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**THE IMPACT OF POST 9/11 FILM AND TV CONTENT ON THE NATIONAL
SECURITY OF WEAK STATES: A CASE STUDY OF KENYA**

BY

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DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has never been presented to any academic institution for any award.

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

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DEDICATION

This research project is dedicated to progressive minds that inspire excellence, hard work and commitment.

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ABSTRACT

This research project discusses the influence Hollywood films have had in a post 9/11 security era across weak states. In the aftermath of the September 11 attacks, terrorism has become more frequent in Kenya undertaken by Al Qaeda affiliate terror organization Al Shabaab. These attacks persisted and become more frequent and deadly in both scale and casualties after Kenya's incursion into Somalia in 2011 signifying enormous complexity of the terror organization with respect to structure, mode of attacks, and the area under its command in Somalia. After the attacks, the global arena equally witnessed a surge in the number of Hollywood productions featuring themes associated with a post 9/11 era. The study examined whether these films generated an environment where these terrorists would transform to become transnational actors whose actions increased the vulnerability of Kenya's national security. In order to measure this extent, the study operated under three objectives, firstly, to identify the dominant themes associated with national security in post 9/11 films, secondly, to identify threats facing weak states such as Kenya and finally to investigate the consequences these films had on the national security of Kenya.

The Uses and Gratification theory was used to explain these phenomena as it described the motives audiences have to receiving media content and their utility of the information acquired from various media platforms. The study acquired sampled 100 respondents and drew data that generated a positive relationship between post 9/11 film content and the national security of weak states. Cinematic illusions, ideas and motive were noted to easily replicated in their original form or otherwise modified to suit the crime intended. This is not limited to deviant group as government security organs also drew operational tactics from such films. The study therefore recommends an increase of Kenyan content that creatively incorporates challenges within the fight against terror into their themes as a way to mitigate the effects of western oriented films.

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Introduction

In recent years the concept of security has undergone a transformation that seeks to address various types of threats across the globe. Cultural diversification spearheaded by global trends and transformations have continued to edge these concept into a new phase. Social media continues to puzzle practitioners and scholars who at one point undermined the idea of it being exploited to fund, recruit and arm criminals among them terrorists. In fact a large segment of literature appeared to coincide with the conduct of journalists in reporting sensitive stories on the one hand and on the other, increasing concerns on cyber security. This gap is what the researcher set out to study. A void left barely untouched scholarly, that is, the display of heroic, graphic and well-crafted plots produced in the form of motion picture and marketed across the globe by western film production companies. The set chosen in those films may vary but the impact on the societies which act as consumer bases for these products has radically shaped how one relates to a society's political posture and its international image. Simply put, this study examines the dominant themes in these films and how they have affected Kenya as it struggles to strengthen its national security infrastructure in the wake of intensified global terrorism.

1.1 Background of the Study

The September 11 2001 attack marked a critical point in international peace and security in two ways. First, it revealed the growing capacity of terror cells to exploit gaps in the globalization process conducting their affairs and secondly, it contrasted the ongoing struggle between two secular ideologies and another shaped by emerging clash between two conceptions of civilization.¹ This distinction describes various events, trends and patterns that have determined the national security of weak states both prior and post the 9/11 attacks. As noted by Thomas Riegler, international terrorism has transformed in a multifaceted way, one of which is relayed in popular culture.² He further notes that these changes actually resonate to Hollywood themes and

¹ Steve L. Lamy in Introduction to Global Politics (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2014) p.50

² Riegler,T. (2010). Through the Lenses of Hollywood: Depictions of terrorism in American Movies. Perspectives on Terrorism, 4(2), 35-45.

television series thus, largely a medium conveying a hegemony's sentiments and objectives to the audience.³

Hollywood films have traditionally reincarnated themes associated to terrorism over the decades. When reviewing Hollywood's output on terrorism, it is obvious that it correlates with the waves of historical development of political violence.⁴ The neatly scripted, visually enhanced scenes laced with sub plots and undertones that not only inform the audience but largely shape their understandings and perceptions towards terrorism. In addition the post 9/11 era has also been characterized by increased global connectivity where instruments of war such as propaganda are virtually finding a haven in social media transcending states national security infrastructure.

The 9/11 attack had a global impact, but the effects were certainly varying across states. The push towards a global approach has constantly been challenged due to the heterogeneity of states in the international system. This underscores the various inequalities in the global system that impede on effective implementation of policies. As a result weak states lack the economic, political and social stimulus required to enforce an effective anti-terror strategy.⁵ Patrick Stewart argues that one of the dominant influences of north south relations is the perception that the main threats to international security emanate disproportionately from poorly governed states in the developing world.⁶

Kenya's national security is determined by both domestic and external factors. A state's main national interest is ensuring its survival by eliminating any threat that compromises stability and livelihood.⁷ However, specific to this study are the threats emanating from Kenya's geostrategic positioning in the Horn of Africa and Eastern Africa and its foreign relations with its western allies. The close proximity to a 'failed state' further elevates its vulnerability to both external and internal threats. Particularly, Kenya suffered two attacks accentuating its close relationship with the USA and Israel.⁸ Terrorism therefore becomes a recurring spectacle in Kenya after the entry of the KDF into Somalia in pursuit of the Al Shabaab Militants. Since 2011, Kenya has

³ ibid

⁴ ibid

⁵ Patrick, S. (2007). "Failed" States and Global Security: Empirical Questions and Policy Dilemmas. *International Studies Review*, 644-662.

⁶ Truman, J. S. (2010). *Communicating Terrorism: The Rhetoric Discussions of Terrorism*. Singapore: Sage Publishers.

⁷ Steve Lamy, H. M. (2014). *Introduction to Global Politics*. Toronto: Oxford University Press.

⁸The 1997 Bombing on the American Embassy in Nairobi and the Kikambala attack at the Coastal area

witnessed terrorism in its major towns and cities at varying scales of casualties, techniques and locations.

These attacks increasingly show the sophistication of the terror group in recruiting, training and executing attacks within the region. This skillfulness is magnified by globalization with respect to cultural exchanges and Kenya's own status as a developing state.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The 9/11 attacks on the WTC in New York and Pentagon near Washington were shocking global events that dominated public attention and circulated spectacles of terror generating fear and panic.⁹ Contrasted to attacks during the cold war, the impact of 9/11 on mass cultural platform was captured on camera, played back and technologically embedded on mediums of information to a generation experiencing globalization on a hyper rate. The outcome was an escalation of warfare, states security was re-examined and a new strategy, different from containment and deterrence as was used in the cold war was to be employed in the global war on terrorism.¹⁰

Significantly, Hollywood cinema and TV series is essential in noting the various forms and themes the global war on terrorism has been packaged and disseminate to the audience. As noted earlier, the obsessive detailing of vivid images often in skewed perspectives echoes and ongoing debate by researchers who question whether audiences maintain a strict fact fiction separation when they incorporate media messages into understanding of the world.¹¹ Indeed the possibility is high as argued by Brigit Nacos noting how 24 protagonist-counter terrorism agent Jack Bauer has figured in classroom discussions, think tank deliberations and even election debates.¹² This was further elaborated by Homeland Security Secretary Michael Chertoff who said that 24 frankly reflected real life in presenting scenarios with no clear magic bullet to solve the problem.¹³

The focus of the study is to interrogate the influence of post 9/11 film and TV content on weak states and as to whether it has increased the ratio of vulnerabilities against Kenya especially in

⁹ *ibid*

¹⁰ Steve L. Lamy in *Introduction to Global Politics* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 2014)

¹¹ *ibid*

¹² *ibid*

¹³ Yin, T. (2008). Jack Bauer Syndrome: Hollywood's Depiction of National Security Law. *Southern California Interdisciplinary Law Journal*, 279-300.

the war against global terrorism. Italian novelist Umberto Eco claimed that 70% of human knowledge derives from watching Hollywood movies as they capture historical, present and future perceptions of issues in cinematic images.¹⁴ This can be said to apply to terrorism, what it is, what it means and how it is presented to the global audience. Powerful media spectacles help shape social memory, constructing individuals' views of history and contemporary reality.¹⁵

The TV series, 24 among others were examined and presented in subsequent sections have dominant themes that complement the issue of national security in an age of terror such as the CSI effect, the misconception of Muslims and terrorism, demystifying the enemy in a post 9/11 era, and depiction of government processes during and after a national crisis.¹⁶ It follows therefore that despite these debates focusing on the national security policies of the countries of origin, there is renewed concern on the influence these content has on weak states. This can be done through modeling and imitation of certain tactics leading to more surgical and bold attacks, the decreasing cohesion of the society religiously and policies that appear to inadequately reinforce the capacity of existing rules pertaining to law and order hence the question, has Kenyan national security deteriorated due to the images, sentiments and themes of post 9/11 popular film content?

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The study seeks to establish whether the post 9/11 film and TV content have influenced the national security of Kenya in an attempt to bridge intellectual and policy gaps.

1.3.1 Specific Objectives

1. To examine the dominant themes associated with national security in post 9/11 film and television content.
2. To identify the various threats to the national security of weak states in a post 9/11 era.
3. To investigate the consequences of post 9/11 film and TV content on the national security of Kenya.

¹⁴ Riegler, T. (2010). Through the Lenses of Hollywood: Depictions of terrorism in American Movies. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 4(2), 35-45.

¹⁵ Kellner, D. (2006). *Social Memory and the Representation of 9/11 in Contemporary Hollywood Film*.

¹⁶ Griset, S. M. (2008). *Terror in Perspective*. Singapore: Sage Publishers.

1.4 Justification

Examining the trends and patterns in a post 9/11 era pertaining to the international terrorism and how it continues to be depicted in popular culture will shed enormous light on the paradoxes that define weak states security statuses in relation to international peace and security.

To the academic field the study will add to the knowledge of national security of weak states in relations to popular culture. The gaps filled will entail the potential correlation of cinematic images and themes to the deteriorating security states of Kenya in a post 9/11 era. In conducting a critical analysis on the casual relationships between key variables, this study will deepen the understanding of how other forms of media affect states interaction with each other vis-à-vis no state actors' capacity to impact states national security.

Policy wise, the study intends to fill the gaps in various policy frameworks that have focused more on the use of material instruments of propagating disorder other than the immaterial instrument. This will majorly inform the content allowed, initiate research to further examine the cause and effect relationships between the real life occurrences and fictional settings. In doing so, policies based on soft power will be explored and tested to infer future policies that can arrest the shortcomings of interdependence and interconnectedness of the planet.¹⁷

1.5 Operationalization of Key Terms

Content: The themes, images and perceptions accompanying cinematic and television products.

National Security: The ability of the state to defend its values form internal and external and includes non-military actions to ensure the state capacity to survive as a political entity.

Weak States: States which lack the political, economic, social capacity to ensure development, stability and growth.

Threat: That which impedes a state from archiving its national objectives.

