University of Nairobi

Department of Diplomacy and Inter	mationa	l Studies
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The Role of the Mainstream Media in Mitigating Security Threats in Africa

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A Research Project Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Award of Master's Degree in Diplomacy

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Declaration

This research project is my original work and has not been presented before to any university for academic award.

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This research project has been submitted for examination with my approval as a university supervisor.

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Prof. Maria Nzomo

Supervisor

Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies (IDIS)

Dedication

This research project is dedicated with love and gratitude my family.

Acknowledgement

I am grateful to God for allowing me to finish my education. Prof. Maria Nzomo, my supervisor, who read every syllable in this project report, persistently critiqued my work after I made so many mistakes, and provided me new recommendations to better my project, deserves special thanks. Thank you so much, Madam. Your support means a lot to me.

Abbreviation

(CCN) - Cable News Network

US- United State

BBC- British Broadcasting Cooperation

SABC- South African Broadcasting Corporation

SNTV - Somali National Television

UNHCR -United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

NTV -National Television

NCIC -National Cohesion and Integration Commission

Abstract

With key focus on assessing the role of the mainstream media in mitigating security threats in Africa: a case of Kenya and Somalia, the study sought to assess the effectiveness of the mainstream media in contributing to the mitigation of security threats in the Africa's countries of Kenya and Somalia, determining the positive and negative impacts of the mainstream media in mitigating security threats in the Africa countries' of Kenya and Somalia and establishing the prospects and challenges facing the mainstream media in their role in mitigating security threats in the Africa countries' of Kenya and Somalia. The study has noted that Security dynamics around the globe have become increasingly complex and multidimensional thus necessitating multi-sectorial efforts in guaranteeing safety and security. Government security agencies, private firms, nongovernmental organizations, and the mainstream media are increasingly having a role to play on matters pertaining to security. Mainstream media exposure of security related matters is widely effective in contributing to the mitigation of security threats. For example, wide mainstream media coverage of terror threats, anti-extremism and radicalization messages have made successful contribution in the prevention of widespread terrorism. The study has found that mainstream media can make both positive and negative impacts in efforts geared towards mitigating security threats. The mainstream media in certain countries has acted as a third party watchdog highlighting to the public local problems and bringing out hidden stories through investigative reporting. Mainstream media can also influence policy decisions particularly as policy makers think of how they can prevent and respond to emerging security threats. In South Africa, for example, the mainstream media has played an important role in motivating the general public to push policy makers on intervening and addressing emerging security challenges. The mainstream media has also served as a tool security agencies can use to pass across their message. The study has found that mainstream media is faced with a number of challenges in their role in mitigating security threats. The challenges include economic constraints, prohibitive regulations, declining freedom of information, commercialization of news, strained cooperation between the government and mainstream media outlets and many more. In terms of economic constraints, the study has found that that funding for many mainstream media organizations is declining due to audience fragmentation across different existing mainstream media. The study recommends that media freedom should be secured to ensure effective performance of mainstream media as a gatekeeper in charge of setting agendas, filtering issues and maintaining a balance of views. The mainstream media should not be censored since it plays different roles in mitigation of security. For example, in certain countries the mainstream media usually acts as a third party watchdog that provides the public with information on local problems.

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CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Background of the study

Complex communication systems are increasingly playing a considerable role in the social, political and economic life of modern societies. In almost all countries, the mainstream media is a powerful influence in shaping attitudes on matters pertaining to entertainment, politics, commerce and security. Over time, it has become apparent that when people are given balanced information, they are more willing to support measures adopted to promote their interests, safety and security. The general public in many countries still assume it is the sole responsibility of security agencies in ensuring public safety and security. However, other sectors of the society can also make a contribution in public safety and help mitigate on arising security threats. The mainstream media is an obvious tool that can alert the public on new and expanding threats such as terrorism, extremism, drug trafficking, cybercrime, smuggling and many more. Todays accelerated speeds of communication possess positive as well as negative implications in the identification and mitigation of security threats.

The mainstream media is a major resource that can be used to change attitudes of the general public and aid in mitigating security threats. In the Africa region, peace and security problems have persisted for a long time with no sign of them decreasing any time soon. The region has encountered a number of security challenges including political/power struggle, terrorism, ethnic and religious conflict, proliferation of small and light weapons, violations of human rights and many more. A great effort has been made by the mainstream media in maintaining peace and

¹Ayalew, M. (2009). *The Media as a Security Actor*. Working Paper no. 57, London: Development Studies Institute.

²Siradag, A. (2013) *African Regional Security Prospects and Challenges*. Journal of Academic Inquiries 7(2): 232-234.

security in the region. The discourse of security in the region has been prevalent in the mainstream media with one of the major objectives being making a contribution in the efforts geared towards managing and addressing security threats by engaging both non state and state actors.

The mainstream media system in the Africa's countries of Kenya and Somalia has emerged in recent years as both expansive and competitive. The two countries have also witnessed major investments in new technologies like mobile communication and internet infrastructure thereby making the mainstream media ecology in both countries relatively strong. The security landscape in the two countries is however different with the countries adopting different mechanisms and protocols to try and solve their own security challenges. The role the mainstream media plays in the security landscape of both countries is however unclear and calls for an investigation. According to Schaffert, mainstream media reports on security situations are known to contribute significantly in the analysis of insecurity incidences and prevalence.³ Reliable reporting on security trends have been known to be a key component in knowledge-based insecurity prevention strategies. However, such reporting is not usually sufficient for generating a well-founded understanding of the role the mainstream media plays in security threat mitigation. Insecurity incidences reported in the mainstream media are usually dependent on the willingness of mainstream media outlets to report on them thus influencing the kind of role the mainstream media plays in mitigating security threats. 4Nohrstedt and Ottosennote that in all countries regardless of income levels, a majority of security incidences are not usually reported by the mainstream media for a variety of reasons.⁵ In certain cases the mainstream media usually fails to report on security

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³ Schaffert, R. (1992) *The Media's Influence on Public's Perception and the Question of Media responsibility.* Journal of Media and Communication Studies. New York: Praeger Publishers. 61-79.

⁴ Ibid

⁵ Nohrstedt, S., & Ottosen, R. (2008) *War Journalism in the Threat Society: Peace Journalism as a Strategy for Challenging the Mediated Culture of Fear?* Conflict and Communication Online 7, no. 2.

incidences simply because of difficulty in obtaining accurate and reliable information on incidences. Additionally, certain types of security incidences and threats are likely to be underreported, including white collar crimes, drug offences, and organised crime including trafficking in drugs, guns or persons. Ascertaining the role the mainstream media plays in mitigating security threats is therefore problematic and the present study therefore will set to examine the role of the mainstream media in mitigating security threats in the Africa' countries of Kenya and Somalia.

1.2 Statement of the Research Problem

New technologies have made the nature of the mainstream media to change rapidly. In certain Africa, the mainstream media is burgeoning and thriving in some countries, while in other countries within Africa it is in a crisis. Mainstream media's shifting landscape has implications on the role it plays in mitigating security threats faced by different societies in Africa. According to Ayalew, the mainstream media has different roles it plays in mitigating security threats. For example, in certain countries the mainstream media usually acts as a third party watchdog that provides the public with information on local problems.⁶ In other societies, the mainstream mediates as a gatekeeper in charge of setting agendas, filtering issues and maintaining a balance of views.⁷Certain scholars however contend that there is not yet sufficient empirical evidence to reject or confirm claims that the mainstream media contributes in promoting or mitigating insecurity. They reinforce such propositions by arguing that no data exists indicating how many security threats have been averted or have not been averted and what role the mainstream media played. Schaffert for example says that the metrics for the success of the mainstream media in

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⁶Ayalew, M. (2009). *The Media as a Security Actor*. Working Paper no. 57, London: Development Studies Institute. ⁷Ibid.

mitigating security threats is notoriously hard to come by and ascertain given the existence of a myriad of other factors influencing an optimal outcome. According to the scholar, the absence of security threats may at times be hypothetically attained without any mainstream media input and therefore it is difficult to justify the role the mainstream media plays. It is in light of such claims, the present study will therefore set to investigate the role the mainstream media plays in mitigating security threats in the Africa region.

1.3 Research Questions

- i) How effective is mainstream media in contributing to mitigation of security threats in Africa's countries?
- ii) What are the positive and negative impacts of the mainstream media in mitigating security threats in African countries?
- iii) What are the prospects and challenges facing the mainstream media in their role in mitigating security threats in the Africa's countries of Kenya and Somalia?

1.4 Objectives of the study

The general objective of the study is to assess the role of the mainstream media in mitigating security threats in the Africa countries' of Kenya and Somalia.

1.4.1 Specific Objectives

 To assess the effectiveness of the mainstream media in contributing to the mitigation of security threats in the Africa's countries.

⁸Schaffert, R. (1992) *The Media's Influence on Public's Perception and the Question of Media responsibility*. Journal of Media and Communication Studies. New York: Praeger Publishers. 61-79.

- ii) To determine the positive and negative impacts of the mainstream media in mitigating security threats in African countries.
- iii) To establish the prospects and challenges facing the mainstream media in their role in mitigating security threats in the Africa countries' of Kenya and Somalia.

1.5 Literature Review

Theoretical and empirical literature are reviewed in this study. Theoretical literature is essential because it has been utilized to investigate the primary disputes regarding the function of mainstream media in security threats mitigation. Empirical literature is still significant for this study because it was utilized to assist identify the study's major knowledge gaps. This part will go through two of the study's most well-researched topics. To begin, the researcher will look at studies on mainstream media and conflict that are both global and regional in scope.

1.5.1 Theoretical Literature Review

This section reviews securitization theory and agenda setting theory.

1.5.1.1 Securitisation theory

National security risks, according to securitisation theory, are not just naturally occurring but also intentionally identified by decision makers. When security concerns are labelled as 'menacing,' 'hazardous,' or 'alarming,' they are recognized as extreme security issues that must be addressed immediately, according to the idea. Security dangers are not only 'out there,' but rather are framed as concerns by securitising people. Traditional methods to security are challenged by this idea,

⁹Williams, M., (2003) *Words, Images, Enemies: Securitization and International Politics.* International Studies Quartely 47:511-31.

which contends that security risks are not inherently dangerous; rather, they become security concerns when they are recognized as such. Smith points out that emphasizing the rhetorical framework used by decision-makers when presenting a problem as a security threat and attempting to persuade an audience to see it as such is fundamental to securitisation theory. ¹⁰ This is referred to as a speech act, and conceptualizing security as a speech act is crucial because it emphasizes that words not only reflect reality, but also construct it, triggering specific reactions. As a result of explaining reality, we are able to engage with the environment and, as a result, perform an action that contributes to a different perception of reality. 11 Security risks, according to Wyn, may be produced as threats by language as much as by their nature. 12 In order for a securitising actor to therefore convince an audience to take extraordinary measures and draw attention, they have to emphasize the level and urgency of a threat and offer a possible way out. Williams notes that issues are securitised when an audience collectively decide to agree on the nature of a threat and offer their support in taking extraordinary measures. 13 Security issues can be presented on a spectrum ranging from non-politicised, politicised and securitized. Usually, when an issue is securitized, actions are legitimized under the terms 'existential threats' and 'urgency' and measures considered undemocratic in normal situations may be employed to counter them.¹⁴

1.5.1.2 Agenda Setting Theory

Agenda setting in the mainstream media refers to the process of deciding what subjects to cover. For example, if the mainstream media broadcasts a lot of terrifying tales about terrorism, it may

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¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁰ Smith, S., (2005) *The Contested Concept of Security*. Journal of Critical Security Studies and World Politics. Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc: Colorado.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Wyn, R., (1999) Security, Strategy, and Critical Theory. Lynne Rienner Publishers Inc: Colorado.

¹³Williams, P., (2008). Regional Arrangements and Transnational Security Challenges: The African Union and the Limits of Securitization Theory. African Security 1:1, 2-23

induce the general public to be overly concerned about terrorism while disregarding other, more pressing concerns. This allows the mainstream media to shift its focus from its own agenda to the publics. Shaw's agenda shaping hypothesis states that the mainstream media has the potential to turn its own agenda into a public agenda. When the mainstream media repeatedly focuses on a specific event, such as a conflict, it has the potential to turn that event or conflict into an issue by drawing public attention to it.¹⁵ Radoli, on the other hand, claims that if the mainstream media places a high value on an event, it will eventually become a significant event. When mainstream media inspires people to discuss about an issue like human rights, war, or something else, depending on the objective of the media, this is frequently successful.¹⁶

Bernard points out that the Cable News Network (CCN) heavily promoted the US foreign policy agenda before to the Gulf War, to the point where everyone felt the Americans were correct to employ military force against Iraq. Because diverse media groups in Africa are linked with the fighting parties, the idea of agenda setting is pertinent to the research because they are solely in the business of mobilizing for conflict by setting the agenda on what to publish.

