

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

**ASSESSMENT OF PRINT MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE WAR
AGAINST TERRORISM IN KENYA: A CASE OF THE DAILY
NATION AND THE STANDARD NEWSPAPERS**

BY

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DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has not been presented for any award of a Degree in any other institution of learning. No part of this work will be published without the author's written permission.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this research project to all the fallen soldiers (heroes) of the Kenya Defence Forces who paid the ultimate price fighting the Al-Shabaab in Somalia to protect and defend the sovereignty of the country. I hope that this research project and others that follow will assist the media to accurately tell their story factually and objectively.

TABLE OF CONTENT

Declaration.....	ii
Acknowledgement.....	iii
Table of contents.....	iv
List of tables.....	viii
List of figures.....	ix
List of abbreviations.....	x
Definition of terms.....	xi
Abstract.....	xii
CHAPTER ONE.....	1
INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Overview.....	1
1.2 Study Area.....	1
1.3 Background of the Study.....	1
1.4 Problem Statement.....	4
1.5 Objectives of the Study.....	4
1.5.1 Main Objective.....	4
1.5.2 Specific Objectives.....	4
1.6 Research Questions.....	5
1.7 Rational of the Study.....	5
1.8 Justification of the Study.....	5
1.9 Scope of the Study.....	5
1.10 Limitation of the Study.....	6
CHAPTER TWO.....	7
LITERATURE REVIEW.....	7
2.1 Overview.....	7
2.2 Theoretical Framework.....	7
2.2.1 Agenda setting theory.....	7
2.3 Media framing and terrorism.....	10
2.4 Media message on terrorism.....	13
2.5 Media coverage style.....	15
2.6 Media coverage policy.....	17
2.7 Critical review.....	17
2.8 Research gaps.....	17

CHAPTER THREE	18
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	18
3.1 Overview	18
3.2 Research design	18
3.3 Sampling frame	19
3.4 Target populationí	18
3.5 Sampling method.....	19
3.6 Data collection instrument	19
3.7 Reliability and validity.....	19
3.8 Data analysis and presentation	20
3.9 Operationalisation of Variables	20
3.10 Ethical Considerations	22
3.11 Reflexivity.....	22
CHAPTER FOUR	26
RESULTS FINDINGS, PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSIONSÍ í í	26
4.1 Overviewí ..í í í í	.26
4.2 Response rateí í	.26
4.3 Newspapers profileí í	.26
4.4 The type of stories in the print media related to terrorismí í í í í í í í í	.27
4.5 Types of Stories distribution as per newspaperí í í í í í í í í í í í	.28
4.5.1 The Daily Nation newspaper.í í í í í í í í í í í í í í í í í í í	..28
4.5.2 The Standard newspaperí í	28
4.6 Editorials contextí í29
4.7 Placement of stories in the print media on war against terrorism in Kenyaí í	...29
4.7.1 The Daily Nation newspaperí í í í í ..í í í í í í í í í í í í í	..í í .27
4.7.1.1 Placement by pageí í	..27
4.7.1.2 Placement by sizeí í	...í í 29
4.7.2 The Standard newspaperí í	31
4.7.2.1 Placement by pageí í	..31
4.7.2.2 Placement by sizeí í	..í í í í í .31
4.8 Messages print media carry on war against terrorism in Kenyaí í í í í í í	37

CHAPTER FIVE	40
CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	40
5.1 Overviewí ...í í í í í .	40
5.2 Conclusion.....	40
5.3 Recommendations.....	42
5.4 Areas for further studies.....	42
REFERENCES	43
APPENDICES	46
Appendix 1: Data collection tool	46
Appendix 2: Research Budget	61
Appendix 3: Research Workplan	62
Appendix 4: Map of study area.....	63

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1: Study variable.....	21
Table 4.1: Types of terrorism stories in the month of April 2014 Nationí .í í í í í .	24
Table 4.2: The nature of terrorism stories in the Daily Nationí í í í í í í í í .	25
Table 4.3: The nature of terrorism stories in the Standardíí í í í í í .	25
Table 4.4: The Daily Nation newspaper placement of terrorism stories based on sizeí	28
Table 4.5: The Standard newspaper placement of terrorism stories based on sizeí í í	30
Table 4.6: The Standard newspaper placement of terrorism stories based on sizesí	32
Table 4.7: The Standard newspaper placement of terrorism stories based on toneí .í	33
Table 4.8: The Standard & Daily Nation media messages on war against terrorismí	34
Table 4.9: The Standard newspaper placement based on the tone of the storyí í í	36
Table 4.10: The Daily Nation newspaper placement basedí í ...í í í í í í í	36

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 4.1: Total number of terrorism from the Nation and Standard newspapers	23
Figure 4.2: Types of terrorism stories from The Nation and The Standard newspapers ..	24
Figure 4.3: Types of emerging themes in the newspapers, from newspapers	33

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BBC	- British Broadcasting Corporation
CIA	- Central Intelligence Agency
CNN	- Cable News Network
DC	- District of Columbia
DN	- The Daily Nation Newspaper
SD	- The Standard Newspapers
START	- National Consortium for Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism
TV	- Television
UK	- United Kingdom
KDF	- Kenya Defence Forces

DEFINITIONS

Terrorism: Systematic use of terror, often violent, especially as a means of coercion.

Al -Shabaab: Arabic meaning "The Youth", or "The Youngsters", is a jihadist terrorist group allied to Al Qaeda and has its origin in Somalia.

Al- Qaeda: A global militant Islamist organization founded by Osama bin Laden in 1988. It operates as a jihadist group with a network comprising both a multinational, stateless army with extremist Islamic ideologies.

ABSTRACT

The main purpose of this study was to assess the print media coverage of war against terrorism in Kenya. The study focused on terror-related stories in the April 2014, a period when the government beefed up security operations in the country in an operation dubbed '*Operation Usalama Watch 2014*'. The *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* newspapers were used in this study. The study sought to establish: The types of stories in the print media related to terrorism in Kenya; placement of stories on war against terrorism; and the messages print media carried on the war against terrorism. The research study applied retrospective study design to establish the print media coverage on war against terrorism in Kenya. Purposive sampling was used to pick suitable stories for the study. The data collection procedure applied document review method to collect the necessary stories from the respective newspapers. The data was analysed using content and thematic analysis techniques, based on the emerging issues (themes) under study. The study concluded that news stories on terrorism in Kenya were given more prominence in the print media than those from other beats. The study recommends that the media should exercise a lot of caution in reporting on terrorism. They should avoid words and images that magnify the threat and fear in people, and tone down on negative rhetoric and instead ensure objectivity and accurate reporting.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

This chapter gives background of the study, problem statement, and objectives. In addition, the chapter gives a justification and limitation of the study plus rationale and scope of the study.

1.2 Study Area

In establishing the coverage of print media on war against terrorism, the study gave a sharp focus on terrorist attacks in Kenya by the Al Shabaab. The study further specifically focused on attacks in Kenya that occurred in the month of April 2014, government response and other issues arising from the Al Shabaab attacks. The research focused on the *Daily Nation and the Standard* newspapers, found in this area as the key print media of interest under study.

1.3 Background of the Study

According to Jeffrey (2003), the term "terrorism" originates from Latin word "terrere" that means "to frighten". It obtained its modern form "terrorism" during the Reign of Terror in France from 1793 to 1794. Records (2003), states that the Roman Empire used violence ranging from crucifixion of individuals to full-scale genocide to force individuals and nations into submission. The French Revolution sent more than 20,000 people to the guillotine over a period of a few months. Modern examples of drastic state terrorism include Nazi Germany, Stalinist Soviet Union, communist China of the Mao period, Pol Pot's Cambodia and several other dictatorships and totalitarian regimes. A highly complex and constantly changing phenomenon, terrorism stands at the forefront of national and international agendas. Taking on many forms, terrorism is associated with a wide variety of groups and motivations.

Caleb (2008) argues that terrorism is above all a tool or, if you will, a technique. This technique is as old as warfare itself, contrary to the widespread notion that terrorism was the offspring of nineteenth-century nationalist movements. The confusion may be a result of the late appearance of the term in the French Revolution and its terror.

Druckman, (2011) argues that framing refers to the social construction of a social phenomenon often by mass media sources, political or social movements, political leaders, or other actors and

organisations. It is an inevitable process of selective influence over the individual's perception of the meanings attributed to words or phrases. It is generally considered in one of two ways: as frames in thought, consisting of the mental representations, interpretations, and simplifications of reality, and frames in communication, consisting of the communication of frames between different actors.

Bartholomew *et al.*, (2004) states that, throughout time it has been clear that the media has had a large influence over our perceptions of the world and of the society in which we live. The global mass media have acquired great control over the perceptions of how we interpret the world around us.

Bartholomew *et al.*, (2004) further states that opinions on the real relationship between media and terrorism vary greatly. It is generally agreed that the relationship between terrorism and the media is symbiotic, in that defiant terrorist organizations use the media as a means of expression for their political message to be heard by the targeted audience, whilst supplying exciting news for the news media.

Tunman, (2003) observes that terrorists are drawn to news media coverage because they desire maximum publicity for their messages and symbolic actions. They achieve the desired maximum coverage by selecting a target and engaging in a kind of symbolic action that is visually dramatic, and which is difficult for the news media to ignore. It is in this sense that Brian Jenkins (2008: 1-3) says that terrorist attacks are often carefully choreographed to attract the attention of the mass media and the international press. The hostages themselves often mean nothing to the terrorist. Terrorism is aimed at the people watching, not at the actual victims.

Between 1970 and 2014 there have been more than 250 terrorist attacks in Kenya, which killed more than 1,000 and wounded more than 5,000 people. More than half of the terrorist attacks by the Al Shabaab in Kenya were concentrated in six cities: Nairobi (61 attacks), Garissa (27 attacks), Mandera (19 attacks), Mombasa (12 attacks), Wajir (12 attacks), and Dadaab (11 attacks). The first terrorist attacks in Kenya recorded in the Global Terrorism Database took place in February, March, and April of 1975 when assailants from the Maskini Liberation Front bombed the Starlight Nightclub in Nairobi (The National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism [START], 2013).

According to The Rick Advisory Group (2014), terrorism attacks on business accounted for 22 percent of all attacks in Kenya between 1st April 2011 and 30th April 2014. Security forces and private citizens are the two largest single target types, particularly in the North Eastern part of the country, together accounting for 67 percent of all attacks. But business makes up the third most common type, with militants targeting businesses almost twice as frequently as political and religious figures and institutions.

The Rick Advisory Group (2014), states that the most frequently targeted business sectors are transport, tourism, and retail, which includes small markets and bazaars. While the number of terrorism attacks in the transport and retail sector have remained fairly constant over this time period (about four per year), there has been a slight increase in attacks in the tourism sector. Between April 2011 and April 2013, there was an average of about two attacks per year on visitors and tourism sites. However, between April 2013 and April 2014, there have been at least five attacks in the sector. In December 2013, unidentified militants staged a successful attack on a bar in the beach resort town of Diani, 30km south of Mombasa. That same month, militants launched a failed grenade attack on a tourist vehicle in Mombasa. In September 2013, Kenya experienced another horrendous attack after four gunmen killed over 70 people in the Westgate mall attack.