National Security Policy: A framework that outlines the strategy for developing, applying and coordinating the instruments of power.

¹⁷ Soft power emphasizes on the use of persuasion to influence an entities interest

1.6 Literature Review

The researcher examined literature on the relationship between terror and the media, national security and weak states and post 9/11 film and TV content.

1.6.1 Media and Terrorism

The media has always had a unique role the security status of a state. This is important as it is responsible for disseminating government policies and actions to the public while at the same time providing an avenue of feedback on these and other policies. In doing so, self-regulatory and industry restrictions have bound the media to operate within norms, values and laws in order to compliment other government and actors efforts in ensuring a secure environment, however this has not always been the case. Recurring reports reveal dubious and often controversial means some media entities have employed to get information, influence policy makers and policy implementation, and check both the public and private sector. The growing popularity of investigative journalism, documentaries and other web page publications has often pitted media stakeholders against law enforcement agencies. It therefore follows that in a post9/11 era, discussions of the media's role in counter terrorism strategies and to be continuously monitored especially when globalization, radical extremism and cyber security appear to reinforce each other.

Various scholars have argued that the media and terrorists have a complimentary relationship. This is explained by Anita Peresin who notes that the two enjoy a symbiotic relationship because the media industry trends and patterns for media content production leads towards preference of sensational seeking content, whereas terrorist organizations can, due to their actions ensure themselves are constantly trying to manipulate and exploit the media for their own purpose.¹⁸ The media today has a global reach thus influences decision makers by reporting on their approach to countering terror and aligning their national and foreign policies accordingly.¹⁹

In addition, the media whose primary role is to inform the public has often been exploited to disperse ideological tools of extremism by terror organization. This comes after realization by terrorists that targeting their enemies via physical violence is not the only strategy; they can

¹⁸ Peresin, A. (2007). Mass Media& Terrorism. *Medij.istrasz*, p.5

¹⁹ *ibid*

advance their cause by exploiting gaps in the media platforms especially online to propagate their ideas across the world.²⁰ Therefore, having a calculated plan, coordinated to success and covered adequately in the media expounds the degree of panic, insecurity, despair, destruction and psychological effects.²¹

This form of exploitation has largely been facilitated by the internet, a conduit of information where anonymity is difficult to unearth and access impossible to restrict. The success of the internet was enabled by the rise in the number of internet service providers, inexpensive computers, wireless technology and efficient software has equally equipped terrorists groups with the ability to advance their cause to a larger global audience.²² Baylis and Smith visit these phenomena by noting that the technological advances associated with globalization have improved the capabilities of terrorists to plan and conduct operations with far more destruction and coordination than their predecessors.²³

Having established that a relationship exists between media and terrorists, Brigit Narcos coins the concept mass mediated terrorism defining it as political violence against non-combatants with symbolic targets aimed at communicating a message to the broader audience.²⁴ The concept also highlights the constant desire by media houses to search, discover, and report terror related stories. Anita Peresin argues that the media is interested with terrorism since it is not only a source of news but the content is dramatic, highly volatile and raises great public attention which potentially lead to higher viewer ratings and thus greater profits.²⁵ Rhea Abraham further notes that the media creatively narrate the stories in order to attract public attention through priming and framing audience attitudes and perceptions regarding the issue of terrorism which is limited to violent and horrific imagery.²⁶

In examine this unique relationship, I review some tools used by the terrorists to increase their global reach. Firstly, the internet is the most common platform that provides an almost one stop shop for recruiting new followers, bomb making and weapons training, purchase of travel tickets

²⁰ Somise, L., & David , G. (2011). The media as an enabler of acts of terrorism. Global Security Studies.P.45

²¹ ibid

²² Ibid P.46

²³ ibid

²⁴ Abraham, R. (2011). Media and National Security. New Delhi: KW Publishers. p.43

²⁵ Peresin, A. (2007). Mass Media& Terrorism. Medij.istras, P.5

²⁶ Abraham, R. (2011). Media and National Security. New Delhi: KW Publishers. p.45

and logistical support, and coordinating attacks.²⁷ This is because the internet hosts a plethora of capabilities that enhance such groups capabilities such as websites, video games, movies, documentaries, programing software's, used to accompany propaganda in order to attract and draw audiences.²⁸ A brief look at websites formerly under the control of groups such as Al Qaeda, ISIL and Al Shabaab reveal detailed and professionally laid out web pages, organized, colorful, full of eye popping images set to draw continued interest of the reader.²⁹ In an Al Jazeera documentary, an analyst described ISIL managed websites included match making sites with beautiful women all seeking adventure, pleasure and desires of travelling across the Middle East.³⁰ These sites are well protected as the terrorist organizations have developed sophisticated encryption tools and creative techniques making it a secure and relatively efficient means of correspondence.³¹

Terrorists use the media to spread propaganda against their adversaries. It's clear that terrorists use the media as a source of information and as a medium of generating publicity. However propaganda differs in context and content as it is determined by the target audience.³² In most instances, propaganda is used to rally new recruits and raise funds for the terror organization.³³ Propaganda is spread in a number of ways, firstly we examine radio or television news shows as one of the most commonly used tool over history. It was used in the Korean War, Rwandan genocide, during the world wars, and most recently, the Westgate attack. Al Shabaab spokesman, called Al Jazeera studio live on camera and reported on the attacks as it happened dispelling claims by the Kenyan government that security forces had cornered the terrorists.³⁴ Hamas and the Real Irish Republican Army have telephoned media agencies to claim responsibility for an attack.³⁵ In Columbia, the Revolution Armed Force of Columbia (FARC) has used the Voice of Resistance radio channel to transmit propaganda messages, recruitment procedures and played popular local music.³⁶

²⁷ Somise, L., & David , G. (2011). The media as an enabler of acts of terrorism. Global Security Studies.p.47

²⁸ Ibid p.48

²⁹ Ibid

³⁰ www.aljazeera.com/programmes/peopleandpower/2015/06/syria-electronic-armies-15061715153360.html

³¹ Ibid

³² Ibid p.47

³³ Ibid

³⁴ <http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/features/2013/9/2013923628350977.html>

³⁵ Ibid

³⁶ Somise, L., & David , G. (2011). The media as an enabler of acts of terrorism. Global Security Studies.p.49

Terrorists have used audio-video to further reach a global audience. In the second case, we examine how songs have been used by various terrorist organizations. To start with, songs by the white supremacist band 'Bond for Glory' promoted social activism against the integration of African –American into their societies calling for violence against them.³⁷ One phrase of the song reads, 'I am the man, I'm taking a stand, to rid the world of you is my plan'.³⁸ A report by the Anti-Defamation League linked racist and anti-semitic rock music major recruitment and source of funding from hate groups.³⁹ Al Shabaab in their propaganda videos play such songs for instance in the aftermath of the Mpeketoni Attack in Lamu county in 2014, the terror organization released a propaganda clip where terrorists are heard chanting and singing, 'chinja kafiri chinja'.⁴⁰ Lumbaca and Gray note that songs provide the soundtrack to many attack videos.⁴¹ Kammage and Rodolfo argue that the songs are coupled with gun fire and explosions audible in the background.⁴²

Terrorists also take advantage of movies, documentaries and short films to spread their agendas. In this format, the clips are hidden in in secret to evade government detection. They are often produced after an attack. However this is necessarily not always the case, in the movie 'Birth of a Nation', the KKK are depicted as heroes and use the video as a recruitment tool.⁴³ Al Qaeda, Al Shabaab and ISIL have equally produced videos tackling various themes. The videos appear professionally scripted, narrated by someone with a unique English accent (Al Shabaab and ISIL), the shots are clear and properly angled, creative editing has been done to highlight key moments of the attack such as the downing of a plane, tank, beheading, or suicide bombs. The narrators give a brief history of the adversary and challenge the policies they are against, cascading one frame at a time to contrast controversial policy maker or policy which the terrorist want the audience to associate as unpopular, unjust, inhuman, blasphemous, and warrants revolt.

Finally, terrorists have used leaflets and publications such as magazines; however, they are dominantly supplied in areas where the terror organization has full control. These leaflets contain information on radicalization, public hearing for offenders, taxing, religious teachings and

³⁷ Somise, L., & David , G. (2011). The media as an enabler of acts of terrorism. *Global Security Studies*.p.49

³⁸ ibid

³⁹ ibid

⁴⁰ Village.oyaore.com/home/post/1537/full-video-al-shabaab-mpeketono-attack-video

⁴¹ Somise, L., & David , G. (2011). The media as an enabler of acts of terrorism. *Global Security Studies*.p.49

⁴² ibid

⁴³ Somise, L., & David , G. (2011). The media as an enabler of acts of terrorism. *Global Security Studies*.p.47

political ideologies. Gray and Lambanca note that the magazines feature well placed photos signifying professional photography had been undertaken, full columns and violent pictures.⁴⁴ They detail further that the readings have an enormous appealing effect intended to recruit followers across the regions where they operate. This is mostly ensured by the sentence constructions and selection of sensational words, the tone of the phrases used echoing for example religious scholars whose teachings are used in these indoctrination process, the positioning of pictures and narrative that enable readers associate themselves with the terrorists groups as sympathy is drawn from underdevelopment, marginalization , poverty and historical injustices. William Luther Pierce, a white supremacist and author of ‘The Turner Diaries’, is listed as one of the most influential writers whose works have inspired the creation of terror groups and attacks.⁴⁵ In fact, the Oklahoma bombing suspects’ car had chippings of the book which coincidentally has a plot to attack a federal building.⁴⁶

In conclusion, there is evidence to signify that the media has both knowingly and unwittingly aided terrorists by disseminating propaganda and sensationalizing reports during conflict periods and reinforcing elite consensus.⁴⁷ Anita Peresin argues that the media should be a force of change, accuracy, objectivity and acting as an independent mediator. Wilkinson adds that media can also help by informing the police if terrorists try and contact them, participate and organize forums for discussions, and remind both the government and the public that any anti-terror laws should be enforced within the law and respecting human rights.⁴⁸

1.6.2 Studies on Post 9/11 Television and Film Content

In studying post 9/11 film and television content on the security of weak states attention is drawn to prior works that have been done on the relationship between terror and the media. Grant Wardlaw notes that one of the aims of terrorists is to gain publicity through the media.⁴⁹ In his analysis, he identifies ways in which the media has directly and indirectly favored terrorists

⁴⁴ Somise, L., & David , G. (2011). The media as an enabler of acts of terrorism. *Global Security Studies*.p.49

⁴⁵ ibid

⁴⁶ ibid

⁴⁷ ibid

⁴⁸ Peresin, A. (2007). *Mass Media& Terrorism*. Medij.istrz, P.15

⁴⁹ Wardlaw, G. (1989). *Political Terrorism: Theory, Tactics & Counter measures*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

ambitions as they report on terror events.⁵⁰ While this study does not seek to interrogate the influence media has had on such occasions, it will heavily depend on the relationship between the actors in the media industry, the political leadership of the state and the already established links between the media and terror groups.