1.5.2 Empirical literature review

Empirical literature review is anchored on the three objectives of the study which includes; to investigate the effectiveness of the mainstream media in contributing to the mitigation of security threats in the Africa's countries of Kenya and Somalia, to determine the positive and negative impacts of the mainstream media in mitigating security threats in the Africa countries' of Kenya

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¹⁵ Havva Shaw (2012), "Why do some conflicts get more media coverage than others?, New Internationalist and media war coverage". Retrieved from journal of peace research. 45(3). P-17.

¹⁶ Ibid, P-36.

and Somalia and lastly, to establish the prospects and challenges facing the mainstream media in their role in mitigating security threats in the Africa countries' of Kenya and Somalia.

1.5.2.1 The effectiveness of the mainstream media in contributing to the mitigation of security threats in Africa

Security dynamics around the globe have become increasingly complex and multidimensional thus necessitating multi-sectorial efforts in guaranteeing safety and security. Government security agencies, private firms, non-governmental organizations, and the mainstream media are increasingly having a role to play on matters pertaining to security. According to Nohrstedt and Ottosen, BBC Africa exposure of security related matters can be widely effective in contributing to the mitigation of security threats. ¹⁷ For example, wide mainstream media coverage of terror threats, anti-extremism and radicalisation messages have made successful contribution in the prevention of widespread terrorism. Gilliamon the other hand explains that in the early 2000s, increasing mainstream media coverage of terrorism and terror related activities resulted in increased awareness, expansion of resources and formulation of policies geared towards the fight against terrorism. ¹⁸CNN coverage of terror related activities also enhanced attention to victims of terrorism and made an impact in increasing the number of terror victims support movements.

Kitzinger notes that due to the impressive amount of individuals who rely on the mainstream media for information, the mainstream media has been highly efficient in denouncing certain activities that are considered security threats.¹⁹ For example, British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC)

¹⁷Nohrstedt, S., & Ottosen, R. (2008) *War Journalism in the Threat Society: Peace Journalism as a Strategy for Challenging the Mediated Culture of Fear?* Conflict and Communication Online 7, no. 2.

¹⁸Gilliam, D. (2013). *Mass Media Influences on Public Conceptions on the War against Terrorism*. American Journal of Political Science 44:3

¹⁹Kitzinger, J., (2001). *Transformations of Public and Private Knowledge: Audience Reception, the Media and theWar against Drugs*. Journal of Security Media Studies 1:1.

campaigns on the risks of using illegal drugs and its relationship to criminal activities exemplifies the effectiveness by which the mainstream media can contribute to the mitigation of security threats. Governments and independent groups in a number of countries have in the past launched a number of mainstream media campaigns to create awareness on the risks of distributing and consuming drugs and alcohol. Such initiatives have made more information available to the public, encouraged critical thinking and promoted responsibility on the part of security agencies, institutions, and organisations.²⁰

1.5.2.2 The positive and negative impacts of the mainstream media in mitigating security threats

The mainstream media such as CNN and BBC can make both positive and negative impacts in efforts geared towards mitigating security threats. According to Ayalew, the CNN and BBC in certain countries has acted as a third party watchdog highlighting to the public local problems and bringing out hidden stories through investigative reporting. Schaffert reports that the mainstream media can influence policy decisions particularly as policy makers think of how they can prevent and respond to emerging security threats. South Africa, for example, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC-1) has played an important role in motivating the general public to push policy makers on intervening and addressing emerging security challenges. The mainstream media has also served as a tool security agencies can use to pass across their message. For example, there have been occasions where mainstream media houses have invited security commanders onto radio or TV programs to talk about security issues in the country or region. In

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²⁰Kitzinger, J., (2001). Transformations of Public and Private Knowledge: Audience Reception, the Media and theWar against Drugs. Journal of Security Media Studies 1:1.

 ²¹Ayalew, M. (2009). *The Media as a Security Actor*. Working Paper no. 57, London: Development Studies Institute
 ²²Schaffert, R. (1992) *The Media's Influence on Public's Perception and the Question of Media responsibility*.
 Journal of Media and Communication Studies. New York: Praeger Publishers. 61-79.

such times, the mainstream media has aided in restoring public confidence on security situations. Schaffert however notes that mainstream media representations in the process of collecting and disseminating information on security can negatively impact on perceptions and interfere with the implementation of security policies and strategies.²³ At times, BBC-Africa coverage of security threats can be biased, inaccurate and promote inappropriate policies geared towards addressing security challenges. Concern is growing that main mainstream media characteristics are not necessarily conducive in contributing to the knowledge of insecurity prevention. Often, Puntland TV and Radio processing of information on various matters is based on fast-paced, short-term and surface-level research that can limit the types of information disseminated while giving little regard to the very important issues. For example, news reports for certain crimes usually read like a police charge sheet having information about a place of crime, an offender, and the victim while leaving out information on the context of how the offending or victimization has occurred. Additionally, rapid analysis and assessment by the mainstream media of security trends and outcomes of public policies implementation.²⁴

1.5.2.3 The challenges and Prospects facing the mainstream media in their role in mitigating security threats

According to Siradag, the CNN is faced with a number of challenges in their role in mitigating security threats.²⁵ The challenges include economic constraints, prohibitive regulations, declining freedom of information, commercialisation of news, strained cooperation between the government

²³Schaffert, R. (1992) *The Media's Influence on Public's Perception and the Question of Media responsibility*. Journal of Media and Communication Studies. New York: Praeger Publishers. 61-79.

 ²⁴Ayalew, M. (2009). *The Media as a Security Actor*. Working Paper no. 57, London: Development Studies Institute
 ²⁵Siradag, A. (2013) *African Regional Security Prospects and Challenges*. Journal of Academic Inquiries 7(2): 232-234.

and mainstream media outlets and many more. In terms of economic constraints, the scholar contends that funding for many mainstream media organisations is declining due to audience fragmentation across different existing mainstream media. The declining sources of funds is limiting the amount of resources the mainstream media organisations can dedicate in funding quality programmes that can report on compelling and accurate stories, or follow up on compelling security investigations. Economic constraints also hinders the ability of mainstream media houses to invest in the kind of training that is required for their staff to produce ethical and high quality programmes touching on security issues. Siradag adds that lack of adequate resources at the disposal of many mainstream media such as Somali National Television (SNTV) outlet has been inhibiting their productivity and reportage in general. ²⁶ Many investigative journalist in most parts of Sub-Saharan Africa are under resourced with some going unpaid for months. Some have difficulty accessing basic journalism resources like reference books thus making the priority of many journalists swing from real problems facing the society to those that offer instant gratification.

Adolt wagers that legal and regulatory frameworks should ideally support a system that is conducive to pluralism, freedom of expression and mainstream media diversity.²⁷ However, regulatory and policy frameworks are often aligned to the interest of many states and as such have the tendency to exert undue influence on what mainstream media outlets can publish or broadcast on issues touching on security.²⁸ Emerging mainstream media such as Newspapers, WhatsApp and Facebook media have increasingly been subject to government regulation in many states as they

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²⁶ Siradag, A. (2013) *African Regional Security Prospects and Challenges*. Journal of Academic Inquiries 7(2): 232-234.

²⁷ Adolt E. (2006) *Media in Situations of Conflict, Roles, Challenges and Responsibility*. Kampala: Fountain Publishers.

²⁸Ibid.

offer platforms that can be used to spread information considered as security threats. Surveillance efforts in such mainstream media have increased intensively over the years thus diminishing the role they can play in mitigating security threats. Ayalew adds to the foregoing noting that more and more governments are targeting social mainstream media and other existing communication apps as a way of halting rapid dissemination of information.²⁹ Such mainstream media have been increasingly subject to censorship which is pulling back the role they can play in mitigating security threats.³⁰

Darbishire charges that mainstream media houses in Somalia are also increasingly facing difficulties in complying with new and existing policies that regulate the sector.³¹ In many jurisdictions, mainstream media houses are currently required to comply with a number of laws ranging from labour laws, local laws, environmental laws, internet Protocol (IP) laws, mainstream media laws and many more. Such a high number of regulations have not only been detrimental to the functioning of the mainstream media but have also served to instil the culture of self-censorship thus hampering their role in security mitigation.³²

Albarran notes that cooperation and relations between government agencies and that of many mainstream media outlets is usually strained in many countries around the world thus impacting on their ability to accurate reportage thus their role in security mitigation efforts.³³The scholar further notes that communication gaps and a certain level of disconnect also usually exists between a number of government agencies and mainstream media outlets which makes the flow of

²⁹Ayalew, M. (2009). *The Media as a Security Actor*. Working Paper no. 57, London: Development Studies Institute ³⁰Ibid.

³¹Darbishire, H., (2002) Media Freedom versus Information Intervention. In: PRICE, M. E. and Thompson, M., eds. *Forging Peace, Intervention, Human Rights and the Management of Media Space*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 337-340.

³²Franklin, B., (2014). *The Future of Journalism in an Age of Digital Media and Uncertainty*. Journalism Studies, 15(5), 481-499

³³Albarran, A., (2010). *The Media Economy*. Oxon: Taylor and Francis

information that can be used to enhance the mainstream media's role in mitigating security threats strained. Adding to this problem, the scholar notes that government bureaucracy is highly complex and the flow of information to mainstream media outlets slow moving thus discouraging efforts that can be made by journalist in investigative reporting about security.³⁴

1.6 Research Gap

Having reviewed a number of literature based on the study's three objectives, the present study fails to find any literature that offers comparison between two or more countries on the role that the mainstream media plays in mitigating security threats. A research gap is therefore found to exist and the present study hopes to make an addition to existing literature by offering comparison between two countries.

1.7 Justification of the Study

This study proposes three major explanations for its findings: policy, scholarly, and general public.

1.7.1 Academic Justification

At the advanced level, the study makes two contributions: first, while this study agrees with previous research on some of the related issues regarding the role of mainstream media in security threat mitigation, this research is important because it will aid academic studies and advance the work of previous scholars on the topic. Second, the study identified opportunities for further research in mainstream media discourse and conflict. Furthermore, the literature study reveals a lack of awareness of the relationship between mainstream media and its function in security threat mitigation. As a result, the goal of our research is to help close this gap.

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³⁴Ibid.

1.7.2 Policy Justification

Policymakers have been reluctant to recognize the role of mainstream media in generating modern conflict or how, with the right assistance, it can aid in the creation of peaceful conditions. This research provides policymakers with in-depth information on mainstream media and conflict. Finally, the study's policy importance is solely dependent on how the findings are used. The outcomes of this study will serve as a foundation for policy formation, coordination, and implementation by decision makers.

1.7.3 General public justification

If the conclusions of this study are taken into account by policymakers when making decisions about mainstream media and its role in security, a safer society will emerge. This is because the study will critically examine the role of mainstream media in conflict mitigation in Kenya and Somalia, as well as provide recommendations on how to use mainstream media to create platforms for peace in the event of violent conflict, rather than allowing the mainstream media to propagate violent conflict.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

The present study adopts agenda setting theory as a tool of analysis under its theoretical framework to help investigate the role of the mainstream media in mitigating security threats in the Africa's countries of Kenya and Somalia. Agenda setting in the mainstream media refers to the process of deciding what subjects to cover. For example, if the mainstream media broadcasts a lot of terrifying tales about terrorism, it may induce the general public to be overly concerned about terrorism while disregarding other, more pressing concerns. This allows the mainstream media to shift its focus from its own agenda to the public's. Shaw's agenda shaping hypothesis states that the mainstream

media has the potential to turn its own agenda into a public agenda. When the mainstream media regularly focuses on a certain event, such as a dispute, it has the potential to turn that event or conflict into an issue by drawing public attention to it.³⁵ Radoli, on the other hand, claims that if the mainstream media places a high value on an event, it will eventually become a significant event. When mainstream media causes people to discuss about an issue like human rights, war, or whatever else based on the agenda of mainstream media, this is typically successful.³⁶ Because diverse media groups in Africa are linked with the fighting parties, the idea of agenda setting is pertinent to the research because they are solely in the business of mobilizing for conflict by setting the agenda on what to publish.

1.9 Research Hypotheses

The hypotheses provided an experimentally testable variable that guided the data collected in order to meet the study's aims. As a result, the data needed to be gathered included the following hypotheses:

H1: Mainstream media is effective in mitigation of security threats in the African countries.

H2: There are impacts of the mainstream media in mitigating security threats in African countries.

H3: There are challenges and prospects facing the mainstream media in their role in mitigating security threats in the Africa countries' of Kenya and Somalia.

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³⁵ Havva Shaw (2012), "Why do some conflicts get more media coverage than others?, New Internationalist and media war coverage". Retrieved from journal of peace research. 45(3). P-17.

