commercial pressures constitute a major impairment to impartiality and objectivity as the interest of big advertisers and sponsors overrides truth and public interest. A casual glimpse at the daily editions of both newspapers will easily reveal the fact that advertising and promotions occupy a significant amount of space, and may actually be the major source of revenue for the newspapers. This reality has obvious ramifications on the independence and objectivity in terms of both framing and reporting by the media, since they will most likely curry favors with their advertisers.

In addition, the fact that both newspapers are private and foreign owned means that the owners are only mainly concerned with the financial wellbeing of the organization than with editorial policies and ethical practices (Oriare, et. al., 2010). In this regard, the routine management of the affairs of the publications including prioritizing of issues, framing, representation and generally editorial policies are often left to senior editors who will likely bring in their own human and social biases and inclinations into the representation of certain social, cultural or political issues. Some of these biases may be with regard to the communities of people who are easily profiled and associated with the topical issue of the day, such as Somalis in Kenya and their widespread association with terrorism.

1.2.3: Ethnic Somalis in Kenya

Somalis in Kenya predominantly inhabits the former Northeastern Province, comprising of the current counties of Garissa, Wajir, and Mandera which are categorized as arid areas. They also have significant presence in Nairobi's Eastleigh suburb (Murunga,

2005). The community's population in Kenya is currently 2,385,572 million (KNBS, 2012) officially forming the sixth largest ethnic group in the country.

The Somalis in Kenya form part of the wider Somali peoples spread throughout the most parts of the Horn of Africa, sharing descent, language and culture with them and keeping close family and interaction as well (Lochery, 2012). This reality together with their Islamic faith and physical appearance, including their relatively soft hair and skin complexion makes them easy to profile, effectively set them distinctively from the rest of Kenyan communities.

Immediately after independence in 1963, ethnic Somalis in Kenya started agitation to join their fellow Somalis in the newly-formed Somali Republic that got its independence in 1960. The response of the Kenyan government was a brutish and repressive policy of containment, resulting in the costly infamous Shifta War (Ciugu. 2014). The effect of the Shifta War on the lives and social realities of Somalis in Kenya still lingers on, over four decades later. In addition, ethnic Somalis continue to experience state-sanctioned marginalization and discrimination as manifested by the glaring exclusionary security measures subjected to ethnic Somalis in major towns and the precarious access to vital national documents and citizenship (Muhula, 2009). While all these appear to be done in the 'national interest', they also lay the ground for the media in treating the Somalis in Kenya as different, and therefore worthy of all these discriminatory measures. Indeed, these measures lay the ground for the 'normalization' of the profiling of the Somalis in Kenya, and their subsequent association with terrorism. Therefore, some of the social experiences by Somalis in Kenya have recently been compounded by the growing

phenomena of broad-based associations with religious extremism and terrorism in the country. Somalis in Kenya have been forced to contend with increasing negative publicity by the media and general suspicion occasioned by murders and destructions committed by terrorist groups claiming similar decent and faith against their fellow Kenyans. In view of this, it is necessary to study the link between the menace of terrorism, its associated issues, and their representation in mainstream media

1.3: Statement of the Problem

The question of how the media should operate and execute its mandate in the face of increasing acts of violence and terrorism has become a subject of interest among media scholars in Kenya and beyond. Apart from the legal or ethical questions of how the media should report violence (Oriare, et. al. 2010), there are also emerging questions of how the media represents particular groups within the larger populace that is affected by topical problems like terrorism (Kisang, 2014).

Globally, there were questions raised about how the mainstream American media captured the 9/11 terror attack. As Reese and Lewis (2005) argue, the US media reportage of terror was irrational, hateful and xenophobic in calling for actions against Arabs and other Muslim minorities. While in Kenya, some observers have noted that the media reportage of terrorism follows the same prejudicial pattern. This was especially so in the period following the terrorists' attack on the Westgate Mall in which 67 people lost their lives in Nairobi. The incident was often presented and framed around the template of Somalis versus non-Somalis, and portrayed Somalis in Kenya as the perpetrators of terrorism in the country, thereby undermining the existing relationship between the

different ethnic groups in the country (Kisang, 2014).

In light of the above, therefore, this study attempted a critical analysis of how the mainstream print media in Kenya has represented the ethnic Somalis in Kenya in its coverage and analyses of terrorism events.

1.4: Aims and Objectives of the Study

This study aimed at critically analyzing the modes of representation of Somalis in Kenya in the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* newspapers.

The objectives of this study were to:

- i. Examine how the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* newspapers framed ethnic Somalis in the context of reportage of terror news and analyses;
- ii. Evaluate trends of associations of ethnic Somalis in Kenya with terrorist activities in the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* newspapers
- iii. Examine the extent to which the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* newspapers drew on ethnic stereotypes in the framing of terrorism reportage and analyses

1.5: Research Questions

Derived from the objectives, the study answered the following research questions:

- i. How did the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* newspapers frame ethnic Somalis in the context of terror news and analyses?
- ii. What were the trends of associations of Somalis in Kenya with terrorist activities in the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* newspapers?
- iii. To what extent did the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* newspapers draw on ethnic stereotypes in the framing of terrorism reportage and analyses?

1.6: Rationale for the Study

The need to critically study the issue of media's representation of Somalis in Kenya in the context of terrorism is imperative for three main reasons; (i) The role of the media has come under increasing scrutiny especially in the context of contested forms of belonging, notions which exist in the contexts of ethnic hatred and social exclusion which threaten the unity of social fabric of nations (Gibson & Lando, 2015); ii) the increasing prevalence of terrorism and terror incidence in Kenya and the various initiatives launched in the fight against terrorism; and (iii) The power by the two newspapers to give credence to the already increasing acceptance of the culture of ethnic negative stereotyping among common interaction in contemporary Kenya, which pose a grave danger of causing ethnic tension and violence (Fletcher, et. al. (2014).

1.7: Significance of the Study

This study analyzed the representation of Somalis in Kenya by the *Nation* and the *Standard* newspapers in the context of reporting terrorism news in the country. Negative media representation of ethnicity, particularly in this period of increasing acts of terrorism, has the potential to stoke ethnic hatred and social exclusion which threatens the social fabric of the nation (Gibson & Lando, 2015) and seriously undermine the collective fight against terrorism. It is hoped that the findings and recommendations of this study will form the foundation for informed and objective debate around the question of media ethics and moral duties when covering terrorism help journalists to understand the critical issues related to effects of their media coverage of terrorism and the resulting consequences.

1.8: Scope of the Study

This study has attempted a critical analysis on the question of representation of ethnicity (Somalis in Kenya) as offered by both The Nation and The East African Standard while covering terrorism and related issues. The focus was mainly on Sunday editions of the newspapers, because these editions enjoy the widest circulation in Kenya. The geographic focus of the study was Kenya, while the period of investigation was the year 2015, because this was the period that witnessed the most number of terror related activities in the country.

1.9: Operational Definition of Terms

This section offers both conceptual and operational definition of terms. This is necessary because while some of these terms are already in current usage generally, their use in this research reflects certain nuances that may be lost on some readers.

Mainstream media: This refers to the traditional forms of mass communication, such as newspapers, television, and radio that influence a large number of people and as a result shape public opinion.

Framing: Modes of presentation that communicators use to present their information in a way that resonates with existing underlying narratives among their audience, Scheufele & Tewksbury, (2007). It is based on the assumption that how an issue is characterized in news reports can have an influence on how it is understood by audiences

Somali Kenyans: Kenyan nationals that ethnically form part of the wider Somali population of the Horn of Africa.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1: Overview

In this chapter, literature regarding perspectives of media representation of ethnicity during coverage and reporting on terrorism incidents have been reviewed with the aim of identifying existing knowledge gaps. The chapter has also defined the underpinning theoretical frameworks.

The chapter has been organized according sub-sections. This has been done mainly to break-up the vast possible themes of study under the chapter into manageable and coherent sub-themes as well as to guide readers' train of thoughts around the pertinent topic media, terrorism and ethnic representation. These sub-sections highlight the various points of convergence between the media, terrorism, and ethnicity

2.2: Media and Terrorism: A Case of Symbiotic Relationship

A number of studies exist on the relationship between media and terrorism, most of which trace the origins, growth and spread of the menace of terrorism. Other works attempt to show why some regions are prone to terrorist attacks more than others, or why certain forms and types of terrorism are likely to be manifested in some places and not others. For instance, Kefa Otiso's (2009) article offers different definitions of terrorism and goes ahead to disaggregate the types of terrorism that have emerged through history, notably emotionalistic, religious or sacred terrorism. In doing this, however, Otiso does not critique the discourse beyond the common arguments, and instead falls for stigmatizing generalizations such us "significant Muslim populations [in parts of Kenya]

enable terrorists to blend in and vanish”, escape investigations and sanction”. Such pronouncements not only reinforce current presumptions regarding the role or place of Muslims in the equation of terrorism, but also provide what may pass for intellectual or expert justification for official profiling of the Somalis in Kenya, most of who profess the Islamic faith. It is partly such misconceptions by Otiso that our study seeks to correct, by critically analyzing how the mainstream print media – represented by The Nation and The East African Standard – represent Somalis in Kenya in their reportage and analysis of terror related incidents.

Closely related to Otiso’s work is another study by Samuel Aronson (2013), who focuses more on Kenya’s role in the global war on terror, and Kenya’s official response to the 1998 American embassy attack in Nairobi that prodded both countries to the emergency that terrorism had become. Like Otiso before him, Aronson goes further to offer suggestions of why Kenya is vulnerable to terror attack – citing proximity to Somalia, insufficient law enforcement and counter-terrorism policies as some of the causes. This does not highlight the close relationship between the media and its representation of the whole subject of terrorism, which is the subject of our study.

Samuel Otieno (2014) that follows a similar pattern of defining and historicizing terrorism in Kenya. However, Otieno’s work addresses an additional dimension, which is why Kenyan youth are predisposed to radicalization and the nexus between religion and terrorism. Otieno’s work concludes by examining some of the prospects and challenges of counter-terrorism efforts in Kenya. While Otieno’s work makes a relevant contribution to scholarship on terrorism in the region, it does not examine the aspect of the media’s

representation of Somali's in Kenya in their reportage of terrorism. Otieno's work is similar in orientation to Gabriel Weimann's study captured in *New Terrorism New Media* (2014), in which also focuses on the role of "new media" or social media in radicalization. However, Weimann differs from Otieno because he attempts to project into the future of counter-terrorism initiatives. Neither Otieno nor Weimann, however, focus on how mainstream media represents Somalis in Kenya in their engagement with the menace of terrorism.

It is perhaps Martin Mutua (2013) who comes close to the subject of our study, but who still takes a panoramic view of the role of the broad subject of terrorism and the media. In his M.A. dissertation entitled "The Role of the Media in Influencing the War against Terrorism", Mutua examines how terrorist, terrorist networks and counter-terrorist organizations exploit extensive global media networks for news and propaganda to support their causes. In suggesting that the media could be "terrorism's oxygen", Mutua further situates his study in the context of the "new media", highlighting some professional and ethical challenges that affect the media and its role in the global war on terror. In this regard, he suggests that the media's dilemma is that it sometimes appears to abet human rights violation – as our study also affirms – although inadvertently. For Mutua, the media is in a "difficult situation because basic news values would cause reports to seek out these types of events" (2013: 110). This is also an intervention quite close in Abraham Kisang's (2014) work that is essentially focused on how journalists report terrorism and why they should be cautious. Kisang's work is limited in the sense that it is focused almost entirely on the ethics of media reportage, and not how such reportage has so far affected a particular population group.

