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**COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES**

**INSTITUTE OF DIPLOMACY AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES**

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INTERNATIONAL MEDIA REPRESENTATION AND THE TOURISM SECTOR  
PERFORMANCE IN KENYA: A STUDY OF CABLE NEWS NETWORK'S COVERAGE OF  
KENYA (2011-2015).

**BY**

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INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

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**DECLARATION**

I hereby declare that this research project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other University.

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## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this research project to my father, Mr. Meshack T. Koskei who has encouraged and supported me from an early age. He is my inspiration.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

It is by God's grace that I have successfully completed this research project; I am humbled by His might.

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## **ABSTRACT**

Mass media plays a very significant role in the creation of images and beliefs among its audiences. The media and specifically international media (well-endowed with financial, infrastructural and human resources) covers events in various parts of the world. The depiction of events such as terrorism attacks, general elections and visits by prominent personalities affects the image of the host countries. This study is seeking to examine Kenya's international media representation, explore Kenya's tourism sector performance from 2011 to 2015 and determine the relationship between international representation of events in Kenya and Kenya's tourism sector performance. The theoretical framework used in this study is Constructivism. This theory is suitable for this study as it shows that core aspects of international relations are socially constructed and learnt. The utility of this theory is showing how ideas, views, norms and images are propagated by media to show the linkages between international media representation of events such as elections, acts of terror and visits by prominent personalities and the influence of the coverage of these events on the tourism sector performance of a country of Kenya. The study also employs descriptive research design to establish the relationship between associated with Cable News Network's coverage of events on Kenya's tourism sector performance. Data was collected from both primary and secondary sources. The findings of the study affirm that international media representation influences the image of a country, either positively or negatively. Additionally, the study found out that Kenya's tourism sector performance was affected by international media representation and more specifically, Cable News Network's coverage of major events from 2011 to 2015 affected Kenya's tourism sector performance. In regard to the findings, there is need to for the government through Kenya Tourism Board and Brand Kenya to have a lobbying unit as well as international media relations units to help guide Kenya's narrative in the international arena. This should begin with formulation of a comprehensive international media relations policy. This will address the issue of how to deal with distorted facts and have a consistent narrative. Kenya should significantly improve its security measures because it is the terrorist attacks that brought about the negative coverage by international media in the first place. Addressing the security challenge will go a long way in boosting fortunes in Kenya's tourism sector. Kenya should revamp its digital marketing and communication on matters tourism to counter the narratives and perceptions created by the international media. This way, foreigners interested in visiting Kenya can find positive stories about Kenya when they search through the internet. The Government should also increase advertising of the country on various international media channels to counter the negative impression created by negative events that happen in the country while also educating and informing the world audience that indeed there are great things to see in Kenya.

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS**

AU-EOM- African Union Elections Observer Mission

BBC- British Broadcasting Corporation

CCTV- China Central Television

ICC- International Criminal Court

IEBC- Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission

JKIA- Jomo Kenyatta International Airport

MIA- Moi International Airport

NAM- Non-Aligned Movement

NWICO- New World Information and Communication Order

TICAD- Tokyo International Conference on African Development

WTO- World Trade Organization

LDC-Least Developed Countries

UNESCO- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

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## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

### 1.0 Background

Research on the influence of the mass media on people's attitudes and perceptions has a long and contentious history. Some scholars argue that mass media is a powerful propaganda tool capable of shaping the attitudes or perceptions of a susceptible public.<sup>1</sup> Others, however assert that mass media has a very limited influence<sup>2</sup>. To a great extent, unreliable approaches and multifaceted results have plagued this field of research. In the sub-field of mass media reporting of violence, a clearer image has begun to appear. Bandura attests that by and large, findings have demonstrated that media documentation of violence and ruthlessness incites sentiments of apprehension even among people who have not been directly exposed to such brutality and for whom it represents no individual risk. Additionally, results propose that the degree of media impact may vary among groups or individuals.<sup>3</sup>

A lot of information on social issues such as crime and justice is disseminated via television and print media; though this information may not always be accurate.<sup>4</sup> There have been many claims of inadequate and imbalanced international coverage, particularly coverage of Africa, from many journalists and mass communication scholars. Many media professionals agree that Africa is underreported. The Western media seems to have created portrayed Africa as "the source of our greatest fears: a place filled with natural disasters, political turmoil, ethnic violence, disease and savagery."<sup>5</sup>

In a piece titled "Hiding the Real Africa", Rothmyer notes that there is plenty of good news out of Africa. She mentions poverty rates throughout the continent falling steadily and much faster than previously thought, child mortality is declining and Africa having among the world's most rapidly growing economic regions. Nevertheless United States news coverage keeps on depicting a continent of unending horrors. For example, pictures of a Sierra Leone lady who died during childbirth were published. Two Kenyan boys from a humble family background are

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<sup>1</sup>Herman, E. S., & Chomsky, N. (1988). *Manufacturing consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*. New York: Pantheon Books

<sup>2</sup>Gurevitch, M, et al (1982). *Culture, Media & Society*. Great Britain: Bungay, Suffolk. Richard Clay (The Chaucer Press) Ltd.

<sup>3</sup>Bandura, A. (1986) *Social Foundations of Thought and Action*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ, US: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

<sup>4</sup>Sotirovic, M. (2003). How individuals explain social problems: The influences of media use. *Journal of Communication*, 53, 122-137. Illinois University Publishers.

<sup>5</sup>Hawk, G. (1992). *Africa's Media Image*. New York: Praeger

required to work for less than a penny for delivering goats to a slaughterhouse. The international media keeps on depicting Africa as a hopeless continent.<sup>6</sup>

Journalists' fascination in specific kinds of Africa stories is influenced by the frames of reference they possess prior to arrival to Africa. Henry Stanley observed that he was ready to discover Zanzibar filled by insensible blacks, with incredible thick lips, whose general appearance may be likened to gorillas." Furthermore, the famine that hit Ethiopia in the 1980s created a series of stories that showed hunger-stricken Africans. This narrative has been further entrenched over the years.

The issue of the choice of news stories from Africa in American media has been a contentious issue among scholars. Some researchers argue that American reporters have focused on crisis situations while overlooking Africa's achievements. For instance, Ebo opines that the negative portrayal of Africa in American media is intentional and a structured practice that is made and supported by the approach in foreign news selection.<sup>7</sup> Rasamimanana and Walker also pointed out related examples of overgeneralization, for example, that Africans reside in villages, Africa is a very hot place filled with diseases. They ignore the fact that many Africans live in cities with clean homes; and there have been successful disease control programmes in Africa.<sup>8</sup>

A report done by Steven Ross (then a Columbia professor) from 1998 to 2002, stories about starvation of stories about starvation in Africa tripled. In Kenya, the New York Times depiction of post-poll violence in 2007 as a demonstration of deeply-seated tribalism supported Stanley's sentiments. Additionally, Waringa Kamau addresses students from Africa and those from the West and the agreement is the same; largely "Western" media coverage about Africa is not flattering to the continent.<sup>9</sup>

In a study that looked at the content of various press prints used to describe bombings in the least developed countries (LDC) as terrorism and USA bombings as strikes against terror, revealed that word usage guides perceptions of violence affecting people's attitudes and memory of events.<sup>10</sup> It therefore can be argued that coupled with visual imagery and observed from

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<sup>6</sup>Rothmyer, K (2011). Hiding the Real Africa. Harvard's Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy.

<sup>7</sup>Ebo, B. (1992). "American Media and African Culture," p. 15-25. In *Africa's Media Image*, edited by Beverly G. Hawk (1992). Westport, Praeger Publishers.

<sup>8</sup>Walker, S. & Rasamimanana, J. (1993). "Tarzan in the Classroom: How "Educational" Films Mythologize Africa and Miseducate Americans." *Journal of Negro Education*, 62 (1): 3-23.

<sup>9</sup>Kamau, W. (2013). Africa in Western Media: A Documentary

<sup>10</sup> Ibid p.223

between 40-120 minutes, or repeated exposure to such content the perception, attitudes and ideas are shaped drastically.

This study sought to examine the influence of coverage of major events by Cable News Network in Kenya on the tourism sector performance between 2011 and 2015. The events to be examined are: Kenya's 2013 General Elections, the Westgate attack and Barack Obama's visit to Kenya.

### **1.1 Problem Statement**

The developing countries and especially those in the African continent have been portrayed negatively through reporting and coverage of various events and issues by the international media. Negative portrayal and the presentation of poor images of the African continent are very unfortunate. For centuries Africa has been identified as a place where endless poverty, diseases, conflict, insecurity and violence exist. The international media seems to focus on crises such as acts of violence, diseases, famine and terrorist attacks, and leaving out African achievements and contributions to the international community.

Africans have over the years have been concerned of bias reporting of Africa by international media channels. Description of Africa as a dark and hopeless continent has dominated the Western media. This kind of reporting affects the continent much when it comes to its International Relations and specifically and how the rest of the world perceives the continent. For example, from 2011 to 2015, Kenya's economy suffered because of travel advisories imposed by the Britain, United States of America and other Western countries due to incidences of terrorist attacks and other related security matters that are reported by the international media in a way to cause panic.

Tourism, which is Kenya's second main source of foreign exchange after agriculture, is one of the sectors that have been adversely affected by such coverage. Has the international media framed a negative perception of Kenya to the rest of the world? Is Kenya a victim of framed stories popularized by international media coverage? Does the way international media report news related to Kenya affect how the country is perceived thus affecting the tourism sector performance?

## **1.2 Objectives**

### **1.2.1 General Objective**

The objective of this study is to explore the relationship between international media representation of Kenya and its effect on tourism sector performance.

### **1.2.2 Specific Objectives**

- i. To examine the international media representation of Kenya.
- ii. To explore the tourism sector performance in Kenya.
- iii. To establish the link between Cable News Network's coverage of Kenyan events and the tourism sector performance in Kenya.

## **1.3 Justification**

While there has been a lot written on how international media frames the African continent through its portrayal and representation in news coverage, there is little research carried on the influence of coverage of events in Kenya on the tourism sector performance. This research will contribute to the field of academia by adding to the knowledge of the influence of international media in the image building of developing countries and more specifically the effect on Kenya's tourism sector. The gaps to be filled will entail the potential relationship between international media coverage of local events to the performance of the tourism sector. The study will also help diplomats and other practitioners such as journalists understand how international media frames stories of local events in developing countries.

In terms of contribution to policy formulation, the study will help policy makers come up with regulations on media coverage of various events, especially regarding matters that impact on national security and national image. It will also be an important document of reference to various ministries such as the Ministry of Tourism and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Trade; in understanding the effect of international media coverage on the tourism sector and the country's economy at large.

This research will go a long way in helping the general population in understanding how international media coverage influences the image of the country and therefore encourage sieving of information they receive from international media channels rather than taking in all the information at face value.



## 1.4 Literature Review

### 1.4.1 Media Framing

The concept of framing is essential in understanding how other nations are presented in global media. Social psychologists created an analytical tool to study the role played by news media in defining issues for the public. Goffman suggests three frameworks through which events can be analysed. The frameworks are: natural, social and institutional. Events analysed using natural frameworks are seen as uncontrolled and not liable to moral appraisal. Those inferred via social frameworks are seen as controlled doings and are thus subject to social judgement.<sup>11</sup>

Entman argues that framing refers to the selection of some facets of a perceived reality and making them noticeable in a communication piece, in a manner likely to promote a certain problem characterization, casual analysis, moral assessment and treatment approval for an item defined. According to him, frames are data-processing frameworks that function by selecting and highlighting some aspects of reality while omitting others.”<sup>12</sup>

Gitlin defines media frames as determined patterns of perception, understanding, and presentation of selection, accentuation, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers shape discourse, whether verbal or visual.<sup>13</sup> McGrath adds that framing devices are operational, whether intentionally or unintentionally, in media reporting.”<sup>14</sup> Gamson and Modigliani echo Entman’s claim by stating that frames are codes of selection, highlighting and demonstration.

These principles comprise of implicit theories about what occurs and what is important. Subsequently, framing is seen as a fundamental tool of making sense of an issue or an event.<sup>15</sup> Similarly, Tuchman states that the news frames is a key component of everyday reality and it is a central feature of news. He further states that framing denotes how an event is depicted in a specific story or article.<sup>16</sup>

Regarding media handling of foreign affairs coverage, Mann notes that journalists, editors and publishers do not always get the story. He observes that:

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<sup>11</sup>Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame analysis: An essay on the organization of experience*. Cambridge: Harvard University press.

<sup>12</sup>Entman, R. M. (1991). Framing U.S. coverage of international news: Contrasts in narratives of the Kal and Iran air incidents. *Journal of Communication*, 41(4), 6-27.

<sup>13</sup>Gitlin, T. (1980). *The whole world is watching: Mass media in the making and unmaking of the new left*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

<sup>14</sup>McGrath, A. (2002). Media and Politics. In A. Paul., & S. R. Leslie. (Eds.) *Mediascapes: new patterns in Canadian communication* (pp. 380-397). Thomson, Nelson: Canada

<sup>15</sup>Gamson, W. A., & Modigliani, A. (1987). The changing culture of affirmative action. (pp.137-177). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press

<sup>16</sup>Tuchman, G. (1978). *Making news: A study in construction of reality*. New York: Free Press.

“...reporters do not always get the story right; neither do their editors and publishers. This is especially the case when they report about distant lands and unfamiliar cultures...the readers, who are already conditioned by the prevalent stereotypes, accept the misleading stories as true and react accordingly. The consequences can be disastrous media effects are enhanced when the information conveyed in stories in unfamiliar to audience and cannot be readily verified through their personal experiences or competing stories. This is why foreign affairs reporting demands the attention of experienced, highly skilled, and well informed reporters.”<sup>17</sup>

Generally, news frames are created from and exemplified in the key words. Reese considers framing an exercise of control and power.<sup>18</sup> Additionally, Tuchman saw framing as akin to content creation. Both authors argued that media routines preferred elite opinion, thus covertly building the case that the elite sources are dominant in creating frames. Subsequently, frames are pointers of power.

Moreover, Gitlin termed frames as a major social force that formulates civic philosophy. Bourdieu espoused that there is imperceptible self-censorship even in nations that boast of the freedom of expression. He adds that media professionals know what is allowable in media and they pre-edit their work to be aligned with professed norms.

Herman and Chomsky, great media critics, assert that the media frame is fundamental in organizing, moulding or destroying the image of a story. The works on framing indicates that media frames can assume a fundamental role in fortifying opposition to or consolidating support for an event or issue. They additionally offer moral judgment, causal analysis and solution for media-centred problems. Besides, they largely represent particular philosophy. Media frames including alluring words, illustrations and expressions also help to define the “tone” of media reportage of an event or issue.<sup>19</sup>

#### **1.4.2 Media Influence on Perceptions and Image**

Mass media is responsible for forming perceptions and images on an event, individual, groups or countries which in turn shape and direct public opinion. Cohen further states that most of us gather our impressions of our countries and societies from the media.<sup>20</sup> This is because media is a communicative means that allows people from different geographical locations and

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<sup>17</sup>Mann, J. (1999). Covering China. *Media Studies Journal*.

<sup>18</sup> Reese, S. D. (2001). *Framing public life: Perspective on media and our understanding of social world*. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates

<sup>19</sup>Herman, E. S., & Chomsky, N. (1988). *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*. New York: Pantheon Books

<sup>20</sup>Mughees-uddin. (1991). *The relationship between a nation's foreign policy and its press: The case of Pakistan and the New York Times and the Time of London in 1980*. Unpublished master's thesis, The University of IOWA. USA.

time zones to view an important news item as it happens or through a discourse without the necessity of travelling.

Boulding on the other hand, describes the national image as essentially a historical image-that is an image which extends through time, backward into a supposedly recorded or perhaps mythological past and forward into an imagined future. The more conscious a people is of its history, the stronger the national image is likely to be.<sup>21</sup>

Media's stereotypes, organizational ideology, corporate and government influence, among other factors help to create and reinforce a nation's image in media coverage.<sup>22</sup> These factors are fundamental to how the media relays information and to what extent that said information is distorted to fit a popular narrative. For instance, in terms of government influence, authoritarian countries such as China practise strict control over the media in terms of what piece of information the public gets to consume. This means that news is shaped to align with the policies of the Chinese government.

### **1.4.3 CNN and the “CNN Effect”**

CNN was formed in the 1980s by Ted Turner. He knew that Western news organizations dominated all others throughout the world. Turner had intended for CNN to broadcast largely to the American audience but hoped that with round-the-clock news available, more time would be left for international news presentation.<sup>23</sup> He instituted the show *World Report*, which highlighted news that local reporters. Through this avenue, viewers could learn about those from other nations, even hostile to the United States, like Cuba. Journalists from many nations shared their countries' living conditions, points of view and political outlooks. Rather than simply presenting war, famine, disaster, insecurity or political crises stories about other countries, CNN presents spots about day-to-day life.<sup>24</sup>

At an event to celebrate the show, Turner stated that the goal for the program was to bring people of the world closer by letting them tell each other about themselves. He noted that the show was CNN's finest accomplishment.<sup>25</sup> At a time when globalization was gaining speed

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<sup>21</sup>Boulding, K.E. (1969). National image and international system. In James N. R. (Ed.). *International Politics and foreign policy* (pp. 422-431). London: CollierMacmillan Inc.

<sup>22</sup>Hanan, A. M. (2006). *The media-foreign policy relationship: Pakistan's media image and U.S. foreign policy*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, York University, Canada.

<sup>23</sup>Fluornoy, D.M. (1992). *CNN World Report: Ted Turner's International News Coup*. London: John Libbey & Company Limited.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 17

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 18

and America was standing as a global hegemon, people welcomed even this small space to show different perspectives.

CNN, CNNI and other Western networks remain influential as they broadcast around the world on TV and online. What is more, these news outlets ferry American and Western perspectives and assumptions to a global audience. This condition has not escaped the world's notice, and many have lamented and resented it. Thus in the past fifteen years, news networks from other regions have offered their perspectives on international-and American- events and politics. Al Jazeera is the prime example of this phenomenon and seeks to bring different perspectives to the West to fill "the information void."<sup>26</sup> As it stands now, tension exists between American and Western news view points and those of the rest of the world. CNN is just one of the networks engaging in the global news phenomenon, but its stories explain how news and international perspectives are changing.

CNN has an influence in politics and society and scholars have designated it a "CNN Effect." The CNN Effect was first recognized during major crises of the 1990s and gained acceptance. This term refers to the network's ability to shape public opinion and foreign policy through transmission of powerful images and reporting. The phenomenon encompasses also a range of Western television and web outlets as well as new networks from Latin America and Indonesia. The CNN network has been undergoing transformations as it adjusts to home and global markets. CNN's domestic coverage, largely watched by Americans, does not comprehensively cover international events (except in times of crisis). Sometimes CNN and CNNI overlap in programming, but for most of the part they remain distinct. Moreover CNNI retains a Western flavour.

CNN brings a distinct outlook to viewers and presents an American perspective on international events. For most news watchers, political stakeholders and journalists, CNN views create a broader understanding of some events. CNN also has the potential to foster conflict, whether by perpetration of a written or verbal political spat or ginning up support for a hot war. Philip Seib notes that:

"The media are no longer just the media. They have a larger popular base than ever before and as a result, have unprecedented impact on international politics. The media can be tools of conflict

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<sup>26</sup>CNN, World View, CNN Website, <http://CNNI/Programs/world.report>. The show is now called World View, and viewers can watch it online too.

and instruments of peace; they can make traditional borders irrelevant and unify people scattered across the globe.”<sup>27</sup>

#### 1.4.4 Reporting on Developing Countries

The mass media plays a crucial role in constructing the image of various societies and their peoples, as Navasky observed that, “it is based largely on journalism that we make up our national mind.”<sup>28</sup> Developing countries such as those in the African continent are portrayed in the Western media as impoverished and riddled with endless wars as is the case with Somalia and Congo.<sup>29</sup> Though this is factual that African countries are weak institutionally, much focus is given to the institutional failures despite the historical context of colonialism, neo colonialism and the cold war which have had adverse effects on how Africans even relate to each other. Africans are expected to develop in 50 years whilst industrialisation in the West took hundreds of years. Also the positive images of Africa such as innovations are not given precedent. For instance, mobile money transactions using M-pesa which has facilitated to easy flow of money exchange has received lukewarm audience in the West.