1.4 Problem Statement

Since the incursion of the Kenya Defence Forces (KDF) into Somalia on 14th October 2011, Kenya has experienced several terrorist attacks. The attacks have varied from grenade attacks to gun attacks to suicide attacks. The Kenya media vastly covered the incidents, the aftermaths and even at times live as they occurred. In April 2014, the government launched a security campaign to smoke out 'aliens' from the Country, an exercise dubbed christened "Operation Usalama Watch 2014".

Bruce Hoffman argues on terrorist attacks that "without the media's coverage the act's impact is arguably wasted, remaining narrowly confined to the immediate victim(s) of the attack, rather than reaching the wider target audience at whom the terrorists' violence is actually aimed." (Hoffman 2006, 174).

Several questions have emerged from this background: "Are the media an unwitting accomplice to the aims of the terrorists? Are the media actually magnifying the threat and fear in people in the way they report terrorism instead of allaying their fears? Are the media really objective and accurate in the way they report terrorism and in their narrative and framing of terrorist acts?" It is these and others that the study aims to establish, using media coverage of Al Shabaab attacks in Kenya.

1.5 Objectives of the Study

1.5.1 Main Objective

The main purpose of this study was to evaluate the print media coverage on war against terrorism in Kenya.

1.5.2 Specific Objectives

The study sought to:

- i.** Establish the types of stories in the print media related to terrorism in Kenya.
- ii.** Find out the placement of stories in the print media on war against terrorism in Kenya.
- iii.** Establish the messages print media carry on war against terrorism in Kenya.

1.6 Research Questions

- i.** What types of stories do the print media in Kenya publish regarding terrorism.
- ii.** What is the media placement of stories on war against terrorism in the country.
- iii.** What media messages are conveyed in terrorist-related stories published in the media in Kenya?

1.7 Rationale of the Study

The current incidence of Al Shabaab in Kenya is of great security concern to every Kenyan and the government.

Kenya has recently been a target of global terrorism because of a combination of geographic, regional, historical, political, economic and socio-cultural factors. Some of these factors are direct justifications of attacks while others facilitate the attacks. The incursion by Kenya Defence Forces (KDF) into Somalia also provided the Al Shabaab another justification for their attacks. With these, Kenya will continue experiencing more attacks, and thus more print media coverage.

Despite the importance of this topic there are currently few studies on the Kenyan context that can show how media treat news on terrorism. This study therefore aims to act as a reference material for future researchers.

1.8 Justification of the Study

This study aims to contribute to scholarly literature on terrorism in Kenya, which will strengthen terrorism information, and assist in policy formation in regards to media coverage on terrorism. This study also aims to strengthen The National Security Advisory Council and other key policy makers to develop stringent policies that will help initiate preventive measures (though minimal) of terrorisms in Kenya.

Understanding media attention to terrorism can inform internal security policies in that, the fact that most terrorist attacks receive no or little media attention suggests that terrorist groups vary

substantially in their ability to design attacks to garner media attention. It is not easy for terrorists to manipulate the media coverage they receive. Knowledge of why some terrorist attacks succeed and others fail to attract media attention could provide important insights into the political goals, media savvy, and organizational capacity of the perpetrators.

In addition this study aims to contribute to action oriented strategies by the Government, that is, The Ministry of Interior and Coordination of National Government, The Ministry of Defence, The Ministry of Information, Communication and Technology and other key actors in Kenya who are involved in the war on terror and information. In addition, the findings of this study aim to be useful to academicians interested in conducting further research in relating area(s).

1.9 Scope of the Study

The study's geographical scope focused on Kenya. Under the main stream print media the study paid special attention to newspapers that are currently the most trusted, most available and the most influential section of the media, which is the *Nation* and *Standard* newspaper. Time scope of the study was the whole month of April 2014

1.10 Limitations of the Study

The study encountered challenges in sourcing for the latest scholarly literature, owing to the newness and secretive nature of the topic under study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Overview

This chapter contains a review of past research studies and publications conducted regarding operational excellence. The literature is subdivided according to objectives of the study; it further contains a theoretical and conceptual framework of the study and the gaps in knowledge to be filled.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

2.2.1 Agenda Setting Theory

The Agenda Setting Theory was first introduced in 1972 in *Public Opinion Quarterly* by Drs. Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw. This theory was developed as a study on the 1968 presidential election where Democratic incumbent Lyndon B. Johnson was ousted by Republican challenger Richard Nixon. Known as the *Chapel Hill Study*, McCombs and Shaw surveyed 100 residents of Chapel Hill, North Carolina on what they thought were the most important issues of the election how that compared to what the local and national media reported were the most important issues (McCombs & Shaw, 1972).

Agenda setting is the phenomenon of the review mass media selecting certain issues and portraying them frequently and prominently, which leads people to perceive those issues as more important than others. For more than thirty years, the main concept in agenda setting theory has been the transfer of issue salience, or how media emphasis of certain issues raises their importance for the public. Hundreds of studies have documented this process of media coverage influencing the perceived importance of issues for the public (Hester & Gibson, 2003).

Agenda setting as defined in *Mass Media, Mass Culture* is the process whereby the mass media determine what we think and worry about. Walter Lippmann, a journalist first observed this function, in the 1920s. Lippmann then pointed out that the media dominates over the creation of pictures in our head; he believed that the public reacts not to actual events but to the pictures in our head. Therefore the agenda setting process is used to remodel all the events occurring in our environment, into a simpler model before we deal with it (Hester & Gibson, 2003).

In the process of disseminating information about what Walter Lippmann called the "world outside," the press does much more than merely informs its audiences. By selecting which public affairs stories will be reported and by giving special prominence to some stories, the news media suggest which people, issues, and events are especially deserving of public attention. Given the importance of this attention-directing function, we might ask whether the nature of agenda setting by media might change in the current age of new media afforded by the digital space. Newspaper readers quickly learn to navigate the familiar signals employed by editors to set the momentous apart from the trivial: Few readers miss the point that long front-page articles with banner headlines are more important than short inside stories. The agenda-setting tradition of mass media effects research has long been interested in the ways that news formats influence the perceived importance of issues in the news (McCombs, Maxwell & Donald, 1979).

McCombs, Maxwell & Donald (1979), states that although its expansion into five distinct stages is the major historical hallmark of agenda setting theory, these are not stages in the historical sense that the opening of a new stage marks the closing of an earlier one. All five stages remain active arenas for research and offer rich opportunities. The media tell us (1) what to think about, and (2) how to think about it. The first process (agenda setting) transfers the salience of items on their news agenda to our agenda. The second process (framing) transfers the salience of selected attributes to prominence among the pictures in our heads (Socio-psychological tradition).

Littlejohn, (2002) reveals that Agenda Setting has two levels. As mentioned in *Theories of Communication*, the first level enacts the common subjects that are most important, and the second level decides what parts of the subject are important. These two levels of agenda setting, partly lead into what is the function of this concept. This concept is a process that is divided into three parts according to Rogers and Dearing in their book *Agenda Setting Research*. The first part of the process is the importance of the issues that are going to be discussed in the media. Second, the issues discussed in the media have an impact over the way the public thinks, this is referred as public agenda. Ultimately the public agenda influences the policy agenda. Furthermore "the media agenda affects the public agenda, and the public agenda affects the policy agenda, interchangeably."

There are three basic types of agenda setting according to Everett Rogers and J.W. Dearing (1988); public, media and policy agenda setting. Public agenda setting focuses on the audience's agenda while media agenda setting focuses on the influence of the mass media on the audience. Policy agenda setting, which has been mostly ignored by Rogers and Dearing (1988), deals with how media and public agendas might influence the decisions of elite policy makers. This part of the theory has since been explored by other scholars who want to further examine the factors that influence elite policy makers' agendas.

Walgrave & Van Aelst (2006), state that when examining agenda setting and the media's influence on an audience, one has to consider the audience's predisposition to certain beliefs. According to the audience effects model, the media's coverage of events and issues interact with the audience's pre-existing sensitivities to produce changes in issues concerns. This means that an audience that is already highly sensitive to an issue will be most affected by an issue that is given increased news exposure while the same issue may have a limited effect on other groups. Another issue that causes variations in the audience effect is the correlation between the public agenda and the media agenda and whether the issue is obtrusive or unobtrusive

This theory of agenda setting has many useful uses in our society. First of all it gives the media power to establish what news we see or hear and what part of the news is important to see or hear. This concept of Agenda setting in Littlejohn's book is explained as the idea of issue salience as media effect is intriguing and important. Therefore agenda setting is used for many purposes to establish the media agenda and to retrieve the opinion of the public. The role of media is to shape opinions and present a particular version as reality. Media are also believed and expected to portray a fair picture on any issues occur both at local and international level. However, in relation to this, the issue of fighting against terrorism has been the most important agenda prioritised by international media (Littlejohn, 2002). The mass media in the United States (US) and its counterpart, United Kingdom (UK) such as Cable News Network (CNN), British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), some mainstream news magazines namely Newsweek and Time as well as other media have played a significant role in influencing the whole world to morally support the US in protesting against terrorism. Obviously, western countries are prone to identify terrorism with certain groups that are labelled as extremists, militants or Muslims (Littlejohn, 2002).

2.3 Media Framing and Terrorism

Framing presents a meaningful, yet in Entman's (1993) words, fractured, paradigm for communication scholars, as it integrates influences from various disciplines. Frames can be located in four places in the communication process; within the communicator, the text, the receiver, and the culture itself. In the context of political and mass communication, frames influence how people understand, remember, evaluate, and act upon a problem (Reese 2001).

The theoretical perspective developed by Akiba, Cohen & Wolfsfeld (1993) suggests that terrorist events are commonly understood through news 'frames' that simplify, prioritise and structure the narrative flow of events. Understanding mass communication through the concept of framing has become increasingly common, whether in the fields of social psychology, public opinion, or media studies. The idea of 'news frames' refers to interpretive structures that journalists use to set particular events within their broader context. News frames bundle key concepts, stock phrases, and iconic images to reinforce certain common ways of interpreting developments. The essence of framing is selection to prioritize some facts, images, or developments over others, thereby unconsciously promoting one particular interpretation of events. Where conventional news frames reflect broader norms and values common within a particular society, dissident movements challenging the mainstream news culture are likely to prove most critical of their use, providing rival ways to frame and interpret events (Akiba *et al.*, 1993).

According to Collier, (2001) decision to label protagonists forms part of the political tussle over meaning. Groups can be regarded as 'terrorists' or alternatively as 'liberation movements', 'radical activists', 'armed rebels', 'urban guerrillas' or 'extremist dissidents', just as nation states can be labeled 'terrorists' or seen as 'repressive regimes', 'authoritarian systems', or 'dictatorships'. Rather than being identified by their tactics, groups present labels focused upon their grievance or cause, such as Hamas, Shining Path (Sendero Luminoso), the Animal Liberation Front, or the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (Tamil Tigers). Since labeling certain actions or actors as 'terrorist' carries strong normative overtones, the social construction of reality cannot avoid being an intensely political contest. Since conceptualisation is intimately linked with theory, there can be no single 'correct' definition; instead concepts should be assessed in terms of the fruitfulness of the theoretical insights that flow from the understanding.