³⁶ Ibid, P-36.

1.10 Research Methodology

This section discusses the methods that will be utilized to conduct the research. Data sources and data collection methods are also described, as well as study design, research location, and data analysis. In this study, both secondary and primary data were employed. Secondary data will mostly come from libraries, which include a wide range of books, journals, newspapers, and periodicals. Questionnaires will be used to collect primary data from a sampling population.

1.10.1 Research Design

The term "research design" refers to a set of criteria or collections, as well as the techniques and processes utilized to collect and analyze data on the variables indicated in the research topic. This study will use a mixed method research design to allow the researcher to collect data, summarize it, present it, and analyze it for clarification. The use of a mixed approach, or a combination of qualitative and quantitative methodologies, guarantees that all experiences or connections are fully represented. Furthermore, using a mixed method approach assures the validity of conclusions made while also encouraging a diversity of viewpoints on the same events.

1.10.2 Study Location

Kenya and Somalia will be the focus area for the study. Kenya is a country in East Africa with a coastline on the Indian Ocean. According to 2019 census, Kenya has a population of 47.6 million. Somalia is a country in the Africa. It is bordered by Ethiopia to the west and Djibouti to the Northwest. The estimate population of Somalia is 15,893,219 million. Both Kenya and Somalia have experienced varying level of conflict of which mainstream media has played both roles of ensuing insecurity as well as mitigating insecurity.

1.10.3 Target Population

Kenyans and Somalis will be the study's target demographic, with a particular focus on the following categories: Journalists from Kenya and Somalia, Scholars, Red Cross, National Cohesion and Integration Commission and Communication Authority of Kenya.

1.10.4 Study Sample

Kenya and Somalia have a combined population of more than 62,000,000people. Conducting a research study on the whole population by delivering questionnaires and interviews is very impractical, costly, time-consuming, and inefficient, necessitating the use of a study sample.

The number of respondents for this survey will be allocated as mentioned in the table below.

Table 1.1: Research Populations and Sampling Technique

Respondents	Number of Respondents	Sampling technique
Journalists from Kenya and Somalia	164	Random sampling
Communication Authority of Kenya.	10	Simple Random
National Cohesion and Integration	30	Simple Random
Commission		
Scholars	10	Purposive sampling
Red Cross	20	Random
TOTAL	220	

Source: Researcher, 2021.

The sample was made up of the five groups listed in table 1.1. As seen in the table above, different sample approaches were used for each category.

1.10.5 Data Sources and Data Collection Methods

Primary and secondary data will be used in the research. Open-ended questionnaires and interview guides will be used to collect primary data, while secondary data will come from academic books, journals, periodicals, reports, and the internet. Print mainstream media as well as publications from major non-profit organizations will be taken into account.

1.10.6 Data Analysis and Presentation

For analysis, the quantitative and qualitative data will be subjected to the following procedures: Observing patterns and distributions; coding data; assigning numerical values; recording for analysis; then Data is shown using tables, graphs, and figures. To aid in data processing, the study will use statistical program tools such as Spreadsheet, Excel, NVivo, QDAS, and SPSS. To present and analyse quantitative data, graphs, pie charts, and tables will be used.

1.10.7 Ethical Considerations

It is the researcher's duty, according to O'Leary, to ensure the safety of research participants.³⁷ Morals are a collection of agreed guidelines that researchers should follow while conducting research. Securing the interests and safety of participants should be the primary moral obligations of all parties involved in an investigation.³⁸ The research will be carried out with caution and the confidentiality of data and participants' names will be protected. A suitable research license was also requested in the will. Furthermore, by recognizing all sources, the work will adhere to academic honesty and neutrality.

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³⁷O'Leary, N. (2013). The essential guide to doing your research project (2nd ed.). Los Angeles, CA: SAGE.

³⁸ Ibid

1.11 Chapter Outline

1.11.1 Chapter one: introduces the topic and provides background information. It also establishes the research study's general background, as well as the issue statement, rationale, theoretical framework, literature review, hypothesis, and methodology.

1.11.2 Chapter two: This chapter will be anchored on objective one of the study which is to assess the effectiveness of the mainstream media in contributing to the mitigation of security threats in the Africa's countries.

1.11.3 Chapter three: This chapter endeavours to determine the positive and negative impacts of the mainstream media in mitigating security threats in African countries.

1.11.4 Chapter four: This chapter will seek to establish the prospects and challenges facing the mainstream media in their role in mitigating security threats in the Africa countries' of Kenya and Somalia.

1.11.5 Chapter Five: This chapter will deal with data analysis and presentation.

1.11.6 Chapter Six: This chapter will cover the Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER TWO: EFFECTIVENESS OF MAINSTREAM MEDIA IN CONTRIBUTION TO THE MITIGATION OF SECURITY THREATS IN AFRICA

2.1 Introduction

Security has for long been one of the major global issues affecting economic growth. Various stakeholders such as the government, international bodies, and media have been held responsible for fighting against security issues. According to Kaufhold, media plays a large part in promoting security around the world.³⁹ Mainstream media entails all the media platforms, namely; televisions, radio, newspapers, and social media platforms, among others. Alava points out that the major role of mainstream media is to investigate and inform people about security issues.⁴⁰ In the last decade, Africa has been going through a lot of security threats. For instance, Nigeria faces the challenge of terrorist groups known as Boko Haram. Here, mainstream media has played a big part in informing the Nigerians about the security issues affecting their country. From this perspective, it can be argued that the mainstream media has effectively contributed to the mitigation of security threats in Africa. This chapter, therefore, discusses how the mainstream media has been effective in controlling security issues in Africa based on; informing the citizens on matters concerning security, deep investigation, and research, creating awareness, influencing people, and organizing public opinion.

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³⁹ Kaufhold, Marc-André, Nicola Rupp, Christian Reuter, and Matthias Habdank. (2020). "Mitigating information overload in social media during conflicts and crises: design and evaluation of a cross-platform alerting system." Behaviour & Information Technology 39, no. 3: 319-342.

⁴⁰ Alava, Séraphin, Divina Frau-Meigs, and Ghayda Hassan. (2017). Youth and violent extremism on social media: mapping the research. UNESCO Publishing.

2.2 Informing the citizens on matters concerning security

As attributed by the internet and mobile technology, the onset of media has dramatically impacted the way societies carry on their activities. At first, mainstream media was characterized by devices such as Television and computers as the most relied-on source of information. However, technological advancements have introduced several smaller devices enhancing the flow of a great deal of information. These include cell phones and the iPad, which have contributed to the emergence of new trends in mainstream media, making the mass media increasingly mobile. Surprisingly, mainstream media has risen in the same event and used by insurgent groups to organize and execute their terrorist plans. All these plans have been revealed to the global security teams and governments through the media, proving the mainstream media as a significant contributor to the mitigation of security threats in Africa.

Romm observes that national security has been compromised in various African states following the rise of many insurgent groups. For instance, Boko Haram is one of the toughest insurgent groups in Nigeria and has threatened the national security in the country following its vicious attacks on the population. According to Romm, various attempts have been made by the country security team to contain the group but to no avail. However, mass media, being an important societal institution with radio and television, have assumed main terrorism containment functions through the provision of information pertaining to the movement of such insurgent groups across the country. First, the mainstream media served as a surveillance tool of the environment, and consequently, gave every update of the movement of such groups. This was possibly done through the role of media watching over, guarding, and alerting the society of any impending problems

⁴¹Romm, J.J. 1993. Defining national security: The non-military aspect. New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press.

likely to be suffered as a result of terrorist groups, and eventually offer ways forward on the same, hence, making the media a powerful tool in mitigating insecurity threat in Nigeria.

Amanda argues that as far as security threats have taken center stage in African nations, mainstream media is an essential integrative tool following its ability to agitate, motivate, and mobile social groups against insurgency. On the increasing number of threats on national insecurity, Amanda states that through the mainstream media, countries such as South Africa, South Sudan, Rwanda, and Burundi have managed to present security as a national agenda that needs immediate focus to stabilize the states.⁴² Dahlgren, in addition, affirms that it is through the mainstream media that the global security agencies such as United Nations understand the extent to which security in African countries such as Sudan is being infringed, hence, offering their support by deploying peacekeeping personnel for intervention.⁴³

In addition, Copley contends that politics and struggles for economic resources have threatened security in Africa are linked with a lack of consistent authority and power. For instance, in Burundi and Rwanda, the primary cause of insecurity was presumably informed by the mainstream media: poverty, rapid population, and vulnerability to climate-related shocks. The outcry over the media attracted the concern of global security agencies such as the United Nations and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), among others to act swiftly on the matter, therefore, implying that the mainstream media is a soft power tool known to address challenges of national security bypassing the actual information.

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⁴²Amanda, M. 1978. Festac colloquium and Black world development: Evaluation of Festac colloquium agenda, Lagos program 1977. Lagos: Nigeria Magazine, Federal Ministry of Information.

⁴³Dahlgren, P. 2007. Television and the public sphere: Citizenship, democracy, and the media. London: Sage. de Blij, H. J. & Muller, P.O. 2003. Geography: Realms, regions, and concepts (11th edition)

⁴⁴Copley G.R. 1984. (Ed.). Defense and foreign affairs handbook. Virginia: Defense and Foreign Affairs Ltd. Crelinsten, R. 2005. "mass-mediated terrorism: The central role of the media in terrorism and counterterrorism." Political Communication, 22(1), 115-118.

Despite the fact that the mainstream media plays a significant role in mitigating security threats in Africa, it is unfortunate that it spreads biased information instead of delivering unrealistic information. Also, the mainstream media is believed to be misleading by offering information that does not depict the actual aspects causing security threats in the region. In addition, the mainstream media is likely to be framed in favour of the terrorist groups to negatively influence national security, raising moral panic in the regional populace.

According to Fatuma, the major role of mainstream media is to inform the citizens. Statistics show that almost 60% of the world's population depends on one or two media platforms to access information. In Kenya, media houses and platforms are increasing a day to the other. ⁴⁵ They have been granted rights by the constitution of Kenya to explore any kind of information as long as they have evidence. The increasing media houses in Kenya have ensured that the citizens are aware of security concerns. For example, the news of terrorism and conflicts between Kenya and Somalia is almost aired on all media platforms. Lawrence points out that this keeps the citizens always informed on security matters and does all it takes to ensure their safety. ⁴⁶ Some media houses in Kenya such as; Citizen TV, Nation TV, K24, and KTN are always in the frontline to explore the security matters facing Kenya and Somalia. For instance, during the Garissa and Westgate attack, Kenya's media houses ensured that the citizens have first-hand information about what happened. In addition to that, media houses in both Kenya and Somalia have reporters from different parts of the country who reports the information concerning security issues as soon as possible. In this

⁴⁵Fatuma, Mohamed H. (2018). "The Role of Media in Conflict Management: A case of Civil War in Somalia." Ph.D. diss., University of Nairobi.

⁴⁶Lawrence, Asige Mmaitsi, and Obushe Dennis Omuse.(2021). "Role of Institutional Capacity Factors and Technological Practices in Implementation of Food Security Projects in Hamisi Sub-County, Vihiga County, Kenya."

case, it can be said the media houses in Kenya and Somalia enlighten the security issues where the government and any other control body later takes the necessary measures.

Ponge asserts that modern society is widely associated with advancing technology. This has seen the mainstream media platforms increase.⁴⁷ The commonly known mainstream media associated with advancing technology is social media. Social media entails platforms, namely; Facebook, Twitter, WhatsApp, Instagram, etc. These media platforms are said to have a wide impact on ensuring the citizens remain informed. Athan writes that currently, the governmental security agencies in Kenya and Somalia have social media accounts to post security issues in their respective countries. On those platforms, citizens can comment their views about what they think the government can do to tighten Kenya's and Somalia's security. 48 This has made it simple for the government to know the areas most affected by insecurity and develop strategies to mitigate the same. Generally, mainstream media informs the citizens, government, and any other stakeholder in the security department. Through this, many criminal activities have been brought to the limelight and handled accordingly. For example, Kenya's and Somalia's mainstream media platforms have neem warning citizens about the attacks. This has made the citizens always be careful with their security measures. As a result, a significant number of cases related to security have been reduced since the citizens are always informed.

2.3 Deep investigation and research

Kenya's constitution allows the mainstream media houses to investigate and research on behalf of the government. According to Makeke, investigations should be accompanied by enough evidence

⁴⁷ PONGE, Awuor. "The Impact of Counter-Terrorism Policies and Laws on Civil Society Organisations in Kenya."