This close relationship is cited by Philip Hammond where he argues on the two outcomes the 9/11 attack had on the cinema and TV media.⁵¹ First was the sequence of meetings between Hollywood film and TV executives and creative with government officials which appeared to raise the possibility that an official propaganda line would guide future productions of film and TV dramas.⁵² Bryce Zabel, a screen writer and chair of the Academy of TV Arts and Sciences proclaimed that they were willing to volunteer and become advocates of the American message.⁵³

Secondly, the effectiveness of Hollywood depictions on American interventions around the world by being a conduit of domestic and foreign policy agendas in continuous administrations. Comparatively, Cold War themes were increasingly losing relevance due to the fall of the USSR, and thus it was upon the media to reorient the global audience to the greater geopolitical threat of international terrorism. In doing so, timeline content became a platform where domestic and systemic determinants of national security were tailored to compliment government efforts in reorganizing their national security policies.

It follows therefore that themes and subplots were embedded with perceptions and political undertones that localized the war on terror onto a certain region of the world whose race and faith was presented as complicit to terrorism. Joseph Truman examines the stereotypical outcomes of entertainment and news media and the mechanism captured in mixed genres such as spy and espionage movies to build on themes featuring terrorism as a means of conflict and the

⁵⁰ *ibid*

⁵¹ Hammond, P. (2010). *Screening Terror* in p. Hammond

⁵² *ibid*

⁵³ *ibid*

methods to be used to stop them.⁵⁴ Specifically, the representation of terrorism in this content was with loose distinction between the act, the race or religion.

Misconceptions about Muslims in films resonate to societal divisions creating a mixed cloud of how to address terrorism without offending Muslims in an area where radical Islamism has elevated the threats to a state.⁵⁵ Joseph Truman further notes that many films associate terrorists with Middle Eastern characters carrying out hijackings, kidnappings, bombings, assassinations, and bio-chemical attacks.⁵⁶ The terrorist portrayed are fanatic, fiercely anti-Semitic, and passionate for their cause, lack sympathy for humans and are brutal killers.⁵⁷

Carlos Marghella notes the terrorists and media and has a complex relationship where propaganda makes the media more susceptible to use by government and terrorists.⁵⁸ He examines the influence of the 'CNN effect' on a post 9/11 era whereby incidents of terror are played for consumption in a multimedia packages and delivered through innovative and interactive ways.⁵⁹ Indeed various examples where these has taken place the most prominent being the social media platform which allows streams of information are viewed, reviewed and circulated by persons from every walk of lives have turned to be forums where hate, propaganda and blame is expressed. Conversely, terrorism has been used repeatedly to advance tyrannical agendas; justifying exceptional legislations that encroach upon individual rights increase internet surveillance, enlarge the role of the military and pressure journalists to cooperate with the state.⁶⁰

Such actions have been justified as the media is blamed for interfering in state operations against terrorism, sensationalize, perceptions of news and the credibility of the information they report. In a study that looked at the content of various press prints used to describe bombings by the LDC's 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.⁶¹ It therefore can be

⁵⁴ Truman, J. S. (2010). *Communicating Terrorism: The Rhetoric Discussions of Terrorism*. Singapore: Sage Publishers.

⁵⁵ *ibid*

⁵⁶ *ibid*

⁵⁷ *ibid*

⁵⁸ In Truman, J. S. (2010). *Communicating Terrorism: The Rhetoric Discussions of Terrorism*. Singapore: Sage Publishers.

⁵⁹ *ibid*

⁶⁰ *ibid* p.221

⁶¹ *ibid* p.223

argued that coupled with visual imagery, and observed from between 40-120 minutes, the perception, attitudes and ideas are shaped drastically.

Douglas Kellner examines the impact of 9/11 on film content by referring it to a powerful spectacle. In his analysis, the spectacles of terror are dramatic images and montages that capture attention hoping thereby to catalyze unanticipated events that will spread terror further through the domestic population.⁶² In fact, Philip Hammond notes the 9/11 attack confirmed fears in the international community that indeed an enemy continued to exist in a post-cold war era.⁶³

This is significantly captured in many films and programs that intended to present the terrorist to the audience using actions and words associated to an attack even before the attack was executed. When examining this representation, one is unable to objectively distinguish between the actions and the attack itself.

Focusing on Islamic practices such as praying before, during and after an attack, western Islam phobia has been seen as an area of concern in post 9/11 depiction of USA films and TV series. Depiction of the ‘enemy in an age of terror’ is accompanied by language such as collateral damage, them against us, are used throughout the films. Other cinematic tactics to reinforce this presentation include: using red filters so that the desert and houses appear stained in blood, camera pans to terrorist training, intercuts with shots showing bomb making in the process, computer and other assorted weapons in a terrorist camp. These editorial practices enhance the perception that the terrorists are ever preparing for an assault on a western target. Kellner further notes that visual frameworks for the film contrast chaotic, disorderly and violent nonwestern seen with the ordinary, modern and civilized government building, apartments, and restaurants of the west producing a dialect throughout the civilization against barbarism.⁶⁴

Thomas Riegler observes that there has been a high degree of militarism on the post 9/11 film and television media.⁶⁵ This is not to break away from traditional Hollywood war and drama genres but the display of contemporary technology advanced technology used in overt and covert operations builds the argument that TV is one of the primary sources of information. The use of

⁶²Kellner, D. (2006). Social Memory and the Representation of 9/11 in Contemporary Hollywood Film.

⁶³Hammond, P. (2010). Screening Terror In P. Hammond.

⁶⁴ Kellner, D. (2006). Social Memory and the Representation of 9/11 in Contemporary Hollywood Film.

⁶⁵Riegler, T. (2010). Through the Lenses of Hollywood: Depictions of terrorism in American Movies. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 4(2), 35-45.

drones in *Homeland* to eliminate jihadists in the Middle east, need for information in *Intelligence* for eliminating threats to the state and defense policy and interventions around the world in *E-ring*, increasingly informs the public and reduces the gap between reality and fictional especially factoring in the international trends and patterns that are turning soft core terrorist into hard core terrorist.

With emphasis on the use of excessive violent tactics, there is logic that in order to protect fragile democracies from the enemy, one has to forget democratic niceties and the rule of law.⁶⁶ As an example of how the military agenda has thrived in film and TV series, he explains how *Delta Force* gave a free rein to military solutions inspired by the Israel-Entebbe episode to achieve victories over terrorism. In addition, factors that necessitate such use of the military sophisticated plans put in place by the terrorists that slip through any national security detection apparatus until the last minute when they have taken control of a public area with hostages and thwarting any counterterrorism tactics by the authorities. Their diabolical plans include streaming into the internet and demanding concessions of a political kind, most of which ultimately puts the leadership of the country at a dilemma, whether to lose face by ceding sovereignty or by initiating special guidelines with the involvement of the military.⁶⁷ Consequently, repeated references to previous threats and their military solutions only prolong this theme.

Young Tin takes on a different angle by noting that there is a desperate need of an individual who will execute national security policies selflessly in tackling terrorism to the point of breaking the law.⁶⁸ In his analysis of *24* series, he notes that Jack Bauer tortures, commits aggravated assault, armed robbery, airplane hijacking, burglary, and false statements on government officials usually his supervisors.⁶⁹ The series that was airing its 9th season had risen the intensified the debate on torture and the idea of heroism depicted in many post 9/11 films.

Finally, the screening of terror has further explored the chaotic process invoked during a national security emergency.⁷⁰ Simulations capture the complex scenarios where cabinet meetings sequentially collapse to National Security Council meeting and emulate the tags and pulling

⁶⁶ *ibid*

⁶⁷ *ibid*

⁶⁸ Yin, T. (2008). Jack Bauer Syndrome: Hollywood's Depiction of National Security Law. *Southern California Interdisciplinary Law Journal*, 279-300.

⁶⁹ *ibid*

⁷⁰ Hammond, P. (2010). Screening Terror In P. Hammond.

behind bureaucratic politics. In this spectacular display of government machinery scrambling to proportionately counter the threat, idiosyncratic variables are scripted to reinforce or diminish national structures in tackling threats all weighed upon the outcome from how they interact. Interestingly, all government agencies showcased repeatedly got misinformation, made mistaken calls and assumptions that did not adequately communicate with each other.⁷¹

Bureaucrats are depicted as impediments to actualizing an efficient strategy such as Madeline Albright in *Path to 9/11* is represented as a clueless bureaucrat who doesn't understand the Al Qaeda threat while Condoleezza Rice is represented as sinister as she holds back warning on Al Qaeda on the same film.⁷²

1.6.3 Literature on National Security of Weak States

Literatures in weak states examine the domestic and foreign factors that increase the vulnerability of most developing states national security. According to Buzan security studies have remained largely underdeveloped, however the end of the cold war necessitated to its expansion of security studies to include political, military, economic, social and environmental security.⁷³ In doing so weak states have been the focus as they lack the capacity not only to protect themselves from foreign threats but are also susceptible to domestic threats. Weak states enable a host of transnational dangers, from terrorism, weapons proliferation, organized crime, pandemic diseases, environmental degradation, regional conflict, humanitarian catastrophes and energy security.⁷⁴ This was also echoed by G. W. Bush where he noted that America was less threatened conquering states than by weak states.⁷⁵ Condoleezza Rice also made significant policy adjustments in aligning American foreign aid to weak states in order to increase their sovereign capacity against threats posed by insurgents, terrorists and criminals.

However Peter Stewart notes that the literature turns vague when it comes to linking states failure with particular threats because; states vary, the complex determinants that link failed states with particular threats and the impact of globalization of the resilience or vulnerability of a

⁷¹ ibid

⁷² ibid

⁷³ Buzan, B. (1991). New Patterns of Global Security in the Twenty-First Century. *International Affairs*, 431-451.

⁷⁴ Patrick, S. (2007). "Failed" States and Global Security: Empirical Questions and Policy Dilemmas. *International Studies Review*, 644-662.

⁷⁵ ibid

state. Despite the gaps, weak states are defined to be those that are unable to provide physical security, legitimate institutional structures and social welfare.⁷⁶ However, in examining the dynamic trends and patterns that impact of these states has remained unexplored vis-a-vis their geopolitical attributes.

If therefore follows that global security is largely under threat from the growing number of failed and weakening states. In Africa, East Africa specifically regional states have faces challenges from conflict states such as Sudan, South Sudan and Somalia. The latter has been described as a launching pad for transnational terrorism. A safe been have where terrorists can train, recruit, organize for attacks on western interests. In fact, a study conducted by on the nodes and cells of terrorists continue to reveal the enormous dangers that surround weak and failed states. Kenya being a neighbor of Somalia has suffered as a soft target leading to the entry of KDF into Somalia in 2011. The locus of this study is to therefore understand the latest to which Kenya has been impacted by post 9/11 films and TV content for contact in a region surrounded by weak and falling states.