Martin and O’Meara have also noted that since independence African leaders have formed a number of cooperative organizations such as the Organization of African Union (OAU) in 1963, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in 1975 and the South African Development Community (SADC) in 1994 to build cooperation, increase economic activities, and solve regional disputes.<sup>30</sup>

The characterization of Africa in the Western media is mostly caused by the effects of colonialism which gives a false impression that Africa is isolated from the rest of the world. This is what led to the popular caricature of Africa “a dark continent”<sup>31</sup>. Allimadi also argues that the description of African people as uncivilized and ignorant of European culture is a result of

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<sup>27</sup>Seib, P. (2008). *The al Jazeera Effect: How New Global Media are Reshaping World Politics*. Washington DC: Potomac Books, Inc

<sup>28</sup>Noshina, S. (2000). *Editorial treatment of U.S. image in the two English dailies, “The Pakistan Times,” and “the Dawn”, with special reference to the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan 1979-88*. Unpublished Masters of Philosophy thesis, University of the Punjab, Lahore.

<sup>29</sup>Michira, J. (2002). “*Images of Africa in the Western Media*.” Retrieved on 3/23/2015

[http://www.teachingliterature.org/teachingliterature/pdf/multi/images\\_of\\_Africa\\_michira/pdf](http://www.teachingliterature.org/teachingliterature/pdf/multi/images_of_Africa_michira/pdf)

<sup>30</sup>Martin, P. & O’Meara P. (1995). “Africa: Today’s Misconception about Africa.” Third Edition. Indiana: Indiana University

<sup>31</sup>McCarthy, M. (1983). “Dark Continent: African as seen by Americans.” Westport CT: Greenwood Press.

colonialists' failure to understand the cultural, social, political, economic and religious ways of Africans.<sup>32</sup>

There is no culture which is superior or inferior to the other and the Eurocentric domination on how the African ought to conduct their life as Europeans by adopting the language, clothing, norms and values was merely ethnocentric and lacks justification to this day.

Perse argues that in most cases television images shape our attitudes and stereotypes toward other people. For example, African-American men have been represented in the media as angry and violent. This stereotypic images which are reinforced on a near daily basis can cause an internalization of a negative self-concept and low self-esteem among young African Americans.<sup>33</sup>

The media is a powerful tool which can influence how the people in the Western world perceive Africa as either positive or negative. There is no doubt that African countries, Kenya included, do experience problems such as war, diseases, insecurity, terror attacks, famine, and poverty; but there ought to be a balanced image of Africa.

### **1.5 Theoretical Framework**

This study adopted Constructivism as its theoretical framework. In International Relations, constructivism is the assertion that major facets of international relations are historically and socially created, rather than unavoidable consequences of human nature or other fundamental features of global politics. It also states that learning is a constructive process. This theory therefore primarily seeks to demonstrate how core aspects of international relations are contrary to the assumptions of neo-realism and neo-realism but are socially constructed, that is, given their on-going process of social interaction and practice.

Alexander Wendt argues that a basic principle of constructivism is that the frameworks of human interaction are directed mainly by collective philosophies rather than measurable forces and that the personalities and interests of different actors play a crucial role.<sup>34</sup> This theory requires cautious consideration given that awareness of how or comprehension of the world are

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<sup>32</sup>Allimadi, A. M (2006). "The Hearts of Darkness: How European Writers Created the Racist Image of Africa." Retrieved 23/3/2015. (<http://www.blackagendareport.com/index2.php>)

<sup>33</sup>Perse, E.M. (1998). "Implications of Cognitive and Affective Involvement of Channel" p.49. *Journal of Communication*, 48, 1998.

<sup>34</sup>Altheide, D. (2006) *Review of Terrorism and the Politics of Fear*. Altamira Press. Oxford. Pp. 247.

constructed by individuals or society. These dominant notions shape our beliefs about what is unalterable and that which can be changed.<sup>35</sup>

Kegley states that Constructivism stresses on the inter-subjective qualities of how prevailing attitudes shape perception. They focus on how inter-subjective between actors result in identities and interests being formed in the process of interactions rather than being formed prior.<sup>36</sup> He further notes that constructivism of global outlook hinges on the content of prevailing ideas and values, propagated by individuals, media, and non-governmental organizations among other actors. These values and ideas accompany key global trends and patterns such as war, terrorism, security, international regimes and environmental issues.

The utility of this theory is to show how ideas, views, norms and images are propagated by media to show the linkages between international media representation of events such as elections, acts of terror and visits by prominent personalities and the influence of the coverage on the tourism sector performance of a country such as Kenya.

## **1.6 Hypotheses**

- i. International media representation shapes the international public perception of Kenya
- ii. The tourism sector performance in Kenya has been negative and this is dependent on portrayal of the country by international media.
- iii. Cable News Network coverage of Kenyan events in the period 2011-2015 contributed to the poor performance of the tourism sector.

## **1.7 Methodology**

This section outlines the methods of data collection, which includes research design, target population, study area, sample size, sampling techniques, data collection tools, analysis, validity and ethical considerations.

### **1.7.1 Research Design**

Descriptive research design was used in the study to establish factors associated with certain occurrences, outcome, conditions and terms or relationship concerning a problem.<sup>37</sup> Descriptive

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<sup>35</sup>Steve Smith, A. H. (2008). *Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors & Cases*. New York: Oxford University Press.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid, p. 113

<sup>37</sup>Mugenda, M. O., & Mugenda, G. A. (2009). *Research methods: Quantitative and qualitative approaches*. Nairobi: ACTS Press.

research attempts to examine situations in order to establish the norm. It merely depends on human observations and response, which must be carefully chosen and delineated.<sup>38</sup>

Apart from examining the qualities of a single set of data, the main purpose is analysis to identify and quantify relationship between variables. It is the interpretation of those discoveries which provides the valuable knowledge which will give answers to the research questions. This design is primarily used in qualitative studies to provide the overall strategy for collecting and analysing in-depth textual data in order to gain adequate understanding of the problem from the perspectives of the research participants.<sup>39</sup>

### **1.7.2 Target Population**

The target population were the staff of Ministry of Tourism and Media Professionals. The target population consisted of the following; Top management, Middle level management and Line managers from the State Department of Tourism. The Media Professionals were business journalists.

### **1.7.3 Sample Size**

The sample size comprised of the technocrats in the Ministry of Tourism and Media Professionals. This is because the Tourism Officers provided the relevant information to this study in regards to tourism matters while media professionals provided information on international media aspects. The sample size comprised of 100 respondents from the Ministry of Tourism Officers and 10 key informants: 5 Tourism specialists and 5 Media professionals.

### **1.7.4 Sampling Technique**

Stratified random sampling was used in the study whereby the target population was divided into strata in the basis of division. This method is preferred because the population of reference is not homogenous. Stratified sampling ensures inclusion. It also minimizes bias and is recommended because it is accurate, easily accessible, divisible into relevant strata and it enhances better comparison; hence representation across strata.<sup>40</sup>

### **1.7.5 Data Collection**

Two types of data were collected: primary and secondary data.

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<sup>38</sup>Ranjit, (2005) Ranjit, K. (2005). *Research Methodology: A Step-by-Step Guide for Beginners* (2nd.ed.).Singapore: Pearson Education.

<sup>39</sup>Hubberman, M. (2002).*The Qualitative Research Companion*. London: Sage Publications.

<sup>40</sup>Kothari, C. R. (2004). *Research methodology: Methods and techniques* (2nd ed.). New Delhi: New Age International Publishers.



## **i. Methods of Data Collection**

### **a. Primary Data**

Key informant interviews were conducted with the high ranking Tourism Officers as well as the Media Practitioners.

### **b. Secondary Data**

Secondary data was collected by document analysis and content analysis. This involved analyzing the literature in academic journals, newspapers, periodicals, books, academic papers, websites, television news clips and documentaries.

## **ii. Tools for Data Collection**

The tools for data collection were employed based on the type of data. The tools for primary data were questionnaires and a key informant interview schedule. The tool for the secondary data collection was a content analysis schedule.

### **a. Interviews**

The study adopted interviews as one of the method to collect data. The interviews were conducted among the key informants: Tourism Officers and Media Practitioners. The interviews provided more information and in-depth data. In order to obtain accurate information the researcher strived to obtain maximum co-operation from the respondents. The researcher established a friendly relationship with the respondents by giving a formal introduction and explaining the purpose of the study and sought the consent of the respondent prior to conducting the interviews. Additionally, recording of the researcher's questions and respondents' answers was done by use of an audio recorder.

### **b. Content Analysis**

Content analysis was used in this study as method of secondary data collection. Most modern social scientists associate the origins of the method with the analyses of propaganda messages during the Second World War and the publication in 1952 of a now classic book on the subject<sup>41</sup>. Content analysis is systematic simply because the content to be analyzed is selected according to explicit and constantly applied rules. Second, content analysis is objective, that is, the analysis should yield the same results if another researcher replicates the study. Third, content analysis is quantitative since the goal is an accurate representation of a body of messages. The content

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<sup>41</sup>Leslie, A. B., &Babbie, E. (2004).The basic of communication research. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth/Thomson Learning.

analysis involves looking at the following aspects of the events' coverage: diction, number of news pieces and depiction of the events.<sup>42</sup>

### **1.7.6 Data Analysis**

Data collected was analyzed and presented in narrative form for qualitative data. It involved thematic analysis where major concepts were identified from the data collected and analyzed. It included perusing the collected data, coding them, classifying major issues, interpreting them and development of a summary of the report by identifying relationships between these concepts. The study also used quantitative data analysis presented by the use of list of figures, pie charts and graphs. The quantitative data analysis described numerical values.

### **1.7.7 Validity**

The validity and reliability of this study was achieved through the exercising trustworthiness in fieldwork as well as in analyzing and compiling the data. Additionally, validity was achieved again through testing of the information recorded from interviews in line with the questions formulated to check for accuracy.

During the process of the fieldwork, the researcher used probing as well as interjectory questions as techniques to get as much information as possible. In addition, the researcher made sure that the questions were correctly understood in order for the respondents to give accurate and comprehensive information. Data collection and analysis included both qualitative and quantitative methods to account for better and comprehensive understanding of the research problem.

### **1.7.8 Ethical Considerations**

Ward defines ethics as “the analysis of correct conduct, responsible practice, and fair human interactions in the light of the best available principles.”<sup>43</sup> Ethics play various roles in research among them; promoting aims of the study, promoting values that are essential for collaborative work and accountability to the public.<sup>44</sup>

This research strove to observe ethical considerations as the researcher presented data with honesty where the findings are a reflection of what was gathered during the study. The researcher

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<sup>42</sup>Kerlinger, F. N. (2000). *Foundations of behavioral research* (4th ed.). New York, NY: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

<sup>43</sup>Ward, S. J. (2008). “Global Journalism Ethics: Widening the Conceptual Base.” *Global Media Journal – Canadian Edition*

<sup>44</sup>Shamoo, A., & Resnik, D. (2009). *Responsible Conduct of Research 2nd ed.* New York: Oxford University Press

sought to avoid biases and any fabrication of data. The subjects in the study were respected and the researcher kept to all the agreements made with the respondents.

The respondents participated willingly after being explained to the purpose and importance of the study. The researcher maintained the confidentiality of the respondents as none was mentioned by name in the research project. Legal matters pertaining to copyright and respect for intellectual property was adhered to as the researcher cited sources to any material that was used in the research. This is in compliance with the importance of honesty in academic works. In addition, no subject or respondent was discriminated against. Finally, the data that was collected was treated with utmost confidentiality.

## **1.8 Scope and Limitations of the Study**

### **1.8.1 Scope of the Study**

The study sought to examine the international media representation of Kenya, Kenya's tourism sector performance and the potential relationship between Cable News Network's coverage of Kenya's affairs and the country's tourism sector performance. The study sought to examine the coverage of major events from 2011 to 2015.

### **1.8.2 Limitations of the Study**

Some of respondents were hesitant at first in revealing some information. However, the researcher assured them that the data collected was for academic purposes and would not be used otherwise or shared with other people. An authorization letter from University of Nairobi was also delivered to the Ministry of Tourism and to all participants interviewed by the researcher.

## **1.9 Chapter Outline**

This study consists of five chapters. Chapter one provides an introduction to the study and constitutes the following: the background of the study, the statement of the research problem, the study objectives, literature review, justification, theoretical framework, hypotheses, methodology and the chapter outline. Chapter two examines the international media representation of Africa, at large and Kenya, specifically.

Chapter three looks at the tourism sector performance in Kenya. Chapter four comprises of data analysis, presentation and interpretation on the relationship between CNN's representation of Kenya's affairs and Kenya's tourism sector performance.

Chapter five, which is the final chapter on summary, recommendations and further research, provides a general summary of the study, recommendations that were drawn from the findings, and an analysis of the findings against the objectives. It also suggests areas for further research.

### **1.10 Operationalization of Key Terms**

**International/global media:** These refer to media channels that provide coverage beyond the national borders of the host country. They usually have bureaus/media outlets in other countries/regions.

**Mass media:** The means of communication that reach large numbers of people in a short time such as television, newspapers, magazines and radio.

**CNN Effect:** The network's ability to shape public opinion and foreign policy through transmission of powerful images and reporting

**Media influence:** The ways in which mass media and media culture affect how their audiences think and behave.

**Media framing:** This refers to the selection of some aspects of a perceived reality and makes them more salient in a communication context, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, casual interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described.

**Perception:** This is a way of regarding, understanding, or interpreting something; a mental impression.

**Image:** This refers to a mental representation or an opinion about a person, place, event or subject.

**Representation:** This is the creation of meaning through language

## CHAPTER TWO: INTERNATIONAL MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF KENYA

### 2.0 International Media Representation: An Introduction

Representation is defined as the creation of meaning through language. Stuart Hall argues that, in representation, constructionists argue that we use signs organized into languages of different kinds to communicate meaningfully with others. Languages can use signs or images to symbolize people, events or objects. Nevertheless they can also refer to imaginary things or abstract ideas. He further notes that language is not reflective as it does not function like a mirror.<sup>45</sup> Meaning is produced within language and by the practice, the ‘work’ of representation. It is constructed through signifying, that is meaning-producing-practices.

“The concept of representation has come to occupy a new and important place in the study of culture... it is an essential part of the process by which meaning is produced and exchanged by members of a culture. It does involve the use of language. Of signs and images which stand for or represent things.”<sup>46</sup>

The media is one of the very influential channels through which meanings are manufactured. The idea of representation symbolizes the subject that the media creates meanings about the world and help the audience understand it.<sup>47</sup> Mahadeo and McKinney argue that the process of information production is full of prevailing cultural and ideological expectations about what is ‘normal’ and ‘acceptable’ and the main centres of information creation and broadcasting are located in the wealthy and dominant ‘Western’ parts of the world.

It is also important to realize that what is not re-presented or is excluded can be just as important as or more so than that which is included in the meaning process. In mainstream media, certain types of story angles are dominant. These story angles create and reinforce assumptions, and frameworks of domination and suppression; ‘them’ and ‘us’.<sup>48</sup>

Croteau and Hoynes claim that most media scholars believe that media texts articulate ways of seeing the world. These ways help to define our world and provide models for appropriate behaviour and attitudes.<sup>49</sup> They further observe that researchers analyze media products to unearth the “ideology,” they are concerned in the fundamental images of society they offer. An

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<sup>45</sup>Hall, S. (1997) *Representation – Cultural representations and Signifying Practices*, SAGE.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid. , 23

<sup>47</sup>O’Sullivan T, Dutton, B &Rayner, P (1998). *Studying the Media*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition, Arnold.

<sup>48</sup>Mahadeo, M & McKinney, J (2007) 'Media representations of Africa: Still the same old story?', *Policy & Practice: A Development Education Review*, Vol. 4, Spring, pp. 14-20.

<sup>49</sup>Croteau, D &Hoynes, W. (2003). *Media/Society: Industries, Images and Audiences*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

ideology is principally a system of meaning that helps describe and make judgments about the world. Ideology is closely related to concepts such as values, world view and belief system, but it is noteworthy that it is broader than these three. It also refers to the intricate ways in which the world is described.

When researchers examine the ideology of media, they are not so much interested in the specific activities depicted/represented in a single newspaper, news item, movie, or documentary as in the broader system of meaning of which this depictions are part. Ideological analysis therefore, is primarily concerned with the fit between images and words in specific media text and ways of thinking about, even defining, social and cultural issues. However, most philosophical analyses of mass media productions pay attention to the content of the messages without thinking about the possible effects of the messages on the audience.<sup>50</sup>

From the foregoing discussion, media representation therefore refers to the images conveyed by media regarding people, events or objects.

### **2.1 The New World Information and Communication Order**

The prominence of the New World Information and Communication Order,” popularly known as NWICO, began in international media policy deliberations from the 1970s until the 1990s stretching through the period of decolonization to the fall of communism. The discussions started in diplomatic forums of the developing countries, especially the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). Moreover, it extended to professional and academic forums such that in the 1980s NWICO was a key part of the dialogue on the role of media in society and in the world.<sup>51</sup>

The idea was birthed in a wave of decolonization led by NAM in the early 1970s; it was strengthened during an information war, with retaliation by the Western powers in the mid-1970s, followed by a diplomatic ceasefire in the late 1970s; then it was rejected by another Western team in the 1980s. Nevertheless, the idea went into the new millennium, not as a contentious concept but entrenched in key issues in international media policy and study.

Gross misrepresentation and imbalance in the international news flow led to one of the major debates in the field of international communication in the 1970s and the 1980s that is the NWICO debate. Developing countries under the umbrella of the UNESCO, advocated for the New World Information Order (NWICO) to tackle the subject of global inequality. The NWICO

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<sup>50</sup>Ibid., 421

<sup>51</sup>Nordenstreng, K (1984a). *The Mass Media Declaration of UNESCO*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex

deliberation focused on objectivity in cross-border flow of information, imbalance in information and fairness in news dissemination. Fundamentally, the countries of the South, which included all countries of the African continent, wanted an overhaul of the worldwide communication system. They wanted the system to portray the variety and egalitarianism of all human races.<sup>52</sup>

Raube-Wilson states that in December 1984, the United States pull out from the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). The U.S officials held the perception that the UNESCO Secretariat had backed the debate on the formation of the NWICO. This was one of the key reasons for withdrawing its membership from UNESCO. He further argues that the NWICO is a set of demands, originating largely from Third World countries; aimed at rectifying what those countries view as an disparity in the transnational flow of information.<sup>53</sup>

In the early 70's Schiller observed that there was no inclusive international information order *per se.*' The situation would be described as a *laissez-faire* system allowing an unrestricted movement of information among countries.<sup>54</sup> The supporters of NWICO claimed that this uncontrolled state of affairs in the exchange of information had caused the following effects: a *de facto* imbalance in information flow from North to South, biased dissemination of communication resources, inadequate and undesirable reportage of Third World news, a western cultural partiality in news about the Third World, and broadcast of messages from North to South that are inappropriate, or even detrimental, to developing cultures.<sup>55</sup>

Other scholars assert that representatives from the West, East, and South agree that a great disparity in information flow is present and that NWICO was fundamentally a plan that proposed to resolve the existing imbalance in information flow.<sup>56</sup>It is notable that UNESCO shaped the discourse of the NWICO largely in terms of political, economic and social policy aspects.