⁴⁸ Adhan, Tadich W. (2020). "The Role of Media in Maintaining Peace and Security in Africa: Case Study of Kenya 2007-2017." Ph.D. diss., University of Nairobi.

to make the information viable.⁴⁹ For that matter, Kenya's and Somalia's media houses always ensure that they conduct deep investigation and research about the citizens' issues. A good example of a media house in Kenya famous for investigating security issues is Citizen TV. Their reporters ensure that they have explored all the counties in Kenya while collecting the security news based on how they directly or indirectly affect the citizens. For instance, during the Garissa University terror attack, Citizen TV was the first media house to air a documentary about how the attack happened and who might have been the masterminds. In this case, mainstream media houses explain the questions disturbing the citizens concerning security issues. Njoroge argues that unlike in the past when it was difficult for the news concerning people living in the remote areas, today Kenya's and Somalia's media has ensured that they access those areas and deeply investigate the matters concerning security.⁵⁰ This has seen the remote areas, such as North Eastern and Some parts of Rift Valley, get recognized by the mainstream media, making it easy for the government to implement security measures. Media investigation entails people with deep knowledge about security matters. For example, in most documentaries, Kenya's and Somalia's media houses interview top security stakeholders such as; Director of Criminal Investigations, the Cabinet Secretary in charge of internal affairs, the Department of Defense Forces, etc. All this ensures that the citizens are aware of the governmental plans about handling security matters and a part they can play to mitigate the problem. Generally, mainstream media, through research and investigation, enlightens the governments and citizens about the security issues taking place in a country. This makes it simple for every stakeholder to play his or her role of ensuring security.

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⁴⁹ Makeke, Chao J. (2020). "The Role of Media in Conflict in the Horn of Africa." Ph.D. diss., University of Nairobi.

⁵⁰ NJOROGE, NJIHIA JACKSON. (2020)."INFLUENCES OF MEDIA REPORTING IN ANTI-TERRORISM WAR. A CASE STUDY OF KENYA DEFENCE FORCES OPERATIONS IN SOMALIA." Ph.D. diss., AFRICA NAZARENE UNIVERSITY.

The conflict between Kenya and Somalia over security issues has been well-covered by the mainstream media. Based on Anzalone research, every media house in Kenya and Tanzania updates their respective platforms about the security proceedings. They also gather detailed information on behalf of the government and citizens while proposing the areas where need to be upgraded. Other mainstream media such as; Facebook, Twitter, and WhatsApp also plays a big role in promoting security in Kenya and Tanzania. These platforms have given the citizens enough to share their research and investigations about what they feel on security issues facing Kenya and Somalia. In this case, mainstream media platforms have provided the answers to many security questions facing Kenya and Somalia that have reduced security issues by a significant number.

2.4 Creating Awareness

In any country, government, private, and public organizations use mainstream media to create awareness about the issues affecting them. Muketha writes that in Kenya, security agencies use mainstream media to create awareness to the citizens about the dangers associated with insecurity. For example, the government uses media houses to warn them on insecure areas like the Kenya-Somalia border.⁵² Mainstream media also educates people on handling security matters, like reporting any individual who violates the law. Through this, the citizens can know where and when to report security issues. For the last decade, Mainstream media has been taking it as their responsibility to create awareness of insecurity existing between Kenya and Somalia. Here, the media houses have been reporting every step that the government of Kenya and Somalia takes to mitigate insecurity in their respective countries. For example, when Kenya deployed military

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⁵¹ Anzalone, Christopher. (2018). "Black Banners in Somalia: The State of al-Shabaab's Territorial Insurgency and the Specter of the Islamic State." CTC Sentinel 11, no. 3: 12-18.

⁵² Muketha, Victorious Joyful Gatwiri. (2021)."Impact of transnational terrorism on human security in Kenya." Ph.D. diss., Moi University.

officers in Somalia, every social media reported. In addition to that, after Kenya withdrew their officers from Somalia, media houses also reported the matter. This shows how the mainstream media has been active in creating awareness about the security issues taking place in the country. This makes the citizens responsible since they understand what is expected of them. Munuku asserts that we have seen some positive security outcomes in Kenya and Somalia in the last three years. The increasing social media platforms might have contributed to this. Here, social media platforms have played a wide role in creating awareness for the citizens across the borders. In this case, you can find a Kenyan citizen communicating with a Somalian, exchanging ideas on what can be done to enhance security between the two countries. This means that mainstream media has helped the government of Kenya and Somalia address security by creating awareness.

2.5 Influence People and Enhance Unity

Muindi's research concludes that the mainstream media in Kenya and Somalia has played a significant role in influencing people and enhancing unity among the citizens in both countries. In Kenya, every media house has a program that targets stakeholders of security and citizens to do what is expected of them. In addition, mainstream media platforms bring people together to share ideas about security issues facing the country. Here, they influence one another on how to face the government and other security stakeholders as far as security issues are concerned.⁵⁴ Recently, social media has been rated as the most influential platform in Kenya and Somalia. Through social media, Kenyans and Somalians can form WhatsApp groups and Facebook groups where they can influence one another on mitigating security issues. According to Kilonzo, through mainstream

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⁵³ Munuku, Anne Wangari, Hellen Mberia, and John Ndavula. (2017) "Influence of the hashtag context on public opinion formation on sociopolitical issues in Kenya." Journal of Public Policy and Administration 2, no. 3: 27-51.

⁵⁴ Muindi, Mathias. (2020). "Mitigating the Impact of Media Reporting of Terrorism Case Study of Government Communication During Westgate and DusitD2 Attacks." ICCT.

media influence, almost 20% of the people who have previously been involved in criminal activities have changed for the better.⁵⁵ The youths from both countries also advise one another about the alternative ways to earn their living other than committing crimes. On the other end, unity is one of the determining factors in handling a common issue affecting two countries. In our case, there is an immediate call from the government of Kenya and Somalia to enhance security and work together to mitigate the security issues. In this case, mainstream media has made it easy for the Kenyans and Somalians to meet on different platforms to advise one another about the importance of unity in maintaining security. Through this, Kenyans have befriended Somalians hence making it simple for the peace-making programs between the two countries. For that matter, it can be concluded that mainstream media has enhanced unity and influenced Kenyans and Somalians to handle insecurity issues.

2.6 Organizing Public Opinion

Hirbo argues that in a democratic nation, citizens are always allowed to participate in national dialogues. As an issue affecting both the citizens of Kenya and Somalia, there is a call for mainstream media to provide the platforms for dealing with the same. To respond to this, mainstream media companies have taken it as their responsibility to ensure that every citizen has their say as long as security is concerned. Media houses in Kenya, including; Citizen TV, KTN, NTV, and radio stations, hosts the top security stakeholders to clarify the steps they have been taking to mitigate the platforms. In addition, they have a session where the citizens have to make calls or send messages suggesting what the government should do to promote security in Kenya

⁵⁵ Kilonzo, Syombwii N. (2017). "Security Challenges In Africa." Ph.D. diss., University of Nairobi.

⁵⁶ Hirbo, James Shore. (2018). "Assessment Of The Nature Of Security Challenges On The International Border Between Kenya And Somalia." Ph.D. diss., University of Nairobi.

and Somalia. Owinow adds that Kenya's media houses have been randomly selecting representatives from the public members to discuss security issues.⁵⁷ As stated earlier, government security agencies in Kenya and Somalia have opened accounts in various social media accounts where they allow the members of the public to participate in the national dialogues. Through this, the government may consider the important views and do all that it takes to ensure that the citizens of Kenya and Somalia are secure. In summary, mainstream media provides a platform for the citizens to participate in suggesting the areas that need to be upgraded as much as security in Kenya and Tanzania is concerned.

2.7 Conclusion

Despite the fact that the mainstream media plays a significant role in mitigating security threats in Africa, it is unfortunate that it spreads biased information instead of delivering unrealistic information. Also, the mainstream media is believed to be misleading by offering information that does not depict the actual aspects causing security threats in the region. In addition, the mainstream media is likely to be framed in favor of the terrorist groups to negatively influence national security, raising moral panic in the regional populace.

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⁵⁷ Owinow, G. R., and J. K. Reuben. (2021). "Re-Assessing the Conflict Resolution in South Central Somalia: A Hybrid Approach." International Journal of Innovative Science and Research Technology 6, no. 2: 589-592.

CHAPTER THREE: THE POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE IMPACTS OF THE MAINSTREAM MEDIA IN MITIGATING SECURITY THREATS IN AFRICA

3.1 Introduction

According to Muindi, mainstream media has been termed one of the major stakeholders' in mitigating security threats in any country.⁵⁸ In the last decade, security has been a significant concern in Africa. However African countries have disagreed on the common strategic measures of dealing with the insecurity threats. Various attempts to settle the security issues facing Africa countries have been put in place by different stakeholders such as; the governments from two countries, Africa Union, United Nations, mainstream media, political leaders, and regional organizations. Of all the mentioned stakeholders, mainstream media has played the critical role of informing, educating, manipulating, and providing a platform for public opinion to mitigate security issues in the two countries. Oxley suggests that the mainstream media has negative and positive impacts as far as security threat mitigation is concerned.⁵⁹ This chapter, therefore, addresses the positive and negative impacts of mainstream media in mitigating security threats in Africa.

3.2 Positive Impacts of Mainstream Media in Mitigating Security Threats in Africa

The mainstream media industry in Africa has exponentially increased in 21st Century. For instance in Kenya and Somalia Mainstream media has expanded significantly over the last ten years. This includes; the media houses (TV and Radio stations), Social Media platforms (Facebook, Twitter,

⁵⁸ Muindi, M. (2020, December). Mitigating the Impact of Media Reporting of Terrorism Case Study of Government Communication During Westgate and DusitD2 Attacks. ICCT.

⁵⁹ Oxley, A. (2011). A best practices guide for mitigating risk in the use of social media. Washington, DC: IBM Center for the Business of Government.

Instagram, etc.), and Newspaper publications. These platforms, as mentioned above, have positively impacted the mitigation of security threats in Kenya and Somalia in the following ways.

3.2.1 Creating awareness

Based on Soomro's research, the central role of mainstream media is to inform and create awareness for the people. 60 In this case, mainstream media has helped the governments of Kenya and Somalia in informing the citizens about the security issues facing the two countries. The top media houses in Somalia which have significantly assisted the government in creating awareness include; Somali National Television, SBC TV, Eastern Television Network, Radio Gaalkacyo, Radio Shabelle, etc. In Kenya, the top media houses include; Citizen TV, NTV, KTN, Citizen Radio, Radio Maisha, Radio Milele, etc. Since these media houses have followers across the two countries, the government's use them to pass the message that may be helpful to the citizens as long as security is concerned. Cross writes that in the early 2000s, the media houses in Kenya and Somalia were very few. 61 This made it easy for the terrorists or other attackers to invade the country, unaware of the citizens. In the 2010s, the number of media houses increased. According to Hoskins, since the increase of media houses in Kenya and Somalia, security issues have reduced by almost 20% from 2010-2019.⁶² In addition to that, mainstream media platforms ensure that the citizens have first-hand information about security issues and advise them on the best ways to keep themselves safe. Statistics show that in every 10 Somalians and Kenyans, five are always informed about the current security issues. This proves that the mainstream media circulates security news to the citizens and advises them on the best ways to protect themselves. Olagunji argues that in the

⁶⁰ Soomro, Z. A., Shah, M. H., & Ahmed, J. (2016). Information security management needs a more holistic approach: A literature review. International Journal of Information Management, 36(2), 215-225.

⁶¹ Cross, M. (2013). Social media security: Leveraging social networking while mitigating risk. Newnes.

⁶² Hoskins, A. (2006). Temporality, proximity, and security: Terror in a media-drenched age. International Relations, 20(4), 453-466.

21st century, technology in Kenya and Somalia has advanced, making the mainstream media industry expand.⁶³ The increase of social media platforms has made it easy for the government of Kenya and Somalia to communicate with the citizens about the issues concerning security. In summary, the mainstream media has enabled the government to create awareness to the citizens of Kenya and Somalia about the security measures they should take to keep themselves safe.

3.2.2 Enhancing Unity

Unity is all that is needed for Kenya and Somalia to mitigate the security issues facing them. In this case, mainstream media has played a broad role in initiating unity between Kenya and Somalia. Tan's research finds out that in the 2000s, the government of Kenya and Somalia had a lot of conflicts about the Kenya-Somalia border.⁶⁴ This affected the unity among the Kenyans and Somalians, leading to security threats. There were few media houses in Kenya and Somalia during that time, which could not cover all the citizens. The conflict between Kenya and Somalia continued without the citizens understanding the significant reasons behind it. Thackrah adds that since 2010, a lot of things have changed. Technology has increased mainstream media platforms hence making communication easy. Through communication, most citizens in Kenya and Somalia have understood the root of their conflicts and so security threats.⁶⁵ Here, the mainstream media platforms such as media houses and social media platforms preach the essence of unity as one of the significant steps to mitigate security threats facing Kenya and Somalia. Through this, Kenyans and Somalians have interacted to become friends, and we have seen successful peace-making

⁶³ Olagunju, F. B., & Ajadi, R. A. (2014). The media and the ideology of insecurity: A critical discourse analysis of two editorials on the federal government-Boko Haram face-off. Review of Journalism and Mass Communication, 2(1), 33-46.