This leads us to a great debate on exactly what constitutes a failed or weak state. Volumes of literature have been published on this topic and the researcher will provide greater clarity on how he uses the two terms in consequent chapters. However for the purpose of the study, the research adopts Edward Newman's categories to identify weak states. He states that they are composed of political with poor levels of economic performance, human welfare, economic distribution and a certain level of conflict. In his approach he traces the discrepancy between social welfare and civil conflict in Africa, Asia, Middle East and Europe. He notes that states weakness results to a spread of insurgency leading to threats to regional peace and security.

Analyzing consequences of state weakness especially when enquiring the spread of international terrorism leads to one using the following assumptions as provided by Newman. Firstly, terror groups will make a deliberate decision to operate in weak states as they have less scrutiny and machinery to detect, identify, and repel or otherwise arrest them. Secondly, with such absence, terror groups will recruit freely, train and launch attacks on regional or foreign interests' and finally, they can operate in those states free from fear, interdiction or arrest

⁷⁶ *ibid*

Al Shabaab, based on Somalia has undergone a transformation over the years. Conflict in Somalia has continued to threaten regional security as this is constant flow of refugees, small arms and light weapons across the border.

1.6.4 Conclusion of Literature Review.

It has been observed that the factors that influence the production of film and television series are dependent of the close relationship between the media, the government and terror groups. In the post 9/11 era, many production houses were keen to capture events of that day accurately and incorporate them in their movies. However, in doing so, the degree between the fictional sub plots and the real occurrences of those themes I various parts of the world have largely remained unexplored. The content produced has been analyzed of how it impacts the countries of origin and neglected the potential threat it poses to weak states. In addition the literature examined on weak states continues to oscillate around the categorizing of weak states and how vulnerable they are to themselves and the world. The gap identified is one that fails to link the threats to a weak state such as Kenya posed from popular culture and therefore this study will seek to identify the nexus between the two.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

The researcher will employ the Uses and gratification theory as it to review literature and identify the causal relationship between certain concepts, trends and patterns.

1.7.1 Uses and Gratification Theory

The uses and Gratification theory is an approach developed to study the gratifications that attracts and hold audiences to the kind of medium and types of contact that satisfy their souls and psychological needs.⁷⁷ Media as a concept is used to identify various concepts in which communication agenda are disseminated to the public. It can be in the form of a radio, web based TV, or cinematic installations. The content on the other hand is the nature and agenda of what is being relayed to the public.

⁷⁷ Thomas E Ruggieno: Uses & Gratification theory in the 21st Century; Mass Communication and society 2000, 3 (1), 3-37 pg 3

Wiver & Dominick (1994), purpose that the U & G they began in the 1940s when researchers became interested in why the arena engaged in various forms of media behavior such as listening to the radio and reading the newspaper.⁷⁸ The theory is individualistic and thus examines the motives and intended expectations leading to a pattern by individual accessing information. Upon doing so, it further tests the interaction of his/her expected needs and his/her archived satisfactions.⁷⁹ Hence, as noted by Ruggiero different individuals present different patterns echoing the complex psychological makeup of the individual.⁸⁰ Nicholas Cummings further notes that there cannot be any automatic gratification because a user must actively seek for seek that need that requires to be satisfied.⁸¹ These presents the audience as an active element who rationally selects content suitable to his past, present or future needs.⁸² The consistency of this selection has enabled media outlets differentiate their products capitalizing on timely on timely viewership and explorer newer frontiers such as expanding space in social media. As a consequence, a larger section of media production houses are increasingly specializing to seasonal demands and events that shape and audience needs at a specific time. This is the case for the upsurge for instance of investigative the shows after an event that attracts enormous attention in a particular field e.g. plane crash investigations after the disappearance of Malaysia flight MH 317 in 2014 sought to satisfy the curiosity of industry stakeholders regardless of its dwindling average over the past two years.

Garrazone suggested that motivation leads to higher knowledge regardless of attention to a specific medium.⁸³ Gandy, Metabune & Omuchonu further noted that the greatest contributed to knowledge from a medium were the individual's gender and personal interest in an issue.⁸⁴ The transfer of a knowledge is a key element in this study and continue to indicate a positive link between what's aired and the actions of an individual commonly, individuals have cited or made expense to various scenes that (qualify) related to their present situations in order to make a case for /against an issue. Such is the case when a lawyer uses the same cross examination tactics in a

⁷⁸ Winer R. D & Dominick, T.R (1994) Mass Media research: An Introduction, Belmont, CA: Wadsworth

⁷⁹ *ibid*

⁸⁰ *ibid*

⁸¹ Nicholas Cummings: The Uses & Gratification of Communication in ritual spaces; media depictions of send information, 2002-2008. A thesis pg 6

⁸² *ibid*

⁸³ Garramore, G. 1984: Audience motivation effects with evidence. *Conisation research* 11. 79-96

⁸⁴ Gandy O. H, J. Matabane P.W & Omachonu, J.O (1987). Media uses, rediance&actre participation construction research 14, 644 - 633

court of law as cited out in Boston legal or suits or a doctor deducing and making in inferences of a medical case using, techniques learnt from/watched from ER, house or Emergency Room.⁸⁵The U & G among its motives identifies relaxations, information, coupon ship, entertainment social interactions, Habit, pass time, arousal and escape as its most dominant reasons why an individual seeks out/selects different media.⁸⁶

This is made possible by key assumptions of the U & G theory that enable it narrow down the infinite needs of an individual for gratification. Nicholas Cummings highlighted 3 distinct assumptions notably; that the audience is active and rationally selecting media relevant to its needs, secondly, media outlets compete with other sources of gratification but cannot satisfy all human needs and finally, empirical data assessment can help determine the goals of mass media courses since users are self-aware to accurately describe their notices.⁸⁷

Thomas Ruggiero further identifies 3 concepts that project U & G analytical scope. Firstly is the concept of interactivity. William Rice & Rogers define this as the degree to which participants in the communication process have control over and can exchange roles in their mental dispense.⁸⁸ This interactivity role includes the utilization of the audience to the medium and how he/she uses it to contact other audiences with similar needs by feeding information to it and how actively a medium is responsive. Secondly, is the concept of demassification which involves the selection of content from a media. William *et al* defines it as the ability of a user to select from a wide menu.⁸⁹ This enables the tailoring of needs by the audience leading to discarding/isolating content that of none use/unwanted media. This selective characteristic is widely used on the intent based products. Finally the concept of aschoniety where Chamberline defines it as the ability of an individual to send receive, record, save and retrieve at his own convenience.⁹⁰ The ability to view a program at a given time of convenience enables the U & G theory record the patterns of access to media, which are dependent on the psychological makeup and societal

⁸⁵ Boston Legal, suits ER House & Emergency room are television drama series that have aimed between 2007-2016

⁸⁶ Robin AM (1983) television uses & gratification; the interaction of viewing patterns and motivations found of broadcasting 27, 37-51.

⁸⁷ Cummings, N. M. (2008). The Uses and Gratification of Communication in Virtual Spaces: Media Depictions of Second Life, 2002-2008. Oregon: University of Oregon.

⁸⁸ Ruggiero, T. E. (2000). Uses and Gratifications Theory in the 21st Century. Mass Communication & Society, 3-37.

⁸⁹ Williams F. Rose, R.E & Rogers, E M. (1988) research methods and the new media NY Free press.

⁹⁰ *ibid*

setting of the individual. Different audiences seek different gratifications and these are motivated by different needs.

It follows therefore that the U & G theory plays a fundamental role in this study. It will enable the researcher develop analytical tools that adequately capture the psychological, societal and environmental variables that determine what an individual does with information acquired from media. In fact unlike other theories, it broadens the scope of analysis by emphasizing on the role of an active rational audience who selects and consumes content of his/her convenience. The byproducts of this are actions undertaken by individuals suggesting mimicry or exchange of roles. Gratifications sought and those obtained despite being individualistic provide an angle for the researcher to review actions of a dissident audience in the society (that) whose have metamorphasized and grown in complexity, frequency and boldness.

1.8 Hypotheses

1. 9/11 attacks increased televised themes of terrorism in films and TV series.
2. Cinematic illusions, themes and actions have increased the vulnerability of weak states national security.
3. The inadequacies of industry regulations and progressive security reforms have impeded the efficiency of national security efforts in Kenya.

1.9 Methodology

Methodology entails systematic scientific procedures followed while undertaking research. This section entails an outline of how the acquired data for the study. The first part describes the design and elaborates on the techniques used. The second part describes the study sample, the mode of data collection and analysis.

1.9.1 Research Design

This is a strategy of how the research intends to acquire data. The study will utilize descriptive design with a case study on the impact post 9/11 film and TV series has on a weak state on the impact of post 9/11 film and TV series on weak states. New perspectives were highly targeted through the use of open ended questions for primary data. The respondents expressed themselves adequately and revealed to the researcher more information relevant to the study.

1.9.2 Qualitative approach

The study analyzed various themes captured on past 9/11 film and TV content and examine their impact either adversely or positively on the national security of Kenya in a region surrounded by weak and failing states. Testimonials will be sought from various sources which will be compared against these themes alongside their effect on Kenya. The dominant theme will further be tested on how it relates with the current state of country of Kenya.

1.9.3 Study Site

The study site was in Nairobi as it hosts quite number of large screen outlets together with a flourishing industry of movie outlets thus it was chosen as the site to draw the sample from.

1.9.4 Data Collection Methods

The study utilized a mixture of open ended and closed questions in its questionnaires. The open ended questions were used to obtain respondents perspectives in order to better inform the study. Secondary data was collected by analyzing literature in academic journals, periodicals, books, newspapers and magazines. TV programs, movies and documentaries were also used as a source of information. The researcher settled to examine programs, documentaries and movies that had integrated government responses to the 9/11 attack and continuously made reference to post 9/11 security phenomena not only in the USA but the world at large. Thus two programs were examined notably 24 and Homeland.

1.9.5 Sample Design

The study employed purposive sampling in order to gather factual information based on interest, background and the exposure of the respondents. The sample size was be 100 respondents with key emphasis on religious and gender diversity. The interviews were conducted using a questionnaire.

1.9.6 Data analysis

The data collected was first coded, an exercise that includes giving all statements numeric significance on their meaning for ease of analysis and interpretation.

1.10 Scope and Limitations

1.10.1 Scope

Due to the nature of the study, it sought to examine the content produced as from September 11, 2001 to 2014. This guided the researcher to establish the dominant themes that run through the films and programs while examining the domestic security trends that have shaped Kenya's national policy. The study was localized around the Nairobi area as it has increasingly witnessed terror attacks at varying proportions and scale. In addition, the researcher will examine domestic television and cinematic content produced within this same period and attempt to establish its impact on the national security of the country.