Collier, (2001) observe that through frames, apparently scattered and diverse events are understood within regular patterns. A few examples at random that occurred within the last few years (in January 2002), the terrorism frame can be used to explain the nightclub attack in Bali, the Chechen rebels holding hostages in the Moscow theatre, the bombing of Israeli tourists in a Mombasa hotel, the suicide bombers in Tel Aviv, or the capture of communist insurgents in the Philippines. Without knowing much, if anything, about the particular people, groups, issues, or even places involved, the terrorist and anti-terrorist frame allows us to quickly sort out, interpret, categorize, and evaluate these conflicts.

According to Collier, (2001) conventional news frames never provide a comprehensive explanation of all aspects of any terrorist act, leaving some important puzzles unresolved, while accounting for those factors which best fit the particular interpretation of events. In international affairs, framing serves several functions by highlighting certain events as international problems that affect American interests (*agenda-setting*), identifying and explaining the source of any security threats (*cognitive priming*), and offering recommendations for particular policy solutions designed to overcome these problems (*evaluation*). According to Fawaz Gerges the use of the media is so important for Al-Qaida, that many within the organization have said that Bin Laden was "obsessed" with the international media, "a publicity hound", and that he had "caught the disease of screens, flashes, fans, and applause." (Gerges 2005, 194-197).

Generally, literature on media framing of terrorism-related matters has centered on hindsight judgment, via case studies, and argues parochial framing of the lead up to the Iraq war after that "complied fully with U.S. administration policy and never acknowledged the appropriateness of an entirely, alternative frame" (Boyd-Barrett, 2004, p. 29). Moreover, scholars posit that this was planned and induced by the Bush Administration (Moeller, 2004, Norris *et al.*, 2003). As Boyd-Barrett (2004) further argues, this was specifically accomplished handily through the White House "messages of the day" which allowed for intra-government agreement (framing) as well as controlling the day's media agenda.

2.4 Media Message on Terrorism

Media coverage can be defined as the way in which a particular piece of information is presented by media either as news, entertainment or as infotainment. It can affect the extent of information dissemination as well as influence the audience opinion while giving out the information. Bad coverage can ruin the image of a company; it can mar the positive publicity of a political party, and can even defame a celebrity. On the other hand, positive coverage can help create a better image and positive public opinion. Different types of media coverage can be defined based on two important elements - the type of mass media used, and the style of coverage (Winkler, 2012).

Winkler, (2012).argues that journalism often attracts controversy, not least where news coverage becomes part of the contest to define the social meaning of events. Reporting terrorism - whether the destruction of 9/11, suicide bombers in the second Intifada, or violence in Chechnya - raises significant questions about how far news coverage can meet journalistic standards of 'balance', 'truth' and 'objectivity' in cases of extreme political conflict. Debate has centered around two questions. First, does media coverage err on the side of group terrorists, lending them legitimacy and credibility? as well as unintentionally encouraging further incidents through a 'contagion' effect through publicizing the terrorist event?

Cepulkauskaite, (2000) reveals that the majority of experts justly call the contemporary terrorism mass media oriented terrorism. Namely, by analyzing terrorist activities one may notice that in the majority of cases they are carried out precisely in order to draw the attention of the international media. It could be said that terrorism acts aim at causing heavy casualties, but also at raising fear with the public which, thanks to the media, participatesö collaterally in every terrorist attack. The modern technologies have made it possible for small terror groups to use the mass media as a powerful gun, in such a way the mass media serves in the interests of terrorists, against its own will. But, opinions on the real relationship between media and terrorism vary greatly. Modern media technology and communications satellites have had a marked effect in increasing the publicity potential of terrorism, giving them ó the oxygen of publicityö.

It is the aim of terrorists to appear in the most popular programmes in order to gain mass publicity, but also legitimacy such media attention creates in the eyes of their followers and fans. That is the reason why "*Mini - manual of the Urban Guerrilla*" is of such importance. It was published in 1969

and written by Carlos Marighella, a Brazilian terrorist and one of the most influential theorists of modern terror, and has become the handbook for numerous terrorist movements all over the world. It discusses different ways of taking advantage of the mass media for terrorist purposes. He states that: "to inform about the revolutionists' actions is enough for the modern mass media to become an important tool of propaganda and that the psychological war is a technique of fight, based on direct or indirect usage of the mass media" (Cepulskaitė, 2000).

Tuman (2003) states that giving great publicity to terrorist actions, kidnappings in the first place, greatly increases the public pressure on government representatives to give in to terrorists' requests. The response American TV networks had on the crises related to kidnapping of American hostages who were taken to Beirut in 1985, is without a shadow of a doubt one of the best examples of terrorism capability to draw attention, and to exploit and manipulate media.

Although Kenya has experienced all four major types of terrorism - i.e., leftist, rightist, ethno nationalist, and religious (Cronin 2002) - the most devastating attacks have come from ethno nationalistic and religious terrorism. The manifestation of these dominant forms of terrorism in Kenya has a definite historical sequence.

2.5 Media Coverage Style

The majority of scholarly research on the connection between terrorism and the media perception has appeared in the form of articles in peer-reviewed journals or chapters in scholarly books. Less frequent are stand-alone monographs. A considerable amount of the books on the terrorism-news media relationship are edited collections, typically consisting of papers originally presented at a conference sponsored by an academic organization or think-tank. Other pieces are part of edited books that examine the news media's role regarding violent political conflict (Chitty *et al.*, 2003).

Many terrorist groups are very sensitive to the timing of news stories and audience dynamics, and structure their actions accordingly (Weimann and Winn, 1994). Several examples include: the 1974 kidnapping of Patricia Hearst by members of the Symbionese Liberation Army; the 1977 Baader-Meinhof gang suicide in Stammheim prison; the 1977 kidnapping of the Italian Prime Minister, Aldo Moro, by the Red Brigades; the 1983 Armenian Revolutionary Army attack against the Turkish ambassador in Lisbon; and the 1984 bombing of the Grand Hotel in Brighton by the Provisional Irish

Republican Army, the Mumbai Attack in 2008 (Poland, 1988).

Some established media outlets are sympathetic or appear overly accommodating to certain terrorist organizations. For example, in the aftermath of 9/11, Al Jazeera broadcasted videotapes of Osama bin Laden warning the West of impending terrorist attacks. Needless to say, over the past decade, the resource-intensive nature of owning and operating newspapers or radio or television stations has been mitigated because many terrorist groups now have their own websites, which are cost effective and portable (Weimann, 2004).

Locally "The Friday Bulletin", published by the influential Jamia Mosque Committee, has been cited as a medium for radicalization. Throughout the 90s, it consistently supported Islamist radical groups in Somalia. It only began to soften its stance recently, possibly after complaints from the Kenyan government and some Western embassies (Crisis Group, 2011).

Censorship is most common where the government controls the newspapers, television, and other means of communication. It increases the effectiveness of propaganda because the government can silence people who contradict its official views (Klaehn, 2005).

Al Shabaab uses various media in order to proliferate their propaganda. Besides traditional radio, the internet is the most heavily utilised by Al Shabaab and other militant Islamic groups such as Al Qaeda because it is the easiest and most cost-effective way to reach a large audience. As the internet is especially popular with today's youth, organisations such as Al Shabaab are using online forums and chat rooms in order to recruit young followers to their cause. Al Shabaab's official website, which has since been pulled-down, featured posts, videos and official statements in English, Arabic and Somali, as well as online classrooms to educate followers (Ploch, 2011). Prior to its expulsion from Mogadishu in mid-2011, Al-Shabaab had also launched the Al-Kataib propaganda newspaper and television station the year before. The channel's pilot program aired the confessions of Ahmed Kisi, an alleged Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) spy, who had been executed earlier in the week (Anti-Defamation League, 2011).

In addition, Al-Shabaab is also using music to influence and appeal to their young followers. According to Robin Wright, 2011, almost eight out of every ten soldiers in Somalia's many rebel

forces were children", which are especially influenced and susceptible messages conveyed to modern, western-themed music (Wright, 2011). One of Al Shabaab's foreign-born leaders, American Omar Hammami aka Abu Mansoor Al-Amriki, gained notoriety after an April 2009 video of him rapping about jihad (Gartenstein-Ross, 2011). Hammami's most recent song, "Send Me a Cruise", debuted online (Omar, 2011).

Selective reporting and self-censorship journalists sometimes face blackmail and intimidation as they attempt to gain access to terrorists (Weinberg & Davis, 1989). Once contact has been established, terrorists typically establish certain conditions under which they will speak; this may lead to selective reporting if reporters want to ensure continued access or their own safety, as some reporters have been kidnapped and killed in their efforts to talk with terrorists (Grieset & Mahan, 2003). For example, the *Wall Street Journal*'s Daniel Pearl, while working in Lahore, Pakistan, in 2002, received a tip that a high-ranking member of al Qaeda was willing to talk with him. Unfortunately, this was simply a ruse with the express purpose of killing him.

2.6 Media Coverage Policy

Editorial discretion just because a newsworthy story exists, does not mean that it will be assigned by an editor or producer nor if a story is written or shot does it mean that it will be published or broadcast. In addition to the relationship between reporters and sources, a complex understanding exists between journalists and their various editors or producers. This interaction naturally affects the outcome of articles or stories on terrorism. In deciding if, how, and when a story will be run, most editors or producers make decisions about the reliability and newsworthiness of the piece, its sources, competing articles, and other stories that are on schedule, or were written or shot for that day's news (Boyd-Barrett, 2003).

Most big news organisations are divided into different beats or journalists who have an expertise in a particular area. These working conditions determine a reporter's access to sources, the type of relationship the reporter has with his or her editors, competition among news outlets, and decisions concerning the investigation, writing, and timing of articles or segments on terrorism. Few news organisations, however, have reporters who specialise solely in covering terrorism. On occasion, reporters ó like Josh Myers of the *Los Angeles Times* óspecialise in covering stories on terrorism (Boyd-Barrett, 2003).

The news media have inadvertently hindered anti-terrorist efforts to successfully resolve hostage-type incidents. Press corps members have entered lines of fire and secured zones, and hostage and rescue forces have been pictured on live television as they moved in for an assault (Ross, 2009). In these situations, terrorists need only to turn on a television or radio newscast to gain the upper hand. There are countless examples of this, including the 1977 Hanafi Muslim takeover of the Bonai Børith building in Washington, DC, the Mumbai attack in 2008 and the Westgate siege in Nairobi in 2013.

Where there is considerable competition among news organisations, it is imperative to be the first to report any news (Tuckman, 1978), which in effect, affects the way news is obtained and portrayed (O'Neil, 1986; Chermack *et al.*, 2003). This could be accomplished basically in one of two ways, by being the first on the scene or by being the first to report some hitherto undisclosed information many at times leading to sensationalization of facts (Hoffman, 1998: 138).

Terrorist organisations constantly attempt to take advantage of the media in order to create and spread the atmosphere of fear and panic among a great group of people, since they are clearly aware of the importance and influence mass media have on them achieving their goals. Furthermore, their goal is to increase their propaganda, publicly proclaim their ideas or force governments to make concessions or to pay ransom. In spite of the fact that mass media present in open societies, as we could see in previous chapters, are at many times subject to terrorist manipulation and exploitation, they can also give a priceless contribution to a successful struggle against terrorism. There is number of ways in which media might react on terrorism and Wilkinson (2002) presents them through three main political options: *policy of laissez faire, media censorship or statutory regulation and voluntary self-restraint*. A second policy opinion on media response to terrorism is some form of *media censorship or statutory regulation*. Despite the fact that free access to mass media is one of the basic postulates of a democratic society, some democratic countries, facing a serious terrorist campaigns and threats, attempted to limit or completely ban media access to terrorist organizations (Wilkinson, 2002).