Raube-Wilson further notes that The United States sees the free dissemination of information as an individual human right which is shielded from government control. The advocates of the NWICO additionally trust that there is a human right to information, however that this privilege

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<sup>52</sup>Ojo, T (2002). Post-NWICO debate: Image of Africa in the Western Media in Transition 2 Massachusetts. Cambridge Massachusetts

<sup>53</sup>Stephen Raube-Wilson, The New World Information and Communication Order and International Human Rights Law, 9 B.C. Int'l & Comp. L. Rev. 107 (1986),<http://lawdigitalcommons.bc.edu/iclr/vol9/iss1/5>

<sup>54</sup>Schiller, H. I. (1974), *Freedom from the 'Free Flow,'* Journal of Communication 24 (1). New York: Oxford University Press.

<sup>55</sup>Masmoudi, The New World Information and Direct Broadcast Satellites, 8 SYR. J. INT'L L. & COM. 322, 329 (1981).

<sup>56</sup>Aggarwala, *A Third World View*, in *Crisis In International News: Policies And Prospects*. xv,xvi (Richstad& Anderson eds. 1981).

might be constrained by a national government in light of a legitimate concern for adjusting the flow of information.<sup>57</sup>

One advocate of the NWICO, articulating the Third World perspective, has perceived that a key component of the new approach would be the advancement of national communication strategies, as being important to every nation's financial and social improvement and of a nature to inspire its natives for the benefit of such improvement.<sup>58</sup> The United States argued that such approaches would appear as government control, and likewise would confine the worldwide flow of information. U.S. adversaries of the NWICO expected that action by UNESCO, as resolutions supporting the foundation of the NWICO, would legitimize governments' efforts to confine the global flow of information.<sup>59</sup>

UNESCO's primary pronouncement of the idea "new world information and communication order " was in the Mass Media Declaration of 1978. The Declaration noted that the flow of information ought to be both free and fair, and that the media ought to play a part in the journey for peace, development, anti-racism, and the protection of society.<sup>60</sup>

Most studies show that around 80 per cent of the worldwide news that move through the newsrooms over the globe originates from the four noteworthy news offices: Reuters, Agence France-Presse, United Press International and the Associated Press—and the universal link news systems—CNN and BBC. Of this, around 20 per cent is given to creating nations, which mean very nearly seventy five per cent of total populace. Besides, these organizations and news systems have a place with the three changeless individuals from the United Nations Security Council—Britain, France and the United States of America. Consequently, news and other information about the Third World, disseminated universally, starts from a Western standpoint. This control over information is especially vital in modern times, since a few reporters consider a nation's power to be reliant upon its control over information.<sup>61</sup>

This phenomenon has not changed much as the West has kept on establishing universal media stations, for example, the Cable News Network, British Broadcasting Corporation and Deutsche Welle. These establishments have sufficient assets that empower them set-up bureau offices in

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<sup>57</sup>Stephen Raube-Wilson, *The New World Information and Communication Order and International Human Rights Law*, 9 B.C. Int'l & Comp. L. Rev. 107 (1986), <http://lawdigitalcommons.bc.edu/iclr/vol9/iss1/5>

<sup>58</sup>Masmoudi, *The New World Information and Direct Broadcast Satellites*, 8 SYR. J. INT'L L. & COM. 322, 329 (1981).

<sup>59</sup>*Ibid* at 330

<sup>60</sup>Mass Media Declaration (1978), United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization.

<sup>61</sup>Stephen Raube-Wilson, *The New World Information and Communication Order and International Human Rights Law*, 9 B.C. Int'l & Comp. L. Rev. 107 (1986), <http://lawdigitalcommons.bc.edu/iclr/vol9/iss1/5>



different areas, for example, Africa. They are in this way ready to cover the events in the respective areas in the angle that advances their nation's national interests and not necessarily the interest of the host country. This has further spread the imbalanced flow of information that the New World Information Order meant to address.<sup>62</sup>

## **2.2 Reporting of Africa in the International Media**

A lot of research and analysis has been done on the issue of media descriptions and the developing countries (commonly referred to as the Third World). Cromwell and Edwards assert that media is reluctant to reveal the truth about the root causes of the problems facing us, more so the core structural causes.<sup>63</sup> Western media coverage of Africa has been under scrutiny from international media scholars, journalists and politicians for several decades. Stories that have been reported about the continent have mostly been negative, dwelling on diseases, wars, coups, political instability and famine among others.<sup>64</sup>

Chimamanda, a renowned Nigerian author spoke about 'The Danger of a Single Story.' She observes that the danger of the single story is that it forms one view and that view becomes the only central representation of a thing or a place and its people. She opined that in the Western world particularly the United States and Europe, there is a solitary story of Africa and it is a negative one. The single story it presents Africa as a hub of violence, savagery, poverty and misery. The single negative story of Africa was made by the efforts of colonial authorities and organizations to sustain white sovereignty and Western dominance over the African continent.<sup>65</sup>

Mahadeo and McKinney state that the media do offer characterisations of Africa, which would fortify to audiences an account of African underachievement. It is noteworthy that generalizations assume a vital part in helping us to comprehend the world. We use characterizations of individuals and places and have a place with gatherings which can be stereotyped.<sup>66</sup> However, it is the predominance of negativity, which is disputable. Chavis opines that Africa's portrayal in the Western Media is not a self-representation. Media moulds, shapes,

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<sup>62</sup>Ibid., 108

<sup>63</sup>Cromwell, D & Edwards, D (2006). *Guardians of Power: The Myth of the Liberal Media*. Pluto Press.

<sup>64</sup>Ndangam, L. & Kanyegirire A. (2005) African Media Coverage of NEPAD: Implications for Reporting Africa. *Africa Media Review*, Vol 13, Number 1, 2005, pp. 41–60

<sup>65</sup>Adichie, C. The Danger of a Single Story. 2009. TED. 20 March 2010

<sup>66</sup>Branson, G & Stafford, R (1999) *The Media Student's Book*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Routledge.

forms, and dominates those images, references to Africa are gotten some of the time with disregard and disdain.<sup>67</sup>

### **2.3 Dominant Themes in Africa's Coverage**

Mahadeo and McKinney further identify three themes that dominate coverage of Africa. The first is that Africa is plagued by financial and political corruption. They observe that in the past few years programmes and news features regarding 'what to do about Africa' have emerged. Africa has been portrayed as lacking in democracy with the mention of bungled elections and dictatorships. The concern in these programmes about ways through which the West can help Africa be democratic. They, however, do not point out that most of the political frameworks were imposed on the continent by the West upon independence from colonialism. Moreover, given that most of the money pilfered by the corrupt officials in government is channeled to the Western banking system is not brought up frequently.<sup>68</sup>

Another dominant theme is that of 'poverty in Africa.' Mahadeo and McKinsey further argue that the debt owed by the continent to the international financial market has become the centre of attention in the recent years. The term used to advocate for relief from debt is debt forgiveness. 'Forgiveness,' in their view is a ridiculous term, which conceals the involvement of the mainly, Western banks in channeling monies for dubious programmes and on outrageous terms, while aware that repayment will be challenging. This has been well recognized by various such as Jubilee 2000/Drop the Debt. In pictures and newsreels, there are constant scenes of shanty towns, emaciated children, older people, dry red earth and barren landscapes, "a dying malnourished child in a corner with outstretched arms."<sup>69</sup> The truth on the recipients of Africa's resource exploitation misuse (to a great extent the Western world) is normally not brought out. The focus is predominantly on "warlords" and tyrants, while ignoring the role of Multinational Corporations (MNCs), and the western-led international economy.

Additionally, Africa has been depicted as being plagued by tribal wars. The underlying causes of such wars are more often than not unexplained. This underpins the perception of Africa being hopeless and inept. Greg Philo demonstrates this in his research on media coverage of Rwanda. He states that many journalists view Africa as a country, rather than a continent with diverse

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<sup>67</sup>Chavis, R. (1998) Africa in the Western Media. Paper presented at the Sixth Annual African Studies Consortium Workshop, University of Pennsylvania – African Studies Center, October 02, 1998.

<sup>68</sup>Mahadeo, M & McKinney, J (2007) 'Media representations of Africa: Still the same old story?', Policy & Practice: A Development Education Review, Vol. 4, Spring, pp. 14-20.

<sup>69</sup>Alam, S (1994) *The Visual representation of Developing Countries by Developmental Agencies and the Western Media*, Dhaka, unpublished.

cultures and multifaceted political and economic pasts. He expounds on Lindsey Hilsum of Channel 4, describing how, as opposed to common perceptions, Rwanda was a greatly organized society, more similar to Nazi society around the racist belief. This gave the Hutu military a good foundation to control supremacist thoughts. Many journalists, nonetheless, could not trust this due to their assumptions about Africa- how could Africans be organized to carry out a genocide? This overlooks, the fact that the continent has seen massive battles against colonialism, and against ideologies such as racial segregation in South Africa.<sup>70</sup>

## **2.4 Reporting of Kenya in the International Media**

Kenya, similar to other countries in Africa, has received coverage from international media channels especially during major events. These events have had an impact on Kenya's image internationally, be it positive or negative. As such this section will delve into how specific international channels namely: Al-Jazeera, Cable News Network, and China Central Television (CCTV) have contributed to the shaping of International perception of Kenya through the coverage of three key events, which are, Kenya's 2013 General Elections, the Westgate mall attack and President Obama's visit to Kenya.

## **2.5 Al-Jazeera's Coverage**

### **2.5.1 Kenya's 2013 General Elections Coverage**

Elections in Africa are important events in the pursuit of democracy. Following the post-election violence experienced in 2007-2008, international media channels had "their eyes" focused on Kenya.

#### ***i. Presidential Debates***

Kenya's 2013 General Elections was held on 4<sup>th</sup> March 2013. The election was largely peaceful as compared to the 2007 one which was marred by violence. Following the final Presidential Debate which involved the presidential candidates being questioned majorly on healthcare and education matters, Aljazeera reported that corruption was one of the key issues that recurred in the Presidential debates.

The channel further reported that the 2013 elections would be the first election since a largely disputed election in 2007 that was followed by episodes of inter-tribal violence. It was also highlighted that Kenyatta, one of the wealthiest men and a kingpin of the dominant Kikuyu tribe

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<sup>70</sup>Philo, G. (2002) 'The Mass Production of Ignorance: News content and audience understanding' *Journal on Media Culture*, Vol 5, 2002.

was a candidate in the elections despite facing trial for crimes against humanity at the International Criminal Court. The station also talked about there being fears that violence may be experienced again during the 2013 election period.<sup>71</sup>

### *ii. Cash-for-votes exposure*

In another new piece, Aljazeera reported that two gubernatorial seat contenders had been caught on camera appearing to give cash bribes to some youths in return for votes. Ferdinand Waititu, who was contesting for the Nairobi gubernatorial seat using the TNA ticket was caught on camera dishing out bundles of money in Donholm area in Nairobi on 6<sup>th</sup> February. This was after the candidate had given a speech loaded with promises on what he would do if elected as Nairobi county Governor.<sup>72</sup>

Similarly, in Kisii county, James Ongwae, an aspirant seeking the county's governor seat via the Coalition for Reform and Democracy (CORD) party's ticket is seen giving directives to a huge crowd of young men to queue in order to receive cash at a campaign event.

The station further mentions that the Kenyan Human Rights Commission (KHRC) had stated that despite there being positive steps made towards ensuring a free, fair and peaceful poll, the campaigns had been marked by vices such as incitement, voter bribery, intimidation and misappropriation of state resources

### *iii. Kenya's Tribal Divide*

Al Jazeera's well-renown journalist, Peter Greste observed that as Kenyans prepared to vote in the 2013 General elections and usher in a new government tribal loyalties were going to play a very crucial role in a country with more than 40 different tribes.<sup>73</sup>

### *iv. Beefing up of Security prior to Elections*

On the eve of the election day, Aljazeera reported that security had been beefed up in the country and that about 100,000 police officers had been deployed to prevent the a repeat of post-election violence, as experienced following the 2007 elections. The channel also claimed that tensions were already high, despite Kenyans from various religions being hopeful that the polls would not result in violence. It was also reported that presidential candidate Uhuru Kenyatta and his rival Raila Odinga had declared that there would be no repeat of bloodshed.

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<sup>71</sup> Kenya candidates clash in final debate <http://www.AlJazeera.com/video/africa/2013/02/201322552749702473.html>

<sup>72</sup> Videos expose Kenya cash-for-vote scandal <http://www.AlJazeera.com/news/africa/2013/03/201331141512539677.html>

<sup>73</sup> Elections to test Kenya's tribal divide <http://www.aljazeera.com/video/africa/2013/03/201331105757192863.html>

The channel also stated that the Human Rights Watch had cautioned that the possibility of political violence was “dangerously high.” Al Jazeera’s reporter, James Brownswell said that Kenyans were looking forward to peaceful elections. He further went on to describe Kenya’s election preparedness in terms on security provision, deployment of election observers and the measures set-up by the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission to ensure a free and fair election.<sup>74</sup>

The channel also highlighted that Uhuru Kenyatta’s and his running mate’s trial at the International Criminal Court had raised the election’s stakes as the two might be away on trial for many months or even years. In winding up the news piece, Al Jazeera reported that in Kisumu, the stronghold of Raila Odinga’s supporters who following the 2007 elections went on the rampage, residents said that they were optimistic that the presidential candidates would accept the poll results.

*v. The Final Preparations*

Aljazeera also highlighted the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission’s preparedness to deliver free and fair polls. They channel quoted the Commission’s Chairman Issack Hassan on the responsibilities of electoral officers as well as those of the electorate. It also showcased the aid agencies preparedness for potential post-election-violence, who had trained their employees on how to conduct themselves in case violence erupted.<sup>75</sup>

*vi. Kenya’s Vote-count Delay*

Following the ballots, Aljazeera reported on the voting irregularities marked by widespread technical failure and numerous spoiled ballots. The channel described how the elections had been faced by delays due the technical glitches in the electronic tallying system, leading to dissatisfaction by the electorate on the snail pace of the tally. According to initial reports, the tally was to be concluded within forty eight hours, but on the third day electoral officials were bringing ballot boxes to be counted manually at the Nairobi-based main tallying centre. The station further highlighted that Uhuru Kenyatta’s allies had raised concerns about interference of the vote tallying process by foreign diplomats.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> Kenya beefs up security on eve of election <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2013/03/201333185147770481.html>

<sup>75</sup> Final preparations for Kenyan polls under way <http://aljazeera.com/news/africa/2013/03/201332104145190624.html>

<sup>76</sup> Frustration grows over Kenya vote-count delay <http://aljazeera.com/news/africa/2013/03/201336184915143244.html>

The channel also relayed the United Nations Secretary General's message on the call for calm and patience as the votes were being counted and his urge to politicians on refraining from making any statements that undermined the electoral process.

***vii. Uhuru Kenyatta's Win***

Following IEBC's announcement on 9<sup>th</sup> March 2013, Al Jazeera reported that Uhuru Kenyatta had been declared as the winner of the presidential elections. The station highlighted that Raila Odinga's camp had stated that the tallying process that the vote count was extremely flawed and had requested for it to be stopped. Given that their request was not granted Raila Odinga said that he would seek the Supreme Court's investigation into the poll process.

The channel further described Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto's reaction to the poll results that they were delighted and privileged for the trust put on them by Kenyans. Kenyatta termed the polls as the most free and fair election in Kenya's history.<sup>77</sup> Al Jazeera's Mohamed Adow reported that Kenya would become the second African country after Sudan to have a sitting President charged by the International Criminal Court and offered a reminder on the European Union's and international community's declaration that they would exclusively have essential contact with Kenyatta and his deputy, Ruto. Additionally, he noted that the United States through a diplomat had warned Kenyans that despite having the right and freedom to elect their own leaders, choices had consequences.<sup>78</sup>

***viii. Poll Results Court Ruling***

Following the Supreme Court ruling on the 2013 poll results, Al Jazeera reported that the court had upheld the victory of President-elect Uhuru Kenyatta and dismissed the petition of his rival, Raila Odinga. Roopa Gogineni described how Odinga's supporters who had been waiting for the court ruling outside the courtroom had dispersed due the heavy rains leaving a small crowd that was surrounded by military police. The supporters were shouting, "No Peace without Justice," when tear gas canisters were hurled at them by the police.<sup>79</sup>

The reporter added that the flicker of violence was quelled within minutes and that isolated incidents occurred in some slums in Nairobi and in Kisumu. However, on the whole peace prevailed since the March 4 ballot. Al Jazeera emphasised that prior to the election, Western

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<sup>77</sup> Kenyatta wins Kenya's presidential elections <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2013/03/20133975019268525.html>

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>79</sup> Kenya court ruling confirms Kenyatta's victory <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2013/03/201333193056386175.html>

governments had expressed caution in dealing with leaders facing charges for crimes against humanity. The channel mentioned that during his campaign trail, Kenyatta had claimed that such remarks bordered on Western meddling in the election. Ropa Gogineni noted that Britain and the United States softened their stance as shortly after the Supreme Court ruling, the British Prime Minister David Cameron and White House Press Secretary, Jay Carney extended their congratulations to Kenyatta.

### *ix. Analysis*

Generally, Al Jazeera's coverage of Kenya's 2013 elections is balanced as the station captures both the positive and negative occurrences without laying much emphasis on the negative ones. For example, Al Jazeera acknowledges that the 2013 polls were widely peaceful with isolated cases of violence due to dissatisfaction with the polls process.

#### **2.5.2 The Westgate Mall Attack**

The Westgate mall terror attack happened on 21<sup>st</sup> September 2013. It was one of the worst terror attacks to be experienced in Kenya following the United States Embassy bombing in August 1998. The attack received extensive coverage by both local and international media channels.

##### *i. The Attack*

On 21<sup>st</sup> September 2013, Al Jazeera reported that a gun battle inside a shopping centre had left at least 30 people dead and more than 50 injured. The report further described how exchange of gunfire between Kenya's elite units and troops had joined the police to reinforce the fight against the gunmen in the Westgate shopping centre. Also, smoke had been seen rising from the building and unconfirmed witness accounts had stated that the attackers targeted foreigners and non-Muslims.

The channel further cited Billow Kerrow, Manderu county's Senator that it was still unknown who the attackers were as it was too early to know the kind of people they were despite them speaking the Swahili language.<sup>80</sup> Two days later, Al Jazeera reported that heavy and sustained gunfire had been coming from the mall where Somali group Al-Shabaab were holed up and held hostage a number of civilians. Kenya's Cabinet Secretary's views were also highlighted as he said that three Al Shabab fighters had been killed. He further said that the fire inside the mall was the work of the fighters but would soon be put out.

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<sup>80</sup> Gunmen storm Nairobi mall in deadly attack <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2013/09/201392110386655370.html>

The station further highlighted Al Shabaab said that they had attacked the mall in revenge to Kenya's deployment of troops to Somalia and that the Al Shabaab group did not want any negotiations with the Kenyan government. The Al-Shabab spokesman, Abu Omar told Al Jazeera that they carried out the attack where their specific targets were non-Muslims.<sup>81</sup>

### ***ii. Kenya's Intervention in Somalia***

In another news piece Hamza Mohamed, a producer for Al Jazeera English, covering Sub-Saharan Africa, noted that the mall attack was the most significant strike in Kenya since the US Embassy bombing by al-Qaeda in 1998. He further stated that the Islamist group had lost more territory to Kenyan troops than to other AMISOM troops contributing country. This further justified that attacks by the Islamist group were unheard of before October 2011 when Kenya troops invaded Somalia.<sup>82</sup>

### ***iii. Looting by Kenyan soldiers***

Al Jazeera also aired the story in which the Kenyan Army chief named two soldiers found with cameras and phones allegedly stolen during the deadly Westgate mall attack. General Julius Karangi had previously said that the soldiers had only taken water but later declared that his men had looted various commodities. He was quoted saying that two officers had been jailed and dismissed while another was being investigated.<sup>83</sup>

### ***iv. Mall attack warning***

Mohammed Yusuf, an Al Jazeera reporter said that leaked intelligence snips indicated that top leaders knew of an 'increasing threat of terrorism' in the period leading to the mall attack. In his report, he noted that following the attack, fingers pointed at Kenya's National Intelligence Service for its failure to detect the plot. He pointed out that the leaked intelligence file the Chief of Defence and other senior officials, including Cabinet Secretaries had been informed about the possibility of an attack but they did not act.<sup>84</sup> Senator Mike Sonko was also mentioned as having provided leading information on warnings of the attack but had been ignored by the intelligence body.