The relationship between the media and terrorism in general is the subject of extensive scholarship. As stated in *Terrorism and the Media: A Handbook for Journalists* “Terrorism and the fight against terrorism have been major elements of domestic and international politics, with the media firmly on the frontlines, especially when attacks target civilian populations” (UNESCO, 2017, p.9), The seeming symbiotic relationship between the media and terrorism is partly responsible for the phenomenon of “moral panics” (Cohen, 1972), a phrase that refers to a generalized mass fear that entire communities suffer in the wake of dreadful developments such as terrorism. In the Kenyan context, it is possible that the media practitioners have also succumbed to the phenomenon of moral panic in their reportage and analyses of terrorism, especially in regard to the ease with which such reportage panders to the common ethnic and religious stereotypes while using stereotypes to present different incidents of terrorism. This is also the position taken by Jerry Abuga (2016) who, after Cohen (1972) and Young (1971), relates shows the extent to which the Kenyan media has been both a victim and perpetrator of moral panics.

The panics also occur because “Despite the significance and recurrence of terrorist acts, the media often struggles to find its footing” (UNESCO, 2017: 9), partly because of the urgency of the required news and the emotional state of both the reporters and consumers of the news on any particular incident. This not only compromises the quality of journalistic reportage of terror incidents, but also brings into focus other aspects of the media in a given country. As UNESCO (2017: 9) further states, “the quality of terrorism coverage obviously depends on many factors. It is determined, among other things, by the degree of freedom of the press in each country, the economic resources available to the

media, cultural factors and singular conceptions of ethics and the social role of the media”

These factors seem to have played out in the case of Kenyan leading media houses, notably The Nation and the East African Standard. These factors also tend to bear out the common view among some media scholars who hold that there exists a symbiotic or mutual relationship between terrorist and the media. As Laqueur, (1987) argues, media and terrorism are beneficial to each other in the sense that while the media thrive on the sensationalism and drama arising from the reportage of terror incidents, terrorists use the mass media to appeal to an even wider public and gain relevance for their actions.

This is particularly true with contemporary terrorism incidents where terrorists prioritize high casualty places like populated shopping malls in Westgate, Nairobi (2013) and colleges like Garissa University in 2015,. In the case of the 9/11 attack, Baran (2008:97) states that “not only was the media able to capture this incredibly visual attack, but the people who were in New York City, residents and tourists alike, were also able to document this event with pictures, videos and personal stories.”

Further, Lowenthal (1989), asserts that without the collaboration of the media, terrorism would be rendered useless. In his opinion, the relevance of terrorist groups and their actions is greatly and naturally dependent on the dramatization and attention they get from media reportage. In exchange, the media gets fuller attention of the public that is crucial for its business, profit making and audience following. In other words, “just as terrorism has to be communicated to have effect the media has to cover the incidents in

such a way to benefit from the public's eagerness to obtain information about terrorist attacks”, Seib and Janbek (2011:43). On his part, Arda (2012) argues that terrorism by its very nature has inherent aspects that renders it virtually indispensable to the media. It attains this important quality through its natural elements of tragedy, spectacle, heightened actions and drama. These aspects contribute significantly to the lapses in professional journalistic reportage and analysis that has been noted by UNESCO (2017), part of which form the subject of this study. These elements – of spectacle and drama – somewhat contribute the lack of neutrality of the media in reporting terror-related events (UNESCO, 2017).

There have been other works on the terrorism and how it is perceived in different sectors. Such works include Jeremy Lind et. al. (2015), which focuses on Al-Shabaab and political volatility in Kenya. Lind et. al. map some of the hotspots of terror in Kenya, but do not show the role of the media or even the pitfalls of generalized representation as we do in our current study. Albert Ochieng Okinda (2016), on his part studies security sector reforms and their implications in fighting against terrorism in Kenya, but again not from a media standpoint.

All these works, among others, point at the topicality of the issue of terrorism and how it occupies public imagination, but most of them do not highlight the media and terrorism dimension, let alone the challenges of misrepresentations by the media, as our study does. Because we focus on a particular dimension of representation – of Somalis in Kenya – there is a clear dimension of ethnicity, which we now focus on in the next section of this literature review.

2.3: Media and Representation of Ethnicity

One of the most often overlooked points regarding media and representation is the fact that, as UNESCO (2017: 39) observe, “The media generally address a specific audience. Defined by proximity, the market or a political, social, national or religious identity. They also tend to worry about ‘their’ target audience first”, thereby compromising the “discipline of caution and doubt” (P. 39). In this regard, “Terrorist attacks often reveal the prejudices that reign among the media and society in general. These prejudices lie behind the temptation to disseminate without restraint rumors incriminating members of specific communities” (p. 65), hence ethnic or religious generalizations similar to what we have witnessed in Kenya’s media and its tendency to associate terrorism with Somalis or Muslims. Nyamnjoh (2005) also notes that African media assumes a “partisan, highly politicized, militant role” in reporting and analyzing on terror and violent events. Nyanjoh highlights that the media does so through dividing citizens into ‘us’ versus ‘them’ categorization based on their cultural, religious or political orientations. In a way therefore, the UNESCO report and Nyamnjoh address a general issue that remains pertinent, even though they do not focus on Kenyan Somalis and Kenyan media as the current study does.

Media representation is defined as the way in which the media portrays particular groups, communities, experiences, ideas, or topics from a particular ideological or value perspective. According to Hall (1997), in media representation, “a depiction, likeness or a constructed image” is made of certain individuals, social groups or ideas and the audience is made to understand that preferred way. Through this, Hall states that the media has the potential to seriously impact on ethnic and religious minority groups by subjecting them

to exclusionary pressures. While Hall makes these observations from a broader perspective, the sentiments are applicable to the Kenyan situation where the media, as we shall demonstrate later in this study, uncritically accepted and associated the Kenyan Somali community with the Westgate and other terror attack incidents. It was partly because, as the UNESCO Report that we cite above shows, the media at any one time usually targets a certain audience, in this case the non-Somali and non-Muslims who are expected to buy in rather easily to the narrative of Muslim or Somali as naturally associated with terrorism.

This position is somewhat related to E.S. Atieno-Odhiambo's (2003) theorization of how the state and its agents can latch on minor differences between different peoples to impose its will. In "Hegemonic Enterprises and Instrumentalities of Survival: Ethnicity and Democracy in Kenya", Atieno-Odhiambo demonstrates how the concept of 'the 'narcissism of small differences' can be used by dominant people to think that they are better or superior to others, and therefore lay the ground for further marginalization or exclusion from spaces of power and authority. While Atieno-Odhiambo makes these observations in a somewhat different context, they still apply to our current study to the extent that they resonate with the way Kenya's leading media houses rely on small differences in naming to associate Somalis in Kenya with terrorism, and therefore continue to profile an entire community.

Generally, the media has significant potential to shape and persuade public perception on issues important to the public. It mainly does so by its role of agenda setting achieved through prioritizing and giving attention to a certain issue and repeating it over and over

again to the extent that the public is made to believe that the particular issue is of utmost importance. This has been postulated by McComb and Shaw (1972) in their agenda setting theory where they argue that, “People judge as important, what the media judge as important”.

In the event of terrorism or other violent events, the media through sensational and dramatic reporting and prioritizing/ pursuing a given narrative, constructs a certain reality in the minds of viewers. This way it sets not only the public perception of the event but also official government policy and even how, as Arda (2012) argues, a given cultural or ethnic minority could be perceived and treated.

2.3.1: Media and Representation of Ethnicity: The Case of the Westgate Attack in Nairobi

Al-Shabab's September, 21, 2013 attack in Nairobi in which 67 people were killed, 175 others reportedly injured, and several others held hostage, when Al-Shabab terrorist stormed Kenya's high-end Westgate Mall, attracted extensive media coverage; both local and international. The spectacle of the massive media event unmasked not only the huge logistical but also the professional challenges the Kenyan media faced in terms of reporting terrorism and other violent events. Kisang, (2014)

In their coverage and analyses of the event, first the media have been widely criticized of simply focusing on the drama of the event, displaying of images of the casualties of terrorism, sensationalizing issues, broadcasting of unconfirmed reports and simply playing to the tune and advantage of the Al-Shabab terrorists.

The *Daily Nation*, Kenya's biggest daily, for example, carried the photograph of a blood-soaked woman on its front page. It is also further criticized of having manipulated the same photograph for maximum effect. Beaujon (2013). There was also the question of covering the incident sensationalistically, enlarging anecdotic stories, especially on who is to blame, repeating the same images over and over again to shape opinion.

Apart from the legal or ethical questions above on how the Kenyan media reported on the Westgate terrorism event, there is also the question of media ethnic representation and its implication for the affected ethnic groups and the nation at large. For example, the newspaper has been criticized of having speculated on a "theory that most of the attackers had Kenyan IDs and passports and could have simply disappeared into the crowds as the rescue got under way" Ibrahim, (2013). Such unconfirmed report has the obvious potential to mislead the public and breed ethnic tension.

As Kisang, (2014) suggests, the post Westgate Kenyan media often presented stories about terrorism incidents in a manner potentially capable of negatively impacting on existing relationship between the different ethnic groups in the country. According to him, some sections of mainstream media had framed the issues into Somalis versus non-Somalis.

Kenyan media's handling of the "Operation Usalama Watch" in which hundreds of ethnic Somalis were swooped and detained at the Nairobi's Kasarani Stadium on suspicion of being terrorists and being in the country illegally have further been cited as post Westgate Kenya's media agenda at play. According to rights groups the Kenyan media deliberately

favored the government's views and influenced public perception of the operation. Masai (2014)

Despite the above, the media is required to avoid presenting acts of terrorism and other violent activities in a manner that glorifies such anti-social conduct. In addition, newspapers are required to pursue non-partisan approach to reporting on issues. They discourage their columns to be used for writings which tend to encourage or glorify social evils, warlike activities, ethnic, racial or religious hostilities as Obonyo & Nyamboga, (2011) argue.

In this section, we have demonstrated the research gap that our study sought to fill. While a significant amount of research has gone into the problem of terrorism, none has focused on the issue of how Kenya's leading print media has represented the Somalis in Kenya. Thus, this current research contributes to the body of knowledge in this regard.

2.4: Theoretical Framework

This section discusses the theories that we employed in analyzing the data obtained in the course of our research. A theoretical framework is a frame of reference or structure that can hold or support a theory of a research study. It introduces and describes the theory which explains why the research problem under study exists (LoBiondo-Wood & Haber, 1998). This study was mainly guided by the Critical Discourse Analysis, as well as related theories of Framing, Representation Meaning & Language, and Coding and Decoding Theory.

2.4.1: Critical Discourse Analysis

The Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is commonly associated with Michael Fairclough (1995) and Gunther Kress (1990). As the name suggests, the theory is held together by two planks, thus the critical and the discourse. Krings et. al. (1973: 808) note that the critical in CDA is the “practical linking of social and political engagement with a sociologically informed construction of society”, while Fairclough (1995: 747) argues that “in human matters, interconnections and chains of cause-and-effect may be distorted out of vision. Hence ‘critique’ is essentially making visible the interconnectedness of things.” The idea that nothing is as obvious as it appears therefore informs the key principles of CDA, and that phenomena can only be understood when interrogated from a distance. Indeed, Ruth Wodak (n.d.) sums up the whole idea of ‘critical’ as something that “could be understood as having distance to the data, embedding the data in the social context, taking a political stance explicitly, and having a focus on self-reflection as scholars doing research.