⁶⁴ Tan, Z. C. (1989). The role of media in insurgent terrorism: Issues and perspectives. Gazette (Leiden, Netherlands), 44(3), 191-215.

⁶⁵ Thackrah, J. R. (2013). Dictionary of terrorism. Routledge.

meetings between the government of Kenya and Somalia. This means that the mainstream media has been of help in initiating unity among the Kenyans and Somalians towards the fight against security threats.

3.2.3 Providing a Platform for Public Opinions

Matusitz asserts that public opinions are critical in handling social, economic, and political issues facing any country, region, or the world. Public views give the government and authorities ideas about what they should do to mitigate a specific problem.⁶⁶ In this case, the media houses in South Africa and Mauritius have been giving the members of the public chances to say their views about security issues facing their respective countries. Almost every media house is a platform where the citizens make phone calls or send text messages to propose what should be done to mitigate insecurity issues. Here, the government notes down all the things the citizens suggest and works to initiate them to the peace-making programs. Asongu argues that unlike in the past when it was difficult for the citizens to speak their thoughts, mainstream media platforms have ensured that every willing member of the public has participated in proposing peace-making strategies the government should apply.⁶⁷ The government of South Africa and Kenya also have provided platforms in their social media handles where citizens can carry out debates about peace-making programs. From Sopilko's perspective, the ministries of internal security in South Africa and Kenya have reported that they have always been putting into practice the security strategies proposed by the public members.⁶⁸ This has seen insecurity cases reduce by a recommendable

⁶⁶ Matusitz, J. (2013). Terrorism and communication. Sage.

⁶⁷ Asongu, S. A., Orim, S. M. I., & Nting, R. T. (2019). Terrorism and social media: global evidence. Journal of Global Information Technology Management, 22(3), 208-228.

⁶⁸ Sopilko, I. N., Medvedieva, M. O., Guliiev, A. G., Bilotsky, S. D., Bukhanevych, O. N., Sirokha, D. I., & Terekhova, T. A. (2018). International Terrorism and Mass media. Journal of Legal, Ethical and Regulatory Issues, 21(2), 1-10.

number. It can, therefore, be said that the mainstream media provides a platform where members of the public participate in making security decisions.

3.2.4 Assisting in Research and Investigation about Security Issues

Media houses investigate any issue affecting the citizens. The research and investigation of media houses entail collecting detailed information from various stakeholders, compile, and present it to the public as a documentary or news report. According to Acholonu, the Citizen TV in Kenya has been in the frontline to research the security issues affecting their respective countries. The main areas of research by most media houses in Kenya are; border issues, military conflicts, security measures, terrorists' attacks, and the strategies the government has taken to mitigate the problem.⁶⁹Here, the law gives media researchers the right to seek any kind of information from the public, government, and any other stakeholder. For that matter, media reporters interview as many people as possible while noting down the findings and presenting them to the public. Based on Jackson's research, through the media house research and investigation, the government of Kenya and Somalia learns how different security stakeholders are handling the issue. 70 They also learn the major groups promoting insecurity and develop strategies for controlling the same. Generally, research and investigation schemes by the mainstream media platforms enlighten the government and public members about the insecurity issues facing Kenya and Somalia and the role of different stakeholders on the same.

⁶⁹ Acholonu, R. (2012). Terrorism and mass media public information role. The Media, terrorism and political communication in Nigeria, 53-76.

⁷⁰ Jackson, R., Jarvis, L., Gunning, J., & Breen-Smyth, M. (2011). Terrorism: A critical introduction. Macmillan International Higher Education.

3.3 Negative Impacts of Mainstream Media in Mitigating Security Threats in Kenya and Somalia

Even though mainstream media has positively impacted the mitigation of security threats in Kenya, it has some negative impacts discussed below in this chapter.

3.3.1 False Information

Various researchers have criticized mainstream media for providing false information about insecurity issues in the world. Sela asserts that the advancing technology has provided many media platforms which are not adequately controlled by the law. According to Kenya's constitution, any information delivered to the public must be accurate or supported by critical evidence. The government of Somalia also calls for the media houses to always ensure that they present accurate information to the public members. 71 This has not been the case in modern society. The increased media platforms make it difficult for the government to control its activities. Instead of the media users delivering the security information that can help the citizens, they mislead them. Sometimes, false security information makes people live in fear and threat. It also gives the terrorists the opportunity to use false information to invade the country. Fernan gives the example of 2020, whereby more than 1000 cases of misleading information about terrorists' attacks in Kenya and Somalia were posted on Facebook, leaving people in fear. The false information also accelerates the conflicts between Kenya and Somalia, finding it difficult to agree on the same strategies of fighting insecurity.⁷² For that matter, false information has been a challenge in fighting insecurity issues in Kenya and Somalia.

⁷¹ Sela-Shayovitz, R. (2015). Police legitimacy under the spotlight: media coverage of police performance in the face of a high terrorism threat. Journal of Experimental Criminology, 11(1), 117-139.

⁷² Farnen, R. F. (1990). Terrorism and the mass media: A systemic analysis of a symbiotic process. Studies in Conflict & Terrorism, 13(2), 99-143.

3.3.2 Terrorists Using Media to Send Threats

Terrorists are using media platforms to threaten Kenyans and Somalians. The statistics show that most terrorists use social media platforms such as WhatsApp, Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram to send threatening messages to the citizens and the government. Freedman concludes his research by finding out that threatening messages have been common to people. Here, terrorists send these messages to confuse the government, citizens, and other stakeholders based on their strategies. For instance, they may threaten to attack a specific institution so that the government may focus on it, and they would later attack other areas. Sometimes, the government may assume threat messages, and the terrorists end up doing exactly as they had promised. This has left Kenyans and Somalians in fear, without knowing what terrorists can do. For that matter, it can be argued that terrorists are using mainstream media to create fear among the Kenyans, Somalians, and their respective governments. Terrorists also use mainstream media to draw the attention of the control bodies and find easy ways to invade Kenya and Somalia.

3.3.3 Enemies Learning the Measures and Tactics the Government Applies

According to Archetti, mainstream media platforms sometimes may broadcast confidential information used by the enemies.⁷⁴ As stipulated in the advantages section, media houses research and investigates on behalf of the government and members of the public. Through their research and investigation, they may inform terrorists about the measures and tactics they are using. In Kenya and Somalia, media houses do not care what information they are presenting to the people. Hussain gives an example of the National Television (NTV) presented a documentary of how the government of Kenya has been planning to withdraw its military officers from the Kenya-Somalia

⁷³ Freedman, D., & Thussu, D. K. (Eds.). (2011). Media and terrorism: global perspectives. Sage.

⁷⁴ Archetti, C. (2012). Understanding terrorism in the age of global media: A communication approach. Springer.

border.⁷⁵ The Citizen TV in Kenya also aired how the government of Kenya and Somalia has approached the African Union and United Nations to help them mitigate security issues facing the two countries. From this perspective, enemies may have their plans based on the strategies used by the control bodies. In other words, the media mainstream makes it difficult for the government of Kenya and Somalia to keep confidential information that should not reach the enemies. As a result, they end up having all their plans leaked out, and enemies use them to plan attacks.

3.4 Conclusion

The mainstream media has been of high use in mitigating the security issues facing Africa continent. For instance, the government of Kenya uses various media platforms (media houses and social media platforms) to communicate with the security stakeholders. This paper has analysed the positive and negative impacts of mainstream media in mitigating the security issues facing Africa. The positive impacts discussed include; creating awareness, enhancing unity, providing public opinions, and assisting in research and investigation on security issues facing Africa. The negative impacts discussed include; false information, terrorists using media to send threats, and enemies earning the government's measures and tactics. From this perspective, it is upon the government to control the mainstream media to always ensure that they deliver reliable and relevant news.

⁷⁵ Hussain, N. (2020). Role of Media in Securitisation of Terrorism: A Case Study of Pakistan. Strategic Studies, 40(3).

CHAPTER FOUR: THE PROSPECTS AND CHALLENGES FACING THE MAINSTREAM MEDIA IN THEIR ROLE IN MITIGATING SECURITY THREATS IN AFRICA'S COUNTRIES OF KENYA AND SOMALIA

4.1 Introduction

As reported by Weinberg, mainstream media has played a big part in mitigating security threats in Kenya and Somalia. Its major roles include informing, providing platforms for public opinion, enhancing unity, and creating awareness. ⁷⁶ In this case, mainstream media performs these roles using agenda-setting theory. This theory entails creating a platform where people keep on talking about certain agendas like human rights, which eventually minimizes insecurity issues. While initiating agenda-setting to the public, mainstream media faces many challenges while carrying out their duties. The challenges may be associated with the government, technological, economic, and political pressures. From these challenges, it has been difficult to predict the prospects of mainstream media as long as security threats in Kenya and Somalia are concerned. Kenya and Somalia have been in conflict for more than twenty years. In accordance with Jackson's research, various stakeholders such as; the Africa Union, United Nations, and non-governmental organizations have tried all that it takes to ensure peace in Kenya and Somalia.⁷⁷ These stakeholders mostly rely on mainstream media to inform, create awareness, and make it transparent for the citizens about the steps taken to mitigate the problem. Here, it is clear that mainstream media is a central body that informs the citizens and stakeholders of their roles in initiating peacemaking programs. For that matter, the enemies make it difficult for the mainstream media

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⁷⁶ Weinberg, L., Pedahzur, A., & Hirsch-Hoefler, S. (2004). The challenges of conceptualizing terrorism. Terrorism and Political Violence, 16(4), 777-794.

⁷⁷ Jackson, R. (2012). The study of terrorism ten years after 9/11: Successes, issues, challenges. Uluslararası İlişkiler Dergisi, 8(32), 1-16.

platforms to carry out their duties with freedom. This chapter, therefore, discusses the challenges facing the mainstream media in their role in mitigating security threats in Kenya and Somalia and establishes the prospects on the same.

4.2 Challenges Facing Mainstream Media in their role in Mitigating Security Threats in Kenya and Somalia

4.2.1 Government Pressure

Conforming to Wu, the government of Kenya and Somalia are the key regulators of all the activities carried out by the mainstream media. As a key regulator, it prevents the media houses from airing some information. For instance, when Kenya's military officers were attacked in Somalia, the government prevented the media from reporting the cases of the people who died in the incident. In this case, the government inhibits the media houses the freedom to explore the cases in deep.⁷⁸. In Somalia, media houses work under strict rules and regulations. Their law stipulates that any media platform that airs news against the government's wishes risks losing its license. This means that the media houses in Somalia only air the news which the government wants. The same case applies in Kenya. The government seems to have control of the media houses. In Kenya, it is illegal for the media houses to air the news which favors the enemies. For example, media platforms should not publish or air news where Kenyans have been the victims. According to Christensen, the government pressure forces the mainstream media platforms to leave behind some important information that would have helped the citizens and other stakeholders mitigate security issues facing Kenya and Somalia. In addition to that, the enemies (Al-Shabab) takes this as their advantage to cause harm that they would be sure that the media

⁷⁸ Wu, P. (2015). Impossible to regulate: Social media, terrorists, and the role for the UN. Chi. J. Int'l L., 16, 281.

would not air.⁷⁹ For that matter, the mainstream media platforms are not exercising their freedom of airing any kind of information, whether favoring the enemies' side or the government's side. Through this, it would be simple for the security stakeholders in Kenya and Somalia to develop working strategies based on the information from mainstream media.

4.2.2 Threats from Enemies

Media personalities handling security issues in Kenya are being threatened by their enemies. Vorontsov argues that reporting terrorist information is a very risky task. Here, it is difficult to access the areas with reported insecurity cases to receive reliable information. According to Cohen, many media houses in Kenya and Somalia fear to print or air information of the terrorists for the fear that they would attack them. Some terrorists are very powerful, and they can easily reach and harm the media personalities involved in airing information about their dark side. This inhibits the media personalities from reporting some kind of news about the enemies with fear that they may cause them harm. Kenya and Somalia have been facing the problem of Al-Shabab terrorists. This group of terrorists has directly threatened some media houses like Citizen TV, NTV, and KTN in Kenya for airing the news about their dark sides. For that matter, it is difficult for the media personalities to expose themselves even when they air news about the enemies. Here, the governments of Kenya and Somalia have failed to provide enough security to the mainstream media while carrying out their investigation. As a result, the mainstream media delivers shallow information about insecurity issues facing Kenya and Somalia. Maisaia argues that if the

⁷⁹ Christensen, T., Lægreid, P., & Rykkja, L. H. (2013). After a Terrorist Attack: Challenges for Political and Administrative Leadership in N orway. Journal of Contingencies and Crisis Management, 21(3), 167-177.