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<sup>81</sup> Kenya forces mount assault to end mall siege <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2013/09/2013921174856564470.html>

<sup>82</sup> Somalia intervention cited for mall assault <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2013/09/201392494741798865.html>

<sup>83</sup> Kenya army admits soldiers looted mall <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2013/10/kenyan-army-admits-soldiers-looted-mall-2013103082648752523.html>

<sup>84</sup> Kenya officials warned of Westgate attack <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2013/09/kenyan-officials-warned-westgate-attack-2013929122737128930.html>



**v. *Westgate mall suspects' trial***

Following the end of the mall siege, Al Jazeera followed through to report on four suspects accused of being part of the Westgate mall attack who were being held and were due to stand trial.<sup>85</sup> Kenya's President was also featured declaring the war against terror was not Kenya's war, rather it was an international war and that he was going to deal with the attackers and push the masterminds

**vi. *United Kingdom's travel advisory***

Al Jazeera also reported on the travel advisory given by the UK to its citizens that advised its citizens to avoid most of Kenya's coastal areas. The channel also aired the Cabinet Secretary for Interior and Coordination's concerns on the advisory that, "we are particularly concerned that the countries that have issued the advisories are considered friends."

**vii. *Reopening of the Westgate Mall***

Two years after the mall attack, it was reopened. Al Jazeera reported that, the site of an attack that killed 67 people and left scores injured had reopened. The station further highlighted the new security measures that had been put in place such as explosive detectors and bullet-proof guard towers. Additionally, the station focused on the stories of entrepreneurs who were optimistic about what the future holds for their businesses.<sup>86</sup>

The station also highlighted that the mall was re-opening a week before President Obama's visit to Nairobi.

**viii. *Analysis***

Al Jazeera's coverage of the Westgate mall attack was largely balanced as it provided an account of the attack and the responses provided by the Kenyan government on the efforts that went into ending the siege. The channel in its reporting on the first day, did not conclude that it was a terror attack, rather it labeled it as 'a gunmen attack.' It is noteworthy that the channel went to the extent of seeking response from the Al Shabab group, who confirmed that they were responsible for the attack.

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<sup>85</sup>Suspects in Kenya mall attack to stand trial <http://www.aljazeera.com/video/africa/2014/01/2014114232914594363.html>

<sup>86</sup> Kenya's Westgate shopping mall reopens <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/07/kenya-westgate-shopping-mall-reopen-150718012221949.html>

### **2.5.3 President Obama's Visit to Kenya**

Barack Obama's visit to Kenya in 2015 was historic as it was his first visit as the President of the United States. His visit received extensive coverage from both local and international media.

#### ***i. Security arrangements for the visit***

On the eve of Obama's visit to Kenya, Al Jazeera reported that security had been beefed up in preparation for his visit and that some roads and the airspace would be closed during his arrival.<sup>87</sup>

#### ***ii. Matters of interest to President Obama***

Upon Obama's arrival to Kenya, Al Jazeera reported on his euphoric welcome and how he was received by President Uhuru Kenyatta, the half-sister Auma, among other government officials. Andrew Simmons, Al Jazeera's reporter said that there was overwhelming euphoria when Obama arrived, adding that the US president is the "most popular" politician in Kenya.<sup>88</sup>

Al Jazeera recounted on areas that Obama addressed during his visit to Kenya. The station mentioned security, corruption and human rights as being top on his list. Obama's message that 'Africa was on the move' and his recognition of Africa's economic potential also received massive airtime. Al Jazeera also highlighted Obama's desire to transform Africa into a future hub of global growth. The channel also aired Obama's message to Kenyans that about their limitless ability to achieve whatever they desired; however, there was a need to tackle corruption, strengthen democracy and end exclusion based on ethnicity or gender. Additionally, the President's applause to Kenya for its commitment towards weeding out corruption was reported.<sup>89</sup>

#### ***iii. Reporting on the gay rights issue***

Regarding President Obama's call for equality for gays and lesbians in Africa, Al Jazeera highlighted that President Kenyatta had declared that gay rights was a non-issue for Kenya.<sup>90</sup>

#### ***iv. Analysis***

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<sup>87</sup> On eve of Obama visit, Kenyans warn of waning press freedom <http://america.aljazeera.com/articles/2015/7/24/kenya-waning-press-freedom-under-the-spotlight.html>

<sup>88</sup> 'Karibu' Obama: Kenya welcomes US president <http://www.aljazeera.com/programmes/insidestory/2015/07/obama-kenya-welcomes-president-150726011248156.html>

<sup>89</sup> Obama says 'no limits' to what Kenyans can achieve <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/07/obama-kenya-africa-150726091357544.html>

<sup>90</sup> Gay rights is a non-issue for Kenya <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/2015/07/kenyatta-gay-rights-issue-kenya-150725182756519.html>

Al Jazeera's coverage of President Obama's visit to Kenya was largely positive as the channel aired news pieces which carried a positive message and image of Kenya, for example, *Obama in Kenya: Africa is on the move*; *Obama lands in Kenya to euphoric welcome* and *Obama praises Kenya's anti-corruption drive*.

## **2.6 Cable News Network Coverage**

### **2.6.1 2013 General Elections**

#### ***i. The Road to 2013 Elections***

Kenya had held elections in 2007 that saw the main rivals Raila Odinga of ODM pitted against then incumbent President Mwai Kibaki. The elections were tightly contested especially with Raila Odinga having served in the early days of Kibaki's government as a Roads Minister, a position which was perceived as a renegation by Kibaki on an MOU both had signed. The MOU was to make Raila Odinga a Prime Minister after he campaigned for the ill Mwai Kibaki in 2002 and managed to secure a victory against Uhuru Kenyatta, a son of the country's First President who had been chosen by the then incumbent President Moi of KANU.<sup>91</sup>

In 2005, allies to Raila Odinga and KANU leadership led by Uhuru Kenyatta formed an alliance to challenge Mwai Kibaki who had supported a revision of Kenya's constitution. Mwai Kibaki's party, NARC, was defeated in the constitution referendum that provoked the sacking of Ministers in the government who had supported to vote against the revision. A political party, ODM thereafter came into being after the referendum's symbols of Orange for Odinga led alliance and banana for Kibaki's party.

As the 2007 elections approached, as is characteristic of Kenya's political scene, loyalties shifted to who was best suited to win the elections. Thus Uhuru Kenyatta of KANU who was aligned with Raila Odinga in 2005 to challenge the constitution amendment chose to support President Mwai Kibaki. William Ruto who had been Uhuru Kenyatta's running mate in 2002, became an ODM member and supported Raila Odinga.

The elections were perceived to be a vote against the Kikuyu block who were said to hold dominant positions in Kibaki's government. The rest of the country felt at least in the opinion of the opposition, marginalised. The elections in 2007 were therefore already tense with tribal animosity. The outcome of the result saw Mwai Kibaki declared the winner in an election

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<sup>91</sup>Guided by MoU, Kibaki names a lean, balanced Cabinet. <http://www.nation.co.ke/news/politics/Intrigues-that-killed-the-Narc-dream-/1064-1604280-t2fnlfz/index.html>

deemed flawed by international and local observers. Chaos broke out soon immediately and the ensuing post-election violence led to the deaths of 1,200 people and the displacement of even more thousands. A power sharing deal brokered by the former UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan, saw Raila Odinga as the country's Prime Minister and the Second one in the country's history after Jomo Kenyatta, the First President.<sup>92</sup>

The International Criminal Court charged six prominent persons suspected to be the masterminds behind the electoral violence of whom included Uhuru Kenyatta of KANU and William Ruto of ODM. The Crimes against humanity charge levelled against the two emerged as a political issue as Raila Odinga, the Prime Minister and ODM leader was perceived as not supporting his party's member William Ruto.

This led to a fallout between the two and prior to the elections; Uhuru Kenyatta abandoned KANU and formed his own political party TNA. William Ruto also ditched ODM and formed URP while Raila Odinga remained in ODM as the party's leader. As the elections drew near, Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto merged to form a political coalition, JAP, which would counter Raila Odinga's CORD an alliance between ODM, Wiper party and Ford K.

In this political climate, CNN, noted that the 2007 elections that pitted Raila Odinga against Mwai Kibaki was contested and this led to the killing of 1,200 people and the displacement of hundreds of thousands.<sup>93</sup>

The media station also gave a highlight of reforms in the country since the 2007 violence. Some of the reforms included the passage of a new Constitution, the electoral process and the judicial system that saw the creation of the Supreme Court.<sup>94</sup> CNN also reported that Kenyans were cautiously optimistic as they had been implored by the two main political contenders not to resort to violence and that an election dispute would be settled by the Supreme Court. The main issues were the state of the economy, security and corruption which CNN reported were more or less similar political stands made by the two political parties leaving most of the 14 million voters to choose on criteria based on personality and ethnicity.

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<sup>92</sup>Kenya power deal 'on the right track'. [edition.cnn.com/2008/WORLD/Africa/02/28/kenya.talks/](http://edition.cnn.com/2008/WORLD/Africa/02/28/kenya.talks/)

<sup>93</sup>Kenyan presidential contender's camp says vote 'doctored'. <http://edition.cnn.com/2013/03/07/world/africa/kenya-elections/index.html>

<sup>94</sup>Wary but optimistic Kenyans vote for president. <http://edition.cnn.com/2013/03/03/world/africa/kenya-elections/index.html>

## *ii. The Voting Day*

The 2013 elections were held in 2013 and the main contenders were Uhuru Kenyatta of JAP and Raila Odinga of CORD. The two are the sons of the nation's First President and Vice President respectively, a fact noted by CNN.<sup>95</sup> There were 30,000 polling stations as reported by CNN but also the reporting of an incident on the Election Day that a group of armed men numbering 200 attacked a police station between 9 pm and 10 pm in the port of Mombasa, Kenya's coastal city and killed 10 people including two police officers.<sup>96</sup> The Prime Minister, Raila Odinga, blamed the violence on Mombasa Republican Council, MRC, a group that sought secession of Mombasa Island from Kenya.

CNN reported violence in Mandera, where bombs were said to have exploded at two polling stations and that three people were slightly wounded. In Kitengela, South of Nairobi, it was reported that about 20 people were in hospital after a stampede broke out at one of the polling stations as reported by CNN's affiliate NTV. The media coverage by CNN on the voting day largely portrayed reports of violence across the country, from the Northern region, the Coast and in Nairobi.

## *iii. Presidential Results Announcement*

Uhuru Kenyatta became the country's fourth President after winning 50.07% of the vote against Raila Odinga's 43.43% thus narrowly surpassing the 50% plus one threshold to be President as mandated by the new constitution.<sup>97</sup> CNN reported that Kenyatta's win put the West in a state of dilemma as he was facing Crimes against Humanity at the International Criminal Court related to the 2007 post-election violence. Previously, Johnnie Carson had warned Kenyans that they can choose their leaders but that choices have consequences. However after the election, American Secretary of State, John Kerry, stated that the US will continue to a strong friend and ally of the Kenyan people.

CNN asserted that majority of Kenyans voted for Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto in defiance of the ICC which was perceived as targeting African leaders and failing to prosecute non-African leaders.

## *iv. The Aftermath*

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<sup>95</sup>Main players in Kenyan presidential election. <http://edition.cnn.com/2013/03/03/world/africa/kenya-presidential-candidates/index.html>

<sup>96</sup>Vote counting begins after largely peaceful election in Kenya. <http://edition.cnn.com/2013/03/04/world/africa/kenya-elections/index.html>

<sup>97</sup>Uhuru Kenyatta wins Kenyan presidency; rival to challenge outcome in court. <http://edition.cnn.com/2013/03/09/world/africa/kenya-election-results/index.html>

CNN reports indicated that tensions were high in Kenya after Raila Odinga of CORD decided to challenge the election results of Uhuru Kenyatta of JAP, as the new President.<sup>98</sup> This was evident in social media especially Facebook and Twitter where the supporters of both political divides engaged in arguments that revealed tribal animosity. CNN however noted that both political groups supported the petition to the Supreme Court which had been formed under the new constitution.

#### *v. Analysis*

CNN reporting on the Kenyan elections reflected to situation on the ground and so the overall coverage touched on the optimism of Kenyans that there would be no violence as a consequence of voting and that disputes would be amicably settled. In this regard, CNN fulfilled its obligation as a fair and objective reporter.

### **2.6.2 The Westgate Mall Attack**

#### *i. The Attack*

On 21<sup>st</sup> September 2013, several gunmen stormed the Westgate mall in Nairobi and opened fire on the shoppers killing 67 people in total and injuring many others. CNN reported that Al-Shabaab terrorists numbering 10-15, took over the mall at around midday and went from store to store shooting people and taking hostages. CNN also confirmed that the Somali based terror organisation Al-Shabaab had said on Twitter that it sent the gunmen in retaliation for Kenya's involvement in African Union military initiative against the group in Somalia.<sup>99</sup>

CNN noted that Al-Shabaab has conducted other terror related acts in Kenya before like hurling grenades at churches, bus stops and other public places. The report went on to say that the Westgate mall attack was the deadliest in the country since the 1998 bombing of the U.S. Embassy which killed 213 people. The mall attackers were vastly of Somali descent but of varied national identities which portrays the globalization of terror. CNN reported their identities as British, Dutch and even Norwegian.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>98</sup>Why Kenya poll ruling is a test of its democracy. <http://edition.cnn.com/2013/03/27/world/africa/kenya-election-legal/index.html>

<sup>99</sup>Kenyan police vow to 'finish and punish' Westgate Mall terrorists. <http://edition.cnn.com/2013/09/23/world/africa/kenya-mall-attack/index.html>

<sup>100</sup>Questions linger after Kenya mall attack. <http://edition.cnn.com/2013/09/25/world/africa/kenya-mall-attack-aftermath/index.html>

It also emerged that Kenyan Cabinet and Defence officials had been warned by the country's National Intelligence Service of suspected attacks on Kenya by the Al-Shabaab terror group. However, the teams failed to act appropriately to the reports of which CNN confirmed that it had electronic versions of it addressed to top security officials.<sup>101</sup> A leaked video from the Westgate attack showed some of Kenyan military forces looting valuables from the mall and placing them in shopping bags. This fact was acknowledged by Kenya's deputy President William Ruto in a CNN interview who said that the perpetrators would be brought to book.

### *ii. Reopening of Westgate*

The Westgate Mall reopened after two years to signify the resilience of the Kenyan people and defiance against the political objectives of terrorists. CNN covered this event and also highlighted the mixed reactions from the survivors and other Kenyans.

One of the survivors, Shamim Allu, preferred that the mall had reopened as a memorial site or a religious site to honour those who had died and to provide a sanctuary for the survivors. Another survivor, Elijah Musyoka, who returned to work at the same jewellery store he was in when the mall was attacked, agreed to the reopening saying that life has to go on to show the attackers that Kenyans are courageous.<sup>102</sup>

### *iii. Analysis*

The Westgate mall attack was a defining moment for Kenya in its fight against terrorism where Al-Shabaab wanted to damage Kenya's economy by targeting an economic hub. The siege on the mall was covered candidly to highlight the plight of the victims and survivors and also the resilience of the Kenyan people when the mall was reopened. It is noteworthy that the station had extensive coverage on the terror attack and highlighting previous attacks in the country.

## **2.6.3 President Obama's Visit**

### *i. Before the Visit*

President Barack Obama is the First African American President of U.S. and of Kenyan descent. By this heritage, Kenyans were excited on the announcement that he would visit the country for bilateral meetings and to attend the 2015 Global Entrepreneurship Summit. This would be the first time a sitting American President was visiting Kenya.<sup>103</sup> CNN reported of

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<sup>101</sup>Kenyan intelligence warned of Al-Shabaab threat before mall attack. <http://edition.cnn.com/2013/09/28/world/africa/kenya-mall-attack/index.html>

<sup>102</sup>Kenya's Westgate mall reopens, nearly two years after bloody terror attack. <http://edition.cnn.com/2015/07/18/africa/kenya-westgate-mall-reopens/index.html>

<sup>103</sup>Obama makes first trip to Kenya as President. <http://edition.cnn.com/2015/03/30/politics/obama-kenya-trip-july-2015/>

*Obamamania* that swept throughout the country before the visit. Nairobi city spent hundreds of thousands of dollars for renovation, the Kenyatta International Conference Centre was refurbished at prices estimated at \$3 million and Obama memorabilia of t-shirts, hats, artworks were being sold ahead of the visit.<sup>104</sup>

Kenyans were however infuriated when CNN reported that there were security concerns for the President in travelling to what they described as a ‘hotbed of terror.’<sup>105</sup> This statement was later clarified by the station to include the passage that it was the region itself which was a hotbed of terror and not the country. They later offered an apology for this.

CNN also reported of Pentagon strikes on the Al-Shabaab as a deterrent against any terror plots that might want to initiate.

### *ii. Obama in Kenya*

In Kenya, Obama was warmly received by the masses and his Kenyan counterpart Uhuru Kenyatta and the two held a press conference affirming the shared values the two nations shared. The Kenyan President mentioned people’s reluctance to implement gay rights as front issues stressing that as a developing country other issues were of great concern to the majority of citizens and that gay rights were therefore a non-issue.<sup>106</sup>

CNN in its report relayed that Obama had ‘lectured’ Uhuru on gay rights. This was in contrast with the general perception of the conference as cordial. CNN also reported that other issues were addressed at the Press conference including Kenya’s economy, the shared fight against terrorism in the region and Obama’s connection to Kenya as his Father’s homeland. Obama also cracked a joke at a State dinner hosted by the Kenyan President on his citizenship mentioning that he had come to get his birth certificate in reference to the ‘birther’ conspiracy that Obama was not born in the U.S. and his Presidency was therefore illegitimate.<sup>107</sup>

### *iii. Analysis*

CNN’s coverage of Obama’s first visit to Kenya as a sitting U.S. President was controversial due to the fact that they represented a negative image of the country as a place riddled with

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<sup>104</sup>Obamamania sweeps Kenya as resourceful businesses cash in on visit. <http://edition.cnn.com/2015/07/23/africa/kenya-visit-barack-obama/index.html>

<sup>105</sup>Obama’s trip raises security concerns. <http://edition.cnn.com/2015/07/22/politics/obama-kenya-visit-al-shabaab-threat/index.html>

<sup>106</sup>Obama lectures Kenyan president on gay rights. <http://edition.cnn.com/2015/07/25/politics/obama-kenya-kenyatta/index.html>

<sup>107</sup>Obama cracks 'birther' joke in Kenya. <http://edition.cnn.com/2015/07/25/politics/obama-birther-joke-kenya/index.html>



constant terrorist attacks despite the fact that terrorism is a global menace. They also highlighted that the American President lectured his Kenyan counterpart on gay rights something which had a misleading heading as the two leaders noted the fact that they shared many values but only differed on gay rights as Kenyans themselves had to deal with other pressing issues such as the economy and counter-terrorism efforts.

CNN's reporting on this matter was therefore unbalanced and prejudiced against Kenyans.