1.10.2 Limitations

Issues related to national security are highly sensitive and remain classified therefore the researcher may inadequately find respondents within government institutions who can describe the policies, trends and patterns that have shaped Kenya post 9/11. In addition, due to financial and time constraints, the researcher may be unable to interview the respondents and conclusively draw objective solutions. Thirdly, due to the country's ethno and social divisions, the researcher anticipates personal testimonies of discontent of one social group over the other. And finally, the researcher anticipates finding respondents who are not tuned to popular culture.

1.11 Chapter Outline

This study is organized in five chapters. Chapter 1 contains introduction, statement of the problem, research objectives, justification of the study, definition of concepts, methodology, and review of literature which aided understanding of factors that influence security policies in weak states. Chapter two has an outline on the background of the issues that affect Kenya's national security. It provides the historical context that aids in the appreciation and understanding of the various dynamics that have influenced Kenya's security since 1997. Chapter three examines the dominant themes associated with terrorism in post 9/11 era and an analysis of the outcomes. Chapter four examines the impact of post 9/11 film and television themes on national security of Kenya. Chapter five contains summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

POST 9/11 FILM AND TV CONTENT

2.1 Introduction

Volumes of literature have been produced on how 9/11 attack was covered by the media. Researchers delved deeper to examine the impact certain phrases, words and terms had pre and post the attack. A significant amount of studies concluded that the 9/11 attacks had ushered in an era where national security was to be championed robustly and its elements packaged and conveyed as widely and efficiently via media sites and other platforms. Global agenda focused on combating Islamic fundamentalism and its spread against western interests. States found themselves under immense domestic and international pressure to implement security laws that controversially necessitated debates on security and liberties.

On another front, American production franchises took up the new threat and elevated its depiction from where it had been abandoned after the collapse of the USSR.⁹¹ Many production companies shelved, redirected or hastened the production of films and documentaries that had a bearing on a post 9/11 world era.⁹² This is the focus of the study, the examination of systematic processes which were undertaken to embed post 9/11 anxiety, frustrations and paranoia into visual films and arts. Scholars' attempts to understand this genre were overwhelmed by the unrealized implications these productions had on communities around the United States via a vis trends and patterns in the international milieu.

Jack Shaheen notes that the spread of stereotypes against Muslims grew because of the continuous screening of Muslims especially in Middle East and Northern Africans villains in many productions.⁹³ Yun Tin notes that Americans grew more and more receptive to action movies that had Middle Eastern villains than those acted by western once as it resonated with current global occurrences.⁹⁴ In addition post 9/11 film content has grown to reveal more details

⁹¹Mesic, M. (2011).The perception of Islam and Muslims in the media and the responsibility of the European Muslims towards the Media.

⁹²Tin, Y. (2008). Jack Bauer Syndrome: Hollywood's depiction of national security law. Southern California Interdisciplinary Law Journal , 279-299.

⁹³Shaheen, J. G. (2016). Hollywood's Bad Arabs. Cairo Review, 85-97.

⁹⁴ibid

about an attack despite the threat of one imitating and launching an attack of similar make and structure. Media as the leading source of information has been cited to be influential in cognitive processes of an individual. Philip Hammond explains that various films actually attract professional viewership since they have a constructive input in their daily practices.⁹⁵

It therefore follows that two results emanate from such viewership. When a lawyer watches *Boston Legal*⁹⁶, *the Practices*⁹⁷ or *Suits*⁹⁸, he/she may be seeking to gratify his/her needs in the form of cross-interrogation tactics as depicted in the programs. Another example is a medical practitioner watching *House*⁹⁹, *ER*¹⁰⁰ or *Grays Anatomy*¹⁰¹, the gratification sought and acquired can be ranked with professional needs trumping entertainment. Similarly, a crime scene investigator who follows *CSI New York*¹⁰², *NCSI*¹⁰³, or *Elementary*¹⁰⁴ will take note of the professionalism and systematic collection and presentation of evidence in order to attain a successful conviction.

Liberalization of the industry consequently led to increased space in both content and outlets enabling producers to tap into more controversial production themes like nudity, crime and violence. Complex plotting in these films provides a chance to the production companies to take the audience via simulated realities surrounding gang violence, terror cells, child trafficking, drug and counterfeit smuggling among others. It's therefore within reason to argue that the gratification sought by deviant groups would be acquired from watching films which features such themes.

Amid such concerns are the growing numbers of deaths due to violent crime. A series such as *Dexter*¹⁰⁵, *The Following*¹⁰⁶ or *Castle*¹⁰⁷ would attract a particular audience of serial killers looking to enhance their acts and evade police custody. It has been noted also that programs that

⁹⁵Hammond, P. (n.d.). Screening the war on terror.

⁹⁶Kelly, D. (Director). (2004-2008). *Boston Legal* [Motion Picture].

⁹⁷Kelly, D. (Director). (1997-2004). *The Practise* [Motion Picture].

⁹⁸Korch, A. (Director). (2011). *Suits* [Motion Picture].

⁹⁹Shore, D. (Director). (2004-2012). *House M.D* [Motion Picture].

¹⁰⁰Crinchot, M. (Director). (2006-2009). *ER* [Motion Picture].

¹⁰¹Rhimes, S. (Director). (2005). *Grays Anatomy* [Motion Picture].

¹⁰²Anthony, Z., Ann, D., & Carol, M. (Directors). (2004-2013). *CSI:NY* [Motion Picture].

¹⁰³Donald, B., & Don, M. (Directors). (2003). *NCIS* [Motion Picture].

¹⁰⁴Doherty, R. (Director). (2012). *Elementary* [Motion Picture].

¹⁰⁵Doherty, R. (Director). (2012). *Elementary* [Motion Picture].

¹⁰⁶Williamson, K. (Director). (2013-2015). *The Following* [Motion Picture].

¹⁰⁷Marlowe, A. (Director). (2009-2016). *Castle* [Motion Picture].

highlight gang violence resulted to an increase in violent attacks in certain California neighborhoods.¹⁰⁸ The resultant need by the public would be a campaign to demand for better security and a curb to gang violence.

However the most dramatic of productions affected by 9/11 was the increased production of terror oriented films in the action drama categories. The proliferation of such films by production houses highlighted the growing demand and agency of presenting to the audience a threat they could relate to in a post 9/11 era. Indeed the attacks steered global attention out of the sphere of communism and degraded films with Soviet vs USA themes inferior and bypassed by security and political developments. Terror films grew in popularity since audiences would relate everyday breaking news with them.

The responsive character in which Hollywood reacted is explained better by Philip Hammond who observes that directors agreed to champion USA counter terrorism response leading to early releases of programs such as *The Unit*¹⁰⁹, *Travellers*¹¹⁰, *24*¹¹¹, *E-Ring*¹¹² and *Homeland*¹¹³. In this study the researcher focuses on 24 and Homeland and will discuss their elements in subsequent sections.

As noted earlier, an active audience signifies the independence of the individual to use the information acquired for his own gratification.¹¹⁴ This is also seen in the two programs noted above. Military tactics used by government agents and agencies to counter violent extremism is packaged in a 45 minute long episode loaded with assassination plots, bomb making techniques, decision making in a crisis among other scenarios. To a security analyst, they provide a window of seeing how other states utilize their security installations to arrest or deter a threat by either a state or non-state actor. On the other hand, say a terrorist, these films may provide essential information that enables them craft and execute attacks without detection.

¹⁰⁸Tin, Y. (2008). Jack Bauer Syndrome: Hollywood's depiction of national security law. *Southern California Interdisciplinary Law Journal*, 279-299.

¹⁰⁹Mamet, D. (Director). (2006-2009). *The Unit* [Motion Picture].

¹¹⁰DiGilio, D. (Director). (2007). *Traveller* [Motion Picture].

¹¹¹Surnow, J. (Director). (2001-2007). *24* [Motion Picture].

¹¹²Ken, R., & David, M. (Directors).(2005-2006). *E-Ring* [Motion Picture].

¹¹³Howard, G., & Alex, G. (Directors).(2011). *Homeland* [Motion Picture].

¹¹⁴ *ibid*

An example of this is the TV series *Persons of Interest* whose season finale airs in 2016 sparked debates during its season 1 by revisiting the USA mass surveillance system program to collect and filter out threats within the public. The 'system' operates in secrecy as it violets privacy of the USA citizens through listening in on the cellular conversation, sieving through their emails, personal accounts thereafter, it runs a threat matrix and depending on the credibility of the threat, either notifies authorities or ignores them as being petty crimes. Audiences often find themselves in support of this system as a panacea to protecting the USA national interests. Hence, sophisticated technology, combat skills, handling of weapons and inter agency bureaucracy paints a realistic picture of a post 9/11 era. Similarly, government responses to a crisis is illustrated, coupled with the infinite use of technology, using of criminal aliases, gang and mafia relations will appeal to deviant societies more and more.

2.2 Representation of 9/11 and its Impact on Content

Action and drama films and serials have fallen victim to immense criticism especially those that have adopted storylines on counter terrorism. This is to mean that despite wide viewership, the depiction of events and representation of minorities has largely been done the western way. Edward Said defines this as Orientalism which is the creation of a dichotomy between the western and eastern cultures whereby the first dominates the latter and where the east is visualized as the west's *other* and the source of its identity.¹¹⁵ In response, scholars led by Jack Shaheen have analyzed various productions and concluded that Hollywood films knowingly side-lined and stereotyped Arabs in these productions.¹¹⁶ He further notes that upon watching such films, audiences are made to sympathize and conclude that Arabs and Islam is a propagating threat to their own security as simulated in the films.¹¹⁷ Yun Tin asserts that Hollywood has always stereotyped Arabs as blonde-loathing sheikhs and potential terrorists.¹¹⁸ Production houses distanced themselves from the USSR tales and quickly picked up the emerging threat as the millennium turned in. Hollywood was thus invited to carry out a

¹¹⁵Said, E. (1987). *Orientalism*. London: Penguin Group.

¹¹⁶Shaheen, J. (2000). *Hollywood's Muslim Arabs*. *The Muslim World*, 22-41.