2.7 Critical Review

Compared to the other terrorist groups in the media a relatively large amount has been written on Al Qaeda awareness and fear. However very little is still covered among the public as a result of Al Shabaab attacks in Kenya.

The literature states that Al Shabaab uses various media in order to proliferate their propaganda. Besides traditional radio, the internet is the most heavily utilised by Al Shabaab and other militant Islamic groups such Al Qaeda because it is the easiest and most cost-effective way to reach a large audience. However, there is little evidence to show that some of these media is really from this group.

2.8 Research Gaps

The literature reviewed in this study indicates that a number of studies relating to the subject matter of this study have been done but empirical evidence for most areas are lacking. It is also evident that most of those studies already done, a majority of them are at the international scene and at the regional level establishing a gap in relation to scope providing a rationale for further research attempts to zero in on this gap, especially in relation to the local context.

Many studies done are based on Al Qaeda terrorist group, much more than Al Shabaab, and with even fewer studies on Al Shabaab terrorism in Kenya. This provides considerable gaps in research. Consequently, it is against this background the researcher contends that there is need to further explore and document the same for use in academia and in practice.

The study notes that there is still scant scholarly material on Al Shabaab and the media in Kenya.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Overview

This research chapter presents the research methodology study. The chapter also discusses the research design, study population, sampling procedure and sampling size, research instruments, data collection procedures and data analysis.

3.2 Research Design

The research applied retrospective study design. A retrospective study generally means to take a look back at events that already have taken place. Secondary data used in this study was extracted from the *Nation* and the *Standard* newspapers articles for the whole month of April 2014.

3.3 Sampling Frame

The data types discussed were recorded with reference to fixed and predetermined time points, which was 1st to 30th April 2014. When the data are recorded in a continuous time, the number and sequence of events and the durations between them can all be calculated. Such information is very powerful when one is concerned with understanding terror processes and how they interrelate.

3.4 Target Population

Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) define a population as an entire group of individuals, events or objects having a common observable characteristic. Target population in statistics is the specific population about which information is desired.

The study specifically targeted both *Nation* and the *Standard* newspaper(s) for the whole month of April 2014, with a special focus on news related to terrorism.

3.5 Sampling Method

Purposive sampling was used to select stories that contained materials that the researcher found useful for this study. The study deliberately targeted newspaper stories containing Al Shabaab related stories from both *Nation Standard* newspapers. The study deliberately did not use letters to the editor or opinioned as they were considered not to be news.

3.6 Data Collection Instruments

The data collection procedure used for the study was document review method ó it was used to extract the necessary information (news articles) from the respective newspapers. The data was collected through scrutiny of the newspaper articles.

Developing the data extraction tool (data collection instrument) was the last step in designing the study after all variables and their indicators of interest had been identified. By first identifying the information that will be needed to answer the study objectives, the data collection tool was limited only to the parameters needed to obtain the required information. The tool was made as simple as possible and collected only the most relevant information to ensure accuracy and validity.

Data extracted was coded to facilitate ease of analysis. The coded information was further recorded in the code sheet. In the coding, each news paper article was given a serial number (for example in DNA/01/i), the DN was code for the *Nation* while 01 was for the date he story appeared (this would then vary from 01 to 30 days of the month of April) and *i* represented the number of the story on that particular day. It was observed that in one day, a newspaper could have more than one story related to terrorism in Kenya.

3.8 Data Analysis and Presentation

The data collected (extracted) was neatly sorted, then coded according to the objectives, after which it was analysed using document analysis and thematic analysis techniques, based on the emerging issues (themes) under study. The results were then presented in form of frequency tables, narrative, pie charts and bar graphs; this ensured uniformity in presentation and enabled ease of interpretation

and conceptualization of the presented resultsøfindings.

Table 3.1: Study variable

Background variable(s)	Operationalisation	Indicator(s)
Nature of story	This refers to providing a story of certain nature (type) ranging from news, information, and or entertainment in the newspapers.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • News • Feature • Opinion • Editorial
Placement	This refers to where a story was placed in the media. In print, it could range from the front page to back page respectively. It also refers to the size allocated to a particular story.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Types of story • Story space • Lead story
Story selection	This refers to a pattern of highlighting news stories that coincide with the agenda at hand, while ignoring stories that coincide with the opposing views.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New stories • Spin • Story priorities
Labeling	This refers to bias by tagging a subject or a person under study.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bias • Political lineage • Taking sides
Prominence	This refers to the attention a story or message gets in the media. It can be measured by a number of factors that measure the quantity and quality of media coverage.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Story size and length • Use of visual • Extent of coverage
Tone	This refers to how a person, group, organisation, or issue is portrayed in the media. Tone is normally categorized as positive, neutral or negative, with various degrees of negative and positive tones.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sarcasm • Message fidelity

Source: Investigator (2014)

3.10 Ethical Considerations

This study adhered to appropriate research procedures and all sources of information were acknowledged as far as possible. Before the extraction tool will be administered, consent will be sought from the supervisor. The researcher presented before a panel of scholars at the University of Nairobi. The information (data) extracted was used only for the purpose of the study.

3.11 Reflexivity

Reflexivity involves making the research process itself a focus of inquiry, laying open pre-conceptions and becoming aware of situational dynamics in which the researcher (interviewer) and respondent are jointly involved in knowledge production. Reflexive practices provide opportunity for revising questions and even re-framing the research topic as the project unfolds (Malterud, 2001).

"A researcher's background and position will affect what they choose to investigate, the angle of investigation, the methods judged most adequate for this purpose, the findings considered most appropriate, and the framing and communication of conclusions" (Malterud, 2001).

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS FINDINGS, PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Overview

This chapter analysed the findings and presented the data in line with the objectives of the study. The results obtained were presented in the form of frequency tables, bar graphs, pie charts and narratives. The study is a qualitative study, which employed descriptive content analysis in order to establish the print media coverage on the war against terrorism in Kenya. This chapter is divided into several sections that are pertinent to the objectives under study.

4.2 Response Rate

The data analysed here represents more than hundred percent of the newspaper articles (data extracted) and which the study considered adequate for the analysis. The study was able to attain such a high response rate as a result of the fact that all the newspapers for the month of April 2014 were available at hand, also due to proper record keeping of the news articles, proper orienting to the study, also following the supervisor guidelines, and finally adhering to the research requirements prescribed by the institution.

4.3 Newspapers Profile

On the total number of terrorism related stories coverage as per each paper for that (April) month, the study found that *Nation* covered (108) while *Standard* covered (101) stories in total. Figure 2 has further details of the findings.

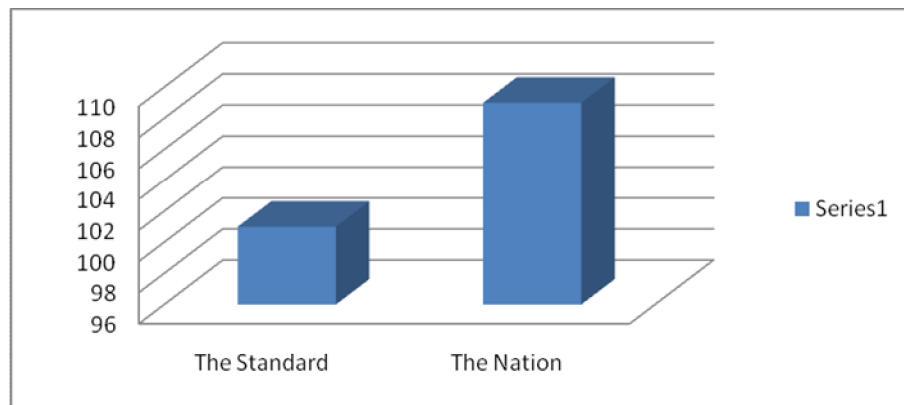


Figure 4.1: Total number of terrorism related stories in the month of April 2014, from the *Nation* and *Standard*

4.4 Type of Stories in the Print Media on Terrorism

With regards to the total number of terrorism related stories coverage by newspapers, on that month, the study found the total coverage of the different types as news (75 percent), briefs (16 percent), editorial (6 percent), features (2 percent), pictorial (1 percent) and caricature (0 percent) respectively. The table below has more details.

Table 4.1: Types of terrorism stories in the month of April 2014, from *Nation*

Type of story in Nation	Frequency	Percentage (100%)
Briefs	17	16
Caricature	0	0
Editorials	7	6
Features	2	2
News	81	75
Pictorial	1	1
Total	108	100

Source: Researcher (2014)

The figure below has details of the findings.

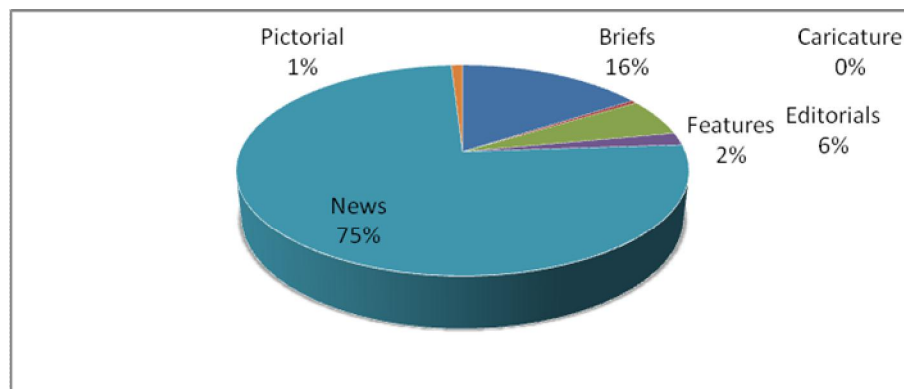


Figure 4.2: Types of terrorism stories in the month of April 2014, from *Nation* and *Standard*.

4.5 Types of Stories per Newspaper

4.5.1 *Nation*

On the nature (types) of story covered by the Daily Nation newspaper, the study found out that a majority of the stories were news (71 percent), briefs (19 percent, editorial (7 percent), caricature (1 percent), features (1 percent) and pictorial (1 percent) respectively. Table 4.2 has details of the findings.

Table 4.2: The nature of terrorism stories in the month of April 2014

Types of story	Daily Nation		Standard	
	Frequency	(100%)	Frequency	(100%)
Briefs	20	19	13	13
Caricature	1	1	0	0
Editorials	8	7	4	4
Features	1	1	3	3
News	77	71	80	79
Pictorial	1	1	1	1
Total	108	100	101	100

Source: Researcher (2014)

4.5.2 The Standard Newspaper

With regards to the types of stories covered by *The Standard newspaper*, the study found out that a majority of the stories were news (79 percent), briefs (13 percent), editorial (4 percent), features (3 percent), pictorial (1 percent) and caricature (0 percent) respectively. Table has details of the findings.

4.6 Editorials Context

The study noted that the editorial(s) in total number were for *Nation* and *Standard* newspapers respectively. The editorial in *Nation* had key emerging themes, and some of them included terrorist attacks using force, discussion on the aftermath of terrorism and government security action.