This is because CDA is about the relations between social discourse and cultural developments in different social domains that may experientially implicate the researcher. Its premise is that discursive practices (production, interpretation and consumption of text) are an important form of social practice which contributes to the constitution of the social world including social identities and social relations. According to Teun van Dijk (1993: 249), CDA is preoccupied with a socio-political stance taken by key players in public discourse, and its key preoccupation is on “dominance relations by elite groups and institutions as they are [...] enacted, legitimated or otherwise reproduced by text and talk.” The wider implications of CDA include the fact that it helps us to

understand issues of “discrimination, power and control as manifested in language” (Wodak, n.d.) which is what the current study focuses on in the context of terrorism and how it is reported in mainstream print media in Kenya.

For our study, the print media is one of the elite institutions that both benefits from and somewhat support and legitimate political power structures. In that sense, the media becomes a subject of CDA because it can and often mediates the “relations between power and discourse” (van Dijik, 249). In this study, CDA was used to analyse how discourse is used to enact and create social identities and social relations in the discourse of terrorism in a political context of overall discomfort with Somalis in Kenya. One of the tenets of CDA is that it is problem oriented, and helps scholars in understanding and symbolically solving social problems, in our case the matter of terrorism and how it is represented and analyzed in the media. As we demonstrate later in the thesis, the continued association of Somalis in Kenya with terrorism somewhat conflated criminal incidence with political interpretations, thus bringing the issue to the realm of ethnicity and identity politics as social problems that require urgent solutions. To overcome the limits of CDA, we also used aspects of other theories to guide us towards meaning by focusing on exactly how production, interpretation and consumption of texts are used to enact and create social identities and determine relations within the society. We made this supplementary move because language being a social phenomenon, we understand alongside Wodak (n.d.) that “not only individuals, but also institutions and social groupings, have special meanings and values that are expressed in language in systematic ways.”

2.4.2: Representation, Meaning, and Language Theory

This theory was first advanced by cultural theorist Stuart Hall (1997). It is concerned with how meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture through the use of language, signs and images which stand for or represent things. The theory develops the idea that “discourse is both a form of knowledge and memory” (Wodak, n.d.), and that language is a social practice that defies singular or rigid meanings in its diverse usage. For this reason, representation and meaning are natural derivatives of a language that is itself subject to manipulation and instrumentalization for reasons beyond mere communication. As Herbamas (1967) argues, the “language [of representation] is also a medium of domination and social force. It serves to legitimize relations of organized power. In so far as the legitimizations of power relations are not articulated, [...] language is also ideological.” Herbamas’ idea that language is not a neutral tool of reportage or communication is indeed what makes this theory useful because it enables us to isolate the ideological and cultural slants that alter the perception of phenomena and the ultimate interpretation of its reportage. The ideological baggage of any sociolinguistic usage of language is what informs Terry Eagleton’s (1994: 15) argument that “there are specific historical reasons why people come to feel, reason, desire, and imagine as they do”, in this context why terrorism and its representation in Kenya’s media takes the current pattern that it does. Essentially, the theory of language and representation introduces the cultural dynamics of meaning making, part of which relies on established processes of coding and decoding, which we briefly discuss below.

2.4.3: Coding and Decoding

The Encoding/decoding model of communication was first developed by cultural studies scholar Stuart Hall in 1973 in an essay titled 'Encoding and Decoding in the Television Discourse,'. The model offers a theoretical approach of how media messages are produced, disseminated, and interpreted. In a later theorization, Brian Ott and Robert Mack (2010) expounded on the idea of codes, which they define as "a set of rules that govern the use of visual and linguistic signs within a culture" (224). In the Kenyan context, the print media that we study rely extensively on both the emotional and cerebral responses that infographics and words evoke among the readers, and arrive at the intended meanings of who are implicated in the plotting and execution of terrorism. In doing this, media practitioners invariably draw on existing codes whose meanings are shared by the target audiences who are the consumers of media products.

This in fact is what Ott and Mack mean when they add that "popular codes [...] are systems where users can disguise a message by translating it according to particular rules" (224), given that "codes are never neutral in the sense that they are always representations of meaning, not meaning itself, and they represent the partiality inherent to any representation" (225, original italics). In our study, the process of coding and the partiality that informs the process seems to be slanted against the Somalis in Kenya, and other consumers of the print media somewhat give the reports and analyses of terror incidence the "preferred meaning" (Ott & Mack, 2010), which is the uncritical association of Somalis in Kenya with the perpetrators of terrorism. For our study, guided by these ideas of the processes of coding and encoding, we employed a code-sheet in determining the presence and extent of words whose usage in the context of terror

reporting and analyses has acquired the status of codes, and how these codes are subsequently interpreted and understood by print media consumers.

For media practitioners, it is necessary that consumers “interpret texts according to the preferred meaning by employing codes similar to those used in production” (Ott & Mack: 2010, 225) and so the codes somewhat act as critical framing devices for the media’s products. In view of this, we briefly discuss Framing Theory as one of the interpretative tools that we found useful for this study.

2.4.4: Framing Theory

This theory was first advanced by Goffman (1974). It is concerned with the way in which information is presented to its audiences. Joep Cornelissen (2008) states that the theory can best be understood as a literal frame that delimits what is seen or not seen, and that it “focuses on how messages are created in such a way that they connect with the underlying psychological processes of how people digest information and make judgements” (182). The relevance of this theory to our study was that the Kenyan media consumer already has a certain notion of terrorism and its perpetrators, which information was lodged in the subconscious, and that all the media practitioners need to do is it to trigger memory of such information by way of selecting what is salient, determining what to include or exclude in the reportage and analyses, and what to emphasize or de-emphasize in order to evoke the preferred meaning that Ott and Mack (2010) spoke of. In this regard, framing as a strategy for media practitioners and as an analytical tool become important because “people cannot possibly attend to every little detail about the world around them [...] framing in communication [...] helps shape the perspectives

through which people see the world” (Cornelissen, 183).

For our purposes, therefore, framing theory helps us to understand how the mass media select what to include and what not to exclude from a story. This selection process frames the story, tells people how to interpret it, as it limits or defines the message’s meaning by shaping the inference that individuals make about the message (Watson & Hill, 2000). It is our view that framing is usually done by media practitioners to orient their readers towards a reading that associates Somalis in Kenya with the perpetration of terrorism.

All these theories, for our purposes, were employed in an eclectic and complementary manner, in appreciation of the fact that no single theory would have sufficed in helping us understand the extent to which reportage and analyses of terror incidence in Kenya’s mainstream print media relies on and reproduces common-place and stereotypical portrayals of Somalis in Kenya.

2.4.5: Summary

This chapter has provided the literature review of key variables of our study, and demonstrated that there is a gap in media studies that show the interface between a social problem of terrorism, and an academic one of how this menace is reported and analyzed in the mainstream print media. The chapter has also presented a theoretical framework, in which a set of theories that are necessary in the interpretation of data have been presented. The key proponents and tenets, as well as the specific aspects of their use in interpretation are also contained in this chapter. The next chapter describes the methodology that was employed in data collection, interpretation and analysis.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1: Overview

This chapter presents the general approach to the research and outlines the methodology that was used to conduct it. It describes the research design, methodology, and provides a rationale for the employment of discourse analysis. It also provides details about the research population and sample size, design and procedure, data collection instruments, pretesting of tools, data collection procedures, data analysis plan and ethical considerations.

3.2: Research Design

A research design constitutes the blue print for the collection, measurement and analysis of data. It is a program that guides the investigator on how to collect, analyze and interpret the observations Kothari (2004). Descriptive research design was used in this study. According to Mugenda and Mugenda (1999) the purpose of descriptive research design is to determine and report the way things are and to help in establishing the current status of the population under study. Descriptive research was used to define and describe the characteristics of the different variables; media coverage and representation of ethnic Somalis during terror reporting.

3.3: Research Approach

This study employed both quantitative and qualitative approaches (Creswell, 2003) to analyze sampled news stories and articles from the Sunday editions of the print publications of the two (2) leading newspapers in Kenya (*Daily Nation* and the *Standard*)

as well as from sampled key informants' interviews. Quantitative content analysis has been used to determine the frequency of occurrence of various elements of analysis. This has suited the study because through the frequency, one can establish the representation of an agenda through a range of pre-set parameters. Qualitative content analysis, on the other hand, has been useful in capturing the context of the appearance of the texts to derive the message being conveyed.

3.4: Research Method

Content analysis was employed to analyze news stories and opinions on terrorism in the Sunday editions of the print publications of the two (2) leading newspapers in Kenya (*The Daily Nation* and the *Standard*) with a view to investigate the representation of the question of ethnicity in them with a specific focus on ethnic Somalis. The researcher focused on discourse on terrorism in Kenyan print media over a period of one year, as played out in the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard*. Weber (1990:112) argues, “Content analysis is a research method that uses a set of procedures to make valid inferences from text”. For our purposes, we understood analysis of media discourse as the examination of the interactions within the print space on the chosen subject, and how these are represented differently within varying social contexts. We considered the fact that texts and language as aspects of communication indeed shape and are part of discourse itself that influence wider societal interaction processes, hence the use of CDA.

The study also used interviews with key informants to help us understand some of the dynamics that influence the reportage and analysis of news on terror incidents in Kenya. The persons interviewed for this purpose included editors, reporters, opinion leaders of

various shades within and without the Somali in Kenya, and academics in the media and journalism departments.

3.4.1: Rationale for Content Analysis and Discourse Analysis

Both methods of analysis were useful because they allow for usage of current and previous or backdated data. This also means that a researcher can track and trace the changes in representation that may be present over a long period of time, as in the case of the one year in which this research was located. Particularly important was the fact that the discourse analysis was used to collect and analyse data from relevant media texts in order to achieve the objectives set by and for this study.

3.4.2: Discourse Analysis

As earlier indicated, many writers present work with a wish that readers will interpret it in a given manner, thus the concept of preferred interpretation. In fact, Terr Blache and Durrheim (1999) argue that writers generally seek to spur readers to respond in a particular way that reinforces prevalent beliefs regarding the subject of discourse. Discourse analysis of such writings therefore help in uncovering the underlying ideological persuasions of the authors, and therefore expose the fallacies that are presented. For our purpose, therefore, we undertook discourse analysis in order to expose the ways in which the reportage and analysis of terror related news relies on and perpetuates certain preconceived associations of the menace with Somalis in Kenya, and therefore leading to the broad stigmatization of the communities and, by extension, their predominant Islamic faith.

3.4.3: Discourse Analysis Techniques, or the Six-Stage Approach

Although CDA does not impose a particular approach in its application, it recommends use of appropriate measures to achieve the intended objectives. For our purposes, therefore, we employed a four-step analysis of sample articles to isolate those articles that speak to relevant issues of representation. The four steps were:

- i) Articles descriptive analysis
- ii) Thematic analysis
- iii) Social actors
- iv) Language and rhetoric
- v) Article Descriptive Analysis

This step entailed a description of visible components of representation and discussion of articles on terrorism, and included issues of prominence of articles, the page of placement (front, back, or middle), style of placement (spread or strip), and the kind of infographics used.

- i) Thematic Analysis

This section focused on the authors' interpretation of the information at hand. The idea was to understand the extent to which the authors' positions were expressions of deep-seated moral panics, or clear breaking of new pathways in the reporting and analysis of information on terrorism, its actors and critics.