¹¹⁷ *ibid*

¹¹⁸ Tin, Y. (2008). *Jack Bauer Syndrome: Hollywood's depiction of national security law*. *Southern California Interdisciplinary Law Journal* , 279-299.

propagandist role of USA foreign imperialist agendas.¹¹⁹ The starting point for this campaign was defining the new threat in terms which viewers could relate too. This often led to hiring Arab actors and actresses to act as villains and play strategic roles which would lead an American hero saving the day. It's undisputed that after the attack, the terms Muslim and terrorist become synonymous in many western countries.¹²⁰ Therefore a large number of Hollywood films have perpetuated a damaging image of Arabs and contributed to generating cultural misconceptions about them.¹²¹ It's therefore follows that Hollywood is producing movies with villains that audiences will accept and hence, reflects general societal views and biases.¹²²

Mirza Mersic argues that in the era of communication, war begins and ends with the media.¹²³ Thus the media associates the threat of terrorism to Islam as fundamentalism, extremisms and radicalism. She further notes that the sense of threat of Islam cultural identity is enhanced by a predominant feeling that a secular and powerful west imposes its values upon the Muslim world.¹²⁴ Ouidyore Elonardaoni criticizes this approach as it focuses on presenting certain types of cultural realities instead of a holistic and deeper approach.¹²⁵ Also, it's noted that the use of Arab villains amounts to a blanket solution that assumes that all Middle Eastern inhabitants are Muslims, Arabs and terrorists.¹²⁶ Where attempts have been made to distinguish the various types of cultures in the MENA region, villains in films are seen to frequently evoke the Quran to justify their actions, praying towards Mecca and calling out 'Allah'. This defeats attempts to detach Muslim men and women as terrorists.¹²⁷

¹¹⁹Mesic, M. (n.d.). The perception of Islam and Muslims in the media and the responsibility of the European Muslims towards the Media.

¹²⁰Mesic, M. (2011). The perception of Islam and Muslims in the media and the responsibility of the European Muslims towards the Media.

¹²¹ibid

¹²²Tin, Y. (2008). Jack Bauer Syndrome: Hollywood's depiction of national security law. Southern California Interdisciplinary Law Journal , 279-299.

¹²³ibid

¹²⁴ibid

¹²⁵Elouardaoui, O. (2011). Arabs in Post-9/11 Hollywood Films: A move towards a more realistic depiction, Purdue University.

¹²⁶ibid

¹²⁷ibid

As a response to this unpopular role, Yun Tin notes that many actors of Arab dissent are turning down offers to act as villains in various production houses across the USA.¹²⁸ The absence of Arab-American actors portraying Arab characteristics could be part of a dismissive attitude towards Arab and Muslim cultures.¹²⁹ Since Arabs have committed the most terror attacks against western interests since the 1980s, failure to depict sufficient of Arabs participating in countering terrorism will diminish campaigns to have Middle Eastern allies in the war on terror.¹³⁰

In most of these productions, it's revealed that terrorism is molded from an infancy stage through youth or from a mere victim of USA actions in the Middle East to a hard core terror without offering opportunities for them to dismiss their acts. Such scenes end up diminishing the efforts by counter terrorism strategies to tap into moderate and potential terrorists and offer them a legal way to express their dissent. In films such as *24*, *E-Ring* and *Homeland*, children are first presented to the audience as indifferent beings forced to follow their strict ideology of a relative with jihadist ambitions. They are tossed around from scene to scene via life changes that increase their hatred towards the USA.

Conversely, despite stereotyping, Hollywood films have been seen to carry foreign policy agendas from the west to the east and around. Michael Suleiman notes that Hollywood representation of the Middle East embedded and flowed with foreign policy realities of the USA across time.¹³¹ Suleiman further states that Hollywood stereotyping of Arabs further persists with the concept of 'others' in order to segregate them as primitive, backward and need the continued assistance of the USA.¹³² Sina Muscarti further posits that Hollywood orchestrated its outfit to echo USA foreign agenda in MENA that included, its support for Israel, advancing its oil interests, stemming undemocratic regimes critical of the USA and isolating Iran from the international political economy.¹³³ These agendas have featured immensely on *24* and *Homeland*.

¹²⁸ibid

¹²⁹Brigitte, N. (2006). The Portrayal of female terrorists in the media: Similar framing patterns in news coverage of women in politics and in terrorism. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*.

¹³⁰Arti, S. (2007). The evolution of Hollywood's representation of Arabs before 9/11: the relationship between political events and the notion of 'otherness'. *MeCCSA Postgraduate Network*, 1-17.

¹³¹ibid

¹³²ibid

¹³³ibid

2.2.1 Homeland

Homeland was first released in 2014 as an action drama introducing viewers to the turmoil a prisoner of war under went in the custody of enemy combatants and even upon the release of Sgt. Browdy, adjusting back home become quite difficult attracting the suspicion of C.I.A intelligence analyst Carry Matheson.¹³⁴ Throughout the series, strategies to combat the home land involve sanctioning illegal surveillance systems, drone attacks and active assassination attempts. Consequent seasons have captured trends and patterns in global security including Snowden Leaks, Iran nuclear ambitions, and American military intervention in the Middle East.¹³⁵

In contrast to other seasons within the production time, Homeland has been praised for its attention to detail and in fact, within the production crew, there is a liaison officer attached with the C.I.A who enables the team present issues as accurate and timely as they happen in reality. This has led to the show being voted on several occasions due to its popularity not only in the USA but across Europe. Additionally the season has provided a glimpse of practical solutions to external threats and the large influence of the intelligence community on both security and foreign policy. Homeland's unique cinematography has exposed essential tactics utilized by law enforcement officers in the west whereby they have the capacity to predict, simulate and control situations as compared to weak states whose encounter with such scenarios places them at a much greater risk.

2.2.2 24

24 TV series probably evoked most debate than any other program in a post 9/11 context. It features Jack Bauer a CTU (Counter Terrorism Unit agent) who in 24 hours of a day deters and arrests multiple threats against the US. In doing so, there is a complex interplay of diplomatic strains between the USA government and foreign powers such as Russia, China, Britani and Mexico. In most instances, he sacrifices family and personal relationships to execute his mandate which frequently involves breaking laws to have it done. The purpose of using this TV show as the focus of the researcher's survey is necessitated by the fact that out of nine seasons, it dedicated five where terror attacks were orchestrated by Islamic extremists. In season 5 in

¹³⁴ Howard, G., & Alex, G. (Directors).(2011). Homeland [Motion Picture].

¹³⁵ ibid

particular, they successfully launch a nuclear dirty bomb In the middle of Los Angles city.¹³⁶ In addition to this, the season has heavily embedded USA policy on security and foreign issues. Issues of concern can be seen to take shape right from the first season to season six where forceful interrogation and torture is widely used across security departments and levels as a way of extracting information from a suspect. However from season seven, after the enforcement of the universal charter against torture, the program switches its methodology and screens optional and more humane interrogation skills. 24 further illustrate the various forms and causes of terrorism and the possible options terror groups may result to. This is done by having a sophisticated story line that involves sleeper cells, lone wolves, international criminal links with access to professional services such as legal services which were frequently used to verify immunity deals, the program also featured radicalization and indoctrination, sophisticated wire transfers and use of technology such as an EMP and cyber warfare.¹³⁷

2.3 Dominant Themes in Post 9/11 Content

Hollywood continues to portray global anxieties and insecurities in various visual forms. One of the most persistent is highlighting the trends and patterns of international terrorism. This has been well captured in both Homeland and 24. Creative plots enable the production crew to conceptualize various forms of threats, mold them into a storyline and screen it with at most attention to detail. In most instances, films are used for entertainment purposes whilst this is expected, the screening of more vivid details have evoked fears of malice and misuse by dissident groups that may empower terror groups for instance . This explains the rise in crime with complex strategies such as the Westgate siege, Garissa University Attack and Mpeketoni. In the west, counter terrorism resources may be easily accessed or redirected as compared to debt ridden weak states whose own capacities to defend themselves from internal and external sieges are compromised.

That being noted, the most influential trends are the rapid changes and sophistication of telecommunication services and technological advancements that transcend borders and cut costs of operations. In 24 seasons four, the terrorists are highly dependent of satellite phones

¹³⁶ Joel,S. (Director).(2006). 24 [Motion Picture].

¹³⁷ Joel,S. (Director).(2005,2009,2010). 24 [Motion Picture].

which appear to have encoders that hide their reception for anonymity.¹³⁸ This is not the case in season eight where they exploit the dark web to communicate freely whilst protecting their anonymity.¹³⁹ Such exploitation of the internet has been further witnessed by terror groups using them to approach, recruit and indoctrinate sympathizers in social media. This has strained security organs tracing down aliases and platforms where such activities are been undertaken by these terror groups leading to mass exodus of citizens not only in Kenya but in northern Africa to the Middle East to fight jihad.

Thirdly, both films elaborate the various scenarios externally radicalized suspects who move into the USA, take up residence, pay their taxes and be normal neighbors use. The sleeper cells feature is essential as it illustrates the challenges a state offering safe haven to refugees from states undergoing turmoil. Terror cells are able to mimic and execute such tact's to evade capture or detection. Kenya for instance finds itself in such a security dilemma where intelligence reports constantly reveal significant numbers of youths making their way into Somalia, getting radicalized and trained and then coming back to Kenya to carry out attacks. Similarly, the concept of a lone wolf has further been explained in Homeland where the two soldiers, despite being members of a larger cell carry out coordinated attacks to kill the vice president.¹⁴⁰

Us vs them

Many post 9/11 films and serials have displayed this theme more dominantly than the rest. Jack Shaheen refers to it as orientalism, i.e. the domination of cultures by the west and its depiction against barbaric rituals, history and society.¹⁴¹ In fact, a lot of resentment has built up over the years regarding the degradation of Islamic beliefs and its followers. In both TV programs, the greatest threat against the USA is posed by violent extremism. Thus the tone and use of words to describe Arab world is coupled with ignorance, vulgate and a complete lack of knowledge on the diversity of the region. It follows therefore that the problem is transposed from onscreen to the day to day lives of ordinary citizens within weak states. Terror attacks often lead to frustrations within the minority groups who ruminatively fight back leading to deaths and injuries.¹⁴² The

¹³⁸ Joel,S. (Director).(2005). 24 [Motion Picture].

¹³⁹ Joel,S. (Director).(2010). 24 [Motion Picture].

¹⁴⁰ Howard, G., & Alex, G. (Directors).(2011). Homeland [Motion Picture].

¹⁴¹ Shaheen, J. (2000). Hollywood's Muslim Arabs. The Muslim World, P 22-41.

¹⁴² Joel,S. (Director).(2010). 24 [Motion Picture].

growing intolerance between religions in weak states is leading to inter religious conflicts. An example of this is in the Central African Republic in 2014 which witnessed a protracted war between Christians and Muslims. It therefore follows that audiences in weak states should challenge such representation since it is ill informed and malicious to their unity and growth. This however remains a challenge due to the media gap between the east and west characterized by over flow of content that degrades the value of indigenous productions.