⁸⁰ Vorontsov, S. A., Goloborodko, A. Y., Ponedelkov, A. V., & Shteinbukh, A. G. (2019). On improving outreach work in the media sphere to counter the ideology of terrorism. Медиаобразование, (3).

⁸¹ Cohen, J., & Blanco, J. M. (2016). Knowledge, the great challenge to deal with terrorism. Revista de Estudios en Seguridad Internacional, 2(1), 43-62.

government considered providing security to the media personalities, they would explore deep information about the enemies without fear of their threats. This would help the government of Kenya and Somalia and other stakeholders in coming up with the working strategies to mitigate insecurity issues facing the two countries.⁸²

4.2.3 Kenya-Somalia Conflict

The conflict between Kenya and Somalia has been one of the major challenges for the mainstream media in handling insecurity issues facing the two countries. In agreement with Archetti, this conflict has made it difficult for the media personalities from one country to get investigate security matters in the other country. For example, it is very hard for a Kenyan media personality to deeply investigate insecurity issues in Somalia.⁸³ The same applies to Somalia media personalities doing the same in Kenya. This has been contributed by a lack of trust between the two countries. Here, the two countries have been accusing one another of working with terrorists. In this case, the government of each country may block media personalities from the other country to investigate security matters claiming that they are spies working with the terrorists or the enemies. Fernen adds that it has been very challenging for the Somalians to enter Kenya since most Kenyans have associated them with the terrorists. In summary, the lack of trust between Kenya's and Somalia's governments has been a stabling issue for the mainstream media to pursue their goals of investigating the insecurity issues facing Kenya and Somalia.⁸⁴

⁸² Maisaia, V., & Khanjaliashvili, E. (2020). Georgia's Security Environment And Combating Terrorism-New Challenges And Threat In 21st Century. Security Science Journal, 1(1), 113-121.

⁸³ Archetti, C. (2012). Understanding terrorism in the age of global media: A communication approach. Springer.

⁸⁴ Farnen, R. F. (1990). Terrorism and the mass media: A systemic analysis of a symbiotic process. Studies in Conflict & Terrorism, 13(2), 99-143.

4.2.4 Technology

Technology is becoming a threatening factor for the mainstream media in addressing the security issues facing Kenya and Somalia. Based on Walter's arguments, modern technology has led to the increase of bloggers and unreliable sources, which misguides the citizens on security matters. To cope up with the advancing technologies, media houses have invested in digital platforms where people can view the news through their websites. Here, the bloggers open similar websites using the main company's name. For example, there are more than ten websites looking similar to that of Citizen TV, Kenya. These bloggers have the tendency of posting false information, which may scare or misguide the citizens. This has made a lot of Kenyans and Somalians lose confidence in the mainstream media in getting security. Akins adds that enemies are using more advanced technologies to hack confidential information about them from the famous mainstream media. Sometimes, they even hack the media's systems and print false information about the security agencies to cause conflict between them and the control bodies. This has been a major challenge for the mainstream media in delivering security information facing Kenya and Somalia.

4.3 Prospects of Mainstream Media in Mitigating Security Threats in Kenya and Somalia

The future of mainstream media in mitigating insecurity issues in Kenya and Somalia seems to be bright. The government of Kenya and Somalia are held responsible for managing the mainstream media activities as long as insecurity issues are concerned. The mainstream media in Kenya and Somalia is sometimes breaking the scary news about insecurity to the citizens. For that matter, the

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⁸⁵ Walter, C., Vöneky, S., Röben, V., & Schorkopf, F. (Eds.). (2004). Terrorism as a challenge for national and international law: security versus liberty? (Vol. 169). Springer Science & Business Media.

⁸⁶ Akins, J. K., & Winfree Jr, L. T. (2016). Social learning theory and becoming a terrorist: New challenges for a general theory. The handbook of the criminology of terrorism, 133.

following prospects of mainstream media are expected in the mitigation of security threats in Kenya and Somalia.

4.3.1 Mainstream Media Freedom

Mainstream media in Kenya and Somalia is currently facing the problem of inadequate freedom. In Somalia, the law dictates the media houses to airing or printing the information that favors their government. In Kenya, the constitution at least gives the media houses freedom to air any kind of news independently, although it has some limits. In the last five years, the mainstream media stakeholders in Hess assert that Kenya and Somalia have been working hard to seek freedom of airing any kind of news concerning security issues affecting the two countries. Through this, the citizens of Kenya respond that they can see the changes from the media houses in that the media houses are airing well-investigated news, unlike in the past, where they could handle shallow news.⁸⁷ On the other end, the media houses in Somalia have been taking similar steps which Kenya has taken to ensure that the mainstream media has enough freedom. Athleide writes that the media houses are taking advantage of the freedom they are given to investigate on behalf of the citizens about the security issues facing Kenya and Somalia without being biased or scary.⁸⁸ For that matter, it can be pointed out that the mainstream media will enhance its roles in controlling security issues facing Kenya and Somalia in the future.

4.3.2 Technological Adaptability

According to Cockley, technology is becoming a very relevant factor in modern society as long as security is concerned. The governments of Kenya and Somalia are taking the issue of technology

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⁸⁷ Hess, S., & Kalb, M. (Eds.). (2003). The media and the war on terrorism. Brookings Institution Press.

⁸⁸ Altheide, D. L. (2009). Terror post 9/11 and the media (Vol. 4). Peter Lang.

in connection to security very seriously.⁸⁹ In the past years, it could take a lot of time before Kenya's, and Somalia's governments incorporate technology into their security system. Conforming to Behr, the mainstream media also did not use modern technology to gather information and disperse them to the targeted audience. On the other end, the Al-Shabab terrorists were always a step ahead in terms of technology. This made it difficult for the media houses from Kenya and Tanzania to access enough information about them.⁹⁰ Today, things seem to have changed. Kenya's and Somalia's media houses are employing technologically skilled personnel who can easily adapt to technological changes. When you compare news coverage about security issues in Kenya and Tanzania for the last ten years, it is true that things are moving in the right direction. Based on Acholonu's research, with the rate media houses in Kenya and Somalia are considering technology as a significant factor in gathering information about insecurity issues, it can be predicted that in the next ten years, mainstream media will be able to successively play its role of mitigating insecurity issues facing the two countries.⁹¹

4.3.3 Government Support

Mainstream media depends on government support to carry out their activities. Over the last twenty years, the government of Kenya and Somalia has been showing little support to the media houses in their respective countries. Kadhka writes that the major support expected by the mainstream media from the government is security, regulations, policies, and finance. In the past, media personalities have been fearing to go to some risky areas like; Daadab and Kenya-Somali border. This has inhibited them from gathering crucial information about the security problems

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⁸⁹ Cockley, D. (2009). The media spectacle of terrorism and response-able literature. Texas A&M University.

⁹⁰ Behr, H., & Berger, L. (2009). The challenge of talking about terrorism: The EU and the Arab debate on the causes of Islamist terrorism. Terrorism and Political Violence, 21(4), 539-557.

⁹¹ Acholonu, R. (2012). Terrorism and mass media public information role. The Media, terrorism and political communication in Nigeria, 53-76.

facing the people living in such areas. ⁹² It has also been a financial challenge for the media personalities to access some areas. For example, to enter Somalia as a media personality, one is expected to have a permit that is a bit expensive to acquire. Additionally, some technological machines like cameras are expensive, whereby some media personalities cannot afford them. Finally, some government policies and regulations concerning mainstream media have been so discouraging, for example, fining that airing information favoring enemies and revoking license to those delivering scaring information to the citizens. Freedman confirms that in the last two years, the government of Kenya and Somalia has been providing security backups to the media houses. They have also been providing material, and financial support for them to acquire more advanced technological machines for enhancing research and investigation activities as long as security issues facing Kenya and Somalia are concerned. ⁹³ With this kind of governmental support, the future of mainstream media will probably be bright, and they will play a big part in mitigating security issues facing Kenya and Somalia.

4.4 Conclusion

Mainstream media in Kenya and Somalia has been facing common problems in addressing security issues facing Kenya and Somalia. This chapter concludes that the major challenges facing Kenya's and Somalia's mainstream media are; government pressure, threats from enemies, the Kenya-Somalia conflict, and technology. These challenges make the mainstream media personalities not easily access reliable information and lose the trust of the stakeholders. In the last five to ten years, this analysis finds out that the mainstream media stakeholders in Kenya and Somalia have been

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⁹² Khadka, A. (2018). Covering terrorism: ethical challenges of journalists working in Norway's mainstream news media (Master's thesis).

⁹³ Freedman, D., & Thussu, D. K. (Eds.). (2011). Media and terrorism: global perspectives. Sage.

working hard to mitigate the problems facing them. This has seen the future of the media stream bright as long as fighting against security issues in Kenya and Somalia is concerned. The major prospects analyzed by this paper are; mainstream media freedom, technological adaptability, and government support. In this case, this chapter concludes that the more the mainstream media faces the challenge, the more it works inefficiently in mitigating the security issues in Kenya and Somalia. Considering all these aspects, mainstream media in Kenya and Somalia will be able to work effectively and deliver quality information to the citizens hence mitigating insecurity issues facing the two countries.

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents analyses and interprets the data obtained from a questionnaire administered

to a total of 220 respondents. The respondents were obtained from different occupations in both

Kenya and Somalia and they included, National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC),

Red Cross, Scholars, Communication Authority of Kenya (CA), and journalists. The response rate

of the study was 100%, given that the entire targeted population responded. This response was

analyzed using Excel spreadsheets and Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) Version

26.0 to facilitate reading and understanding. The chapter independently focuses on the primary

data with the evidence from the secondary information obtained by research. It focuses on sections

that include the demographic characteristics and the role of mainstream media in mitigating

security threats in both Kenya and Somalia. The analysed data is presented in tables, bar graphs,

and pie charts among other data output elements.

5.2 Demographic Characteristics

The study is about the role of mainstream media in mitigating security threats in Africa with a

focus on Kenya and Somalia. Therefore, the respondents' gender, age, education, and education

are considered important demographic characteristics in the findings of the study.

5.2.1 Gender of the Respondents

In the study, the gender of the respondents is an important attribute that was considered. The

respondents were identified as either Male or Female as shown in Table 5.1 below;

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Table 5.1: Gender of the Respondents

Gender

					Cumulative
0		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Percent
Valid	Male ⁷	123	55.9	55.9	55.9
	Female	97	44.1	44.1	100.0
	Total	220	100.0	100.0	

Source: Researcher, 2021.

All respondents described their gender as either male or female. The results of gender from the table above are presented in the form of a bar graph as shown in Figure 5.1 below;

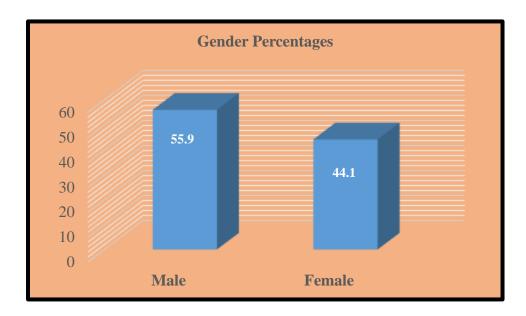


Figure 5.1: Gender of the Respondents

Source: Researcher (2021)

Figure 5.1 above indicates that out of 220 respondents who responded to the questionnaire, 123 (55.9%) were males, and 97(44.1%) were females. It implies that the majority of the male respondents responded to the questionnaire as compared to female respondents. This finding is in

line with other studies where the majority of the population working in both Kenya and Somalia is comprised of males due to security threats⁹⁴.

5.2.2 Age

The question on *How old are you*? was answered by all 220 respondents. Their age categories were 20-30, 31-40, 41-50, 51-60, and above 60 years. The distribution of the respondents' age is shown in Table 5.2 below;

Table 5.2: Age of the Respondents

Age of the Respondents

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	20-30	70	31.8	31.8	31.8
	31-40	77	35.0	35.0	66.8
	41-50	50	22.7	22.7	89.5
	51-60	16	7.3	7.3	96.8
	60+	7	3.2	3.2	100.0
	Total	220	100.0	100.0	

Source: Researcher, 2021.

The table presents the age of the 220 respondents who responded to the study's questionnaire. Out of 220 respondents, those with 20-30 years were 70 (31.8%), 31-40 years were 77 (35.0%), 41-50 years were 50 (22.7%), 51-60 were 16 (7.3%), and those above 60 years were 7 (3.2%) as seen in the following pie chart.