- ii) Social Actors

This step entailed identification of the different agents in the discourse on terrorism in Kenya. The actors include the newsmen and women, opinion shapers, and civil society organizations that are somewhat involved in the broad debates on terrorism. Their

respective positions and interpretation of the phenomenon of terrorism and how it is reported and analyzed were the key concerns.

iii) Language and Rhetoric

This stage entailed examining aspects of style and tone of the selected articles, besides the phrasing used in reporting and analyzing incidents of terrorism. The focus was entirely on the persuasive or rhetorical strategies that writers use to interpellate the readers, such as use of metaphors, anecdotes, attribution to ‘authoritative’ sources, and general use of extra-textual props for effect. This was done as a way of identifying and buttressing ideological positions that may be occupied by the authors of specific articles and, by extension, the media houses in charge of the two newspapers that we studied.

3.5: Target Population and Sample Size

Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) defines target population as the entire set of units from which the survey data are to be used to make inference. Thus, the target population defines those units for which the findings of the study are meant to be generalized. For our research, the target population was one year of articles in two newspapers, thus *The Sunday Nation* and *The Standard on Sunday*. These were selected based on research by Gallup that determined that they enjoy the widest circulation, and therefore presumably, influence. The one year (2015) became the sampling frame, while the Sunday editions of the papers (96 in all) were the representative sample for both content and discourse analysis. The target population was therefore 724 (daily papers for a 364-day year, less two days when the papers did not publish). The study also interviewed 12 key informants, and 8 journalists. The details of these key informants are summarized in Table 1 below:

Table 1: Composition of Study Key informants

	KEY INFORMANT CATEGORY	No.
1	Journalists (Mg. Editor, Editor-in-chief, a senior journalist and a correspondent) from each of the two publications	8
2	The Civil Society Organizations and Watchdogs Media Council of Kenya Kenya National Commission on Human Right	2 2
3	Media scholars	2
4	Somali Opinion leaders Imams Professionals Politicians	2 2 2
	TOTAL	20

Source: Researcher, 2017

3.6: Sample Design and Sampling Techniques

Sampling method is the process of selecting enough and appropriate number of elements from the population so that a study of the selected sample represents the population adequately (Chandran, 2004). This study employed purposive sampling technique based on the nature of the key informants and the purpose of the study. In purposive sampling, the researcher decides what needs to be known and sets out to find people and sources of information who can and are willing to provide the information by virtue of their knowledge or experience (Bernard 2002).

The study settled on this method because purposive sampling technique allows a researcher to use cases that have the required information with respect to the objectives of his or her study (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003). In this study, the media outlets, months of focus and the key informants were purposively and deliberately selected due to the exactness of the information that was sought and the suitability of the key informants.

The Nation and *The Standard* newspapers were chosen because they form the two largest newspapers in terms of readership (GeoPoll, 2015). The key informants were similarly sampled based on their expertise and involvement on the subject under study. The number of representatives from each category was informed by the need to get balanced responses.

3.7: Data Collection Methods

Data collection methods refer to the tools used for collecting data and how they are developed (Mugenda & Mugenda, (2003). This study employed mix method (quantitative and qualitative) as a method of collecting data both from the newspapers reports and the key informants. Specifically, the following data collection tools were used by the study;

3.7.1: Content Analysis

Content analysis is defined as a systematic technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages (Audience Dialogue (2013). In this study, media content analysis was employed to analyze news stories and opinions on terrorism in the Sunday editions of the Sunday editions of Nation and the Standard with a view to investigate the question of media representation of ethnic Somalis in the era of terrorism.

Specific methods of content analysis were:

Tonality Analysis: This involved a subjective valuation of whether a given article was favourable to Somalis in Kenya or not, and whether such tone as used in the articles was likely to cause moral panic about terrorism and discontent towards Somalis in Kenya.

Source: This entailed asking questions on how the news articles are sourced, the criterion that senior editors consider while assigning news reporters, and determination which OpEds on terrorism could be used or discarded. We also asked questions on the kind of references were used (whether direct quotations or not, official reports or other sources) whether the sources were solicited or unsolicited, and so on. In presenting this for analysis, all negative aspects of tonality were summarized as stereotypes or vilification, and were subsequently presented as such.

Prominence Analysis: This aspect focused on graphological considerations of the articles, under the broader rubric of placement. Key concerns were on the size of the article, the size of the headlines, whether the articles were reinforced by photographs and other infographics. Usually, prominence analysis involves weighting each element that is then factored in the final score per article, which in turn determines the overall prominence of the article.

Placement / Segment Analysis: This entailed focusing on where in the newspapers articles on terrorism were placed; whether in the News, OpEd, front page, third page, back page, or inside pages. All these are key considerations regarding how widely an article is read, and how seriously it is taken by the readers.

3.7.2: Interview Guides (KII)

An interview guide is a document containing questions and other types of items designed to solicit information appropriate for analysis, usually in writing. Oso and Onen (2011). Semi- structured interview questions (Appendix V) were specifically administered to the following four categories of; journalists, civil society organizations, media scholars and Somali opinion leaders based on the discursive nature of the information they are required to provide.

3.8: Data Analysis

Data analysis constitutes a major step in research. Data analysis is the process of bringing order, structure and meaning to the mass of information collected. Shepard, (2002). In this study, the data collected was first checked whether they were filled properly and as per the instructions provided

In the newspaper content analyses, the unit of analysis was the individual story. The mean scores and percentages from a tabulation sheet (containing a range of parameters to determine aspects of representation in a given news item or article) have been used to determine the presence, prevalence or absence of the different elements set to assess representation in each sampled newspaper story. KIIs have equally been analyzed qualitatively and the results presented in tables and narrative form.

3.9: Data Presentation

Data was analyzed by both qualitative and quantitative techniques using frequency and percentages and was presented using tables, graphs and charts to make it easier for

interpretation and synthesis. In addition, information from the info graphics as well as the qualitative data was interpreted in narrative form.

3.10: Data collection procedures

In collecting the data particularly from the key informants, an introduction letter detailing information about the researcher, the intent of the research study and promising confidentiality and safeguard of privacy was presented to the key informants.

3.11: Reliability and Validity

Research reliability is defined as the extent to which results are consistent over time and an accurate representation of the total population under study. Research validity on the other hand determines whether the research truly measures that which it was intended to measure or how truthful the research results are (Joppe 2000).

Under this study, to check on validity and reliability of this research, a pilot study was conducted with two (2) key informants from the community representatives' category. Through this pilot study, the KII guide was cleaned of some ambiguity that was noticed and errors corrected. In addition, the number of questions in the questions guide were reduced owing to time considerations. The findings of this pilot study was similar to the final research findings presented here.

3.12: Ethical Considerations

This constitutes the taking into account of ethical issues that could be an impediment to the smooth execution of the activities. Flick (2011) defines ethics as morals or principles adopted by an individual or a group to provide rules for right conduct. In this study, the

researcher, before interviewing the key informants, they were, verbally assured that the information they give would not be disclosed to any third party. Upon successful presentation of the project proposal a Field Work Certificate (appendix I) was issued to the researcher from the School of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Nairobi. An introductory letter of request for interview was sent to respondents who provided materials for the study (Appendix II). A Certificate of Corrections (appendix III) was issued to the researcher from the School of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Nairobi upon effecting suggestions proposed by the university's Board of Examiners following the study defense. A Declaration of Originality Form to check for plagiarism and confirm the authenticity and uniqueness of the study and indicate that the researcher duly acknowledged source materials used in the study. (Appendix IV)

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTEPRETATION

4.1: Overview

This chapter provides a presentation, analyses and interpretation of the results of key data obtained by the study. This includes findings from the content analyses, questionnaires and responses from the key informants presented in the form of descriptive statistics, charts and graphs. The chapter is presented through sub-sections corresponding to the study objectives as follows:

- i. The Daily Nation and The Standard newspapers framing of Somalis in Kenya in the context of reportage of terror news and analyses
- ii. Trends of associations of ethnic Somalis with terrorism activities in *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers
- iii. The extent to which *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers in Kenya draws on stereotypes about Somalis in Kenya in its reportage and analyses of terror incidents

In all sub-sections, results are presented and analyzed using tables and charts. Corresponding narrative are also included for interpretation purposes. In this arrangement, results from the content analyses form the backbone of the findings of the study. Furthermore, responses from the key informants' interviews are used to corroborate the content analyses results.

4.2: Response Rates of Data Collection Tools

This section highlights the level of feedback obtained by the different data collection tools employed by the study. As defined by Lessler and Kalsbeek, (1992), the response

rate is the number of complete interviews with reporting units divided by the number of eligible reporting units in the sample.

4.2.1 Context Analysis

A total of ninety-six (96) newspapers were sampled for this research. Out of these, fifty nine (59) newspaper items comprising 58.3% of the total sample were found to contain articles on terror and terrorism. The 59 articles were distributed as thirty-one (31, thus 32.2%) from The Nation and twenty-eight (28, or 29.2%) from The Standard. The articles thus identified were reviewed based on a range of indicators that included three main approaches of placement, sourcing, and tonality analysis (that entails direct association, use of stereotypes, sensationalism, and vilification). These parameters are briefly explained below:

- i. **Direct Association:** This involves the direct associations of objects, people and events with a set of concepts or mental representations in people's minds (Hall, 1997). In this study direct association of ethnic Somalis with terrorism was achieved through the use of such words/ phrases as; "Suspect of Somali origin".
- ii. **Stereotypes:** Stereotypes are pejoratively used generalizations used to represent a person or group of people. They are powerful representational tools since they tend to reduce a person or a social group into a few essential characteristics (Itzin, 1986). In this study, common stereotypes included phrases like "the terror-prone North Eastern."
- iii. **Sources / Sourcing:** Sourcing in journalism refers to persons, institutions, publications or other records that provide the basis for given timely information (Shoemaker, 1996). Sourcing becomes a tool of negative representation it is

- biased, discreet and not objective. As Luhmann, K. (1996) explains the primary duty of the media is not to entertain or enhance an agenda, but to objectively observe reality and present it to the viewer.
- iv. **Sensationalism:** This is defined as the deliberate of presentation of news reports and analyses in order to provoke attention or arouse certain emotional responses in audiences (Grabe, Zhou, & Barnett, 2001). In news reports, the practice of sensationalism by reporters serves as a barrier to independent thinking around issues in the news by the readers. In this study, the use of sensational pictures, quotations or other graphics that could raise emotions were identified.
 - v. **Vilification:** This refers to media practice of portraying a given person or group of persons as the face and owners of a given social problem thereby creating villains out them in the mind of the mainstream society (Yehuda, 1994).
 - vi. **Placement:** This refers to the positioning or layout of a news report on a given page (Pew Research Centre, 2016). This can be in terms of which page of the newspaper an article is published, whether the layout is of a spread or strip, and whether the article is supported by an infographic prop or not. The placement reflects the prominence given the stories by the journalists creating and editing the content.

Table 2: Volumes and Format of Newspaper Items Analyzed

Newspaper		Articles without News on Terrorism		With Articles News on Terrorism	
		No.	%	No.	%
The Nation	News	17	35.4	17	35.4
	OpEd	14	29.2		
	Total	31	64.6		
The Standard	News	18	37.5	20	41.7
	OpEd	10	20.8		
	Total	28	58.3		

Source: Researcher, 2017

As Table 2 above shows, a total of ninety-six (96) newspapers were reviewed, out of which fifty nine (59) newspaper items had relevant data on terrorism. The 59 articles were distributed as 31 from the Nation and 28 from the Standard. Thirty five (35) of these items, representing 36.5% of all items analyzed were in the form of news reports; while the remaining twenty four (24) representing 25% were opinion articles.