The *Standard* had similar themes emerging, in addition to political responses to terrorism. The high number of the total editorial writings in both newspapers, combined by the

strong emerging themes, is a clear indication that both newspapers took the terrorist attack for that month very serious, and they aimed to inform and educate the readers on terrorism actions by the Al Shabaab, together with the security measures that needed to be taken to prevent or avoid any further attacks. The study noted all editorial stories from newspapers agreed and emphasized on peace and security in the country in the month (April 2014). Newspapers typically employ a person in an editorial role, to oversee the organization and selection of news stories written by their journalists or from news services, into the final layout most likely to interest their readership.

4.7 Placement of Stories

Newspapers usually tell readers what is significant and meaningful through the placement of stories in and on their pages. Within a paper's sections, the readers almost invariably read pages in order of page from beginning to the end and so on. Recognizing this, newspapers place the stories they think are most important on the earliest pages. (Tuchman, (1978).

Placement in the study's operationalisation referred to the positioning of the article in the respective news paper in terms of page number and sizing. In establishing one of the study's specific objective, the researcher purposively sampled some articles depicting different placement from the respective newspapers and the likelihood outcomes.

The placement of the stories on a page is also important. Most of the readers read from top to bottom and from left to right. Stories that the newspaper staff deem important tend to be placed in front and toward the left of the page. This is an important aspect of the power of newspapers to influence public opinion and of media literacy. As in agenda setting it is believed that the way newspapers and other media influence not only what the public think but what the public think about.

Usually, an editor will place on the front page of their newspaper the most important stories of the day based on some pre-defined criteria. For example, some classical news criteria often considered are: Timing - important topics are usually new, or at least current. Significance - the number of people affected by a news story will have a bearing on its newsworthiness. Proximity - geographically, the nearer news story to the readership, the more important its bearing and the Prominence - events happening to

celebrities, politicians or other famous people are more newsworthy. (Tuchman, (1978).

The quantity of news coverage is an important dimension of what is covered in the newspaper. Every story can be told in a variety of ways. It can be long or short, include photographs, be written in a straight news way or have a more feature-style approach, regards to of stories in the print media on war against terrorism in Kenya.

4.7.1 The *Nation*

4.7.1.1 Story Placement

Regarding placement by page(s) in the study found that a majority of the stories appeared in page 1 ó 5 (43 percent), 6 ó 10 (18 percent), 11 ó 15 (11 percent), 16 ó 20 (6 percent), 21 ó 25 (1 percent), 41 ó 45 (1 percent), 46 ó 50 (3 percent), 50 ó 54 (8 percent) and 55 ó 59 (9 percent), respectively. The table 3 below has details of the findings.

Table 4.4: The *Nation* newspaper placement of terrorism stories based on the page numbers

Placement by pages	Frequency	Percentage (100%)
1 ó 5	46	43
6 ó 10	19	18
11 ó 15	12	11
16 ó 20	6	6
21 ó 25	2	1
27 ó 31	0	0
32 ó 36	0	0
36 ó 40	0	0
41 ó 45	1	1
46 ó 50	3	3
50 ó 54	9	8
55 ó 59	10	9
Total	101	100

Source: Researcher (2014)

Croteau, D, & Hoynes, W. (2001), in their book *The business of media: Corporate Media and the Public Interest*, state that the media industry as much as it is for informing the public, it is also a business entity, the more sales and advertisements the more money. Sales are generated over interests by the readers based on the stories and images.

Kenya newspaper culture has shown that a majority will read news based on what they see on the front page. Kenya print media owners are well aware of this tradition and will always go for the sensational headlines and the gory on the front page.

The main criteria in identifying the month of April as the time scope of the study, was due to the publicly declared government operation dubbed *Operation Usalama Watch* if main objective was to clear the country of *aliens* considered the biggest perpetrators of the terror acts in the country. The operation involved swoops in several parts of the country, detention of undocumented persons and repatriation of the same persons to their mother countries.

On the 7 April 2014, there were five articles related to terrorism. Article *DNA/07/i* *Police hold hundreds in Kasarani Stadium* which was on the front page discussed how the police were holding over 3,000 people at Kasarani and that the media were locked out from Kasarani. The reporter further added that they could not confirm the number of people detained or the conditions under which they were in. The Kenya police have in the past been accused of violation of certain human rights, though this particular article did not outrightly accuse the police of such atrocities a certain innuendo by the reporter.

What followed as a result of such articles covering the swoop was a public outcry in the social media that the people targeted in the swoop were innocent. A far cry from reality as observed in article *DNA/07/ii* *Bomb Factory found in police terror crack down* This particular article published on the same day as *DNA/07/i* (discussed above) was on page four, the article was about how the police discovered a *bomb factory* with chemicals, equipments and manuals for making bombs in Samad Islamic Institute on 7th Avenue in Eastleigh, the same location where some of the 3000 mentioned in *DNA/07/i* were from. The discovery of the *bomb factory* was a continuation of the hundreds detained story however, the newspaper consciously put the bomb details in page four setting the agenda for the day to be the detaining of the hundreds and the media being barred from Kasarani

as opposed to the findings of the swoop.

One of the many questions that the study sought to answer was if the media actually magnified the threat and fear in people in the way they reported terrorism instead of allaying their fears. To answer this, the study looked into article *DNA/03/iii* 'Police blow up bomb in swoop' This particular article was positive in that the police averted an attack by detonating a bomb that had been planted and discovered by a driver and street kids. The story had different angles, one of the effectiveness of the 'Nyumba Kumi' initiative, which is being aware of your surroundings, community policing and the efficiency of the Kenya Police bomb squad to be able to detonate a bomb. Had it been put in page one, the story would have captured the attention of many, creating a sense of assurance that the terror menace even though on the minimal could be mitigated, However the story was put on page five.

The research realised that more often than not negative stories (attacks), gory images or sensational headlines always make the front page. Nonetheless, it was observed that in the war against terrorism the *Nation* newspaper had several positive stories on the front page, for instance *DNB/12/i* 'How KDF rescued kidnapped workers in Al Shabaab raid' The story depicted how a commando unit staged a night ambush deep inside enemy territory to rescue two civilians who had been abducted three years ago. Unlike other stories which created a sense of hopelessness and lack of confidence on security agents, this particular article renewed hope in them and gave a sense of security to Kenyans whilst demoralising the enemy.

4.7.1.2 Placement by Size

Regarding placement by size, in *Nation*, study sizes were found as half (42 percent), quarter (20 percent), brief (26 percent), and full (12 percent) respectively. The table has details of the findings.

Table 4.5: The *Nation* newspaper placement of terrorism stories based on size

Placement by size	Frequency	Percentage (100%)
Brief	28	26
Full	13	12

Half	45	42
Quarter	22	20
Total	108	100

Source: Researcher (2014)

Typically, one will find reporting on the events that the editor deems most important or of greatest interest to the newspaper's readership on the front page or in full size of a newspaper. Above the fold is the upper half of the front page of a newspaper where an important news story or photograph is often located.

Papers are often displayed to customers folded so that only the top half of the front page is visible. Thus, an item that is "above the fold" may be one that the editors feel will entice people to buy the paper. Alternatively, it reflects a decision, on the part of the editors, that the article is one of the day's most important. By extension, the space above the fold is also preferred by advertisers, since it is the most prominent and visible even when the newspaper is on vendors stands. A look at front pages of the newspapers showed that both newspapers placed more emphasis on terrorism related stories, and some appeared bigger than they really were, and a lot of emphasis was put especially as they applied on the full sized pages.

The research established that several stories that depicted government action to mitigate the terror menace were more often than not limited to quarter pages or briefs. As mentioned in paragraph 4.6 this chapter will deliberately discuss just a section of the sample. The airports security personnel in Kenya had been on high alert since an explosive had been discovered at the Jomo Kenyatta International Airport in January 2014. Tourism in the country had also been affected by the numerous terror threats. Evidently, it was expected that, when the government announced to improve security measures at the main tourists entry point-the airports, the media would be in tow to communicate this.

The article *DNA/01/iii* under the headline "Police to vet staff in security drive" this particular article was about the several measures that the Kenya Airports Authority was to undertake to improve the security situation at the airports. Measuring the loss caused

through the low tourist numbers, the quarter page of the story did not go a long way to allay the fears of the tourists. The research observed that more negative terror stories seem to have been placed on the most prominent sections of the newspapers and in larger pages in size so as to ensure greater visibility of the story and to ensure that the story sells, in the process propagating the terrorist messages. Therefore in a way placement by size of an article is extremely important, as the closer to the front and the bigger the story in size, the more important it is considered to have. Most editors realise that newspaper readers start at the front and they may or may not make it all the way to the back, and so the news articles that are considered highly significant, a tension-getting, worthwhile are placed on a larger (bigger) size and mostly in front or at the center of the newspapers.

4.7.2 *The Standard* 4.7.2.1 Placement by Page

In *The Standard newspaper* regarding placement by page(s) in the study found that a majority of the stories appeared in page 6 ó 10 (40%) and minority in pages 55 ó 59 (9%), respectively. The table below has details of the findings.

Table 4.6: *The Standard newspaper* placement of terrorism stories based on the page numbers

Placement by pages	Frequency	Percentage (100%)
1 ó 5	36	36
6 ó 10	40	40
11 ó 15	11	10
16 ó 20	4	4
21 ó 25	5	5
27 ó 31	2	2
32 ó 36	2	2
36 ó 40	0	0
41 ó 45	0	0
46 ó 50	0	0
50 ó 54	0	0
55 ó 59	1	1
Total	101	100

Source: Researcher (2014)

When it comes to placement of stories by page numbers, the study observed that both newspapers placed greater emphasis on terrorism related stories. An example is *The Standard newspaper* (SDD / 25 / i) story which appeared on the front page and it was much bigger in size. The story headlined ‘Police pursue link in bombers were’ (SDD / 25 / i) seems over-emphasised in this newspaper, even to the extent that it was in full colour and placed with a clear picture, on the first page showing the aftermath of a terrorist attack.

This story (SDD / 25 / i) was placed on the headlines of first page as it would be of greater interest to any reader, and as a result of the terrorist related subject matter, it will most likely have a very huge appeal to many. Terrorism attacks by the Al Shabaab might be of interest to almost any reader in the country, and a human interest story about such a gory attack might have almost universal appeal. Looking at the overall content picture, newspapers of regardless of size of this was a major story.

4.7.2.2 Placement by Size

Regarding placement by size, in *Standard*, study sizes were found as half (49 percent), quarter (30 percent), brief (14 percent) and full (7 percent) respectively. The table below has details of the findings.

Table 4.7: The *Standard* placement of terrorism stories based on the page sizes

Placement by size	Frequency	Percentage (100%)
Full	8	7
Half	49	49
Quarter	30	30
Brief	14	14
Total	101	100

Source: Researcher (2014)

In order for news stories and press releases to be effective on they need to sell prominent stories on bigger page sizes. Full pages size pages give news readers more information.

Every day the editorial staff of a *The Standard* makes decisions about which stories are most important and this is demonstrated by the placement by size that they place on the stories. The study revealed that the negative terrorist related stories seem to occupy full page (7percent) and half page (49 percent), and yet other the positive stories such as (SDD /76/I) on -Police warn public to watch out as terrorist now turn to IEDsøis clearly a story of important that highlights the teams of public education, regarding their safety and security is not given as much prominence. Therefore when it came to placement by size - the story placement of negative aspects of terrorism was more prominent in this newspaper.

4.8 Media Messages on Terrorism

On emerging themes that dominated the newspapers, the study found government action (40 percent), attacks and aftermaths (30 percent), political response (20 percent) and business angle (10percent) respectively. The table below has further details of the findings.