Militaristic tactics and covert operations

In Numerous instances, security agents have been accused of responding with extreme force that is not commensurate to the crime or threat posed. This often leads to deaths and injuries of innocent civilians. In programs, extreme military force and tactics are seen used during neutralizing a threat and interrogation. Similarly, covert operations have been widely used as their overall nature is made feasible by secrecy. In the clandestine community, shadowy agents monitor, gather, analyze and share intelligence with policy makers for decision making. This warrants the use of covert operations which often thrill the audience as its successes are more constructive than the bureaucratic cogs and wheels. However, in weak states, covert operations have been blamed for the purposeful disappearances of witness and suspects.¹⁴³ It is not surprising that they may resort to doing so, in 24 and Homeland; the terrorists are secretly snatched from their bases of operations and taken to secret government facilities where they are subjected to torture and interrogation. In doing so, it is assumed that whatever information they have will go into deterring or arresting the threat posed to the state and in the long run, they are able to extract credible information that goes into this agenda.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³A report by Kenya National Commission on Human Rights published in 2014 titled 'Are we under siege? The state of security in Kenya'

¹⁴⁴Howard, G., & Alex, G. (Directors).(2011). Homeland [Motion Picture].

CHAPTER THREE

WEAK STATES, NATIONAL SECURITY AND KENYA

3.1 Introduction

September 11 attack marked a moment in history that changed the course of the 21st century in its entirety. One of the effects was the growth of interest by researchers to describe, explain and predict security threats emanating from the developing world and their impact on global security. On this premise, the researcher will restrict himself to the perceived threat of terrorism and its explanatory variables. Terrorism will be analyzed as by product of repressive regimes, underdevelopment and Islamic fundamentalism that continues to define the Horn of Africa.¹⁴⁵ Therefore, this chapter will be divided into three segments, the first will examine the literature on weak states, the second section will review the concept of security and finally, the third section will attempt to contextualize Kenya's vulnerability in the region.

3.2 Weak States

Despite concerted effort to describe and have a uniformed, structured and grounded platform to define weak states, intellectual discourses continue to vary on their characteristics and differences with failed states, collapsed states and so on. Since conceptualization, 'weak state' has been kept at such a broad level that no attempt has been made to break it down into categories in order to create groupings or clusters of state for comparative purposes.¹⁴⁶ Michael Handel explains his dissatisfaction by earlier scholars such as Rotberg, Rice and Stewart noting that the concept of weak states has no precision and is difficult to employ as a means of understanding foreign behavior.¹⁴⁷ However, this has not limited developed states from attributing threats in the 21st century largely coming from states viciously described as weak, failing precarious, in crisis, collapsed, fragile and vulnerable.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁵ The Horn of Africa is composed of Djibouti, Sudan, Eritrea, Somalia, Kenya and Ethiopia

¹⁴⁶ Barston, R. (1981). Review, Weak Staes in the International System. *International Affairs*, 318.

¹⁴⁷ *ibid*

¹⁴⁸ Wyler, L. S. (2008). Weak & Failing States: Evolving security threats to US policy. *Congresssional Research Service*.p.2

To address this deficiency in literature, the researcher examines the idea of the state separately and fuses its attributes with perceived weakness in global politics. In doing so Samuel Larson examines the works of Buzan and Weber in an attempt to clearly demarcate this concept. He echoes the methodological problems related in studies on weak states due to their variations in history, demography, geography, socio-economic and political conditions resolving to generalities.¹⁴⁹ He continues that sovereignty is the best premise of describing state weakness as it is pegged on the modern state's Westphalia treaty.¹⁵⁰ He continues that Weberian state model offers an inclusive and accommodating sphere of reference to describe state weakness than Buzan's state model triangle whose principled are pillared by 3 items notably, the idea of the state, institutional expression and the principle base.¹⁵¹ In his criticism, Buzan should have offered a more complex that could withstand vigorous examination such as a state that lacked one pillar but projected strength in the other two, what would be made of such a state?, to Larson, this is a methodological dead end.

Stephen D. Krasner expounds on Weber's sovereignty, and provides taxonomy of it. This strengthens a working base in an attempt to describe a state without comparing it to ambiguous terms such as strong states, mighty or otherwise term. In his analysis, he defines sovereignty in four segments. Firstly, the idea of a state and its independence (Westphalia State), secondly, a domestic ruler with a single hierarchy of authority, thirdly, control over trans-border movements and finally, political units that can undertake international interactions and enter into agreements.¹⁵²

It follows therefore, that after establishing sovereignty as an acceptable measure of describing a state; Jean Germaine Gros provides criteria on the various types of states depending on their accumulation or distribution of sovereign power. He initiates his description by noting that an anarchic state is one that has no central authority such as Somalia and Liberia during the civil war. Mirage states on the other hand are those whose public authority are structured and administered in select parts on the country where elites live and undertake their businesses. Anemic states provide basic utilities and functions but are unable to do this effectively due to

¹⁴⁹Larson, S. (2003). Weak States? A pursuit for a weak state definition & feasible reconstruction theories.p.4

¹⁵⁰ Ibid p.6

¹⁵¹ Ibid

¹⁵² Ibid p.8

counter insurgency or the lack of resources. Gros further noted that a captured state is one whose failure is due to corrosive decisions made by the elites based on ethnicity, class and kinship. Finally, the last criterion of weak states is an aborted state which is one that never developed its institutions upon transition into independence.¹⁵³ With the above criteria, Krasner fails to describe the infamous weak state and assumes that their characteristics can be drawn from the successive degradation of governance from any of the five states above. This however, will be engaging in the same generalities Larson warns of.

Susan Rice and Stewart Patrick elevated this debate and provided one of the most inclusive characteristics of a weak state. They argue that weak states lack essential capacity to fulfill four main functions. Firstly, weak states lack the capacity to provide a suitable environment for development, they lack legitimate transparent, transparent and accountable institutions, they are prone to both external and internal violence and conflict and finally, they are unable to provide basic human needs to their populations.¹⁵⁴ They further note that a state strength or weakness is a function of its effectiveness, responsiveness and legitimacy across a range of government activities.¹⁵⁵ Laura Sun Wyler also argues that state weakness is an erosion of state capacity characterized by graduation of a regime's ability to govern effectively which in its most extreme form result to the complete collapse of state power and functions.¹⁵⁶ She notes further that there isn't a definite path to such collapse but a gradual yet persistent institutional decay and political instability.¹⁵⁷ Atike Abubarkar on the other hand argues that weak states have structured inequality whose components are visible economically, socially and politically.¹⁵⁸

Various other scholars have attempted to provide more inclusive characteristics of weak states such as Chazan who notes that they inhibit scarcity of resources, political patterns of social differentiation, over expanded state structures, insufficient state legitimacy, inadequate state power and lack of adoption of alien institutions.¹⁵⁹ Similarly, Mier and Rauch provide an economic outlook of state weakness. They note that weak states have low levels of education,

¹⁵³ Ibid p.9

¹⁵⁴ Rice, S., & Stewart, P. (2008). *Index of weak states in the developing world*. Brookings Institute. P.3

¹⁵⁵ Ibid p.3

¹⁵⁶ Wyler, L. S. (2008). *Weak & Failing States: Evolving security threats to US policy*. *Congressional Research Service*.p.4

¹⁵⁷ Ibid p.8

¹⁵⁸ Jennifer, A. A., & Voku, S. T. (2003). An Empirical Profile of Weak States in Sub-Saharan Africa. *CODESRIA*, 168-185.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid

income, have an absentee entrepreneurial class, heavy dependence on primary agricultural sector and has a small domestic market with poor operating mechanisms.¹⁶⁰

After establishing common attributes of weak states, the threat posed by them becomes significantly well understood. James Fearon and David Leitin note that even before 9/11, the world was changing in such a way that the main security threats and were emerging not from great power competitors such as Russia, China and USA but from the consequence of political disorder, misrule and humiliation in the third world.¹⁶¹ He further explains that that these problems have a character of ‘public bad’ due to the interconnectivity of the globe brought about by globalization.¹⁶² Condoleezza Rice also notes that weak and failing states pose unparalleled danger to the USA serving as a global pathway that facilitates the movement of criminals and terrorists and the proliferation of world’s most dangerous weapons.¹⁶³ Perhaps the most refined justification why weak states pose a threat to global peace and security is provided by Samuel Larson noting they are anomalies in the international order whose government’s persistently violate human rights and due to their inability to safeguard their borders, criminals and dissidents groups use them as recruiting, training and launching stations.¹⁶⁴

Rice and Patrick further posit that weak states can fall prey to and spawn a host of transnational threats including terrorism, weapons proliferation, organized crime, infectious diseases, environmental degradation and civil conflict that spill over borders and thus need a refined and reorganized USA policy.¹⁶⁵ In a post 9/11 era, the threat posed to global peace and security in Islamic fundamentalism and its elements from weak states. In focus, this study will narrow down to the Horn of Africa and Kenya. Jackie Cillers noted that while there are a few failed and collapsed states in Africa, most African states are weak as governance has contracted rather than expanded in the recent decades coupled with the acute economic crisis experienced in the continent.¹⁶⁶ However, even with weak infrastructure and governance system, terrorists and criminal gangs also operate in relatively developed states due to the opportunities in transport,

¹⁶⁰ ibid

¹⁶¹James , F., & David , L. (2004). Neotrusteeship & the proble of weak states. *International Security*, p.6

¹⁶² ibid

¹⁶³Wylar, L. S. (2008). Weak & Failing States: Evolving security threats to US policy. *Congressional Research Service*.p.9

¹⁶⁴Larson, S. (2003). Weak States? A pursuit for a weak state definition & feasible reconstruction theories.p.14

¹⁶⁵Rice, S., & Stewart, P. (2008). *Index of weak states in the developing world*. Brookings Institute. P.3

¹⁶⁶Cillers, J. (2004). Human Security in Africa: A conceptual Framework for Review. *AHSI*.p.21

money system, communication and technology. This was echoed in a CIA policy brief that terrorists operate in both caves and condos.¹⁶⁷ This being said, our analysis here is to identify the starting point and opportune moments in the chain of terror that includes motives, reasons, and an environment that harbors these operations.

The horn of Africa particularly is special to this study as Peter Kagwanja provides four reasons why the region is a battle ground for terror. Firstly, is its geopolitical and historical proximity with the Middle East that has accelerated the influence of Islamic fundamentalism in the region from groups such as Al Qaeda that operates in Yemen, Syria and Iraq. Secondly, the countries are predominantly Muslim or have Muslim minorities, thirdly the expansion of domestic space has led to activism inspired by radical Islamic ideas and finally is the chronic mixture of endemic poverty, and marginalization and underdevelopment has given rise to dissident and disfranchised youth vulnerable to radicalization.¹⁶⁸ Princeton and Morison equally observe that the Horn of Africa is home to interlocking conflicts, weak and failing states presence of corruption and extreme poverty.¹⁶⁹ The persistence of this condition has further elevated the state of insecurity over the years both regionally and internationally.