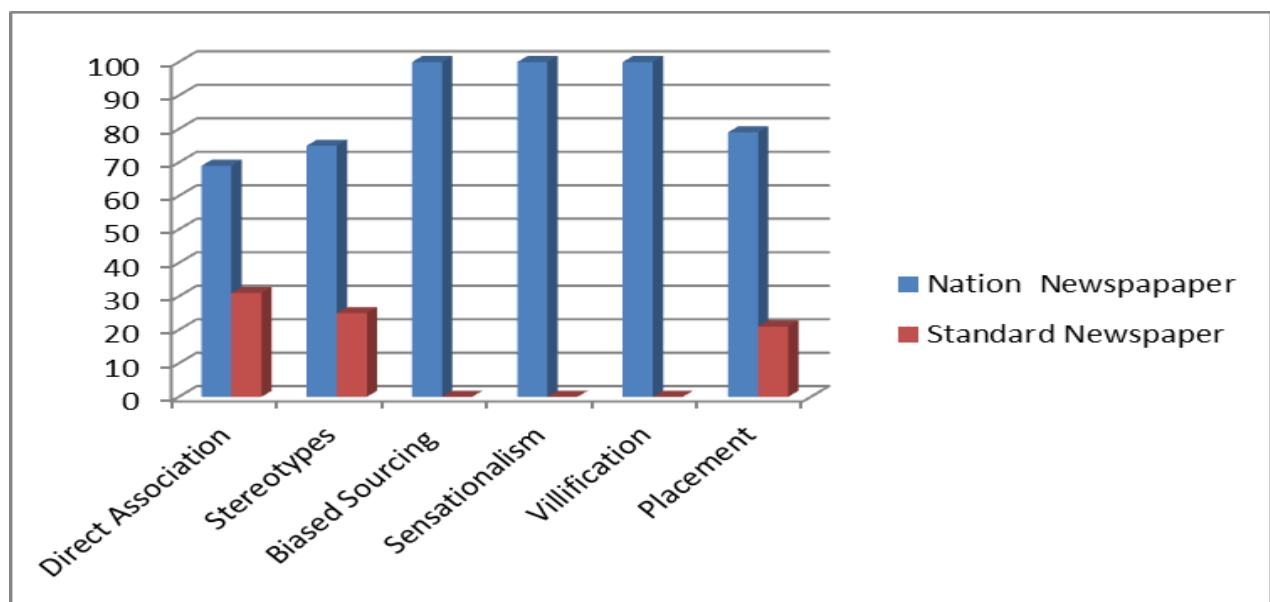
4.2.2 Key Informant Interviews

The study also relied on twenty (20) key informants identified from different relevant categories as shown in the Table 3 below.

4.3: Framing of Ethnic Somalis in the Reportage of Terror News and Analyses

This sub-section presents, analyses and interprets the findings of the study from the desk review, the questionnaires and the key informants' interviews. As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, this sub section in particular concerns itself with the first objective of the research; framing of Ethnic Somalis in the Reportage of Terror News and Analyses. In this arrangement, first the findings of the desk review (content analysis) have been presented, analyzed and interpreted. Then, the results of the questionnaires and the KIIs that were relevant to this objective were used to corroborate or dispute the findings of the desk review. Figure 1 below presents the findings of the desk review regarding how the two newspapers have framed ethnic Somalis in their reports and analyses of terrorism news.

Figure 1. Framing of Ethnic Somalis in the Reporting and Analyses of Terror News



Source: Researcher, 2017

Directly associating ethnic Somalis with terrorism, biased sourcing of potentially implicating reports, general vilification of ethnic Somalis and a deliberate choice of placement of implicating reports within a page were considered as specific parameters that enhanced the framing of ethnic Somalis in the reportage and analyses of terrorism by the two publications. As shown in Figure 1 above, both newspapers contained presence of the said elements of negative representation towards ethnic Somalis although to varying proportions.

In the *Nation* newspaper, 69% of all the fifty nine (59) news reports and articles analyzed directly associated ethnic Somalis with terrorism. This was mainly through the widespread use of wordings and phrases that directly connected ethnic Somalis to terrorism. Such words included.... In the *Standard* newspaper, 31% of all articles and news reports analyzed also directly associated ethnic Somalis with terrorism.

Regarding sourcing of news reports, 99% of all articles and news stories analyzed in the *Nation* relied on government reports or officials as their sources for reports implicating ethnic Somalis in terrorism. This was a complete contrast to the *Standard* newspaper, where less than 1% of the reports were found to contain biased or one- sided sources.

Further, The *Daily Nation* newspaper accounted for 99% of articles and news reports that vilified ethnic Somalis as the perpetrators of terrorism in the country across all the news reports and articles analyzed. Negligible percentage (less than 1%) of articles and news reports analyzed from *The Standard* newspaper were found to have vilified ethnic Somalis (Source?). And lastly, on the page placement of news and reports, nearly 80% of

all implicating articles and reports by The Nation newspaper employed the “spread” format of presentation that could attract greater level of public attention. On the other hand, *The Standard* largely employed the “strip” format in those reports that covered terrorism, however, about 20% of such reports also used the “spread” format.

In order to supplement findings of the desk review, key informants were asked about the existence of any framing agenda regarding the reports and analyses on terrorism in their publications. Details of the framing agenda that we considered as part of the representation of Somalis in Kenya are summarized in Table 3.

Table 3: Framing Agenda by the Publications

Valid	Freq.	%age	Cumulative %age
Yes	4	20	20
No	14	70	90
Not Sure	2	10	100
Total	20	100	

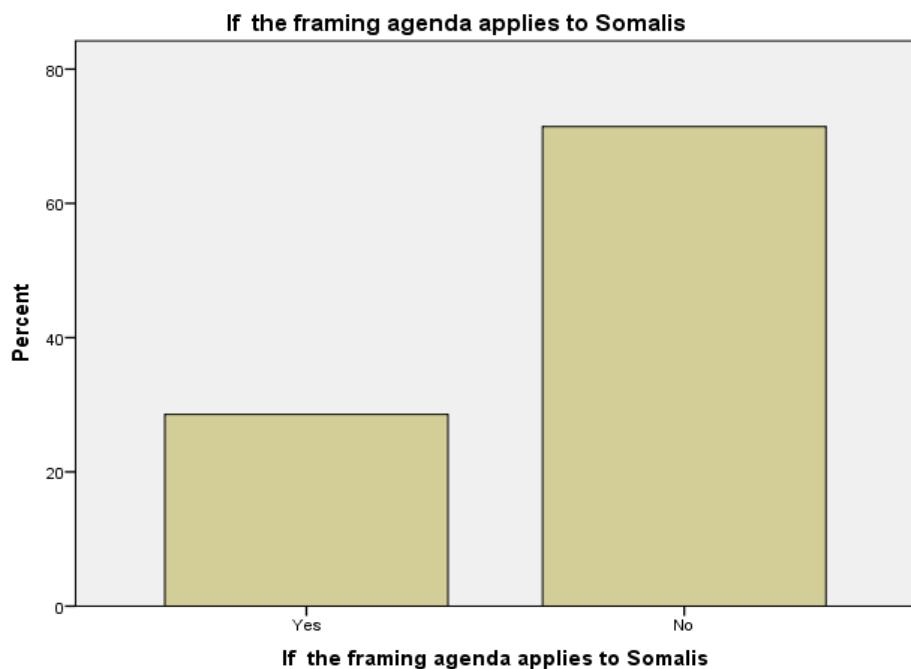
Source: Researcher, 2017

As indicated in Table 3 above, a majority 70% of all the key informants interviewed said their publications did not pursue any framing agenda when reporting or analyzing terrorism reports. However, a significant 20% of the total responded said that their publications actually pursued a definite framing agenda in the reportage and analyses of terror news and events. This seem to lend credence to the findings of the desk review. A further 10% of the total key informants said that they were not sure of the existence of any framing agenda pursued by their publication in the reportage and analyses of

terrorism reports.

While the results from the content analysis have shown the substantial presence of news reports and articles with potential of negatively framing ethnic Somalis in terrorisms issues, findings from the key informant interviews conducted among journalists and editors indicate a different situation.

Figure 2: Whether the Framing Agenda Applied to Ethnic Somalis

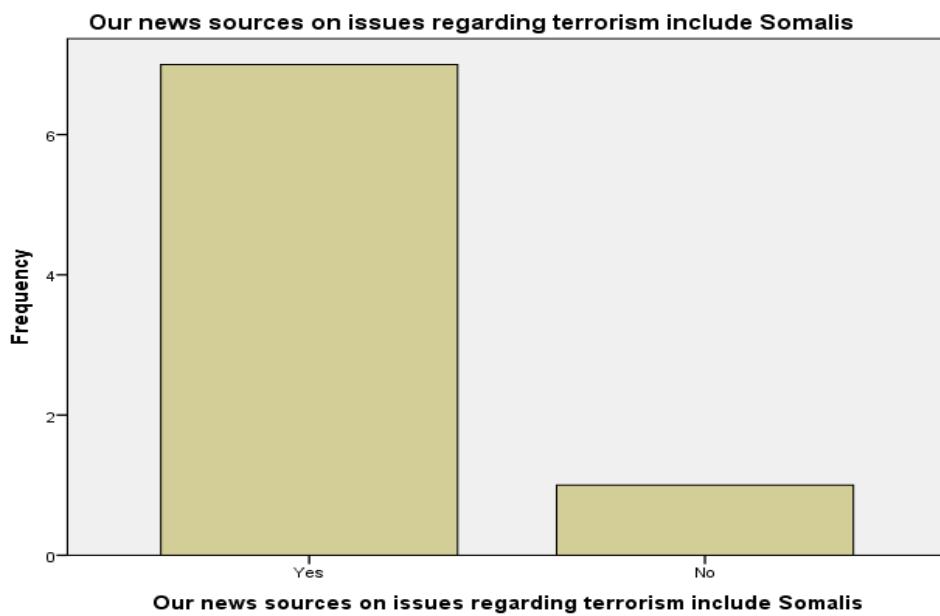


Source: Researcher, 2017

Key informants were further asked whether such framing agenda regarding terrorism reportage by their publication specifically applied to ethnic Somalis. As indicated in the figure 2 above, over 28% of the key informants believed that the framing agenda actually applied to ethnic Somalis. The remaining 72% responded that the framing agenda did not apply to ethnic Somalis.

In order to investigate the existence of framing practices in the two publications, the key informants were also asked questions about the sourcing of news reports about terrorism by the two newspapers. Responses to this question is presented in the Figure 3 below;

Figure 3: Publications having Ethnic Somalis as Part of the News Sources



Source: Researcher, 2017

As stipulated in the chart above, over 90% of the key informants said that their news sources are balanced and include ethnic Somalis as part of the sources. Only about 8% of all the key informants said that ethnic Somalis formed part of their news sources regarding reports on terrorism.

Key informants were further asked if they actually verified reports on terrorism in their publication that implicated ethnic Somalis with representatives or members from the same community. These findings are contained in the table 4.

Table 4: Verification of Terrorism Reports with Somali Opinion Leaders Before Publication

Validity	Frequency	%age	Cumulative %age
Yes	17	85	85
No	3	15	100
Total	20	100	

Source: Researcher, 2017

As indicated in Table 6 above, a majority (85%) of all the key informants interviewed said that they in fact verified reports on terrorism issues that implicated ethnic Somalis with members/ representatives of the said community. However, 15% of the total responded said that their publications did not actually verify reports on terrorism issues that implicated ethnic Somalis with members/ representatives of the said community.