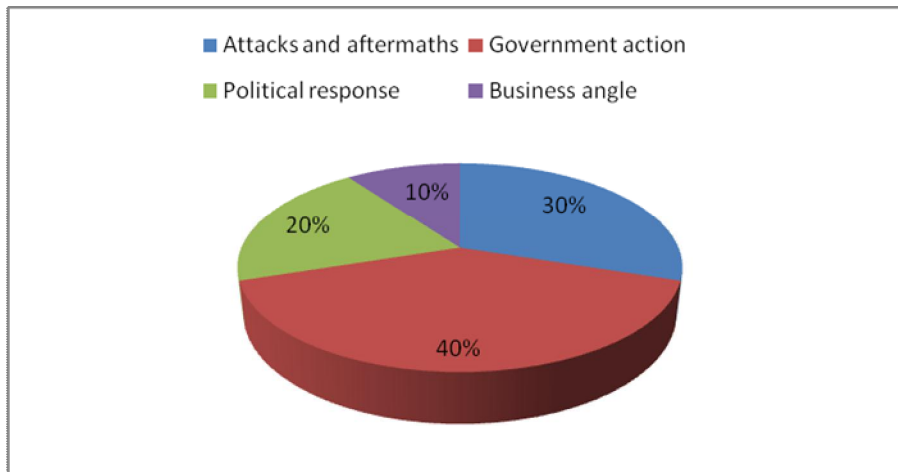
Table 4.8: *The* and *Nation* media messages on terrorism

Messages print carry media Nation & Standard	Frequency	Percentage (100%)
Government action	84	40
Attacks and aftermaths	62	30
Political response	42	20
Business angle	21	10
Total	209	100

Source: Researcher (2014)

Figure 4.3 Further details of the findings.

Figure 4.3: Types of emerging themes in the newspapers



In order to further realize the specific objectives of the study, the research looked into the various messages that were in the various articles collected. In the operationalisation of the study, the messages refer to the themes that emerged from the different types of stories. The emerging themes included: attacks and aftermaths, government action, political response and the business angle. There are emerging issues that have been highlighted by both newspapers.

The attacks and aftermaths theme was found in example (DNA / 01 / i) Night of terrorí , (DNA / 02 / iv) 10 in hospital, (DNA / 02 / vii) Police roundí , (DNA / 03 / vi) Tight securityí and (DNA / 04 / iii) No bail forí and others.

The government action was observed (DNA / 05 / i) Headline, picture, (DNA / 06 / iv) Swoops are notí , (DNA / 07 / i) Police holdí , (DNB / 08 / v) Police and (SDA / 07 / iv) Top Officers.

The political response was noted in (DNA / 07 / ii) Dualeí , (DNB / 08 / iv) MPs take on Dualeí , (DNB / 13 / iv) Uhuru Must and many others.

The business angle was seen in examples of articles (DNB / 15 / i) Lest we forgetí , (DND / 24 / i) Westgate and (SDA / 07 / v) Envoy back anti-terror and in among many other examples.

Tone is the result of allusion, diction, figurative language, imagery, irony, symbol, syntax, style, and so on. Tone in writing is conveyed by both the choices of words and the narrator of the story. According to Hutton and Hutton, tone is a literary of composition, which encompasses the attitudes toward the subject and toward the audience implied in a literary work. Tone may be formal, informal, intimate, solemn, somber, playful, serious, ironic, condescending, or many other possible attitudes. Each piece of literature has at least one theme, or central question about a topic and *how* the theme is approached within the work is known as the tone.

Based on the analysis of the newspapers, the study notes that both newspapers had key emerging issues in the print media coverage on war against terrorism in Kenya for the month of April 2014. Some of these key messages on coverage included the actual magnitude of the terrorist attack, the aftermath of the attack, the government action plus and the political responses on the various Al Shabaab attacks during that month.

This refers to how a person, group, organisation, or issue is portrayed in the media. Tone is normally categorized as positive, neutral or negative, with various degrees of negative and positive tones. The messages on the newspapers had varying tones ranging from positive, neutral and negative. The majority of the stories analysed from both papers had a negative tone. Regarding print media messages and based on the tone of the story, the study noted for the *Standard*, positive messages (43 percent), neutral (27 percent) and negative (30 percent) messages respectively.

The tone of a literary work is the perspective or attitude that the author adopts with regards to a specific character, place or development. Tone can portray a variety of emotions ranging from solemn, grave, and critical to witty, wry and humorous. Tone helps the reader ascertain the writer's feelings towards a particular topic and this in turn influences the reader's understanding of the article. Tables below have details of the findings.

Table 4.9: The *Standard* placement of terrorism stories based on the tone of the story

Tone of story Standard	Frequency	Percentage (100%)
Positive	44	43

Neutral	27	27
Negative	30	30
Total	101	100

Source: Researcher (2014)

Table below has details of the findings.

Table 4.10: The *Nation* placement of terrorism stories based on the tone of the story

Tone	Frequency	Percentage (100%)
Positive	33	31
Neutral	35	32
Negative	40	37
Total	108	100

Source: Researcher (2014)

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CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Overview

This chapter attempted to give conclusion and recommendations related to the print media coverage on war against terrorism in Kenya.

5.2 Conclusion

The main purpose of this study was to establish the print media coverage on war against terrorism in Kenya. Specifically the study aimed to answer; What are the types of stories in the print media related to terrorism in Kenya? What is the media placement of stories on war against terrorism in Kenya? What media messages do media carry on war against terrorism in Kenya? With regarding the types of stories in the print media related to Al Shabaab terrorism in Kenya. As pertains Al Shabaab attacks in total, both newspapers had 209 (100percent) different types of stories in the print media, consisting of news 157 (75 percent), briefs 33 (16 percent), editorial 12 (5.5 percent), features 4 (2 percent), pictorial 2 (1 percent) and caricature 1 (0.5 percent) respectively.

The study therefore concludes that news stories were given more prominence when it came to the types of stories in the print media related to terrorism in Kenya was probably because the print media wanted to draw as much attention as possible from the public to the terrorist news story. This conclusion is in agreement with a similar study by Cepulkauskaitė, (2000) who stated that the majority of experts justly call the contemporary terrorism mass media oriented terrorism. By analysing terrorist activities one may notice that in the majority of cases they are carried out precisely in order to draw the attention of the international news media. The modern technologies have made it possible for small terror groups to use the mass media as a powerful gun, in such a way the mass media serves in the interests of terrorists, against its own will. But, opinions on the real relationship between media and terrorism vary greatly.

When it came to the media placement of stories on war against terrorism in Kenya, the study found that on the front pages of both newspapers, a lot more emphasis was placed on terrorism related stories, and even some appeared bigger than they really were, colour was even added to some stories and there appeared to be some subtle exaggerations. The

study therefore concludes that in order to create publicity, the negative terrorism stories in print media was greatly over-emphasized, most prominent and even at some point greatly exaggerated. This conclusion was in agreement with Wilkinson, (2002) who argued that terrorist organizations constantly attempt to take advantage of the media in order to create and spread the atmosphere of fear and panic among a great group of people, since they are clearly aware of the importance and influence mass media have on them achieving their goals. Furthermore, their goal is to increase their propaganda, publicly proclaim their ideas or force governments to make concessions or to pay ransom. In addition Tunman, (2003) observes that terrorists are drawn to news media coverage because they desire maximum publicity for their messages and symbolic actions.

In regards to the media messages the media carry on war against terrorism in Kenya. The study revealed that most of the stories on both newspapers had a negative tone. The study therefore concludes that terrorist events are commonly understood through news 'frames' that simplify, prioritize and structure the narrative flow of events. Understanding mass communications through the concept of framing has become increasingly common, whether in the fields of social psychology, public opinion, or media studies. This is agreement with a similar study by Entmanø (1993) who stated that tone of words, fractured, paradigm for communication scholars, as it integrates influences from various disciplines. Frames can be located in four places in the communication process; within the communicator, the text, the receiver, and the culture itself. Also in the context of political and mass communication, frames influence how people understand, remember, evaluate, and act upon a problem (Reese 2001).

5.3 Recommendations

After the review and analysis of the newspaper articles covering terrorism in the month of April 2014 on the *Daily Nation and the Standard*, the research observed that, there were areas of improvement in regards to reporting terrorism related news. The study therefore recommends that;

First and foremost the media should exercise a lot of caution in reporting news related to terrorism. It should avoid words that may seem to magnify the threat and fear in people, and tone down on negative rhetoric.

The media should also practice a lot of objectivity and accuracy in the way they report terrorism. This caution should also be applied on the narratives picked on terror news and the framing of the same.

The media should promote articles and stories that inform and educate the public more on terrorism and its adverse effects, and also enlighten the general public on how they can contribute to fight the war against terror and how to react in the unfortunate event of terror attacks.

The media should also promote stories that unite people and rally them together in times of terror attacks and avoid stories that may breed stereotypes against certain persons in the community.

The media should wholly embrace self regulation. As print media industry in Kenya they should develop policies, through various stakeholders that will encourage checks and balances, which will enable the media to regulate itself effectively and efficiently.

In addition, organizations such as Media Council of Kenya, Kenya Union of Journalists, and the Editor's Guild among others should spearhead campaigns that create awareness among its members on terrorism reporting and also be on the forefront on cracking the whip on journalists and media houses who report contrary to the set guidelines.

It is also recommended that the Government, through its various security agencies, organise media-security seminars that enlighten the media fraternity on the best practices

especially in coverage of terror activities.

5.4 Areas for further studies

Due to the limited range of scholarly literature that directly addresses the print media coverage on war against terrorism in Kenya additional research is needed not only to serve as a fundamental theoretical framework on the topic, but also to bring scholars closer to understanding precisely the complex relationship between media and terrorism.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Data collection tool

The main purpose of this study will be to establish the coverage of media coverage on war against terrorism. Specific Objective

- i.** To establish the type of stories in the print media related to terrorism.
- ii.** To establish placement of stories on war against terrorism in Kenya.
- iii.** To find out what messages media carry on war against terrorism in Kenya.