⁹⁴Lochery, E. (2012). Rendering difference visible: the Kenyan state and its Somali citizens. *African Affairs*, 111(445), 615-639.

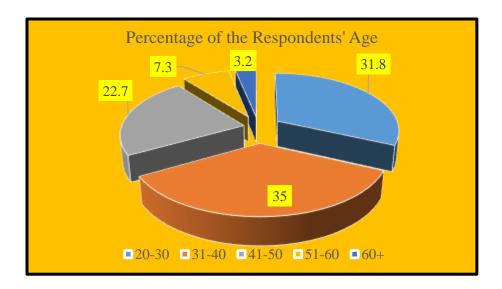


Figure 5.2: Percentage of the Respondents' Age

Source: Researcher (2021)

The age of the respondent's analysis suggests that majority of the respondents who responded to the study questionnaire range between 31-40 years. This comprises the active or youthful generation that is well informed and matured enough to determine the role of mainstream media in mitigating security threats.

5.2.3 Highest Level of Education

Education is a demographic characteristic that determines the level of understanding and knowledge acquisition in the study⁹⁵. In the study, the highest levels of education include undergraduate, college, college but not completed, secondary, primary, and not attended. The table below shows a frequency distribution table of respondents' highest level of education.

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⁹⁵Andamon, J., & Tan, D. A. (2018). Conceptual understanding, attitude, and performance in mathematics of grade 7 students. *International Journal of Scientific & Technology Research*, 7(8), 96-105.

Table 5.3: Respondents' Level of Education

Highest Level of Education

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Undergraduate	75	34.1	34.1	34.1
	College	66	30.0	30.0	64.1
	College Not Completed	33	15.0	15.0	79.1
	Secondary School	26	11.8	11.8	90.9
	Primary School	20	9.1	9.1	100.0
	Total	220	100.0	100.0	

Source: Researcher, 2021.

From Table 5.3, undergraduate=75, College=66, College Not Completed=33, Secondary School=26, Primary School=20 and Not Attended=0. This implies that the entire target population acquired education. The percentages of the highest level of education of the respondents are presented in Figure 5.3 below;

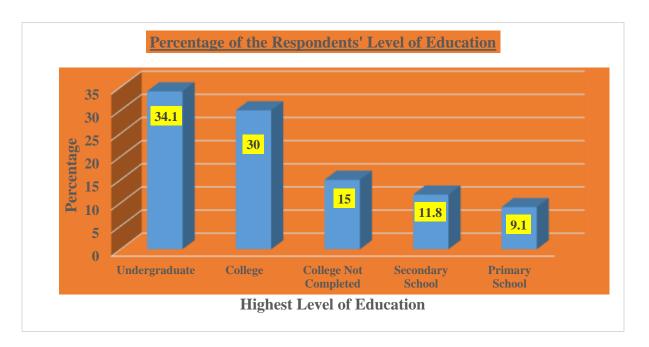


Figure 5.3: Percentage of the Respondents' Highest Level of Education

Source: Researcher (2021)

5.2.4 Occupation

Occupation refers to the field of work performed by the respondents in a study⁹⁶. It has a direct relationship with the level of education of the respondents. In the study, the occupation of the respondents included those working in CA, NCIC, Red Cross, and Scholars. Occupation is an important demographic characteristic that provides a broad understanding of the work nature of the target population. Table 5.4 below shows the frequency distribution of the respondent's occupation.

Table 5.4: Occupation of the Respondents

Occupation of the Respondents

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Journalist	150	68.2	68.2	68.2
	CA	10	4.5	4.5	72.7
	NCIC	30	13.6	13.6	86.4
	Scholar	10	4.5	4.5	90.9
	Red Cross	20	9.1	9.1	100.0
	Total	220	100.0	100.0	

Source: Researcher, 2021.

From the table above, the occupation of the 220 respondents is Journalist=150, CA=10, NCIC=30, and Scholar=10. This implies that the majority of the respondents were journalists, coming from both Kenya and Somalia. The percentage distribution of each occupation is shown in the following bar graph.

⁹⁶Savela, N., Turja, T., & Oksanen, A. (2018). Social acceptance of robots in different occupational fields: A systematic literature review. *International Journal of Social Robotics*, 10(4), 493-502.

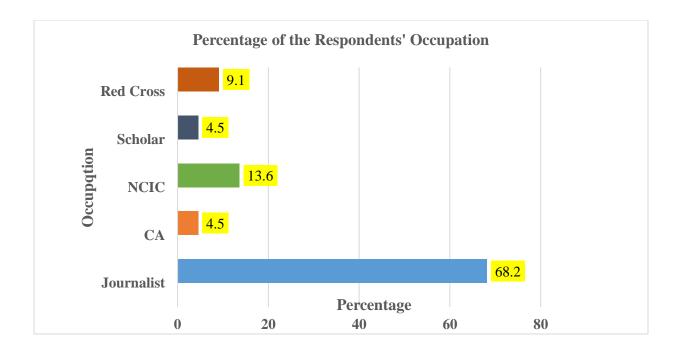


Figure 5.4: Percentage of the Respondents' Occupation

Source: Researcher (2021)

A large proportion of the respondents in the study were Journalists from Kenya and Somalia (68.2%), followed by NCIC (13.6%), the Red Cross (9.1%), and finally CA (4.5%) and Scholars (4.5%)

5.3 The Role of The Mainstream Media in Mitigating Security Threats in Africa

5.3.1 Role and Effectiveness of Mainstream Media plays in Mitigating Security Threats in Africa

The study asked for the respondents to tell whether the main strain plays a role in the mitigation of security threats. From the findings, there are those respondents who answered "Yes" and "No" as shown in the tables below;

Table 5.5: Response on Whether Mainstream Media is Important

Do you think mainstream media play role in mitigating security threats in Africa?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	178	80.9	80.9	80.9
	No	42	19.1	19.1	100.0
	Total	220	100.0	100.0	

Source: Researcher, 2021.

Out of 220 respondents, 178 respondents agreed that mainstream media play a role in the mitigation of security threats in Africa, while 42 out of 220 respondents identified no role played by mainstream media in mitigating security threats in Africa. This implies that a large percentage of the respondents were in agreement with other research on the role of mainstream media in security threats in Africa. The results on the above table are further presented in the following pie chart for the understanding of the respondents' percentage on the question asked.

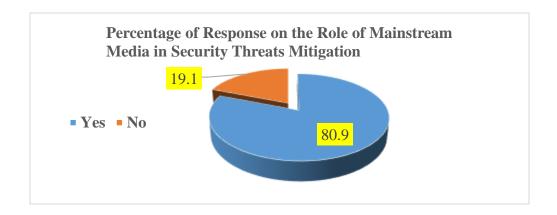


Figure 5.5: Percentage of Response on the Role of Mainstream Media in Security Threats Mitigation

Source: Researcher (2021)

From the Figure, 80.9% of the respondents agreed that mainstream media is important while 19.1% disagreed on the existence of mainstream media's role in mitigating security threats. Furthermore, the respondents who gave "Yes" as their answer, explained the roles as evidence of supporting the response. According to the respondent's mainstream media largely contributed to the mitigation of security threats. These roles were summarized into seven main points as pointed out by the respondents in the following Table.

Table 5.6: Role of mainstream media in mitigation of security threats in Africa

Role and Effectiveness of mainstream media in mitigation of security threats in Africa

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Brings empowerment	17	7.7	7.7	7.7
	Enhances social and political	25	11.4	11.4	19.1
	discourse of terrorists				
	Individual behaviour and reaction	38	17.3	17.3	36.4
	influence				
	Influence change	28	12.7	12.7	49.1
	It shapes opinions	28	12.7	12.7	61.8
	The mass mobilization of protestors	11	5.0	5.0	66.8
	Military relief	51	23.2	23.2	90.0
	Organizes and consolidates social	22	10.0	10.0	100.0
	movements:				
	Total	220	100.0	100.0	

Source: Researcher, 2021.

Mainstream media brings an element of empowerment by changing the beliefs of both Kenyans and Somalis on the existing security threats. As a result, it gives people access to more media

platforms that provide an opportunity for them to raise security concerns ⁹⁷. Secondly, mainstream media facilitates the social and political discourse of those threatening security. This was possible in the wake of terrorism activities in both Kenya and Somalia that saw technological advancement in the security sector. Mainstream media employs the use of technology to curb way security threats through the introduction of technological mapping tools in the security sector that can locate terrorists ⁹⁸. Through individual understanding of mainstream media on security threats mitigations, 38 out 220 respondents pointed that mainstream media is important in enhancing individual behaviour and reaction changes on security threats. Other important mainstream media roles pointed out by the respondents include and are not limited to shaping opinions, influencing changes, mobilizing protestors, enhancing military relief; deep investigation research, creation of awareness, informing the citizens, influencing people and enhancing unity; and organizing and consolidating social movements ⁹⁹. In this case, social movements often have limited access to traditional media, operate outside of established institutional structures, and rely on alternative media for organization and coordination.

5.3.2 The Positive and Negative Impacts of the Mainstream Media in Mitigating Security Threats in Africa

The question on positive and negative was answered by all respondents and their data on the positive and negative impacts of the mainstream media in the mitigation of security threats is summarized in the table below. Each of the positive and negative impacts was said by more than five respondents, summarizing it to five main positive impacts and four negative impacts as shown;

⁹⁷Adhan, T. W. (2020). The Role of Media in Maintaining Peace and Security in Africa: Case Study of Kenya 2007-2017 (Doctoral dissertation, University of Nairobi).

99Ibid.

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⁹⁸Mwangi, W. W. (2020). The Role of Media in Conflict Management-a Case of 2017 General Elections in Kenya (Doctoral dissertation, University of Nairobi).

Table 5.7: Positive and Negative Impacts of Mainstream Media in Mitigating Security

Threats in Africa

The Positive Impacts	The Negative Impacts
Enhances people connection in both	Empowers the already powerful country in
countries	terms of security threats
Boost business in both Kenya and Somalia	Disinformation and hate
Spread of culture and arts	Homogenize culture
Enhances inclusivity through	Overtake individual connection of a country
communication	

Source: Researcher (2021)

From the table, the positive impacts of mainstream media in mitigating security threats in Kenya and Somalia include enhancing people's connection, boosting business, spreading culture and arts as well as enhancing inclusivity through communication. According to the respondents, people in Somalia, Kenya, and globally could easily hear and mobilize for immediate help in case of security threats, hence bringing peoples' connection. Secondly, mainstream media boost business in both Kenya and Somalia through early warning mechanisms on security threats and each country safely advertising and marketing its products and services¹⁰⁰. Through, mainstream media the culture and arts of both countries are spread for purposes of security analysis in a country. The respondents further explained mainstream media leading to inclusivity through communication. In this case, mainstream media give voice to the voiceless in the process of mitigation.

On the other hand, the respondents pointed out the negative impacts of mainstream media in mitigating security threats in Kenya and Somalia. Such impacts include empowering the already

¹⁰⁰Wambua, I. M. (2020). *Impact of Social Media on National Security in Africa: Case Study Kenya* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Nairobi).

powerful country in terms of security threats, spreads rumours and hate, homogeny of culture, and overtaking individual connection of a country. While mainstream media provides an opportunity for an individual country to share its story on security threats, the other country can use this as a strategy of overpowering its enemy by using money to heavily influence what it sees ¹⁰¹. Also, the respondents pointed out that mainstream media leads to disinformation while spreading hatred between Kenya and Somalia. This is because mainstream media is prone to a lot of propaganda and lies on the possible security threats facing a country. Some respondents stated that mainstream media leads to cultural homogeneity, where diversification of culture between Kenya and Somalia is reduced, leading to less art and inspiration that could bring peace. As a result, lack of inspiration boosts threats to security through idleness. Also, mainstream media overtakes individual countries during mitigation of security threats¹⁰².

5.3.3 The Prospects and Challenges Facing the Mainstream Media in Their Role in Mitigating Security Threats in the Africa Countries of Kenya, and Somalia.

Despite the roles of mainstream media in mitigating security threats in Kenya and Somalia, it involves the prospect and challenges. According to the respondents' response, a summary of the prospects and challenges are provided in the table below;

¹⁰¹Bashevkin, S. (2018). *Women as foreign policy leaders: national security and gender politics in superpower America*. Oxford University Press.

¹⁰²Ali, M. (2021). Evaluation of the effectiveness of counter-terror measures to national security in Kenya (Doctoral dissertation, Moi University).