## **2.7 China Central Television's Coverage**

### **2.7.1 Kenya's 2013 Elections**

#### ***i. Voting day and the long wait for poll results***

On the voting day, CCTV focused on Kenya being largely a “ghost-nation” as most businesses remained closed and public transport operators kept their vehicles off the road. On the night of 4<sup>th</sup> March, CCTV described, Kenya as a nation under curfew as most streets and nocturnal businesses like night clubs remained closed; as most Kenyans had retreated to their homes to follow the live poll results conveyance on television. On the second day, the streets still remained empty as many people were indoors monitoring the poll results. The station highlighted that majority of Kenyans had suspended all their daily activities until the final count of the presidential results were announced.

Bedah Mengo, an African Politics reporter at CCTV interviewed a shopkeeper in Kayole, Nairobi, who said that he could not open his shop until the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) announced the winner. The shopkeeper observed that there was anxiety all over and all activities in the country would depend on the outcome of the elections. He further narrated how five years ago; Kenyans had resumed their normal activities but violence had set in as soon as the presidential results were released. The reporter further observed that many other businessmen around the area and in other parts of the country remained closed and that Kenyans were waiting earnestly for the announcement of the presidential elections so that they could go on with their daily routine.<sup>108</sup>

#### ***ii. Focus on the coastal city***

Kofa Mrenje, a CCTV correspondent, noted a day after the elections normal life was yet to resume in Kenya's coastal city of Mombasa. He described the town as a ‘virtual shadow’ of its former self. Besides the polls, the residents still lived in fear after four security officers had been

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<sup>108</sup> Kenya remains “ghost nation” as country awaits poll results <http://english.cntv.cn/20130305/105492.shtml>

killed by alleged members of the Mombasa Republican Council, a few days to the polls. A Mombasa resident was reported saying that people were really worried and scared about the election. The fear was evident everywhere as even the busy ferry terminal that links the main land to the Mombasa Island remained deserted.<sup>109</sup>

### ***iii. Delay in release of poll results***

CCTV had earlier reported that according to Kenya's poll body, the results would be release within 48 hours. On the Wednesday, CCTV reported that Kenya's elections had been delayed to Friday following a failure of the electronic vote counting system. CCTV reported that Kenya's poll body had insisted that the credibility of the election was not in doubt. The station also highlighted that the Kenyan police had found marked ballot papers discarded in some parts of the Kenyan capital, Nairobi.<sup>110</sup>

### ***iv. The African Union's message to Kenya***

CCTV also reported on the African Union Elections Observer Mission's (AU-EOM) message of praise to Kenya for holding peaceful elections. This came in the back drop of the 2007 elections which were marred by violence following disputed poll results. AU-EOM observed noted that despite the challenges of in the electoral process, the elections had been held in serenity and security was well-handled by the police forces. It was also mentioned that 22,600 poll observers (both local and international) had been accredited to Kenya.<sup>111</sup>

### ***v. Uhuru Kenyatta's win***

Finally, CCTV reported on IEBC's announcement of Uhuru Kenyatta's win, who won by at least 50 percent plus one of all votes cast. The station noted that the 2013 general elections were the first under the new Constitution that was passed in 2010. The channel further highlighted that the electronic transmission system had broken down during the tallying, causing IEBC to resort to manual vote counting at the national tallying centre located at the Bomas of Kenya.<sup>112</sup> Uhuru Kenyatta's vow to work with his rivals was also highlighted. Nevertheless, Raila Odinga's declaration that he would challenge the poll results at the Supreme Court following alleged massive fraud was also reported.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>109</sup>Kenya's coastal city at a standstill <http://english.cntv.cn/program/africalive/20130306/100341.shtml>

<sup>110</sup> Kenya election results expected on Friday <http://english.cntv.cn/program/newsupdate/20130307/105813.shtml>

<sup>111</sup> AU lauds peaceful elections in Kenya <http://english.cntv.cn/20130305/106431.shtml>

<sup>112</sup>Kenya's Uhuru Kenyatta gets 50.03 pct of votes in general elections <http://english.cntv.cn/20130309/102320.shtml>

<sup>113</sup>Kenyatta wins Kenya election <http://english.cntv.cn/program/newsupdate/20130310/100579.shtml>

Similar to other international media channels, the channel also highlighted that Kenyatta and his running mate, William Ruto were facing charges for crimes against humanity at the International Criminal Court (ICC), emanating from the 2007/8 post-election violence. The station also echoed U.S Assistant Secretary of State in charge of Africa, Johnnie Carson's message caution to Kenyans that as much as the general election was a Kenyan affair, its outcome would have consequences since the president had an obligation to work with the international community.

#### *vi. United States of America's Travel Advisory*

Prior to the Supreme Court's ruling, the United of America issued a travel advisory to its citizens. CCTV highlighted that the U. S government had warned its citizens living in Kenya about violent reactions following the court's ruling over the presidential election petition. The channel reported that U.S citizens had been urged to avoid large crowds, demonstrations, gatherings, slums and downtown business areas.<sup>114</sup>

#### *vii. Analysis*

CCTV's coverage of Kenya's 2013 elections largely focused on the economic impact of the elections with stories such as "Kenya's coastal city at a standstill" and "Kenya remains "ghost nation" as country awaits poll results." The channel aired stories of how businessmen left their shops closed due to uncertainty and the public transport operators kept their vehicles off the road. To a large extent, the channel's coverage was balanced as it focused on the elections; effect on the lives of ordinary Kenyans while also reporting on the electoral process, from the preparations, the technical hitches and the poll results.

### **2.7.2 The Westgate Attack**

#### *i. The Attack*

The Westgate mall was attacked by the Al-Shabaab terrorist group on 21<sup>st</sup> September 2013, and led to the deaths of 67 civilians and hundreds being injured. CCTV reported that on 23<sup>rd</sup> September, Kenya tried to deal with the terror issue by securing its border to prevent any terrorist from entering or leaving the country. This was in response to the attack and the suspicion that some of the attackers had escaped from the mall and were planning on leaving the country.<sup>115</sup>

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<sup>114</sup>U.S. warns Americans in Kenya over election petition <http://english.cntv.cn/20130326/107377.shtml>

<sup>115</sup>Kenya intensifies border patrol, security checks after shopping mall attack. <http://english.cntv.cn/20130923/103802.shtml>

On Oct 5th, CCTV reports indicated that the Pentagon carried out a raid in Southern Somali town of Barawe led by a team of US Navy SEALs. They had conducted the night raid as part of counterterrorism efforts to minimise the influence of the terrorist group after the attacks and as a show of solidarity with Kenya.<sup>116</sup> CCTV also reported that by 4<sup>th</sup> November 2013, Kenya had arraigned four suspects and their accomplices in connection to the Westgate mall attack. The four were Somali nationals and one of the accomplices was a Dutch national of Somali descent.<sup>117</sup>

### *ii. Reopening of Westgate*

CCTV reported on the reopening of the Westgate mall and highlighted the new security measures that had been put in place. For instance, explosive detectors, luggage X-rays, 55 security guards and 25 specialists.<sup>118</sup> The Tourism sector was also highlighted by CCTV when they reported that the Kenyan Tourism Board was necessitating efforts to encourage more Chinese tourists to visit the country after the industry suffered a major setback due to the Westgate attack and the ensuing travel advisories that deterred many potential tourists from visiting the country.

### *iii. Analysis*

The general coverage of the Westgate mall attack by CCTV though limited was unbiased. They focused on the government's response after the attacks of patrolling the border and arraigning suspects in court in accordance with the right to be represented and tried through legal means. They also highlighted the counterterrorism collaboration between Kenya and its partners specifically the U.S. and how they conducted a night raid on the Al-Shabaab in Somalia. Finally, they reported on how Kenya sought to surge back from the terror attack by attracting Chinese tourists. Overall, then, the reporting is balanced.

## **2.7.3 Obama's visit to Kenya**

### *i. Obama's welcome*

CCTV was not left out in reporting Obama's visit to Kenya in 2015. The station reported that it was his first presidential visit to his father's homeland and he had been received by Kenya's President, upon arrival at the airport. Additionally, that elated Kenyans had lined parts of the city

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<sup>116</sup>Pentagon confirms U.S. operation against al-Shabaab terrorist in Somalia. <http://english.cntv.cn/20131006/101491.shtml>

<sup>117</sup>Four terror suspects deny charges in Kenyan court. <http://english.cntv.cn/20131104/105251.shtml>

<sup>118</sup>67 people killed in 2013 shopping mall attack. <http://english.cntv.cn/2015/07/18/VIDE1437211680188260.shtml>

streets cheering as the U.S President's convoy snaked through the city. The station highlighted that trade and anti-terrorism were top on President Obama's list, and notably, he would convey a message to African leaders about human rights matters.<sup>119</sup>

#### *ii. Kenya's currency performance*

CCTV reported that Kenyan entrepreneurs were hopeful that President Obama's visit would have a positive impact on the Kenyan shilling as demand for the US Dollar was putting the country's currency under pressure.<sup>120</sup>

#### *iii. Obama's mission in Kenya*

CCTV reported that the U.S president was going to focus on strengthening economic and security ties between the two countries. "Africa is a place of incredible dynamism. Some of the fastest growing markets in the world. Extraordinary people. Extraordinary resilience. And it has the potential to be the center of the next economic growth," Obama was quoted by a CCTV respondent. CCTV highlighted that U.S had increased its trade with Africa, but Africa still trailed far behind China.

CCTV also mentioned that the previous weekend, the Westgate mall had reopened, two years following a terrorist attack that left 67 people dead and scores injured. In this regard, CCTV opined that African leaders would be seeking more help from the U.S to tackle the terror menace.<sup>121</sup>

#### *iv. Democracy in Africa*

President Obama's message on democracy in Africa was also reported by CCTV. His declaration was that the United States would help African countries strengthen good governance, rule of law, democracy and respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. He also lauded African countries for their efforts to improve governance and expand political participation.<sup>122</sup>

#### *v. A diplomatic show?*

Despite all the largely positive pieces aired by CCTV, Sun Chengho, a research fellow in China Institute of Contemporary International Relations in an opinion piece on CCTV's website, opined that President Obama's visit was a 'mere diplomatic show' as Africa has never been a priority in U.S strategic considerations and its real tactical hinge is towards the Asia- Pacific. He

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<sup>119</sup> Obama's first presidential trip to father's homeland <http://english.cntv.cn/2015/07/25/VIDE1437791764092675.shtml>

<sup>120</sup> Kenya's currency woes as Obama visits <http://english.cntv.cn/2015/07/23/VIDE1437658322400155.shtml>

<sup>121</sup> Obama's visit to focus on security, economic initiatives <http://english.cntv.cn/2015/07/24/VIDE1437705243162164.shtml>

<sup>122</sup> Obama says U. S. to reinforce democratic institutions in Africa <http://english.cntv.cn/20130628/105251.shtml>

justified his views by observing that the US depended largely on its allies to intervene in African internal conflicts and channelled meagre resources into the continent.<sup>123</sup>

*vi. Analysis*

CCTV's coverage largely focused on the President Obama economic agenda and was keen to provide highlights on bilateral trade ties and the Kenya's economic performance. Additionally, the station reported extensively on Obama's message to Kenya and to the African continent. The coverage can be described as largely balanced.

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<sup>123</sup> Obama's Africa visit another diplomatic show <http://english.cntv.cn/2015/07/28/ARTI1438068142403389.shtml>

## CHAPTER THREE: THE TOURISM SECTOR PERFORMANCE IN KENYA

### 3.1 The Tourism Sector Performance in Kenya: Introduction

Tourism is the second most important economic sector and foreign exchange earner in Kenya after agriculture. Tourism is one of the key drivers of Kenya's socio-economic development. At independence in 1963, Kenya depended mainly on its exports of agricultural products such as coffee and tea for foreign exchange. However, with the decline in world market prices of these primary products, the country has turned to tourism as an alternative.<sup>124</sup>

In many developing countries tourism is one of the leading foreign exchange earners. Gross domestic receipts amount to more than 20% of the total value of merchandise exports and are the most important export of goods and services.<sup>125</sup> Most of these countries are faced with uncertain world market prospects for primary products, and strict limits to the amount of manufactured exports that the industrialized nations are willing to accept.

Tourism is, thus, one of the few viable industries available to them and it provides for many useful elements in diversifying their sources of foreign exchange earnings. For some, it is one of the few export opportunities available. Tourism is, therefore, a powerful force in the economic development of these countries. Increased awareness of the potential that tourism seems to hold has been growing, and many developing countries have actively supported its development, Kenya being one of them.<sup>126</sup>

In Kenya, tourism is accepted as an economic gain and a valuable benefit to the national economy. The impact of tourism to the domestic economy cannot be underrated. Tourism plays a crucial role in the growth and development of Kenya's economy as the agricultural base, traditionally the country's main source of foreign exchange earnings, declines. Since 1987, tourism is Kenya's largest single source of foreign exchange earnings, with receipts accounting to about 10% of the country's GDP.<sup>127</sup> A rapid growth of tourism in conjunction with a strong international demand has yielded high economic returns, stimulated the nation's economy, created jobs, encouraged investment and raised the standard of living.<sup>128</sup>

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<sup>124</sup>Valle, E & Yobesia, M. N. (2009). Economic Contribution of Tourism to Kenya in *Tourism Analysis*, Vol. 14, pp. 401–414

<sup>125</sup> Tourism Sector Working Paper (1972). Washington: World Bank.

<sup>126</sup>Ondicho, T. G. (2000). International tourism in Kenya: Development, problems and challenges. *Eastern Africa Social Science Research Review*, 16(2), 49–70.

<sup>127</sup>Tourism World Market Report for 1987/88 (1988). Nairobi: Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife. 31- 39.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, 37

## 3.2 Tourism Sector Performance per Year (2011-2015)

### 3.2.1 Tourism Sector Performance: 2011

In 2011, the tourism sector maintained its good performance despite various setbacks affecting the sector. This good performance was credited to various Government initiatives that provided a conducive environment for the tourism sector. The initiatives were directed towards tourism promotion and the expansion of source markets.<sup>129</sup>

The number of international visitor arrivals rose from the 2010 figure of 1,609.1 thousand to 1,822.9 thousand in 2011 representing a 13.3% increase. Similarly, the rate of bed-night occupancy rose from the initial figure of 6,662.3 thousand in 2010 to 7,015.2 thousand in 2011. This marked a 5.3% increment. The Government's approach of marketing Kenya as a safe tourism and investment hub were fundamental in boosting the tourism sector.<sup>130</sup>

Another notable gain in the sector was in conferencing. Both local and international grew significantly. Local conferences increased from 2,529 in 2010 to 2,995 in 2011 (18.4% growth) while international ones increased from 254 in 2010 to 309 in 2011 (21.7% growth).<sup>131</sup> During the period under review, some aspects of the tourism sector experienced a decline, namely visitors to game reserves and national parks and visitors to snake parks, museums and other historical sites. The game reserves and national parks were visited by 2,764.9 thousand people in 2010 and by 2,664.1 thousand in 2011. Likewise, a 10.5% marked the decrease from 942.0 thousand in 2010 to 843.4 thousand in 2011 in the number of visitors to snake parks, museums and other historical sites.<sup>132</sup>

There was an increase in international departures from 1,502.4 thousand in 2010 to 1,528.4 thousand in 2011. Most departures came from visitors on holiday. The number of visitors on holiday increased marginally from the initial number of 1,085.1 thousand in 2010 to 1,119.5 thousand in 2011 (3.2% increase). On the contrary, business visitors' departures grew to 198.3 thousand marking a 14.6%.<sup>133</sup>

Two significant factors led to the increase in the number of visitor-days stayed, namely, business and holiday visitors. The number grew from the initial figure of 17,797.3 thousand days

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<sup>129</sup>Kenya National Bureau of Statistics- Economic Survey, 2012. 200-212

<sup>130</sup>Ibid., 201

<sup>131</sup>Ibid., 200

<sup>132</sup>Ibid., 205

<sup>133</sup>Ibid., 209



in 2010 to 18,511.9 thousand days in 2011; marking a 4% increase. The visitors mean length of stay grew from 13.1 days in 2010 to 13.4. The growth in these two aspects showed an upward disposition representing recovery from the 2007/8 post-poll violence.<sup>134</sup>

### **3.2.2 Tourism Sector Performance: 2012**

The tourism sector experienced a marginal decline in 2012. The three major factors that contributed to this are: unpredictability of the 2013 general elections, incidents of insecurity and the Eurozone crisis. The tourism sector earnings were Ksh. 96 billion, marking a 1.9% decrease.<sup>135</sup> Following the travel advisories issued in major markets, the international visitor arrivals reduced from 1,822.9 thousand in 2011 to 1,710.8 thousand in 2012. The advisories were mainly issued due to security concerns. This was a 6.1% decrease. Similarly, the number of bed-nights occupancy in hotels dropped from 7,051.2 thousand in 2011 to 6,806.8 thousand in 2012, representing a 2.2% decrease.<sup>136</sup>

Furthermore, the visits to game reserves and national parks also reduced from the initial number of 2,664.1 thousand in 2011 to 2,492.2 thousand in 2012. A decline of 2.2% was recorded in the number of visitors to historical sites, museums and snake parks. The number of visitors for this period was 824.6 thousand.<sup>137</sup>

In 2012, the number of visitor arrivals via Moi International Airport (MIA) in Mombasa dropped from 242.3 thousand in 187.2 thousand in 2012, representing a 22.7% drop. This was largely credited to security concerns in the coastal region. Conversely, arrivals via Jomo Kenyatta International Airport (JKIA) in Nairobi increased from 1,030.6 thousand to 1,048.4 thousand, marking a 1.7% increase in 2012. Visitors' departures went down from 1,379.4 thousand in 2011 to 1,371.2 thousand in 2012.<sup>138</sup>

Similar to other aspects of the tourism sector, the number of visitor stay-days dropped by 2.1% due to the decrease from 18,511.9 thousand in 2011 to 18,142.2 thousand days in 2012. Also, there was a decline in the number of hotel bed-nights from 7,015.2 thousand in 2011 to 6,860.8 thousand in 2012. European residents bed-nights occupancy declined by 11.3% due to the decrease from 2,870.6 thousand in 2011 to 2,542 thousand in 2012. The reduced number of

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<sup>134</sup>Supranote 1., 212

<sup>135</sup>Kenya National Bureau of Statistics- Economic Survey, 2013. 206-217

<sup>136</sup>Ibid., 206

<sup>137</sup>Ibid., 207

<sup>138</sup>Ibid., 208

bed-nights occupancy from Italy, France and the United Kingdom led to the huge decline largely attributed to negative travel advisories.<sup>139</sup> Nevertheless, local and international conferences grew by 11.5 and 6.1% respectively. Local conferences increased to 3,338 while the international conferences grew to 328.<sup>140</sup>

### **3.2.3 Tourism Sector Performance: 2013**

The tourism sector experienced several setbacks that led to a decline in international visitors leading to a drop in tourism earnings during this period. During the first quarter of 2013, uncertainties surrounding with the upcoming general elections negatively affected visitor arrivals. Nonetheless, the second quarter stabilized following peaceful elections. The third quarter also experienced a slump because of a fire incident at Jomo Kenyatta International Airport that destroyed the international arrival lounge in August 2013. As a result, air traffic was channelled to other airports. In the fourth quarter, visitor arrivals grew by 1.6% despite the Westgate Mall attack experienced at the end of the third quarter. On the whole, reduced numbers of visitor arrivals from European countries negatively affected the tourism sector's performance. International visitor arrivals reduced from 1,710.8 thousand in 2012 to 1,519.6 thousand in 2013 marking a 11.2% decrease. Consequently, the tourism earnings dropped from KSh. 96.0 billion in 2012 to KSh, 94.0 billion in 2013, a 2.1% decrease.<sup>141</sup>

As a result of the reduction of the number of international visitor arrivals, there was also a decrease in the number of visitors to game reserves and national parks. There was a decrease from 2,492.2 thousand in 2012 to 2,337.7 thousand in 2013. Likewise, the number of visitors to historical sites, snake parks and museums decreased from 824.6 thousand in 2012 to 770.8 thousand in 2013; a 6.5% decline.<sup>142</sup>

Following the reduction in the number of international visitor arrivals, the number of visitors to national parks and game reserves decreased from 2,492.2 thousand in 2012 to 2,337.7 thousand in 2013. Similarly, visitors to museums, snake parks and other historical sites recorded a 6.5 per cent decrease to 770.8 thousand in 2013 compared to 824.6 thousand in 2012. The decrease in the number of visitors had wide reaching effects to the tourism sector. The number of visitor days-stayed decreased from 18,124.2 thousand in 2012 to 17,779.3 thousand in 2013,

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<sup>139</sup>Ibid., 211

<sup>140</sup>Ibid., 217

<sup>141</sup>Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, Economic Survey-2014. 204-217.