Views from the key informants' categories on the specific issues above were thus considered in the study. Some verbatim responses were:

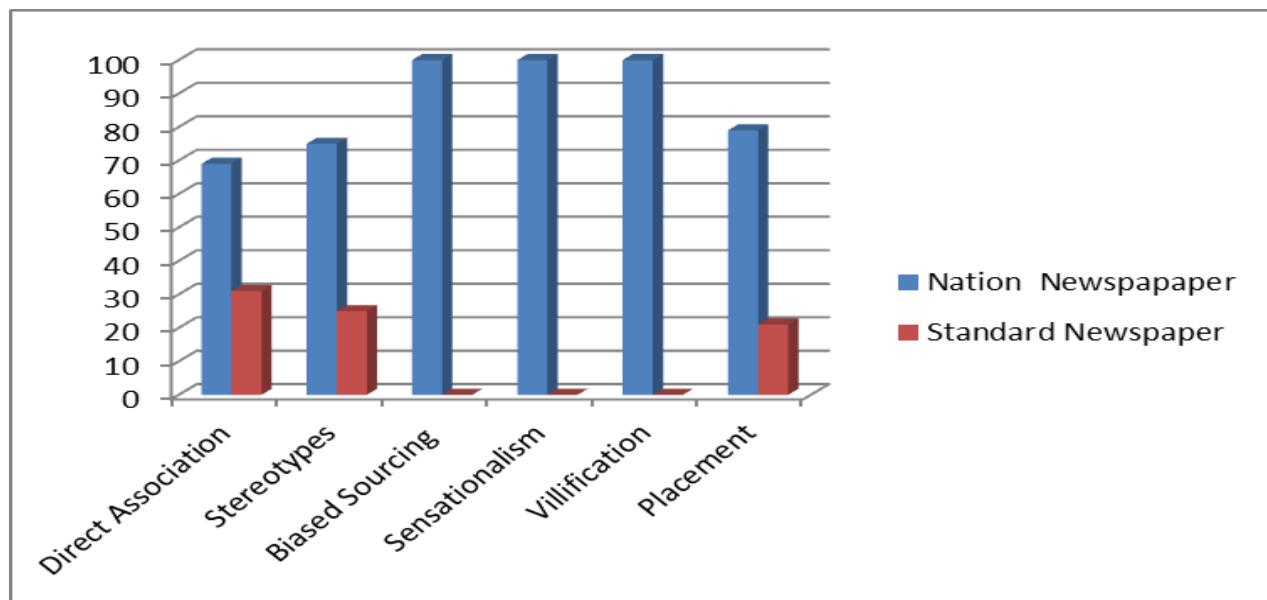
Acts of terrorism if committed by Kenyans from other communities are not described as “terrorism”. The media frames Somalis as owners of terrorism. Somalis are only useful to the media when they fit in that ugly box. The framing is borrowed from the West (A Somali Opinion Leader)

Media framing of ethnic Somalis in terrorism issues is evident in our mainstream newspapers, in my opinion. Actually, reports on terrorism appear to only have value and drama whenever characters from ethnic Somalis or Muslims are involved (Representative from the Civil Society Category)

4.4: The Nation and The Standard’s Associations of Ethnic Somalis with Terrorism

This sub- section presents analyses and interprets the findings of the study from the desk review, the questionnaires and the key informants’ interviews. As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, this sub- section particular concerns itself to the second objective of the research; Mainstream Print Media’s Associations of Ethnic Somalis with Terrorism. In this arrangement, first the findings of the desk review (content analysis) have been presented, analyzed and interpreted. Then, the results of the questionnaires and the KIIs that are relevant to this objective have been used to corroborate or dispute the findings of the desk review. Figure 4 below presents the findings of the desk review regarding the trends of association of ethnic Somalis with terrorism among the two publications while reporting and analyzing terrorism issues.

Figure 4. Mainstream Print Media's Associations of Ethnic Somalis with Terrorism



Source: Researcher, 2017

Directly associating ethnic Somalis with terrorism, sensational reporting and general vilification of ethnic Somalis were considered as specific parameters that enhanced the association of ethnic Somalis in the reportage and analyses of terrorism reports by the two publications. As shown in the figure above, both newspapers contained presence of the said elements of negative representation towards ethnic Somalis although to varying degrees.

In the *Daily Nation* newspaper, 69% of all the fifty nine (59) news reports and articles analyses have directly associated ethnic Somalis with terrorism. This was mainly attained through the widespread use of wordings and phrases that directly connected ethnic Somalis to terrorism. In the *Standard* newspaper, 31% of all articles and news reports analyzed have directly associated ethnic Somalis with terrorism. Regarding

sensationalized reporting, 99% of all the articles and news stories analyzed in the Nation newspaper contained sensational quotations, headlines or pull- quotes that seem to directly associate ethnic Somalis with terrorism. Very few, (less than 1%) of all the articles or news reports analyzed in the Standard newspaper contained sensational pictures, quotations or headlines.

Further, the Nation newspaper accounted over 90% of articles and news reports that vilified ethnic Somalis as the perpetrators of terrorism in the country across all the news reports and articles analyzed. Negligible percentage (less than 1%) of articles and news reports analyzed from the Standard newspaper were found to have vilified ethnic Somalis.

In order to add onto the findings of the desk review, key informants were asked questions about their publication's association of ethnic Somalis with terrorism while reporting or analyzing news or events about terrorism. Their responses are summed up in Table 5 below.

Table 5: Whether publications have associated Somalis with terrorism in the past

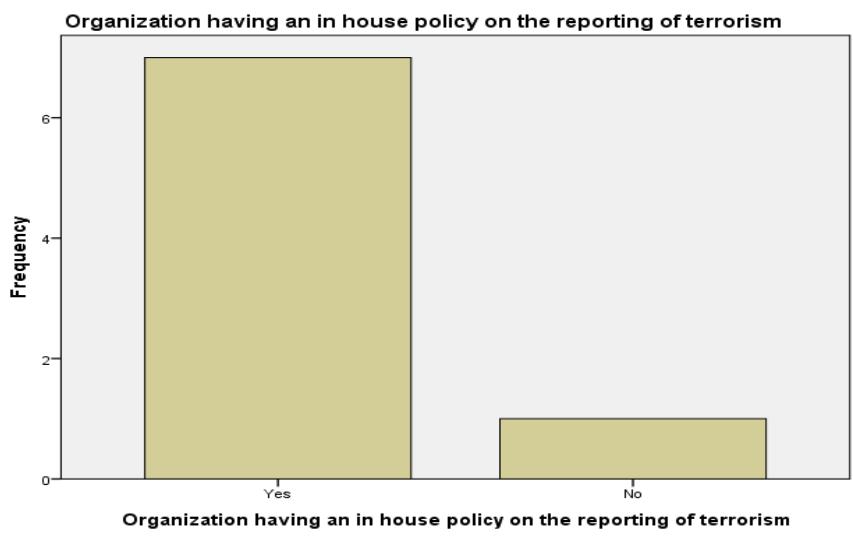
Validity	Freq.	%age	Cumulative %age
Yes	5	25%	25%
No	10	50%	75%
Not Sure	5	25%	100%
Total	20	100%	

Source: Researcher, 2017

On a related plane, key informants were asked if their publications, through its reports and analyses of terrorism news have associated ethnic Somalis with terror. As indicated in the Table 5 above, a majority (50%) of the key informants to the questionnaire said that their publications have not associated ethnic Somalis with terrorism in the past. However, a significant 25% of the key informants to the questionnaire have said their publications have associated ethnic Somalis with terrorism. Another 25% were unsure of whether or not their publications have associated ethnic Somalis with terrorism.

The KII guide led the researcher to ask key informants about the frequency with which the above associations are made by their publications. Of the responses, 50% of all the key informants said that such associations were rarely made. A sizable 33% responded that the associations are occasionally made, while 17% of all key informants said they were not sure of the frequency.

Figure 5: Whether Publications have an In-house Policy on Reporting Terrorism



Source: Researcher, 2017

Key informants were also asked of the existence of an in-house policy on reporting terrorism issues within their publications. As indicated in figure 5 above, a majority (90%) of all the key informants said that their publications had an in- house policy that guided on the reporting on terrorism events and news. Only a slight percentage (less than 10%) said that their publications did not have an in- house policy on reporting on terrorism events and news.

Views from the key informants' categories on the specific issues above were also considered in the study. Sections of the key informant categories said that the mainstream print media associated ethnic Somalis with terrorism. These are captured in the quotations below;

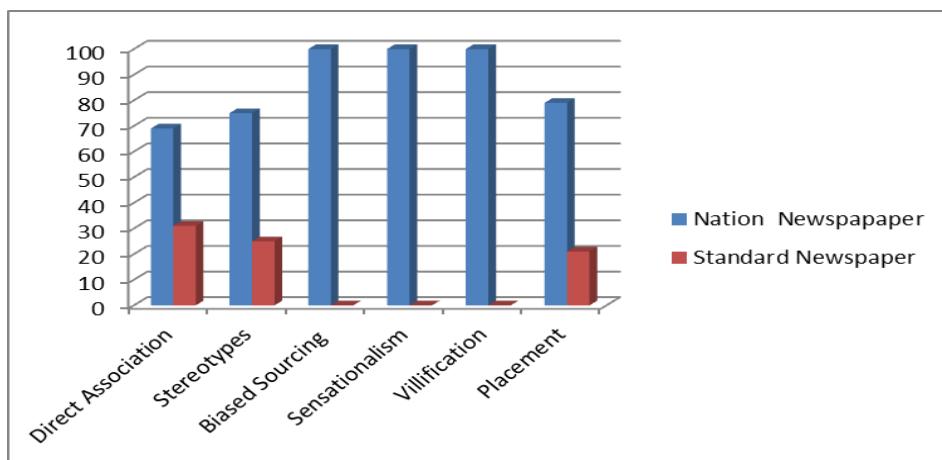
Whenever you read reports on terrorism in our mainstream newspapers, you can actually touch the emotions of the journalist or reporter in it. There is no objective research and reports; just shallow reporting that carelessly implicates a whole society: (A Somali Opinion Leader- Abdullahi Diriye)

There is outright association of ethnic Somalis to terrorism in the media. Name calling is one such example. Subtler ways include news sourcing. Basically sources of terrorism reports are ill- informed, subjective government officials who are also secretive: (A Media Studies Scholar- Mohamed Adow)

4.5: Kenyan Mainstream Print Media Reliance on stereotypes about ethnic Somalis in its reportage and analyses of terror incidents

This sub- section presents analyses and interprets the findings of the study from the desk review, the questionnaires and the key informants' interviews. As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, this sub- section particular concerns itself to the third objective of the research; Kenyan Mainstream Print Media Reliance on stereotypes about ethnic Somalis in its reportage and analyses of terror incidents. In this arrangement, first the findings of the desk review (content analysis) have been presented, analyzed and interpreted. Then, the results of the questionnaires and the KIIs that are relevant to this objective have been used to corroborate or dispute the findings of the desk review. Figure 6 presents the findings of the desk review regarding the trends of association of ethnic Somalis with terrorism among the two publications while reporting and analyzing terrorism issues.