Data collection table (Sheet)

The Nation Newspaper							
No.	Serial Number (number as per story)	Nature of story (News, Brief, Editorial, Feature)	Page (Beginning - End)	Size (Full, half, quarter, brief)	Tone (Positive, Neutral, Negative)	Title	Remarks (picture, pictorial, headline, business news, story. continuation)
Week A							
1	DNA / 01 / i	News	1, 8, 9	Full	Negative	Night of terrorí	Picture, continuation
2	DNA / 01 / ii	Brief	2	Brief	Neutral	Trader in terrorí	
3	DNA / 01 / iii	Brief	2	Small	Positive	Police to vet airportí	
4	DNA / 02 / i	News	4	Quarter	Positive	Baby Satrine...	
5	DNA / 02 / ii	News	4, 5	Half	Negative	Terrorist ate atí	Picture
6	DNA / 02 / iii	News	5	Quarter	Neutral	Airport, ferryí	
7	DNA / 02 / iv	Brief	5	Brief	Negative	10 in hospital..	
8	DNA / 02 / v	Brief	5	Brief	Positive	Victims tell ofí	
9	DNA / 02 / vi	News	6	Half	Negative	Muslim preacher	Picture
10	DNA / 02 / vii	News	6	Quarter	Neutral	Police roundí	Picture
11	DNA / 03 / i	News	4	Half	Negative	Rogo wife cries	Picture
12	DNA / 03 / ii	News	4	Half	Neutral	Slain	

No.	Serial Number (number as per story)	Nature of story (News, Brief, Editorial, Feature)	Page (Beginning - End)	Size (Full, half, quarter, brief)	Tone (Positive, Neutral, Negative)	activist... Title	Remarks (picture, pictorial, headline, business news, story. continuation)
13	DNA / 03 / iii	News	5	Half	Positive	Police blow upí	Picture
14	DNA / 03 / iv	Brief	5	Brief	Positive	Help us arrestí	
15	DNA / 03 / v	News	5	Quarter	Negative	Makaburi killing..	
16	DNA / 03 / vi	News	6	Half	Positive	Tight securityí	Picture
17	DNA / 03 / vii	News	6	Half	Neutral	Cleric courtedí	
18	DNA / 04 / i	News	4	Quarter	Neutral	Police warní	
19	DNA / 04 / ii	News	4	Quarter	Positive	Bomb vehicleí	Picture
20	DNA / 04 / iii	News	5	Half	Positive	No bail forí	Picture
21	DNA / 04 / iv	Brief	5	Brief	Neutral	Majid mení	
22	DNA / 04 / v	Brief	5	Brief	Neutral	Bomb Suit	Picture
23	DNA / 04 / vi	Brief	5	Brief	Negative	Explosiveí	
24	DNA / 05 / i	News	1,4,5	Full	Positive	Surrender or elseí	Headline, picture
25	DNA / 05 / ii	News	5	Half	Positive	Reliefí	Picture
26	DNA / 05 / iii	News	6	Quarter	Neutral - positive	Duale threatensí	Picture
27	DNA / 05 / iv	Brief	6	Brief	Negative	Attackers targetí	

No.	Serial Number (number as per story)	Nature of story (News, Brief, Editorial, Feature)	Page (Beginning - End)	Size (Full, half, quarter, brief)	Tone (Positive, Neutral, Negative)	Title	Remarks (picture, pictorial, headline, business news, story. continuation)
28	DNA / 05 / v	Editorial	12	Quarter	Positive	Terse Uhuruí	
29	DNA / 06 / i	News	1	Half	Neutral	Muslim leaders..	Picture
30	DNA / 06 / ii	News	4	Full	Neutral	500 moreí	Picture
31	DNA / 06 / iii	News	6	Half	Neutral	Plot hatchedí	Picture
32	DNA / 06 / iv	Editorial	12	Brief	Negative	Swoops are notí	
33	DNA / 06 / v	News	59 ó last page	Half	Negative	Blast survivorsí	Picture
34	DNA / 07 / i	News	1, 4	Full	Neutral	Police holdí	Picture
35	DNA / 07 / ii	News	5	Half	Neutral	Dualeí	Picture
36	DNA / 07 / iii	Brief	5	Brief	Negative	Most wantedí	
37	DNA / 07 / iv	News	5	Brief	Positive	Muslim leadersí	Picture
Week B							
1	DNB / 08 / i	News	5	Half	Neutralí	How teacher eluded	Picture
2	DNB / 08 / ii	News	5	Brief	Negative	Over 4,000 suspects	
3	DNB / 08 / iii	News	5	Brief	Negative	Lawyers askí	
4	DNB / 08 / iv	News	5	Brief	Neutral	MPs take on Dualeí	Picture
5	DNB / 08 / v	News	4	Half	Neutral	Police	Picture

No.	Serial Number (number as per story)	Nature of story (News, Brief, Editorial, Feature)	Page (Beginning - End)	Size (Full, half, quarter, brief)	Tone (Positive, Neutral, Negative)	probeí Title	Remarks (picture, pictorial, headline, business news, story. continuation)
6	DNB / 08 / vi	Brief	4	Brief	Negative	Deadly attach	Picture
7	DNB / 08 / vii	Editorial	12	Quarter	Neutral	Go for specifící	
8	DNB / 08 / viii	Editorial	12	Quarter	Positive	Whole Hearted..	
9	DNB / 08 / ix	-	12	Quarter	Negative	Caricature	Caricature
10	DNB / 09 / i	News	5	Half	Negative	Police alert	Picture
11	DNB / 09 / ii	News	5	Quarter	Neutral	Give Kimaiyoí	
12	DNB / 09 / iii	News	5	Half	Neutral	Jubilee Pact feelsí	
13	DNB / 10 / i	News	4,5	Half	Neutral	Kenya Deportí	Picture
14	DNB / 10 / ii	News	5	Half	Negative	Wrangles rocksí	
15	DNB / 11 / i	News	1, 4	Half	Negative	Revealed:	Picture
16	DNB / 11 / ii	News	1, 3	Half	Positive	Time to play	Picture
17	DNB / 11 / iii	Brief	2	Brief	Negative	They are lawyers..	Picture
18	DNB / 11 / iv	News	3	Quarter	Positive	UNHCR: Wantí	
19	DNB / 11 / v	Brief	4	Brief	Neutral	Westgate	
20	DNB / 11 / vi	Brief	4	Brief	Negative	12 Found without	
21	DNB / 11 / vii	Brief	4	Brief	Negative	Man facing explosive	
22	DNB / 11 / viii	News	5	Half	Positive	Olenku	Picture

No.	Serial Number (number as per story)	Nature of story (News, Brief, Editorial, Feature)	Page (Beginning - End)	Size (Full, half, quarter, brief)	Tone (Positive, Neutral, Negative)	reaches Title	Remarks (picture, pictorial, headline, business news, story. continuation)
23	DNB / 11 / ix	News	5	Quarter	Positive	Meeting...	
24	DNB / 11 / x	News	5	Quarter	Neutral	Police say	Picture
25	DNB / 11 / xi	Editorial	12	Quarter	Positive	War	
26	DNB / 12 / i	News	1, 4	Full	Positive	How KDF	Picture
27	DNB / 12 / ii	News	5	Half	Positive	Weðl not relent	Picture
28	DNB / 12 / iii	News	5	Quarter	Positive	Chief Warní	
29	DNB / 12 / iv	News	5	Quarter	Positive	Car Boom	
30	DNB / 12 / v	News	5	Quarter	Negative	Muslim Leaders	Picture
31	DNB / 13 / i	News	6	Half	Positive	Police Swoop	Picture
32	DNB / 13 / ii	Caricature	12	Quarter	Positive	Caricature	Caricature
33	DNB / 13 / iii	News ó Business	40	Full	Negative	Terror Fears	Picture
34	DNB / 13 / iv	Editorial	39	Quarter	Neutral	Uhuru Must	Picture
35	DNB / 14 / i	News	1	Half	Positive	Shabaab Rich	
36	DNB / 14 / ii	News	4	Quarter	Positive	Office	
37	DNB / 14 / iii	News	5	Half	Positive	Cleric backs	Picture
38	DNB / 15 / i	News	5	Half	Positive	Lest we forget	Picture
39	DNB / 15 / ii	News	5	Quarter	Negative	Terror timeline	
Week C							
1	DNC / 16 / i	News	4	Half	Negative	Manø two year	Picture

No.	Serial Number (number as per story)	Nature of story (News, Brief, Editorial, Feature)	Page (Beginning - End)	Size (Full, half, quarter, brief)	Tone (Positive, Neutral, Negative)	Title	Remarks (picture, pictorial, headline, business news, story. continuation)
2	DNC / 16 / ii	News	5	Half	Neutral	Muslim Acuse	Picture
3	DNC / 16 / iii	News	5	Quarter	Neutral	My life is in...	
4	DNC / 16 / iv	News	5	Quarter	Positive	13 Foreigners	
5	DNC / 16 / v	News	5	Quarter	Negative	Terrorist Could	Picture
6	DNC / 17 / i	News	16	Quarter	Negative	Alarm Raised	Picture
7	DNC / 17 / ii	News	4	Half	Negative	Illegal Immigrants	Picture
8	DNC / 18 / i	News	4	Half	Negative	Shabaab Woos	Picture
9	DNC / 19 / i	News	5	Half	Positive	How Kikwete	Picture
10	DNC / 20 / i	News	End	Half	Neutral	Duale now backs	Picture
11	DNC / 21 / i	News	10	Half	Neutral	Kenyans Arrested	Picture
12	DNC / 21 / ii	News	10	Quarter	Positive	Two Belgium	
13	DNC / 22 / i	News	1, 4	Quarter	Negative	How corruption	Picture
14	DNC / 22 / ii	News	5	Half	Neutral	Jubilee Parties	Picture
15	DNC / 22 / iii	News	5	Quarter	Negative	Swoops Net	
16	DNC / 22 / iv	News	5	Quarter	Negative	Six Hundred Picked	

No.	Serial Number (number as per story)	Nature of story (News, Brief, Editorial, Feature)	Page (Beginning - End)	Size (Full, half, quarter, brief)	Tone (Positive, Neutral, Negative)	Title	Remarks (picture, pictorial, headline, business news, story. continuation)
17	DNC / 22 / v	Brief	5	Brief	Positive	Cleric backs	
18	DNC / 23 / i	Editorial	12	Quarter	Negative	Corruption to	
19	DNC / 23 / ii	Pictorial	11	Quarter	Neutral	Pictorial	Pictorial
Week D							
1	DND / 24 / i	News	9	Half	Negative	Westgate	Picture
2	DND / 24 / ii	News	10	Half	Negative	Car Explored	Picture
3	DND / 24 / iii	News	10	Quarter	Neutral	Now Posh	Picture
4	DND / 25 / i	News	1, 4, 5	Full	Negative	Kimayo, Lenku	Picture
5	DND / 25 / ii	Brief	4	Brief	Neutral	Uhuru Warns	
6	DND / 25 / iii	News	5	Half	Negative	Diligent officers	Picture
7	DND / 25 / iv	Brief	5	Brief	Negative	Operation	
8	DND / 25 / v	Brief	5	Brief	Negative	Car with explosives	
9	DND / 26 / vi	Editorial	2	Quarter	Positive	They died to protect	
10	DND / 27 / i	Feature	6, 7	Full	Neutral	The Sheik	Picture
11	DND / 28 / i	News	6	Half	Negative	War Against	Picture
12	DND / 29 / i	News	8	Half	Neutral	Rogo Killer	Picture
13	DND / 29 / ii	Brief	8	Quarter	Neutral	Saudi Student	
14	DND / 30 / i	News ó Business impact	1, 2, 3, 4, 5	Full	Positive	Terror attack	Picture
Source: Investigator (2014)							

THE STANDARD NEWSPAPER							
No.	Serial Number (number as per story)	Nature of story (News, Brief, Editorial, Feature)	Page (Beginning - End)	Size (Full, half, quarter, brief)	Tone (Positive, Neutral, Negative)	Title	Remarks (picture, pictorial, headline, business news, story. continuation)
	Week A						
1	SDA / 02 / i	News	24	Half	Positive	FBI agentsí	Picture, continuation
2	SDA / 03 / i	News	25	Half	Neutral	Couple arrestedí	Picture
3	SDA / 03 / ii	News	1, 6	Full	Neutral	The Curious Factsí	Picture
4	SDA / 03 / iii	News	6	Half	Neutral	Preacher Body	Picture
5	SDA / 03 / iv	News	6	Quarter	Negative	Human Rights Activists	
6	SDA / 03 / v	News	7	Quarter	Neutral	Clerics avowed foes	Picture
7	SDA / 03 / vi	Brief	7	Brief	Positive	We will bring killers	
8	SDA / 04 / i	News	8	Half	Negative	Police, Muslim leaders	Picture
9	SDA / 04 / ii	News	9	Quarter	Negative	Yemen and the road	Picture
10	SDA / 04 / iii	News	9	Quarter	Neutral	Don't blame allí	
11	SDA / 05 / i	News	4	Half	Negative	They Jumped Bail	Picture
12	SDA / 05 / ii	News	4	Half	Negative	Outrage and fear	Picture
13	SDA / 05 / iii	News	5	Half	Positive	How	Picture