Table 5.8: The Prospects and Challenges Facing the Mainstream Media in Mitigating Security Threats in Kenya and Somalia

The Challenges	The Prospects
Pressure from the Government	Mainstream media freedom
Threats from enemies	Technological adaptability
Kenya-Somalia Conflict	Government support
Technology	

Source: Researcher (2021)

According to the respondent's mainstream media challenges include Pressure from the Government, threats from enemies, the Kenya-Somalia conflict, and technology. Conforming to Wu, the respondents argued that the government of Kenya and Somalia are the key regulators of all the activities carried out by the mainstream media. As a key regulator, it prevents the media houses from airing some information. In this case, the government inhibits the media houses the freedom to explore the cases in deep. The respondents added that mainstream media personalities handling security issues in Kenya are being threatened by their enemies. The conflict between Kenya and Somalia has been one of the major challenges for the mainstream media in handling insecurity issues facing the two countries 103. In agreement with Archetti, this conflict has made it difficult for the media personalities from one country to get investigate security matters in the other country. Finally, technology is becoming a threatening factor for the mainstream media in addressing the security issues facing Kenya and Somalia.

¹⁰³Hirbo, J. S. (2018). Assessment Of The Nature Of Security Challenges On The International Border Between Kenya And Somalia (Doctoral dissertation, University of Nairobi).

On the other hand, the respondents agree that prospects of mainstream media include mainstream media freedom, technological adaptability, and government support. Mainstream media in Kenya and Somalia is currently facing the problem of inadequate freedom. In Somalia, the law dictates the media houses to airing or printing the information that favours their government. Secondly, the respondents argue that technology is becoming a very relevant factor in modern society as long as security is concerned. The governments of Kenya and Somalia are taking the issue of technology in connection to security very seriously. ¹⁰⁴ In the past years, it could take a lot of time before Kenya's, and Somalia's governments incorporate technology into their security system. Finally, mainstream media depends on government support to carry out their activities. According to the respondents, over the last twenty years, the government of Kenya and Somalia has been showing little support to the media houses in their respective countries

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¹⁰⁴ Cockley, D. (2009). The media spectacle of terrorism and response-able literature. Texas A&M University.

CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND

RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

With key focus on assessing the role of the mainstream media in mitigating security threats in

Africa: a case of Kenya and Somalia, the study sought to assess the effectiveness of the mainstream

media in contributing to the mitigation of security threats in the Africa, determining the positive

and negative impacts of the mainstream media in mitigating security threats in the Africa and

establishing the prospects and challenges facing the mainstream media in their role in mitigating

security threats in the Africa countries' of Kenya and Somalia. As a result, this chapter includes a

review of the significant findings, as well as conclusions and suggestions derived from the study's

three main objectives.

6.2 Summary of the Findings

This section summarizes the important findings from each of the study's objectives.

6.2.1 Effectiveness of the mainstream media in contributing to the mitigation of security

threats in Africa

The study has noted that Security dynamics around the globe have become increasingly complex

and multidimensional thus necessitating multi-sectorial efforts in guaranteeing safety and security.

Government security agencies, private firms, non-governmental organizations, and the mainstream

media are increasingly having a role to play on matters pertaining to security. Mainstream media

exposure of security related matters is widely effective in contributing to the mitigation of security

threats. For example, wide mainstream media coverage of terror threats, anti-extremism and

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radicalization messages have made successful contribution in the prevention of widespread terrorism.

Mainstream media coverage of terror related activities also enhanced attention to victims of terrorism and made an impact in increasing the number of terror victims support movements. Governments and independent groups in a number of countries have in the past launched a number of mainstream media campaigns to create awareness on the risks of distributing and consuming drugs and alcohol. Such initiatives have made more information available to the public, encouraged critical thinking and promoted responsibility on the part of security agencies, institutions, and organizations.

6.2.2 The positive and negative impacts of the mainstream media in mitigating security threats in Africa

The study has found that mainstream media can make both positive and negative impacts in efforts geared towards mitigating security threats. The mainstream media in certain countries has acted as a third party watchdog highlighting to the public local problems and bringing out hidden stories through investigative reporting. Mainstream media can also influence policy decisions particularly as policy makers think of how they can prevent and respond to emerging security threats. In South Africa, for example, the mainstream media has played an important role in motivating the general public to push policy makers on intervening and addressing emerging security challenges. The mainstream media has also served as a tool security agencies can use to pass across their message. For example, there have been occasions where mainstream media houses have invited security commanders onto radio or TV programs to talk about security issues in the country or region. In such times, the mainstream media has aided in restoring public confidence on security situations.

The study has also found that at times, mainstream media coverage of security threats can be biased, inaccurate and promote inappropriate policies geared towards addressing security challenges. Concern is growing that main mainstream media characteristics are not necessarily conducive in contributing to the knowledge of insecurity prevention. Often, mainstream media processing of information on various matters is based on fast-paced, short-term and surface-level research that can limit the types of information disseminated while giving little regard to the very important issues. For example, news reports for certain crimes usually read like a police charge sheet having information about a place of crime, an offender, and the victim while leaving out information on the context of how the offending or victimization has occurred.

6.2.3 Prospects and challenges facing the mainstream media in their role in mitigating security threats in the Africa countries' of Kenya and Somalia

The study has found that mainstream media is faced with a number of challenges in their role in mitigating security threats. The challenges include economic constraints, prohibitive regulations, declining freedom of information, commercialization of news, strained cooperation between the government and mainstream media outlets and many more. In terms of economic constraints, the study has found that that funding for many mainstream media organizations is declining due to audience fragmentation across different existing mainstream media. The declining sources of funds is limiting the amount of resources the mainstream media organizations can dedicate in funding quality programmes that can report on compelling and accurate stories, or follow up on compelling security investigations. Economic constraints also hinders the ability of mainstream media houses to invest in the kind of training that is required for their staff to produce ethical and high quality programmes touching on security issues.

The study noted that many journalist in most parts of Sub-Saharan Africa are under resourced with some going unpaid for months. Some have difficulty accessing basic journalism resources like reference books thus making the priority of many journalists swing from real problems facing the society to those that offer instant gratification. Emerging mainstream media such as social mainstream media has increasingly been subject to government regulation in many states as they offer platforms that can be used to spread information considered as security threats. Surveillance efforts in such mainstream media have increased intensively over the years thus diminishing the role they can play in mitigating security threats.

6.3 Conclusion

The study confirms the first hypothesis of the study which states that mainstream media is effective in mitigation of security threats in the Africa countries' of Kenya and Somalia. This is because the study established that mainstream media exposure of security related matters is widely effective in contributing to the mitigation of security threats. For example, wide mainstream media coverage of terror threats, anti-extremism and radicalization messages have made successful contribution in the prevention of widespread terrorism.

The government of Kenya and Somalia uses various media platforms (media houses and social media platforms) to communicate with the security stakeholders. This chapter has analyzed the positive and negative media impacts of media mainstream in mitigating the security issues facing Kenya and Somalia. The positive impacts discussed include; creating awareness, enhancing unity, providing public opinions, and assisting in research and investigation on security issues facing Kenya and Somalia. The negative impacts discussed include; false information, terrorists using media to send threats, and enemies earning the government's measures and tactics. This confirms

the second hypothesis of the study which states that there are both positive and negative impacts of mainstream media in its involvement mitigating security threats.

The Mainstream media is faced with a number of challenges in their role in mitigating security threats. The challenges include economic constraints, prohibitive regulations, declining freedom of information, commercialization of news, strained cooperation between the government and mainstream media outlets and many more. This confirms the hypothesis that there are challenges facing the mainstream media in their role in mitigating security threats in the Africa countries' of Kenya and Somalia.

6.4 Recommendations

The study recommends that media freedom should be secured to ensure effective performance of mainstream media as a gatekeeper in charge of setting agendas, filtering issues and maintaining a balance of views. The mainstream media should not be censored since it plays different roles in mitigation of security. For example, in certain countries the mainstream media usually acts as a third party watchdog that provides the public with information on local problems.

6.5 Areas for Further Research

- 1. There is a need for more research on the relationship between the media and the battle for human rights in general. This is because the media has been identified as a critical instrument for educating people about their rights.
- 2. A study should be conducted to investigate the effectiveness of mainstream media in mitigation of security threats.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: INTRODUCTION LETTER



UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

College of Humanities and Social Sciences Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies

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: 22095 Varsity Ke Nairobl, Kenya : director-idis@uonbl.ac.ke

P.O. Box 30197 Nairobi

August 23, 2021

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

RE: IBRAHIM SIYAT ABDI - R51/35618/2019

This is to confirm that the above-mentioned person is a bona fide student at the Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies (IDIS), University of Nairobi pursuing a Master of Arts Degree in Diplomacy. He is working on a research project titled, "ROLE OF MAIN STREAM MEDIA ON MITIGATING SECURITY THREAT IN AFRICA".

The research project is a requirement for students undertaking Masters programme at the University of Nairobi, whose results will inform policy and learning.

Any assistance given to him to facilitate data collection for his research project will be highly appreciated.

Thank you in advance for your consideration.

Professor Waria Nzomo Director, IDIS

SIGN:

Professor of International Relations and Governance

APPENDIX II: QUESTIONNAIRE

University of Nairobi

Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies

Dear Respondents,

RE: <u>DATA COLLECTION.</u>

I am a master's student in the department of diplomacy and international studies at the University

of Nairobi. Currently, I'm working on a research project to meet the requirements for a Master of

Arts in diplomacy. The subject of my project is "THE ROLE OF THE MAINSTREAM MEDIA

IN MITIGATING SECURITY THREATS IN AFRICA". You have been chosen to take part

in this research; however, your participation is completely voluntary. I respectfully request that

you complete the questionnaire honestly.

Thank you so much for your cooperation.

Best Regards,

Ibrahim Siyat Abdi

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OPEN ENDED QUESTIONNAIRE

Please note that no mention of any individual or organization will be made. My top goal will be maintaining confidentiality.

PART A: PERSONAL BACKGROUND INFORMATION

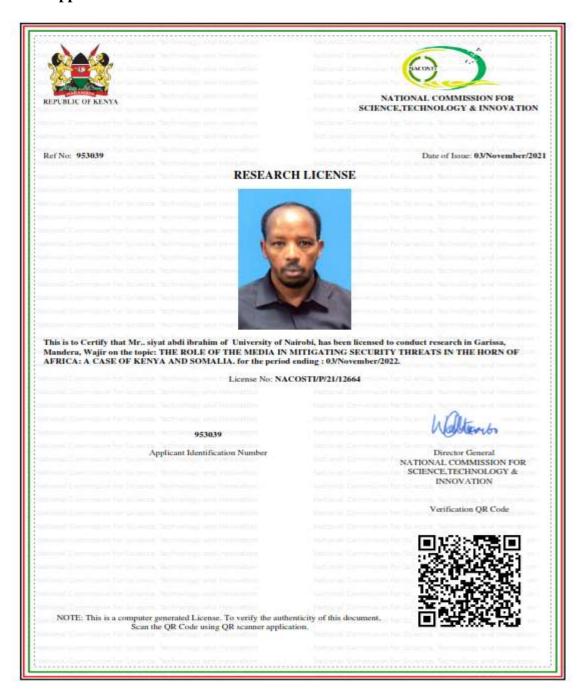
1. What is your gender?	
[] Female [] Male	
2. How old are you?	
3. What is your highest level of education?	
[] Undergraduate [] College] Secondary School
[] Primary School [] Never Attended	
What is your occupation?	

PART B

iv)	Do you think mainstream media plays a critical role in mitigating security threats?
	[] Yes [] No
v)	If yes, what role do you think mainstream media has played in mitigation of security
	threats in Africa?
vi)	Describe how mainstream media plays a critical role in both fanning and extinguishing
	security threats in Africa?
vii)	How effective is mainstream media in contributing to mitigation of security threats in
	Africa?
viii)	What are the positive and negative impacts of the mainstream media in mitigating
	security threats in the Africa's countries of Kenya and Somalia?

ix)	What are the prospects and challenges facing the mainstream media in their role in			
	mitigating security threats in the Africa's countries of Kenya and Somalia?			
x)	What link does mainstream media have to conflict?			
:\	How hos the mainstrand modic imported in mitigating account throats in Africa?			
xi)	How has the mainstream media impacted in mitigating security threats in Africa?			
xii)	What are the different roles the mainstream media plays in mitigating security threats			
	in both Somalia and Kenya?			
xiii)	Has the mainstream media been impartial in coverage of security threats in Africa?			

Appendix III: NACOSTI



THE SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION ACT, 2013

The Grant of Research Licenses is Guided by the Science, Technology and Innovation (Research Licensing) Regulations, 2014

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The Role of the Mainstream Media in Mitigating Security Threats in Africa

ORIG	INALITY REPORT			
SIMI	% LARITY INDEX	9% INTERNET SOURCES	1% PUBLICATIONS	3% STUDENT PAPERS
PRIMA	ARY SOURCES			
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