Figure 6: Use of Ethnic Stereotypes in Reporting and Analyzing Terrorism Reports among Kenyan Mainstream Print Media



Source: Researcher, 2017

Use of stereotypes, sensational reporting and general vilification of ethnic Somalis were considered as specific parameters that enhanced the use of ethnic stereotypes in the reportage and analyses of terrorism reports by the two publications. As shown in the figure 6 above, both newspapers contained presence of the said elements of negative representation towards ethnic Somalis although to varying proportions.

Findings from the content analyses discovered that the uses of stereotypes about Somalis have been present mostly in the Nation Newspaper with 75% of the articles analyzed showing the presence of this parameter. The Standard Newspaper stands at 25% across the entire content analyzed regarding the specific parameter of stereotyping as indicated in the figure 7 above. Regarding sensationalized reporting, 99% of all the articles and news stories analyzed in the Nation newspaper contained sensational quotations, headlines or pull- quotes that seem to directly associate ethnic Somalis with terrorism. Very few, (less than 1%) of all the articles or news reports analyzed in the Standard newspaper contained sensational pictures, quotations or headlines.

Further, the Nation newspaper accounted over 90% of articles and news reports that vilified ethnic Somalis as the perpetrators of terrorism in the country across all the news reports and articles analyzed. Negligible percentage (less than 1%) of articles and news reports analyzed from the Standard newspaper were found to have vilified ethnic Somalis.

In order to add onto the findings of the desk review, key informants to the questionnaire were asked questions about their publication's association of ethnic Somalis with terrorism while reporting or analyzing news or events about terrorism.

Table 6: Key Informants' views on whether Somalis are responsible for terrorism

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	2	25.0	25.0	25.0
	No	5	62.5	62.5	87.5
	Don't Know	1	12.5	12.5	100.0
	Total	8	100.0	100.0	

Source: Researcher, 2017

The study questionnaire key informants were asked if they personally believed ethnics Somalis were responsible for the violence and terror activities in Kenya. As presented in the table 6 above, 62.5% said that they did not believe ethnic Somalis were responsible for terrorism activities in the country. However, a significant 25% of all the key informants said that they actually believed that Somalis were responsible for terrorism activities in the country. The remaining 12.5% of the key informants said they were not sure.

Key informants were also asked if their publications avoid use of ethnic stereotypes in the reportage and analyses of terrorism events and news. As presented in the figure 6 above, a 100% of the key informants said their publications avoided use of deliberate ethnic stereotypes in the reportage and analyses of terrorism news.

However, as indicated in the table 7 below, when the same key informants as above were further asked if they usually receive complaints from ethnic Somalis on bias reporting,

over 62.5% of the key informants confirmed that they indeed receive such complaints. 25% said they did not receive complaint from ethnic Somalis and the remaining 12.5% of all key informants said they were not sure.

Table 7: If Publications Received Complaint on Biases from Ethnic Somalis

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	5	62.5	62.5	62.5
	No	2	25.0	25.0	87.5
	Not Sure	1	12.5	12.5	100.0
	Total	8	100.0	100.0	

Source: Researcher, 2017

Views from the key informants' categories on the specific issues above were also considered in the study. Sections of the key informant categories said that the mainstream print media framed Somalis negatively. These are captured in the quotations below;

Yes, the media draw on stereotypes that Somalis are the face of terrorism in this country. Naming, tagging and profiling of ethnic Somalis in the media is a perfect example. The ethnicity of suspected terrorists is only mentioned when they are ethnic Somalis (A Somali Opinion Leader- Maryam Sheikh).

5.7: Summary of Findings and Interpretation

This sub- section provides a brief summary of the findings and interpretation of the study. The study of the desk review (content analyses) of the Sunday editions of the Nation and

Standard newspapers from January to December, 2015 has revealed significant presence of various elements of negative representation. These elements included; stereotyping, direct association with terrorism, ethnic vilification, sensational reporting and one- sided sourcing of news were identified.

In the Nation newspaper, 69% of all the fifty nine (59) news reports and articles analyses have directly associated ethnic Somalis with terrorism. This was mainly attained through the widespread use of wordings and phrases like “Somali militants” and Garissa terrorists” that directly connected ethnic Somalis to terrorism. In the Standard newspaper, 31% of all articles and news reports analyzed have directly associated ethnic Somalis with terrorism. These practices are in complete contravention of the stipulations of the Code of Conduct for the Practice of Journalism by the Media Council of Kenya (2013).

Findings from the content analyses also discovered widespread use of ethnic stereotypes and stereotypical expression about ethnic Somalis mainly in the Nation Newspaper with 75% of the articles analyzed showing the presence of this parameter. Further, an astounding 100% of news reports and opinion article analyzed particularly from the Nation newspaper have carried reports that vilified ethnic Somalis; giving them the tag that could only be villains and not victims of terrorism like other Kenyan. Given the nationwide readership of the particular publication, there is a great danger of ethnic Somalis predominantly seen as the villains and enemy within by many.

The above reality is further underscore by the element of placement among the two publications. The content analyses result indicated that both publications have used the “spread placement” of news reports across a given page. In a report implicating a given ethnic group negatively, the placement/ layout becomes an extra layer of misrepresentation.

The study also noted a prevalence of negative representation was not done to the same degree by the two newspapers. Findings from the content analyses discovered that the prevalence of such elements as; direct association of ethnic Somalis with terrorism, sensational reporting, ethnic vilification, stereotypical narratives and the uses of biased news sources were more widespread in the Nation Newspaper than in the Standard.

The coverage of ethnic Somalis by the Nation and the Standard Newspapers does not only raises questions over the newsgathering practices of the Kenyan print media, but also brings the issue of ethics in journalism into sharp focus. It points at complete contravention of the requirements of the Code of Conduct for the Practice of Journalism by the Media Council of Kenya (2013).

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1: Overview

This chapter presents the conclusions and recommendations in relation to the findings of the study; Kenyan Print Media’s Representation of Ethnic Somalis in the Age of Terrorism: The Case of the Nation and the Standard Newspapers.

5.2: Conclusion

Overall, the study concludes that the reportage of terrorism in the content analyzed between Jan. 2015 and Dec. 2015 in the Nation and the Standard newspapers had significant level of negative media representation of ethnic Somalis in the reportage and analyses of terrorism news in the country. Direct association of ethnic Somalis with terrorism using words and phrases like “Somali Militants” and “Garissa Terrorists” were widespread in the articles analyzed. Sensationalism, ethnic vilification, stereotypical narratives and the uses of biased news sources were also noted.

The study also noted a prevalence of negative representation was not done to the same degree by the two newspapers. Findings from the content analyses discovered that the prevalence of such elements as; direct association of ethnic Somalis with terrorism, sensational reporting, ethnic vilification, stereotypical narratives and the uses of biased news sources were more widespread in the Nation Newspaper than in the Standard.

The coverage of ethnic Somalis by the Nation and the Standard Newspapers does not only raises questions over the newsgathering practices of the Kenyan print media, but also brings the issue of ethics in journalism into sharp focus. Contravention of the requirements of the Code of Conduct for the Practice of Journalism by the Media Council of Kenya (2013). For ease of organization around the study objectives, the chapter is presented in sub- sections corresponding to the objectives of the study as follows;

- i. Kenyan mainstream print media's framing of ethnic Somalis in the context of reportage of terror news and analyses
- ii. Trends of associations of ethnic Somalis with terrorism activities in Kenyan mainstream print media
- iii. The extent to which mainstream media in Kenya draws on stereotypes about ethnic Somalis in its reportage and analyses of terror incidents

5.2.1: Framing of Ethnic Somalis in the Reportage of Terror News and Analyses

Findings of the content analyses from the Nation and the Standard newspapers revealed that negative framing of ethnic Somalis around terrorism issues and reports were widespread. The study noted significant presence of a number of representational elements that negatively framed ethnic Somalis in the articles analyzed. These elements included; adversely implicating ethnic Somalis in terrorism without clear sources of news, use of sensational quotation and pictures as well as portraying the community as the villains in the war against terror. Such framing as Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007 argues has the real danger of exposing ethnic Somalis in the country to mainstream antagonism and mistrust.

The above was further augmented by results of the key informants to the questionnaires and the key informants' interviews held with the different critical groups. Responses from the journalists and editors categories- though largely conflicting with the findings of the content analyses- still showed significant presence of negative representation towards ethnic Somalis. The key informants predominantly said that the mainstream print media often framed ethnic Somalis negatively in their reportage of terrorism activities.

5.2.2: Mainstream Print Media's Associations of Ethnic Somalis with Terrorism

The researcher sought to establish the trend of association of ethnic Somalis with terrorism in the mainstream print media in Kenya. Findings from the content analysis have indicated that the Nation and the Standard newspapers showed a dominant trend associating ethnic Somalis with terrorism. Such associations were largely enhanced through; direct association using wordings and phrasing like “Somali Militants” and “Garissa Terrorists”, sensational reporting and ethnic vilifying.

The above was further augmented by results of the respondents to key informants' interviews held with the different critical groups. Responses from the journalists and editors categories- though largely conflicting with the findings of the content analyses- still showed significant presence of negative representation towards ethnic Somalis. The key informants predominantly said that the mainstream print media often framed ethnic Somalis negatively in their reportage of terrorism activities.

Such associations have the obvious consequences of seriously disparaging social group and labelling it as the enemy within against which the mainstream society must tackle Yehuda, (1994). In the Kenyan case, this situation only serves to further the already huge social exclusion of minority groups to which ethnic Somalis belong. It further undermines the effective fights against the growing phenomena of terrorism.

5.2.3: Ethnic Stereotypes and Reportage of Terror

Under this objective, the study investigated whether the Nation and the Standard newspapers drew on ethnic stereotypes in their reportage and analyses of terror incidents. The “use of stereotypes” as a representational element was largely used to investigate this problem. However, other critical elements like sensational reporting and ethnic vilification were also considered.

Findings from the content analyses revealed that both publications employed significant stereotyping practices in their reports and analyses of terrorism news. For example, such stereotypical phrases as; “Somali Militants” and “Garissa Terrorists” were significantly represent in the articles and news reports analyzed. In addition, sensational headlines like “Hot-bed of Terror” referring to areas predominantly inhabited by ethnic Somalis pointed at the existence of stereotypical reporting by the publications in focus. Further, a deliberate use of heightened drama and sensationalism around terrorism suspects from ethnic Somalis has been noted as being widespread. This, as Itzin (1986) argues only serves to represent a given ethnic community as only qualified of being villains and not victims

The findings above were further supported by results of the key informants to the questionnaires and the key informants' interviews held with the different critical groups. Responses from the journalists and editors categories- though largely conflicting with the findings of the content analyses- still showed significant presence of negative representation towards ethnic Somalis. The key informants predominantly said that the mainstream print media often framed ethnic Somalis negatively in their reportage of terrorism activities.