No.	Serial Number (number as per story)	Nature of story (News, Brief, Editorial, Feature)	Page (Beginning - End)	Size (Full, half, quarter, brief)	Tone (Positive, Neutral, Negative)	Title	Remarks (picture, pictorial, headline, business news, story. continuation)
14	SDA / 05 / iv	News	6	Quarter	Negative	Experts say law	
15	SDA / 05 / v	News	6	Half	Negative	Report: White Widow	Picture
16	SDA / 05 / vi	News	6	Quarter	Positive	Forensic Labí	
17	SDA / 05 / vii	News	7	Half	Neutral	Police Haltí	Picture
18	SDA / 05 / viii	Brief	7	Quarter	Negative	Dadaab aitstrip	
19	SDA / 06 / i	Feature	6	Full	Negative	Why Makaburi	Picture
20	SDA / 07 / i	Brief	6	Brief	Positive	Clergy Condemn	
21	SDA / 07 / ii	News	6	Half	Neutral	Bomb Makingí	Picture
22	SDA / 07 / iii	News	6	Quarter	Neutral	Cleric Call forí	
23	SDA / 07 / iv	News	6	Quarter	Police	Top Officers	
24	SDA / 07 / v	Brief	6	Brief	Positive	Envoy back anti-terror	
25							
Week B							
1	SDB / 08 / i	News	4	Half	Positive	High alert	Picture
2	SDB / 08 / ii	News	4	Quarter	Positive	Lenku says	
3	SDB / 10 / i	News	18	Quarter	Neutral	82 Somali	Picture

No.	Serial Number (number as per story)	Nature of story (News, Brief, Editorial, Feature)	Page (Beginning - End)	Size (Full, half, quarter, brief)	Tone (Positive, Neutral, Negative)	deported Title	Remarks (picture, pictorial, headline, business news, story. continuation)
4	SDB / 10 / ii	News	18	Half	Neutral	AG Defense	Picture
5	SDB / 10 / iii	News	19	Half	Positive	States unveils new	Picture
6	SDB / 11 / i	News	6	Half	Neutral	ODM wants	Picture
7	SDB / 11 / ii	News	6	Quarter	Neutral	Parliamentar y	
8	SDB / 11 / iii	News	7	Half	Positive	More Somali	
9	SDB / 11 / iv	News	7	Quarter	Negative	State put on the spot	Picture
10	SDB / 11 / v	News	8	Half	Positive	Celebration as	Picture
11	SDB / 12 / i	News	1, 6	Half	Negative	Protest over police	Picture
12	SDB / 12 / ii	News	8	Quarter	Positive	Rescued Aid worker	
13	SDB / 12 / iii	News	8	Quarter	Positive	Somali backs	
14	SDB / 12 / iv	Brief	8	Brief	Positive	Two Likoni church	
15	SDB / 12 / v	News ó business impact	8	Quarter	Negative	Traders	
16	SDB / 13 / i	News	1, 2	Full	Negative	Raila: Government	Picture
17	SDB / 13 / ii	News	1, 12	Half	Positive	We will not	Picture
18	SDB / 13 / iii	News	3	Half	Negative	Is Operation	
19	SDB / 13 / iv	News	4	Full	Negative	How intricate graft	Picture

No.	Serial Number (number as per story)	Nature of story (News, Brief, Editorial, Feature)	Page (Beginning - End)	Size (Full, half, quarter, brief)	Tone (Positive, Neutral, Negative)	Title	Remarks (picture, pictorial, headline, business news, story. continuation)
20	SDB / 13 / v	News	5	Half	Negative	Corruption	
21	SDB / 13 / vi	News	6	Half	Neutral	Could Duale	Picture
22	SDB / 13 / vii	News	6	Half	Negative	Radicalizati on	Picture
23	SDB / 13 / viii	News	8	Half	Positive	60 Detained at JKIA	Picture
24	SDB / 13 / ix	News	8	Half	Positive	Civil Society	Picture
25	SDB / 13 / x	News	9	Half	Neutral	Tension in Coast	Picture
28	SDB / 13 / xi	Brief	11	Brief	Positive	Senator want new	
29	SDB / 13 / xii	Brief	11	Brief	Positive	Police Raid Narok	
30	SDB / 13 / xiii	Editorial	14	Quarter	Positive	Call our leaders	
31	SDB / 14 / i	News	4	Half	Positive	100 aliens	Picture
32	SDB / 14 / ii	Brief	4	Brief	Neutral	Clergy Keep	
33	SDB / 14 / iii	News	6	Half	Negative	Somalophob ia	Caricature
34	SDB / 14 / iv	News	6	Half	Positive	To end terrorism	Caricature
35	SDB / 14 / v	News	10	Half	Negative	Eastleigh bomb	Picture
36	SDB / 14 / vi	News	10	Quarter	Neutral	60 more	Picture
37	SDB / 15 / i	News	1, 4	Half	Positive	Church on insecurity	Picture
38	SDB / 15 / ii	News	1, 6	Half	Negative	Witness	Picture
39	SDB / 15 / iii	News	6	Half	Positive	38 Aliens	

No.	Serial Number (number as per story)	Nature of story (News, Brief, Editorial, Feature)	Page (Beginning - End)	Size (Full, half, quarter, brief)	Tone (Positive, Neutral, Negative)	arrested Title	Remarks (picture, pictorial, headline, business news, story. continuation)
Week C							
1	SDC / 16 / i	News	6	Half	Negative	How key terror	Picture
2	SDC / 17 / i	News	4	Quarter	Neutral	200 held in swoop	
3	SDC / 17 / ii	Brief	6	Brief	Neutral	Nakuru Court	
4	SDC / 17 / iii	Brief	6	Brief	Neutral	Nairobi Anti terror	Picture
5	SDC / 17 / iv	Brief	6	Brief	Neutral	Court Allows	
6	SDC / 17 / v	News	7	Half	Neutral	Activist	Picture
7	SDC / 17 / vi	News	7	Quarter	Positive	Media watcdog	
8	SDC / 18 / i	News	6	Quarter	Neutral	Uhuru Assures	
9	SDC / 18 / ii	News	6	Half	Positive	President warns	Picture
10	SDC / 18 / iii	News	6	Half	Neutral	Maalim refuses	
11	SDC / 18 / iv	Brief	6	Brief	Neutral	State deports	
12	SDC / 18 / v	Editorial	15	Half	Positive	Are we to blame	Picture
13	SDC / 20 / i	News	1, 2	Full	Positive	New Agency	Picture
14	SDC / 21 / i	News	11	Quarter	Negative	Chief Linked	
15	SDC / 21 / ii	News	11	Half	Positive	State to	Picture

No.	Serial Number (number as per story)	Nature of story (News, Brief, Editorial, Feature)	Page (Beginning - End)	Size (Full, half, quarter, brief)	Tone (Positive, Neutral, Negative)	deport Title	Remarks (picture, pictorial, headline, business news, story. continuation)
16	SDC / 21 / iii	News	11	Half	Positive	CS Says improved	
17	SDC / 22 / i	News	2	Half	Positive	Police warns	Picture
18	SDC / 23 / i	News	10	Half	Neutral	Refugee exercise	Picture
19	SDC / 23 / ii	News	10	Half	Positive	Senior security	Pictorial
20	SDC / 23 / iii	Brief	24	Brief	Positive	Police Swoop Net	
Week D							
1	SDD / 24 / i	News	6	Half	Negative	Two police officers	Picture
2	SDD / 24 / ii	News	6	Brief	Negative	Westgate Suspect	
3	SDD / 25 / i	News	1, 2	Full	Positive	Police Pursue Link	Picture
4	SDD / 25 / ii	News	2	Quarter	Positive	War on terror	Picture
5	SDD / 26 / i	News	6	Half	Positive	Police warn	Picture
6	SDD / 26 / ii	News	6	Quarter	Negative	Officer to revoke	
7	SDD / 26 / iii	News	6	Quarter	Positive	OCPD defends	
8	SDD / 26 / iv	News	7	Half	Negative	Court urged to	Picture
9	SDD / 26 / v	News	7	Quarter	Positive	Police gun down	

No.	Serial Number (number as per story)	Nature of story (News, Brief, Editorial, Feature)	Page (Beginning - End)	Size (Full, half, quarter, brief)	Tone (Positive, Neutral, Negative)	Title	Remarks (picture, pictorial, headline, business news, story. continuation)
10	SDD / 27 / i	News	3	Half	Positive	Slain officer's award	Picture
11	SDD / 27 / ii	Pictorial	3	Quarter	Pictorial	Neutral	Pictorial
12	SDD / 27 / iii	Feature	10	Full	Neutral	Somalis: Kenya	Picture
13	SDD / 27 / iv	Editorial	14	Quarter	Neutral	Lets equip	
14	SDD / 28 / i	News	1, 2, 3	Half	Negative	How terrorist	Picture
15	SDD / 28 / ii	News	3	Half	Positive	Police officer guard	Picture
15	SDD / 28 / iii	News	3	Quarter	Positive	Security	
16	SDD / 28 / iv	News	5	Half	Negative	How Coast	Picture
17	SDD / 28 / v	News	5	Quarter	Negative	Pangani explosion	Picture
18	SDD / 28 / vi	Feature	6	Full	Positive	Woes of families	Picture

Source: Investigator (2014)

Appendix 2: Research Budget

CORE ACTIVITIES	ITEMS/PARTICIPANTS	TOTAL COST
Equipment and Consolidation of literature	Secondary search - Travel expenses	2,500
Designing and developing research instruments	Typing and photocopying of research instruments	2,500
Research Induction and training	Transport for researcher and research assistant	15,000
Finalizing of research instruments typing and photocopying	Transport for researcher and research assistant	15,000
Main field/ data collection	Travel allowance for researcher and one research assistant	6,000
Data processing, coding and entry	Researcher and one research assistant 10*1000	8,000
Data Analysis	Statistical Data Manipulation	20,000
Report writing and Typing	Reports drafts and final copies	10,000
Others	Books, Reams of paper and Telephone	5,000
10% contingency and institutional costs	---	16,000
TOTAL		100,000.00

Appendix 3: Research Plan

NO.	TARGET DATE	TASK TO BE ACHIEVED
1	January 2014	Formulate and clarify research topic Read literature Define objectives clearly and finalize objectives
2	February - May 2014	Proposal preparation
3	June 2014	Defense of research proposal Devise research strategy
4	June / August 2014	Pilot test Data Analysis and drafts preparation Further write up
5	August 2014	Draft completed Corrections, print and bind Submit project
6	August 2014	Submission of corrected final copy Corrections, print and bind
7	September 2014	Final Project Defense

Appendix 4: Map of Study Area



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