<sup>142</sup>Ibid., at 204

recording a 1.9% decrease. Similarly, bed-nights occupancy declined compared to 6,860.8 thousand in 2012 to 6,596.7 thousand in 2013, representing a 3.8% drop.<sup>143</sup>

The conferencing front was also impacted negatively in 2013. The number of both local and international conferences declined. The number of local conferences dropped from 3,338 in 2012 to 2,849 in 2013, a 14.6% decrease while the international conferences reduced from 328 in 2012 to 299 in 2013, recording an 8.8% decline. Similarly, the mean occupancy rate for conferencing facilities shrunk from 6.8 per cent in 2012 to 6.4 per cent in 2013.<sup>144</sup>

### **3.2.4 Tourism Sector Performance: 2014**

In 2014, terror attacks, negative travel advisories and the spread of Ebola in West African countries led to the decreased performance of the tourism sector. The tourism earnings dropped from KSh. 94.0 billion in 2013 to KSh. 87.1 billion in 2014, which was a 7.3% decline. This was largely caused by the decrease in the number of international visitors by 11.1% during the period under review. The decrease in the number of international visitors was caused by negative travel advisories by major source markets.<sup>145</sup> There was also a drop in the bed-nights occupancy rate by 4.8% caused by the decrease in bed-nights occupied from 6,596.7 thousand in 2013 to 6,281.6 thousand in 2014. Subsequently, the average length of stay decreased from 13.2 days in 2013 to 12.3 days in 2014.<sup>146</sup>

National park and game reserves visits reduced from 2,337.7 thousand in 2013 to 2,164.6 thousand in 2014. Additionally, historical sites, museums and snake parks visits dropped from 770.8 thousand in 2013 to 690.9 thousand in 2014; marking a 10.4% decline. The drop was mainly due to the decrease in the international visitors arrivals especially through Jomo Kenyatta and Moi International airports. Jomo Kenyatta International Airport arrivals reduced from 912.9 thousand in 2013 to 743.6 thousand in 2014 marking an 18.5% decrease. Moi International Airport in Mombasa recorded a 39.2% decline from 194.2 thousand in 2013 to 118.0 thousand in 2014. By and large, arrivals in both airports declined in 2014 as compared to 2013.<sup>147</sup>

Furthermore, visitors' numbers to historical sites and game parks went down from 2,337.7 thousand in 2013 to 2,164.6 thousand in 2014, marking a 7.4% decline. This was largely

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<sup>143</sup>Ibid., 205

<sup>144</sup>Ibid., 208

<sup>145</sup>Kenya National Bureau of Statistics- Economic Survey, 2015.211-223; 211.

<sup>146</sup>Ibid., 213

<sup>147</sup>Ibid., 216

contributed to by the international visitor arrivals' decline. Major slumps were observed in Lake Nakuru, Lake Bogoria, Tsavo West and Nairobi Orphanage. On the contrary, the number of visitors to Maasai Mara increased from 103.8 thousand in 2013 to 166.0 thousand in 2014. This destination may be an alternative to the coastal ones following travel advisories issued.<sup>148</sup>

There was an overall decline in the bed-nights occupancy rate at the North Coast, South Coast, Mombasa Island, and Kilifi, Malindi and Lamu in 2014. This resulted from negative travel advisories issued due to security concerns. The curfews imposed in Lamu led to controlled movements and shutdown of some hotels affected the tourism sector. Moreover, the drop in the number of visitors to game reserves and national parks had a direct effect on the bed-nights occupancy rate in hotels situated in tourist attraction areas.

The bed-nights occupancy in game lodges went down from 544.3 thousand in 2013 to 540.4 thousand in 2014. The number of visitors to historical sites, museums and snake parks decrease from 770.8 thousand in 2013 to 690.9 thousand in 2014, recording a 10.4% decline.<sup>149</sup> The local conferences increased to 3,077, an 8.0% increment, while international conferences went down by 19.4%. The local delegate days went up by 4.6% while international conference delegate days dropped by 27.1%<sup>150</sup>

### **3.2.4.1 Improvements in the Tourism Sector**

In 2014, the Government formulated strategies targeted at promoting the tourism sector. This was aimed at combating the deteriorating trend in the tourism sector performance. Some of the strategies employed included allowing corporates to cater for the holiday expenses for their staff members then deducting these expenses from the corporation's taxes.<sup>151</sup>

Another great move was exemption of VAT from air ticketing services provided by travel agents. This was aimed at creating employment and spurring the demand for these services. Similarly, park fees were reduced for both residents and non-residents.<sup>152</sup> Additionally, the Government retracted the circular issued by the National Treasury barring the public service from holding meetings in private hotels. This move was to safeguard the private sector's participation in tourism.<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>148</sup>Ibid., 219

<sup>149</sup>Ibid., 221

<sup>150</sup>Ibid., 222

<sup>151</sup>Ibid., 223

<sup>152</sup>Ibid.

<sup>153</sup>Ibid.

Finances allocated for foreign travel were re-assigned to domestic travel in the 2014/15 in the supplementary budget. This was meant to stimulate domestic tourism growth and promote employment.<sup>154</sup> One of the strategies for the air transport sector was the reduction of landing charges by 40% in Moi International and Malindi Airports. Furthermore, resources were channelled to expand Malindi Airport to cater for landing of bigger commercial planes.<sup>155</sup> The Government also issued a directive for paying of refunds relating to income tax to tourism sector actors. This move was aimed at enhancing the tourism sector players' cash flow.<sup>156</sup>

### **3.2.5 Tourism Sector Performance: 2015**

In 2015, the tourism sector proceeds further fell from KSh. 87.1 billion in 2014 to KSh 84.6 billion in 2015. International visitor arrivals also dropped to 1,180.5 thousand in 2015 marking a 12.6% decrease. The sector's dismal performance was attributable to security concerns, especially in the coastal region and travel advisories issued by major European markets. The repercussion of the Ebola epidemic in West Africa in 2014 also decelerated international visitor arrivals in 2015. The Government increased the budgetary provision for the State Department of Trade KSh 5.6 billion in 2014/15 to KSh. 10.7 billion in 2015/16 in a bid to resuscitate the tourism sector.<sup>157</sup>

In the conference tourism front, there was an increase in the number of local conferences held from 3,077 in 2014 to 3,199 in 2015 (a 4.0% increment). Kenya hosted key conferences such as the 10<sup>th</sup> World Trade Organization Ministerial Conference and the Global Entrepreneurship Summit graced by US President, Barack Obama. Despite this, the international conferences dropped by 9.5%

There was a 15.4% increment in the number of visitors to snake parks, museums and other historical sites. This was due to the growth from 690.9 thousand in 2014 to 797.5 thousand in 2015. Conversely, there was a 10.8% decline in the number of visitors to game reserves and national parks.<sup>158</sup> Visitor arrivals via Jomo Kenyatta International Airport and Moi International Airport also decreased. Arrivals via JKIA were lower in most months in comparison with 2014,

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<sup>154</sup>Ibid.

<sup>155</sup>Ibid., 224

<sup>156</sup>Ibid

<sup>157</sup>Kenya National Bureau of Statistics- Economic Survey, 2016. 207-221; 207

<sup>158</sup>Ibid., 219

but there was an improvement towards the end of the year. Similarly, arrivals via MIA were lower in all months of 2015 except in November, due to the Papal visit.<sup>159</sup>

There was also a decrease in bed-nights occupancy from 6,281.6 thousand in 2014 to 5,878.6 thousand in 2015 marking a 6.4% decrease. Nonetheless, there was an improvement in the average length of stay from 12.9 days in 2014 to 13.2 days in 2015. The beefing up of security especially in public areas and increased ratio of police to citizen made the tourists stay longer. The annual mean for bed occupancy dropped slightly from 31.6 per cent in 2014 to 29.1 per cent in 2015.<sup>160</sup>

A decline of 6.4% was recorded in the number of hotel bed-nights due to the drop to 5,878.6 thousand in 2015. The occupancy by European residents dropped by a significant 23.6% with the highest decline recorded among residents from Italy. The Italians' occupancy fell from 156.2 thousand in 2014 to 74.1 thousand in 2015. However, African residents' occupancy grew by 6.5%, with the largest number being Kenyan residents.<sup>161</sup>

The number of visitors to tourist attraction sites such as museums, snake parks and other historical sites grew by 15.4% to 797.5 thousand in 2015. This was attributed to the growth in the number of visitors to Fort Jesus and the National Museum (following its reopening after renovation). The National Museum had a noteworthy performance of 264.0 thousand visitors in 2015. Likewise, Fort Jesus' visitors recorded an increase from 113.4 thousand in 2014 to 121.3 thousand in 2015, showing a 7.0% increase.<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>159</sup>Ibid

<sup>160</sup>Ibid., 220

<sup>161</sup>Ibid

<sup>162</sup>Ibid., 221

## CHAPTER FOUR: ANALYSIS OF THE LINK BETWEEN CNN'S COVERAGE AND TOURISM SECTOR PERFORMANCE IN KENYA

### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter includes analysis and interpretation of the data collected. Questionnaire and interview was adapted as the data collection methods. The descriptive statistics and content analysis methods were used in analyzing the data the collected. The results have been presented using tables, percentages, bar graphs and pie charts. Thus the section provides answers to the following research questions:

- i. How was Kenya represented by international media?
- ii. How did Kenya's tourism sector perform?
- iii. What is the relationship between Cable News Network's coverage of Kenya's events and Kenya's tourism sector performance?

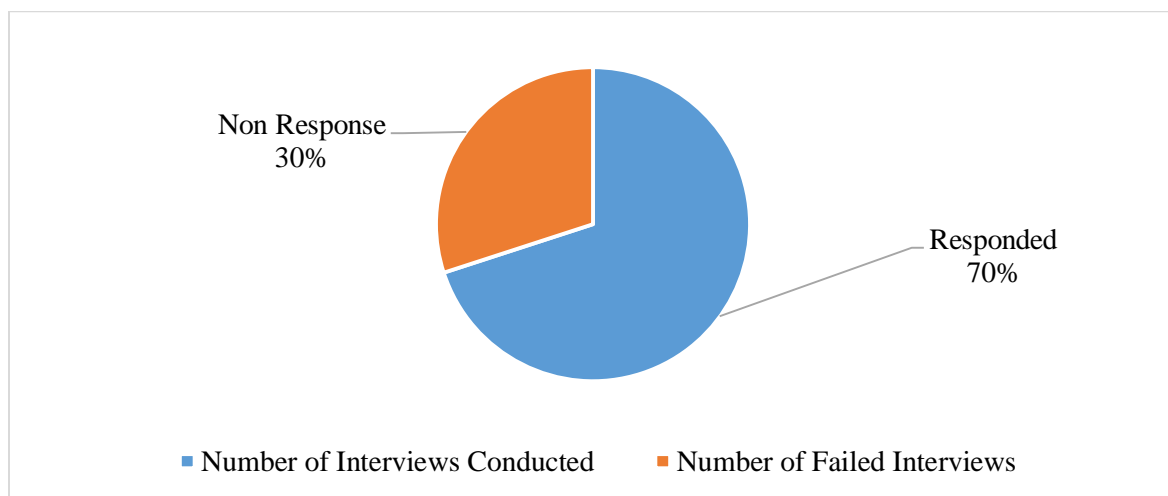
### 4.2 Presentation of Findings

#### 4.2.1 Response Rate

**Table 4.1 Response Rate- Questionnaires**

Response Rate	Frequency	Percentage
Number of questionnaires returned	74	74
Number of questionnaires not returned	26	26
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: Author (2016)



**Figure 4.1. Response Rate- Interviews**

From Table 4.1 & Figure 4.1, we can deduce that the response rate was high with 74% questionnaires issued being returned surpassing the 50% threshold while only 26% failed to return the questionnaires. This percentage also included incomplete questionnaires that were invalidated. The response rate was also high on interviews with 70% of interview schedules being conducted successfully as opposed to only 30% that failed due to unavailability of the interviewees. This goes to demonstrate the interest of the respondents in the study.

#### 4.2.2 Gender Analysis

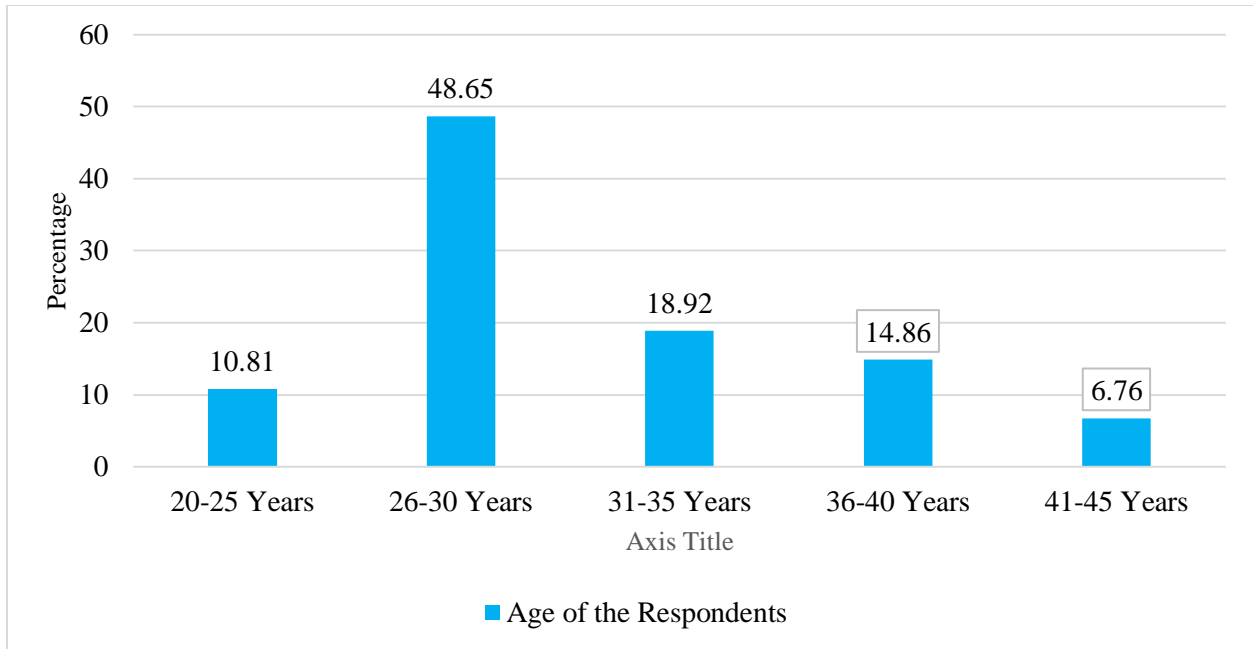
**Table 4.2 Gender Analysis**

<b>Gender</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Male	27	36.49
Female	47	63.51
<b>Totals</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Author (2016)**

There were 63.51% female respondents who took part in the study while 36.49% were male respondents. This means that Ministry of Tourism has more female employees than male. The disparity between the number of males and females can be attributed to the increased number of women in workplace environments courtesy of the constitutional affirmative provisions and empowerment of women as a whole. This comes on the background of women taking active role in the families as the society departs from the patriarchal trend where males are socialized to be sole providers for their families. This, as a result, has led to women aggressively looking for productive economic engagements.





**Figure 4.2 Age of Respondents**

Majority of the staff are youthful with an age bracket of 26-40 constituting 82.43%. Out of this, 48.65% are of ages between 26-30 years while 18.92% are 31-35 years and those of 36-40 years stand at 14.86%. This is because the majority of Kenyan population is young and they age bracket of 26-40 are in their most productive period of life. This respondents' category constitutes of knowledgeable professionals who provided useful information for this study.

#### **4.2.4 Analysis of the International Media Representation of Kenya between 2011 and 2015**

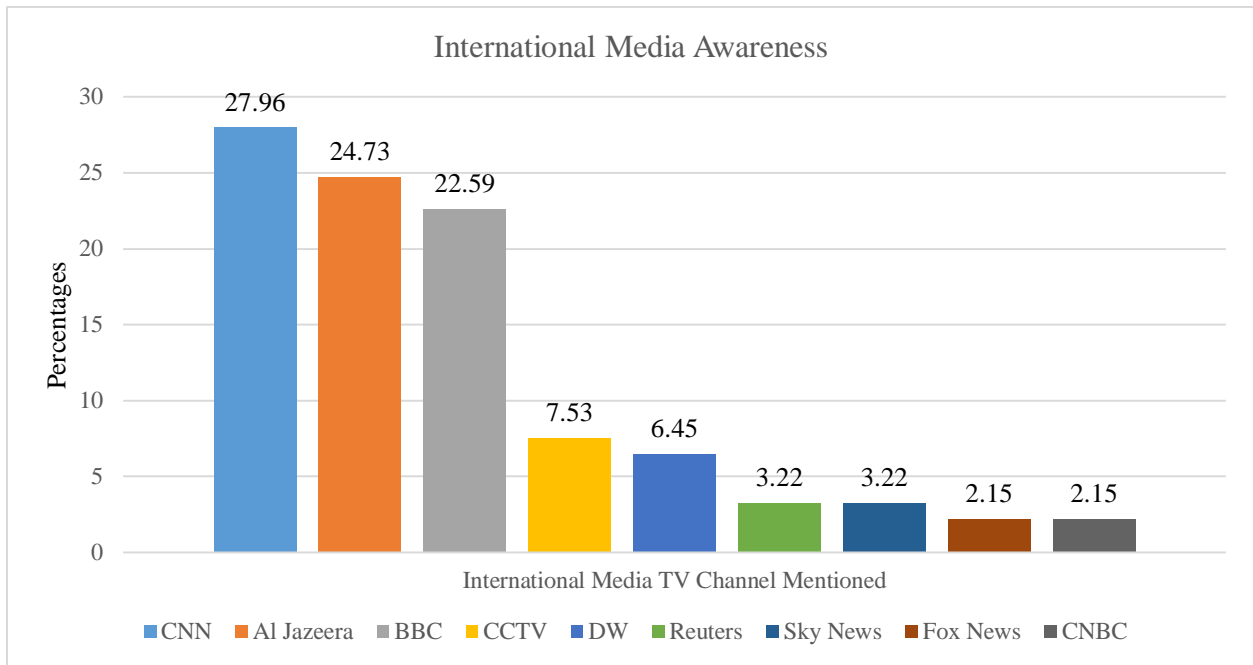
This research question sought to examine the international media representation on Kenya's image. Respondents were first asked about their awareness of international media television channels then probed on how international media has represented Kenyan events and the aftermath of the coverage on the global arena.

**Table 4.3 International Media Awareness**

<b>Response</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Yes	74	100
No	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Author (2016)**

According to Table 4.3, 100 % of respondents are aware of international media television channels. This can be attributed to increased level of literacy and the effect of globalization that has made the world a global village. The exchange of information transcends national borders and has become pervasive aided largely by technological advancements.