5.3: Recommendations

Following the findings of the study; Kenyan Print Media's Representation of Ethnic Somalis in the Age of Terrorism: The Case of the Nation and the Standard Newspapers, this sub- section provides recommendations on media coverage improvement in the country for policy makers in Kenya and the media fraternity. For ease of organization around the study objectives, these recommendations are under the three objectives of the study as follows;

i. Kenyan mainstream print media's framing of ethnic Somalis in the context of reportage of terror news and analyses

Under this first objective, the media should responsibly utilize its influence as a powerful social agent by ensuring that it aims to enhance social unity among all Kenyans rather than facilitating social exclusion and marginalization of ethnic minorities. In addition, the media owners and policy makers are recommended to ensure that framing agenda harmful to the collective existence of sections of the Kenyan society are not only avoided but also outlawed and punished.

ii. Trends of associations of ethnic Somalis with terrorism activities in Kenyan mainstream print media

Under this second objective, journalists should be recommended to ensure at all times that they adhere to the Code of Conduct for the Practice of Journalism by the Media Council of Kenya (2013) that discourages naming, tagging and profiling specific communities or ethnic groups in its reports and analyses. They should also be cognizant of their role of promoting national unity and peaceful co-existence between all communities in the country. Further, the government and the media owners should ensure proper enforcement of the Code of Conduct for the Practice of Journalism by the Media Council of Kenya (2013).

iii. The extent to which mainstream media in Kenya draws on stereotypes about ethnic Somalis in its reportage and analyses of terror incidents

Under this third objective, editors and journalists are recommended to observe facts and report them as they are and should not engage in interpretation and stereotyping. The editorial policy ought to be examined requiring publications and broadcast stand for racial, ethnic, religious and communal harmony. Further, media owners and managers of the mainstream print media in Kenya should rein over the journalists and editors by tightening the policies to protect public and national interest of unity at the same time being obligated as responsible corporate citizen in the face of war

5.4: Recommendation for Further Studies

This study focused on the mode of representation of Ethnic Somalis by the Kenyan mainstream print in the reportage and analyses of terrorism news. There is a need for future studies into the subject of the role of such representations in perpetuating ethnic radicalization and undermining the fight against terrorism.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: Certificate of Field Work



UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM & MASS COMMUNICATION

Telegram: Journalism Varsity Nairobi
Telephone: 254-02-3318262, Ext. 28080, 28061
Director's Office: +254-204913208 (Direct Line)
Telex: 22095 Fax: 254-02-245566
Email: director-soj@uonbi.ac.ke

P.O. Box 30197-00100
Nairobi, GPO
Kenya

REF: CERTIFICATE OF FIELDWORK

This is to certify that all corrections proposed at the Board of Examiners meeting held on 25/07/2016 in respect of M.A/PhD. Project/Thesis Proposal defence have been effected to my/our satisfaction and the project can be allowed to proceed for fieldwork.

Reg. No: K50176933/2009

Name: Hassan Sheikh Mohamed

Title: An Analysis of the Representation of Terrorism and Somalis in Kenya in the Nation and the Standard Newspapers; 2015

Godwin Siundo
SUPERVISOR

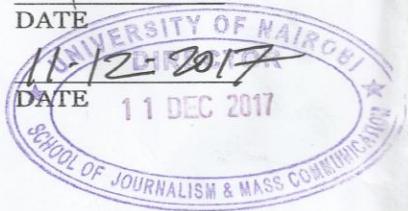
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SIGNATURE

25/07/2016
DATE

Dr Samuel Singi
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR
Dr. Neeti Nekati
DIRECTOR

MS
SIGNATURE
M
SIGNATURE/STAMP

25/07/2016
DATE
11/12/2017
DATE 11 DEC 2017



APPENDIX II: Request Letter for Interview

27/09/2016

The University of Nairobi
School of Journalism and Mass Communication
P.O. BOX, 13433-00800
Nairobi

Dear Sir/ Madam,

RE: REQUEST FOR INTERVIEW ABOUT STUDY ON THE KENYAN MAINSTREAM PRINT MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF ETHNIC SOMALIS IN KENYA

I am a graduate student in the University of Nairobi's School of Journalism; currently undertaking my research project. The main aim of this project is to analyze the modes of representation of ethnic Somali in the mainstream print media in Kenya.

You have been identified as one of the sample of key informants of my study, and are hereby requested to kindly respond to appropriately.

Your responses shall be used solely for purposes of this academic research, and shall be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Thank you for your time and responses.

Hassan Sheikh Mohamed

APPENDIX III: Certificate of Corrections



UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM & MASS COMMUNICATION

Telegram: Journalism Varsity Nairobi
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P.O. Box 30197-00100
Nairobi, GPO
Kenya

REF: CERTIFICATE OF CORRECTIONS

This is to certify that all corrections proposed at the Board of Examiners meeting held on 24/10/2017 in respect of M.A/PhD. Project/Thesis defence have been effected to my/our satisfaction and the project/thesis can be allowed to proceed for binding.

Reg. No: KSO/76933/2009
Name: Hassan Sheikh Mohamed

Title: An Analysis of the Representation of
Terrorism and Somalis in Kenya in the Nation and
the Standard Newspapers, 2015

Godwin Siundu
SUPERVISOR

G Siundu
SIGNATURE

05/12/2017
DATE

Dr Samuel Singi
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR
Dr. Ndehi Ndehi
DIRECTOR

SS91
SIGNATURE
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11/12/2017
DATE
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DIRECTOR
11/12/2017
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SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM & MASS COMMUNICATION

APPENDIX IV: Certificate of Originality

Turnitin *Originality Report*

- Processed on: 21-Nov-2017 18:16 EAT
- ID: 883617220
- Word Count: 16367
- Submitted: 1

An Analysis of the Representation of Terrorist...

By Hassan Sheikh Mohamed

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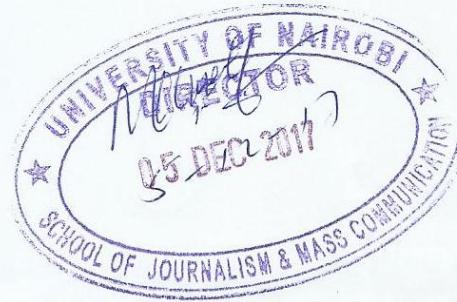
Submitted to Daystar University on 2017-07-18

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Submitted to Bridgepoint Education on 2016-10-11



APPENDIX V: Key informants Interview Guides (KII)

1. Key Informants' Interview Guide (Journalists)

I am a graduate student in the University of Nairobi's School of Journalism; currently undertaking my research project. The main aim of this project is to critically analyze the modes of representation of ethnic Somali in the mainstream print media in Kenya.

You have been identified as one of the sample of key informant of my study. I would be grateful if you give me your time to respond to these questions. Your responses shall be used solely for purposes of this academic research, and shall be treated with utmost confidentiality. Thank you for your cooperation.

Objective 1 (Media Framing of Somali)

1. In as far as news framing is concerned; does your publication pursue any agenda that you know of? Explain
2. Does your media house have an in- house policy on reporting on terrorism? Explain
3. Have you ever received special training on covering terrorism in your current publication?

Objective 2 (Trends of Media Association of ethnic Somalis with terrorism)

4. In your publication, is coverage on terrorism news and analyses given priority? Explain
5. Do you believe your publication at some point associate Somalis in Kenya with terrorism?
6. Do you believe Somalis are responsible for violence and terror activities in Kenya?

Objective 3 (Use of Ethnic Stereotypes in the Kenyan Print Media)

7. What is your response to accusation by some your publication use of ethnic/ religious stereotypes in news presentation?

8. How often do you receive complaint on biases against ethnic groups from different quarters?
9. How do you source your news? Explain your major sources of terrorism news?
10. Before you publish stories on Somalis, what verification mechanisms do you carry out?

2. Key Informants' Interview Guide (Somali Opinion Leaders)

I am a graduate student in the University of Nairobi's School of Journalism; currently undertaking my research project. The main aim of this project is to critically analyze the modes of representation of ethnic Somali in the mainstream print media in Kenya.

You have been identified as one of the sample of key informant of my study. I would be grateful if you give me your time to respond to this questions. Your responses shall be used solely for purposes of this academic research, and shall be treated with utmost confidentiality. Thank you for your cooperation.

Objective 1 (Media Framing of Somali)

1. What is your general opinion regarding the Kenyan mainstream print media's coverage on terrorism? What can you say about their approach?
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.....

2. In your opinion, how does the Kenyan mainstream print media frame ethnic Somalis when reporting or analyzing terrorism incidents/activities?
.....
.....

Objective 2 (Trends of Media Association of ethnic Somalis with terrorism)

3. As an ethnic Somali, do you feel that the Kenyan mainstream print media associates Somalis with terror activities in Kenya through their reports and analyses? Explain.
.....

4. What aspects of journalistic practice do you like about the Kenyan mainstream print media's reportage of terrorism and relate issues? In your opinion, what do they do right?

Objective 3 (Use of Ethnic Stereotypes in the Kenyan Print Media)

5. Do you believe that the Kenyan mainstream print media draw on ethnic stereotypes when reporting on/ analyzing terrorism incidents/ activities? What instances can you point at?

6. What is your belief regarding the news sourcing of Kenyan mainstream print media on issues regarding terrorism? Have you or someone you know ever been contacted by the mainstream media regarding terrorism reports touching on your community?

7. Have you or someone from your community made complaint/ criticism against any of the Kenyan mainstream print media about negative reports about your ethnic community or religion? Explain

3. Key Informants' Interview Guide (Civil Society Organizations)

I am a graduate student in the University of Nairobi's School of Journalism; currently undertaking my research project. The main aim of this project is to critically analyze the modes of representation of ethnic Somali in the mainstream print media in Kenya.

You have been identified as one of the sample of key informant of my study. I would be grateful if you give me your time to respond to this questions. Your responses shall be used solely for purposes of this academic research, and shall be treated with utmost confidentiality. Thank you for your cooperation.

1. What is your general opinion regarding the Kenyan mainstream print media's coverage on terrorism? What can you say about their approach?

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2. In your opinion, what kind of representation do the Kenyan mainstream print media give to ethnic Somalis during coverage on terrorism incidents in the country? Explain

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3. In your understanding of media in Kenya, how does the Kenyan mainstream print media frame ethnic Somalis in the reportage and analyses of terrorism issues?

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4. From your interactions with the news and analyses by mainstream print media in Kenya regarding terrorism and related topics, do you believe there are associations made between ethnic Somalis in Kenya with terrorist activities? Explain

5. According to your readings and review of media reports, do the mainstream print media in Kenya draw on ethnic stereotypes in the framing of terrorism reportage and analyses? Explain.

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6. What is your opinion regarding the news sourcing of Kenyan mainstream print media on issues regarding terrorism? Do you think it is balanced and objective?

.....

.....

.....

7. In your opinion, what should the media do differently when covering terrorism incidents in the country?

Key Informants' Interview Guide (Media Scholars)

I am a graduate student in the University of Nairobi's School of Journalism; currently undertaking my research project. The main aim of this project is to critically analyze the modes of representation of ethnic Somali in the mainstream print media in Kenya.

You have been identified as one of the sample of key informant of my study. I would be grateful if you give me your time to respond to this questions. Your responses shall be used solely for purposes of this academic research, and shall be treated with utmost confidentiality. Thank you for your cooperation.

1. What is your opinion regarding the question of media representation of ethnicity and identity in the age of terrorism and the Kenyan mainstream print media?

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2. In your opinion, does the Kenyan mainstream print media pursue any framing agenda on reportage and analyses of terrorism issues? What agenda?

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3. Framing signifies the powerful effect of the media in constructing social reality, do you think this is the case with the Kenyan mainstream print media and the representation of ethnic Somalis during terror? Explain.

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4. From your understanding, are there trends of similarity and/or relationship between the western global media and the Kenya mainstream print media on the reportage and analyses of terror news and reports?

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-
5. According to your readings and review of media reports, do the mainstream print media in Kenya draw on ethnic stereotypes in the framing of terrorism reportage and analyses? Explain.
-
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-

6. What is your opinion regarding the news sourcing of Kenyan mainstream print media on issues regarding terrorism? Do you think it is balanced and objective?
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7. What aspects of journalistic practice do you like about the Kenyan mainstream print media's reportage of terrorism and relate issues? In your opinion, what do they do right?
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