**Figure 4.3 International Media Awareness (Television Channels Mentioned)**

From Figure 4.3, CNN (27.96%), Al Jazeera (24.73%) and BBC (22.59%) are the leading international media houses known by the respondents. This is because of the prominence when it comes to coverage of international issues. Also, the channels are available locally on pay TV channels as well as free to air thus are being viewed by many as opposed to the others that were mentioned. The three thus command a global authority when it comes to international news and wield significant power in shaping the world’s conversation on global issues.

#### 4.2.5 Whether International Media Representation of Kenya Affects Its Image Internationally

**Table 4.4 Whether International Media Representation of Kenya Affects Its Image Globally**

<b>Response</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Yes	71	96.30
No	3	3.70
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Author (2016)**

As seen from Table 4.4, 96.3% of the respondents say that international media representation of Kenya affects its image globally. Majority of the respondents said that coverage by international media shapes global public opinion positively or negatively. They create a perception to other countries of what Kenya is like. The perception could be favourable or unfavourable depending on the angle of coverage. 62.5% of the respondents said that international media representation affect Kenya’s image negatively while 37.5% said that the effect is positive.

The people world over tend to believe what they see on the international media as that’s the only representation they see. International media is the primary source of information for viewers across the globe. The negative representation has significantly damaged the image of Kenya in the international scene as the country is now associated with negative events ranging from terrorism to political violence. While this is so, the instances of positive coverage has boosted the country’s image with the multiplier effect of increase in number of international tourists visiting the country and an increase in foreign direct investment (FDI) coming to the country.

***Excerpt of the Interview with Interviewee I***

***Researcher:*** How would you describe Kenya’s representation in the international media?

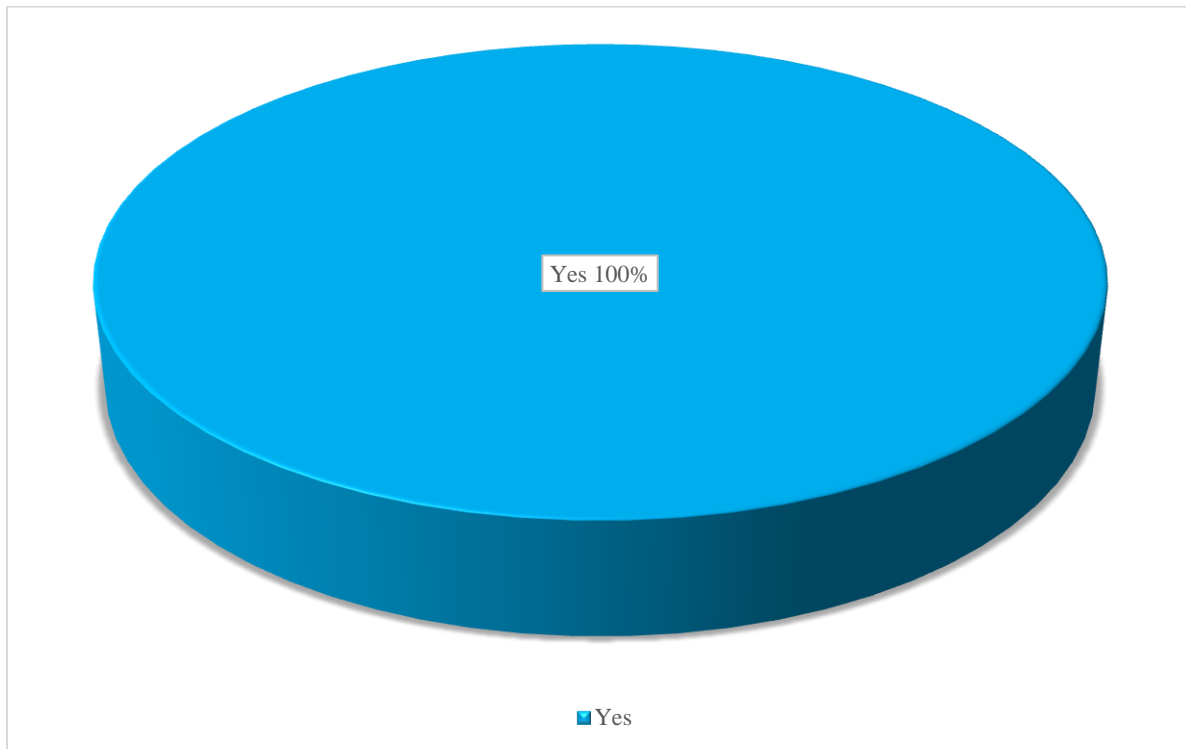
***Interviewee I:*** ...International Media, in most cases represents Kenya as they do Africa in a negative light perhaps out of own greed as well as their natural bias.

***Researcher:*** To what extent does international media representation affect Kenya’s image internationally?

*Interviewee I: Travelling to South Africa or the west, Kenyans are mostly perceived as thieves and a country that is largely insecure.*

#### **4.2.6 Kenya's Tourism Sector Performance from 2011 to 2015**

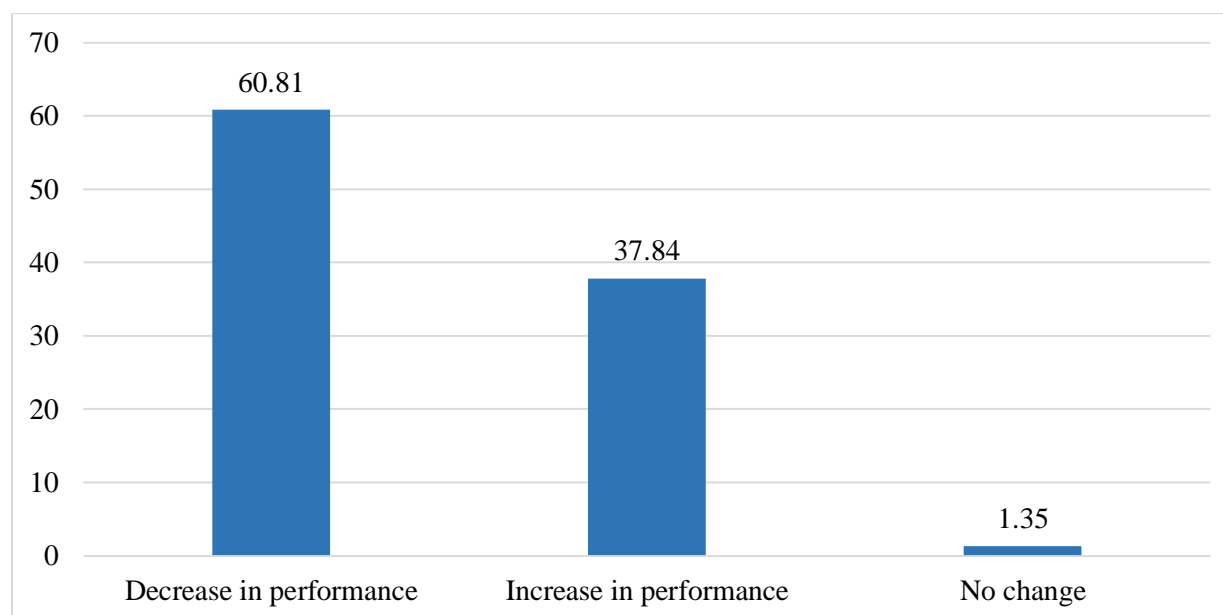
Building on the responses given in regards to representation of Kenya on the international media, this research question sought to examine the performance of Kenya's tourism sector in view of coverage by international media.



**Figure 4.4 Whether There Were Changes in Kenya's Tourism Sector Performance Between 2011 to 2015**

Asked whether there were changes in Kenya's tourism sector performance between 2011 and 2015, all the respondents (100%) said that indeed there were changes. This means that majority of the respondents think that Kenya's tourism sector has experienced changes in the period under review.

#### 4.2.7 Changes in the Tourism Sector Performance from 2011 to 2015



**Figure 4.5 Changes in the Tourism Sector Performance from 2011 to 2015**

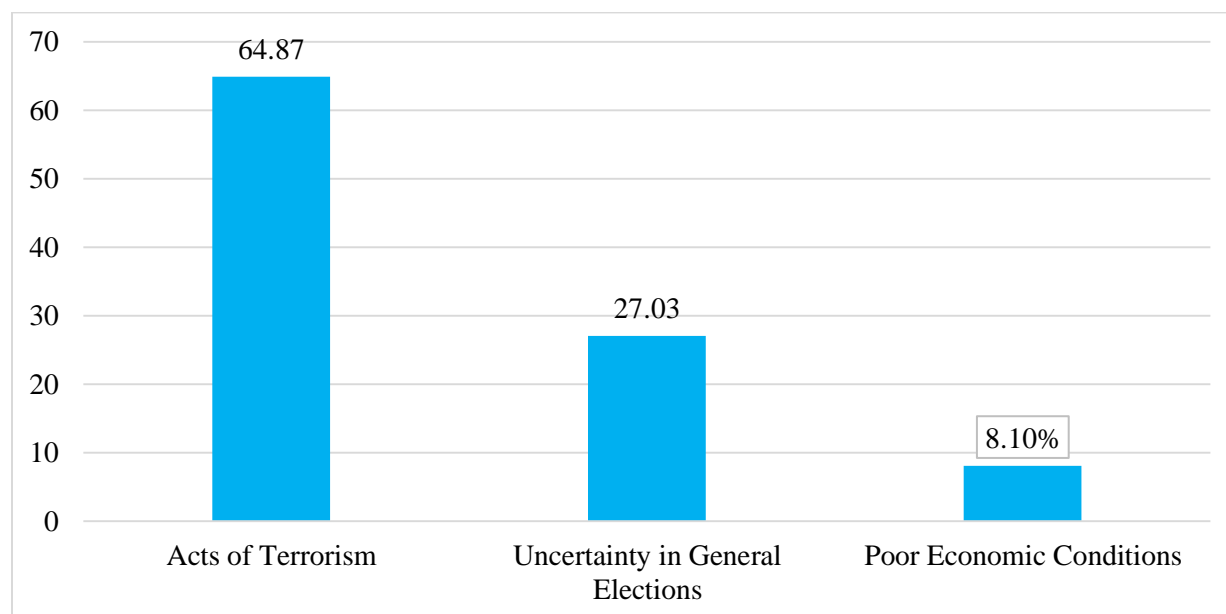
The respondents were asked to describe any change(s) in Kenya's tourism sector performance and majority of them, 60.81%, are of the opinion that there has been a decrease in performance across the sector with the main cause being attributed to insecurity courtesy of frequent terror attacks that led to travel advisories hence greatly negatively impacting the number of international tourists coming into the country. The respondents held that travel advisories issued mainly issued by the Western nations have dealt a big blow to Kenya's tourism performance. On the other hand, 37.84% of the respondents hold that the tourism sector performance has been on an upward surge with factors such as formulation of responsive tourism polices & program activities by the government, intensive marketing by Brand Kenya & Kenya Tourism Board and reduction in park fees being mentioned as the most contributing factors. A paltry 1.35% of the respondents believed that the performance of the sector has plateaued.

#### ***Excerpt of the Interview with Interviewee II***

***Researcher:*** How would you describe Kenya's tourism sector performance from 2011 to 2015?

***Interviewee II:*** There was a slump in the number of tourist coming into the country but it's recovering. It has not reached the pre-Somali war era but its edging up from the lows of 2014.

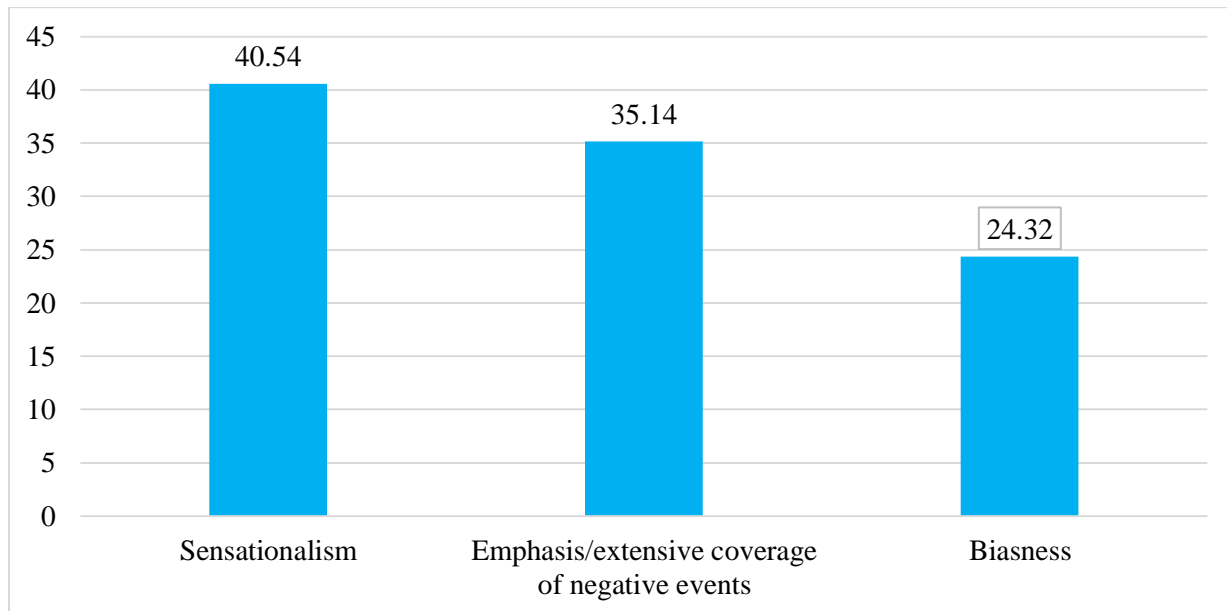
#### 4.2.8 Events in Kenya That Affected the Tourism Sector Performance during the Period of 2011-2015



**Figure 4.6 Events in Kenya That Affected the Tourism Sector Performance during the Period of 2011-2015**

When asked to briefly highlight events in Kenya that affected the tourism performance during the period of 2011-2015, 64.87% mentioned events relating to acts of terror. The terrorism events that were mentioned by these respondents include *Alshabab* attacks in Westgate mall, Garissa University, Mandera Bus and Mpeketoni. The enshrined memory of these worst attacks in Kenya's history cannot only be attributed to the high number of lost lives but also the global attention the events got as they were covered by various international media. 27.03% of the respondents singled out General Elections as an event factor that affected tourism performance in the period. This is because of the fear of post-election violence that was witnessed in 2007/2008 as well as uncertainties associated with change of guard at the highest position in the country. The remaining 8.10% said that poor economic conditions partly contributed by the above factors led to reduction in economic activity hence significantly reducing disposable income hence the purchasing power.

#### 4.2.9 How the International Media Aggravated the Impact of the Events



**Figure 4.7 How the International Media Aggravated the Impact of the Events**

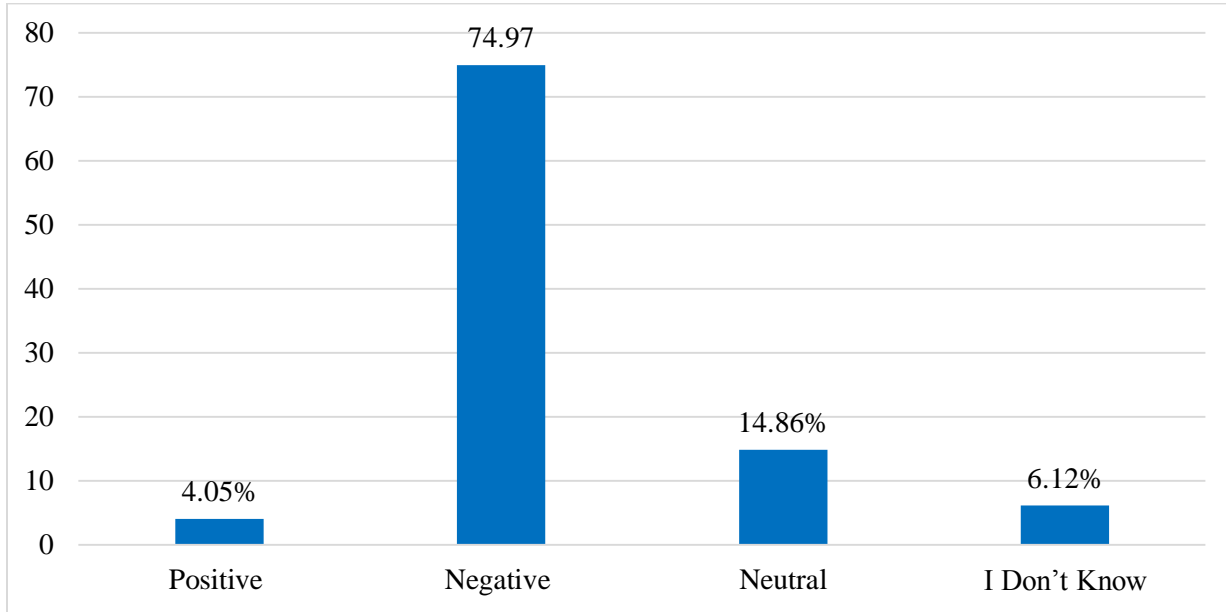
The data on Figure 4.7 shows that 40.54% of the respondents said that the international media aggravated the impact of the events through sensationalism. 35.14% are of the view that the international media unnecessarily placed a lot of emphasis and gave the negative events extensive coverage making them the events enduring even long past the news time cycle thus shaping perceptions among audiences about the significance of these events. 24.32% of the respondents said biasness by the international media intensified the impact of the events. The net effect of these factors courtesy of representation by the international media is that it led to reduction in the number of international tourists coming into the country having created a negative perception among the global audience. This in turn led to the slowdown in performance of the tourism sector resulting into loss of revenue by government, hotels' shut down and consequent staff lay off.

#### ***Excerpt of the Interview with Interviewee III***

**Researcher:** *How has international media representation affected Kenya's tourism performance?*

**Interviewee III:** *The international media exaggerated the unfortunate events that befell the country to some extent especially when it came to coverage of terror attacks. The world thinks Kenya cannot keep its citizens safe. They tend to show only negative things while there are also several impressive things happening in our country that they do not write home about.*

#### 4.2.10 The Link between Cable News Network’s Coverage of Kenyan Events on the Performance of Kenya’s Tourism Sector

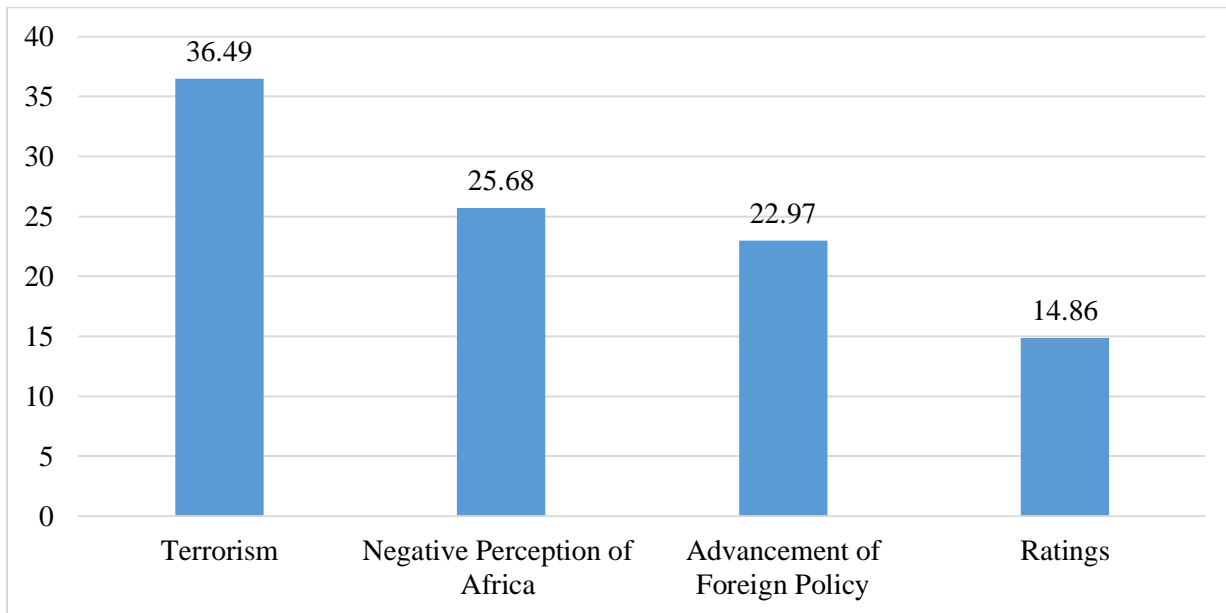


**Figure 4.8 Perception towards CNN on Representation of Kenya**

From Figure 4.8, we can deduce that majority of the respondents, 74.97% have a negative perception of CNN’s coverage and representation of Kenya on the global audience. This is because of past coverage with the most singled out case by respondents being the gaffe ‘Hotbed of Terror’ (in reference to Kenya) when the station was highlighting the upcoming visit by US President, Barack Obama to Kenya. The respondents find their coverage to be lacking in balance, fairness and objectivity. 14.86% of the respondents were neutral on this issue which can be attributed to view that CNN has done both positive and negative coverage on equal measure. 4.05% said that they hold positive perception on CNN’s coverage and representation of Kenya. This category of respondents said that CNN gives in-depth, and facts-driven news coverage. 6.12% said that they did not know. This could be because they rarely watch the station or never at all.



#### 4.2.11 Factors Affecting CNN's Coverage/Reporting on Kenya



**Figure 4.9 Factors Affecting CNN's Coverage/Reporting on Kenya**

According to Figure 4.9, 36.49% of respondents felt that terrorism has contributed to extensive coverage of Kenya. This is because terrorism has evolved to become a dangerous global phenomenon and a matter of concern to the entire world as it is destroying nations. However, the solution has remained elusive world over. 25.68% of the respondents say that preconceived negative perception of Africa as a whole has led to pervasive reporting on Africa and Kenya in particular. This is because most of the time Africa is on the news all for wrong reasons from terror attacks to civil war. 22.97% of the respondents are of the opinion that advancement of America's foreign policy drives the coverage of Kenya by CNN.

The station tends to play a patriotic role by advancing the interests of its home country through framing of various event narratives in line with America's foreign policy. The coverage was geared towards accelerating the partnership between Kenya and USA in the fight against terror in the East Africa region. The remaining 14.86% say that CNN's coverage of Kenya is mainly motivated by drive for approval ratings which contributes to the network's bottom-line. This is because negative coverage tends to be controversial and attract a lot of attention which in turns leads to higher viewership. The high viewership brings in revenue as the station attracts many more advertising opportunities.

#### 4.2.12 How CNNs Coverage of Kenyan Events from the Period 2011-2015 Affected the Tourism Sector

**Table 4.5 How CNNs Coverage of Kenyan Events from the Period 2011-2015 Affected the Tourism Sector**

<b>Summary of Factors Mentioned</b>	<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Reduction in number of international tourists	39	52.70
Job Losses	3	4.05
Loss of Revenue	4	5.41
Tainted Kenya's image globally	28	37.84
<b>Total</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>100</b>

**Source: Author (2016)**

According to Table 4.5, 52.7% of respondents are of the opinion that CNN's coverage of Kenyan events from period 2011-2015 affected performance of tourism sector through reduction in number of international tourists coming to the country. The travel advisories issued as result of sensationalism of negative events in Kenya discouraged potential international tourists who wanted to visit the country. 37.84% said that the coverage by CNN has tainted Kenya's image globally. This is because they give extensive coverage of negative events than positive events which has resulted to lasting bad impression of Kenya in the international scene. 5.41% of the respondents said that the coverage has caused loss of revenue for the country. This can be attributed to reduction in the number of tourists which is also responsible for the job.

### 4.3 Summary of Data Analysis

#### 4.3.1 General Information

The study got an impressive average response rate of 72% with 74 questionnaires returned out of 100 issued. Ten interviews were scheduled out of which 7 were successfully conducted. The data was analyzed through descriptive statistical techniques for quantitative data as well as qualitative analysis. The quantitative data was presented using tables and charts. The qualitative data was analyzed through content analysis and key themes were singled out. There were 36.49% male respondents who took part in the study while 63.51% were female

respondents. Of interest too was that Ministry of Tourism whose employees took part in the study had a youthful workforce with 82.43% belonging to the 26-40 age bracket.

#### **4.3.2 International Media Representation**

The study established that 96.30 % of respondents are of the view that the international media representation influences Kenya's image internationally. This illustrates the role that international media plays in shaping global public opinion. However, 3.70% of the respondents think that it does not affect Kenya's image. All the respondents are aware of international media television channels out of those mentioned CNN (27.96%), Al Jazeera (24.73%) and BBC (22.59%) are the leading international media houses known by the respondents.

#### **4.3.3 Tourism Sector Performance**

The study revealed that 96.30% agree that there has been a change in Kenya's tourism sector while 8.11% said No. All respondents agreed that there were changes in Kenya's tourism sector performance between 2011 and 2015. 60.81% are of the opinion that there has been a decrease in performance across the sector with the main cause being attributed to insecurity courtesy of frequent terror attacks that led to travel advisories while 37.84% of the respondents hold that the tourism sector performance has been on an upward surge with factors such as formulation of responsive tourism polices & program activities by the government, intensive marketing by Brand Kenya & Kenya Tourism Board. A paltry 1.35% of the respondents thought that the performance of the sector is stagnant.

When asked to briefly highlight events in Kenya that affected the tourism performance during the period of 2011-2015, 64.87% mentioned events relating to acts of terror. 27.03% of the respondents singled out General Elections as a factor that affected tourism performance in the period. The remaining 8.10% said that poor economic conditions partly contributed by the above factors led to reduction in economic activity hence significantly reducing disposable income.

The respondents were asked to describe any change(s) in Kenya's tourism sector performance and majority of them, 60.81%, are of the opinion that there has been a decrease in performance across the sector with the main cause being attributed to insecurity courtesy of frequent terror attacks that led to travel advisories hence greatly negatively impacting the number of international tourists coming into the country. The respondents held that travel advisories issued mainly by the West have had the biggest brunt on Kenya's tourism performance. On the other hand, 37.84% of the respondents hold that the tourism sector performance has been on an

upward surge with factors such as formulation of responsive tourism policies & program activities by the government, intensive marketing by Brand Kenya & Kenya Tourism Board.

40.54% of the respondents said that the international media aggravated the impact of the events through sensationalism. 35.14% are of the view that the international media unnecessarily placed a lot of emphasis and gave the negative events extensive coverage making them the events enduring even long past the news time. 24.32% of the respondents said biasness by the international media towards Africa, Kenya included, amplified the impact of the events.

#### **4.3.4 CNN's Representation of Kenya**

74.97% have a negative perception of CNN's coverage and representation of Kenya on the global audience. 14.86% of the respondents were neutral on this issue. 4.05% said that they hold positive perception on CNN's coverage and representation of Kenya. 6.12% said that they did not know. 52.7% of respondents are of the opinion that CNN's coverage of Kenyan events from period 2011-2015 affected performance of tourism sector through reduction in number of international tourists coming to the country.

The travel advisories issued as result of sensationalism of negative events in Kenya discouraged potential international tourists who wanted to visit the country. 37.84% said that the coverage by CNN has tainted Kenya's image globally. This is because they give extensive coverage of negative events than positive events which has resulted to lasting bad impression of Kenya in the international scene. 5.41% of the respondents said that the coverage has caused loss of revenue for the country. This can be attributed to reduction in the number of tourists which is also responsible for the job losses.

## **CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION**

### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter summarizes the findings of the study, presents conclusions and recommendations on the relationship between international media representation and performance of tourism sector between 2011 and 2015. Also contained herein, are suggestions for further research.

### **5.2 Summary of Findings**

Based on the results of this study, the following are summary of findings:

#### **5.2.1 How Was Kenya Represented By International Media From 2011 to 2015?**

The study established that representation of Kenya by international media from 2011 to 2015 was largely negative and thus diminished the country's reputation as well as its international standing. The negative representation has significantly damaged the image of Kenya in the international scene as the country is now associated with negative events ranging from terrorism to political violence. This was further propagated by the fact that international media have a wide reach that transcends national boundaries and the information broadcasted is received by many far and wide across the world. Its extent of reach was evident as majority of the participants in the study were aware of at least one international media television channel. As result, international media wields a strong influence in shaping perceptions around global issues and setting the agenda as well as the 'official narrative'—which may be different from what they are reporting. The sway by international media is increasingly affecting diplomatic dynamics between countries as the case of CNN with their gaffe 'Hotbed of Terror' (in reference to Kenya) being a good example mentioned by majority of the respondents.

#### **5.2.2 How did Kenya's Tourism Sector Perform from 2011 to 2015?**

The study revealed that there was a decrease in performance of Kenya's tourism sector between 2011 and 2015. There was an amalgam of factors but the main cause was insecurity courtesy of frequent terror attacks that led to travel advisories hence negatively impacting the number of international tourists coming into the country. It was established that travel advisories issued mainly by the West have had the biggest brunt on Kenya's tourism performance. While it was unfortunate that the country experienced a number of negative events which got attention of the world through the various international media houses, the study revealed that the media houses aggravated the events through sensationalism, biasness and unreasonably extended coverage much to the detriment of Kenya's tourism sector and the entire economy at large.

### **5.2.3 How Has Cable News Network's (CNN) Coverage of Kenya's Events Between 2011 and 2015 Affected Tourism?**

The study established that the coverage of Kenyan events between 2011 and 2015 by CNN affected Kenya's tourism adversely by contributing to reduction in number of international tourists coming into Kenya owing to their emphasis on negative events more than positive ones. This was on the background of the fact that CNN is the leading international media organization disseminating news across the world as indicated by collated data from the respondents on international media television channel awareness. In view of this, it is an authoritative global media station that many people across the world look up to for information. The travel advisories issued as a result of sensationalizing of negative events in Kenya by CNN discouraged potential international tourists who wanted to visit the country. It was also established that the coverage has tainted Kenya's image globally having created a lasting bad impression of Kenya in the international scene as well as loss of revenue for the country. On the question as to why CNN coverage of Kenya's events was negative during that period, it was established that the leading factor was the reoccurring terrorist activities that drew their attention to Kenya owing to the fact that terrorism has evolved to become a dangerous global phenomenon and a matter of concern to the entire world. Other factors included: preconceived negative perception of Africa as a whole has led to pervasive reporting on Africa and Kenya in particular, advancement of America's foreign policy and quest for higher TV ratings.

### **5.3 Conclusion**

We are operating in an extraordinary world with myriad international relations undercurrents. International media conglomerates have grown to become such powerful entities that can either influence a country positively or negatively as the findings have shown. As far as the findings of this go, international media is gradually curving out its path into the world of international relations and diplomacy albeit in improper ways. The content that the media stations broadcast objectively or otherwise has the potential to impact diplomatic dynamics between countries. These media houses more often than not set the tone of the global agenda and as a result their coverage of events is crucial in shaping perceptions on various issues of worldwide concern. Also of worth noting is the fact that the study has attested the long held notion that international media domiciled in the Western countries have been portraying African countries in this case Kenya in a negative light. While the study has shown that international media houses have the

propensity for negative events owing to the old adage '*bad news sells*' the study has shown that there is lack of objectivity in their quest to cover events more so Kenyan (African) stories.

Kenyan tourism slumped during the period under review. However, it has since picked up and currently the industry fundamentals are quite strong. This is indicated by the many high profile international events that the country hosted including World Trade Conference 2016, Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD IV), and United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD 14) among many others. This is in addition to visits by eminent world leaders including US President Barack Obama and Pope Francis. Nevertheless, the sector remains fragile and susceptible to shocks given the point that its success is largely pegged on international mass communication and marketing; robust transnational and diplomatic relations and favourable economic conditions. Whereas the international media can help in bolstering Kenya's position on the international markets as far as tourism is concerned, the coverage by CNN and largely other international organizations has done more harm than good.

Going by the findings, it is with no doubt that representation by any international media agency on either scale of perception latitude can greatly impact not only tourism sector but also other sectors of the economy. Positive coverage will go a long way in generating interest around the world on that particular country. In the end one may just decide to visit the country basing his or her decision on the report filed by the international media channel and in the long run this will promote Kenya's tourism sector. On the flipside, negative coverage leads to shunning of that country. Kenya is now generally synonymous with terrorism though in reality the terror attacks although there are far between and not as frequent as the international media has depicted to the world.

The findings of this study have thus brought to fore the devastating effects of perpetuated fallacy created by the international media agencies since they are the main source of information on global issues. Africa's stories, good or bad, are being told through their lens while disregarding accuracy and objectivity when covering the events. The questions that linger as a result of this finding are: why has Kenya and other African countries left their narratives to be told by the international media at their disadvantage? What needs to be done so that Kenya can take control of its own representation within the realms of international media?

Further in regards to the research in the field of International Relations, this study has contributed to the ongoing debate regarding the role and effect of global media on

diplomatic/international relations. At the centre of this debate is the question as to whether these sensationalized and biased coverage portraying Kenya as well as other African countries in bad light can lead to diplomatic spat between the home country of the station and the subject country being portrayed negatively. Other pertinent questions include whether Ambassadors seconded to Kenya should intervene on behalf the international media and the country and are the Kenyan ambassadors doing enough to intervene when the international media distort facts on the ground. However in the end, Kenya is not immune to coverage by international media and instances identified in the study will be reoccurring in the future resulting into different outcome scenarios for the tourism sector depending on the angle of coverage by the international media agencies.

#### **5.4 Recommendations**

It is evident from the findings that the tourism sector performance dropped between 2011 and 2015 largely because of negative coverage by international media. To turn around the trend in view of representation by international media there is an urgent need for a complete of transformation on how countries handle relations with these media houses. Based on the findings of this study the following recommendations are made.

- a) There is need to for the government through Kenya Tourism Board and Brand Kenya to have a lobbying unit as well as international media relations units to help guide Kenya's narrative on the international arena. This should begin with formulation of a comprehensive international media relations policy. This will address the issue of how to deal with distorted facts and have a consistent and balanced narrative.
- b) Kenya should significantly improve its security measures because it is the terrorist attacks that brought about the negative coverage by international media in the first place. Addressing the security challenge will go a long way in boosting fortunes in Kenya's tourism sector.
- c) Kenya should revamp its digital marketing and communication on matters tourism to counter the narratives and perceptions created by the international media. This way, foreigners interested in visiting Kenya can find interesting positive things about Kenya when they search through the internet.
- d) Kenya's Ministry of Tourism as well as Foreign Affairs and International Trade should work hand in hand to lobby for fair and objective coverage from countries whose international media channels are covering Kenya's events in a biased manner.



- e) Increase advertising of the country on various international media channels to counter the negative impression created by negative events that happened in the country while also educating and informing the world audience that indeed there are great people to meet and places to visit in Kenya.

### **5.5 Suggestions for Further Research**

This research has not fully exhausted all the factors that affect tourism sector performance in Kenya in relation to international relations dynamics; particularly the effect of international media on diplomatic relations. In this regard, other researchers can focus on how coverage of events by international media can affect diplomatic relations between the countries.

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**APPENDIX**

**Questionnaire**

**Introduction**

My name is Lynda Koske. I am pursuing a Master’s Degree in International Studies at the University of Nairobi- Institute of Diplomacy & International Studies. I am carrying out a research on International Media Representation and its effect on the Tourism Sector Performance Kenya.

I would wish to enlist your assistance in filling in this questionnaire. Your responses will be treated with utmost confidentiality and used for academic research purposes only.

**I. Demographics**

1. Indicate your gender

Male  Female

2. Please tick your age bracket

20-25  26-30  31-35  36-40  41-45  46-50  >50 years

3. How long have you worked in the tourism sector?

< 1 year  1-5  6-10  11-15  16-20  > 20 years

**II. International Media Representation**

i) Are you conversant with any International Media television channels?

Yes  No

If yes, mention any 4 channels

.....

.....

ii) Does International Media representation affect Kenya’s image internationally?

Yes  No

iii) In what way(s) does the International Media representation affect Kenya’s image?

.....  
.....  
.....

III. **Tourism Sector Performance**

i. How would you describe the tourism sector performance at present?

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

ii. Are there any government initiatives directed toward increasing the number of tourists?  
If Yes, mention them

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

iii. Does international media representation affect the tourism sector?

Yes [ ] No [ ]

iv. Describe any changes in the tourism sector performance from 2011 to 2015

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

v. Briefly explain events in Kenya that affected the tourism sector performance during the period of 2011-2015

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

vi. How did the international media coverage aggravate the impact of the events discussed above?

.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

**IV. Cable News Network (CNN) Coverage of Kenyan Events (2011-2015)**

- i) How would you describe CNN’s representation of Kenya?  
 Positive  
 Negative  
 Neutral  
 I do not know
  
- ii) Based on your response above, what factors lead to CNN’s coverage/reporting on Kenya?  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....
  
- iii) How has CNN’s coverage of Kenyan events from the period 2011-2015 affected the tourism sector?  
.....  
.....  
.....  
.....

## **Key Informant Schedule- Tourism Specialists**

### Introduction

My name is Lynda Koske. I am pursuing a Master's Degree in International Studies at the University of Nairobi- Institute of Diplomacy & International Studies. I am carrying out a research on International Media Representation and its effect on the Tourism Sector Performance Kenya (2011-2015).

Your responses will be treated with utmost confidentiality and used for academic research purposes only.

1. Provide a brief description of the Department and its role
  
2. *Tourism sector promotion*
  - a. What strategies are being employed to promote tourism in the country?
  - b. How can you describe the coordination between the Ministry and other stakeholders in the sector?
  - c. Would you say you have achieved your objectives towards improving the tourism sector?
  - d. What are the key Ministry's achievements from 2011 to 2015?
  
3. *International Media Representation*
  - a. To what extent has international media representation affected Kenya's image internationally?
  - b. What strategies is the Ministry engaged in to promote Kenya's image?
  - c. What is the success rate of the strategies implemented?
  
4. *Tourism sector performance*
  - a. To what extent has international media representation affected Kenya's tourism performance?
  - b. How is the Ministry addressing the effects of international media representation?
  
5. *Cable News Network's (CNN) coverage of Kenyan events (2011-2015)*

- a. Which major events took place in Kenya between 2011 and 2015?
- b. Provide a brief description of how CNN covered these events?
- c. How did CNN's coverage of these events affect the tourism sector performance?

## **Key Informant Schedule- Media Professionals**

### **1. *International Media Representation***

- a. How would you describe Kenya's representation in the international media?
- b. What factors influence Kenya's international media coverage?
- c. To what extent does international media representation affect Kenya's image internationally?
- d. What strategies can the government employ to promote Kenya's image?

### **2. *Tourism Sector Performance***

- a. How would you describe Kenya's current tourism sector performance?
- b. Has international media representation affected Kenya's tourism performance?  
If yes, explain how.
- c. What are the effects of travel advisories on the tourism sector performance?
- d. How can the government address the effects of international media representation?

### **3. *Cable News Network (CNN) coverage of events in Kenya (2011-2015)***

- a. Which major events took place in Kenya between 2011 and 2015?
- b. Provide a brief description of how CNN covered these events?
- c. How did CNN's coverage of these events affect the tourism sector performance?