3.3 National Security

Arnold Wolfers argues that security is used to encompass so many goals that there isn't any universal understanding of the concept.¹⁷⁰ National security as a term has been used by traditionalists to describe states actions intended to protect its vital interests and core values. The emphasis on the state echoes the competitive and hierarchical distribution of power in the international system that consequently leads to a security dilemma. Larson notes that these units, being political leviathans create two conditions, of domestic peace and also war.¹⁷¹ However over the decades, depending on people's idea, culture and perception of reality, the term security gets a different value. According to Kennan, national security is the continued ability of the country to pursue the development of its internal life without interference or threat of interference

¹⁶⁷Wylter, L. S. (2008). Weak & Failing States: Evolving security threats to US policy. *Congressional Research Service*.p.10

¹⁶⁸Kagwanja, P. (n.d.). Counter-Terrorism in the Horn of Africa: New Security Frontier, Old Strategies. *African Security Review*.p.6

¹⁶⁹Princeton, L., & Stephen, M. (2004). The Terrorist Threat In Africa. *Foreign Affairs*, p.76.

¹⁷⁰Leffler, M. (1990). National Security. *The Journal of American History*, p144.

¹⁷¹Larson, S. (2003). Weak States? A pursuit for a weak state definition & feasible reconstruction theories.p.11

by foreign powers.¹⁷² As noted earlier, realism transposes national interests to tenets and components of national security ranging from military power, territorial integrity, economic processes and resource development. This contrasts with idealists' notion of collective security which entails a joint decision of states to balance in solidarity their interests and differences and reducing uncertainty and aggressive behavior among themselves. Melvin Leffler also notes that national security is the intricate interaction between political, economic, military, ideological, and social internal and external factors that a state attempts to ensure acceptable provisions to maintain their sovereignty, territorial integrity, physical survival of its population, political independence and possibilities for a balanced and rapid social development.¹⁷³

Having established the components of national security, the Horn of Africa provide a delicate predicament for its existence. Angel Rabasa discusses these challenges in light of the more radical Islamism in the region. She notes, weak governance and collapsed state, alternative power center, prevalence of an informal economy, porous borders, wide spread access to illegal weapons, proximity to the Arabian peninsula and operational access to attack venues has persistently degraded counter terrorism efforts in the region.¹⁷⁴

This condition has been exploited by criminal organizations and terror groups across the region. Peterson and Morrison explain that violent Islamic groups have erupted in South Africa coupled with a criminal network in west and central Africa that launder money and trade in illicit diamonds to feed Al Qaeda operations in the continent.¹⁷⁵ Another challenge is the presence of small arms and light weapons that undermine efforts by law enforcement officers and as a whole diminishing the prospects for economic development throughout the region.

3.4 Kenya

Al Qaeda bomb attacks in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998 ushered in a new era of security concerns in East Africa linked to the perceived growth and interaction of domestic and transnational expressions of militant Islamism.¹⁷⁶ Subsequent years also saw the bombings of paradise beach in 2002 and these acts of terror spread to other East African States such as Uganda in 2011.

¹⁷²Kennan, G. (2011). *The Evolution of the Concept of Security*. Institute of Strategic Studies.p.2

¹⁷³Leffler, M. (1990). National Security. *The Journal of American History*, 143-152

¹⁷⁴Rabasa, A. (2009). Radical Islam in Est Africa. *Rand Corporation*.

¹⁷⁵Princeton, L., & Stephen, M. (2004). The Terrorist Threat In Africa. *Foreign Affairs*, p.76.

¹⁷⁶Haynes, J. (2005). Islamic Millitancy in East Africa. *Third World Quaterly*, p.1321.

Charles Stilth rightfully argues that the bombings were not just about terror but about territory in the sense of reducing America's field of influence.¹⁷⁷ He continues that Africa is an area of the world where American Interests are most vulnerable and where there is one of the best opportunities to defend and propagate values consistent with free market and democracy.¹⁷⁸ It therefore follows that the region has been the focus on several counter terrorism programs such as the East African Counter Terrorism Initiative (EACTI) and Counter Terrorism Joint Task Force of the Horn of Africa (CJTF-HOA).

Gilbert Khadiagala notes that for many years, US has considered the Horn of Africa as a source of global terrorism. In his analysis, he revisits the debate that seeks to establish whether Kenya is a soft target or a source of terrorism. He argues that as Al Qaeda depend on a decentralized and flexible chain of command and, radical Islamism has grown over the years in the country through actions of its cell Al Shabaab revealing exist of indigenous terrorist movements in Kenya.¹⁷⁹ A Kenya National Human Rights Commission report published in 2014 identified 5 critical factors that made Kenya both a source and a victim of violent extremism. The report listed high unemployment, poor working conditions of the police, endemic culture of corruption, poor inter agency coordination in intelligence and implementation of counter terrorism operations and resource based and politically driven conflicts all place the county at a position where its citizens can be attracted by recruiters.¹⁸⁰ Lauren Ploch further notes that boredom, idleness and thrill seeking impulses among the youth are push factors for extremism and when combined with feelings of marginalization and frustrated expectations stemming from the lack of opportunities makes them more susceptible to recruitment by Al Shabaab.¹⁸¹

In addition to this, western intelligence sources suggest that the growth of Islamic militant networks in East Africa was facilitated and promulgated by a shared sense of transnational Islamic identity that stems from long established historical, cultural, linguistic and trade tied to

¹⁷⁷Stilth, C. (2010). Radical Islam in East Africa. *The Annals of American Academy of Political & Social Science*, p.56.

¹⁷⁸ ibid

¹⁷⁹Khadiagala, G. (2004, January). Haven or Helpless victim of terrorism. *Terrorism in the horn of Africa*.p.3

¹⁸⁰ A report by Kenya National Commission on Human Rights published in 2014 titled 'Are we under siege? The state of security in Kenya'

¹⁸¹Ploch, L. (2010). *Countering Terrorism in Eat Africa: The U.S Response*. Washington D.C: Congressional Reserch Service.p.20

the Arab world.¹⁸² This influence incited Muslims along the coast of Mombasa to champion the creation of Islamic Party of Kenya (IPK) to advocate for political reforms in the country. However, due to its radical stance on sharia law and land resettlement, the government banned the party in 1992. This perceived marginalization of the community further led to the turning of Dadaab refugee camp into a training a recruitment venue for Al Shabaab.

Focus had also been placed on the funding of several Islamic organizations whose activities have warranted their closure by the government. Some Islamic NGOs in EA aim to spread political Islam at an accelerated rate combining faith and material awards among the disfranchised poor leading to an emerging tide of indigenous African fundamentalist movements.¹⁸³ Lauren Ploch argues that there has been consistent complexity in tactics by terrorists to exploit both the developed and developing states to create more effective bombs, and broaden their alliances. In her study, she echoes concerns raised in a UN report suggesting that improvised explosive devices used by Al Shabaab were becoming increasingly sophisticated as well as planning and execution of suicide bombings indicate a level of expertise reminiscent to Al Qaeda operations.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸² *ibid*

¹⁸³ *ibid*

¹⁸⁴ *ibid*

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND PRESENTATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses the results of the study in accordance with the stated specific objectives and respective methodologies.

4.2 Response Rate

The researcher prepared 100 questionnaires that were used for the field study. Out of the issued questionnaires, 87 questionnaires were adequately answered hence making a response rate of 87% for this study. This high return is testament that the issue under study is relevant to societal cohesion and implementation of national security policy. It also indicated that a large percent of Kenyans watch movies, programs and documentaries.

Table 4.1: Response Rate

| Response | Frequency | Percent (%) |
|-----------------|------------------|--------------------|
| Responded | 87 | 87 |
| Did not respond | 13 | 13 |
| Total | 100 | 100 |

4.3 General Information

The social and economic characteristics of the respondents were outlined in this section. These comprised of gender, age category, religion, effect of September 11 USA attack on the security of the country and the role of media in the fight against terror. The findings were presented below.

4.3.1 Gender

The study asked the respondents to indicate their gender in order to determine their distribution. The findings were presented in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Gender of the Respondents

| Gender | Frequency | Percent (%) |
|---------------|------------------|--------------------|
| Male | 63 | 72.4 |
| Female | 24 | 27.6 |
| Total | 87 | 100 |

Table 4.2 indicates that most of the respondents, 72.4%, were male while 27.6% were female. The findings therefore imply that most of the respondents who filled and returned the questionnaires were male respondents. From the above findings, the survey indicated that there are more male audiences of post 9/11 film and TV content than there are female audiences. This can be attributed to these films being sources of entrainment and information. Noting that more males watch these productions reinforces the fact that they are more exposed to themes as discussed earlier in chapter two than women leading to them being more influenced, inspired or motivated to learn, mimic and integrate ideas and tactics into the real world. This can be extended to understand why there are more male terror suspects and terrorists than female terrorists as the level of exposure varies across gender.

4.3.2 Age Category

In order to determine age distribution of the respondents, the study requested respondents to indicate their age category. The findings are presented in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3: Age Category of the Respondents

| Age Category | Frequency | Percent (%) |
|---------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| 16- 20 years | 9 | 10.3 |
| 21 - 25 Years | 42 | 48.3 |
| 26 - 30 years | 21 | 24.1 |
| 31 -35 years | 12 | 13.8 |
| 36 -40 years | 3 | 3.4 |
| Total | 87 | 100 |

The Table above shows that 48.3% of the respondents were from the age group of between 21 - 25 years, 24.1% were between the ages of 26 - 30 years, 13.8% between the ages of 31 – 35 years, 10.3% were of between the ages of 16-20 years while 3.4% of the respondents were of between the ages of 36-40 years. In overall, the findings show that majority of the surveyed population (86.2%) were within 20 and 35 years. These age groups are very active in watching TV programs and movies and therefore have knowledge on how film and TV content impact the National Security.

From the above statistics, post 9/11 content is predominantly more accessed by the youth than the elderly. These age bracket is characterized with high school leavers, college students and job seekers. It is worth noting that weak states have poor economic structures that enable business owners absorb skilled labor thus, desperation, marginalization and underdevelopment play a significant role in the indoctrination of the youth into radicalized extremism. Government agencies and donor partners have realized this deficiency and incorporated community based programs and youth funds that will deter or attract the youth to more constructive developmental initiatives curbing the surge of youthful recruits into terror organizations.

4.3.3 Religion

The respondents were asked to state their religion. The response was as shown in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4: Religion

| Religion | Frequency | Percent (%) |
|-----------------|------------------|--------------------|
| Christian | 63 | 72.4 |
| Muslim | 15 | 17.2 |
| Hindu | 6 | 6.9 |
| Other | 3 | 3.4 |
| Total | 87 | 100 |

On religion, majority of the respondents (72.4%) stated that they were Christians, 17.2% of the respondents were Muslim, and 6.9% were Hindu while 3.4% of the respondents indicated their religion as others. This implies that most of the respondents who were the audience of the September 9/11 in cinema and TV media were Christians.

4.3.4 Effect of September 11 USA Attack on the Security of the Country

The respondents were asked to indicate how the September 11 USA attack affected the security of the country. Most of the respondents indicated that the attacks negatively affected the country's foreign policies. Some of the respondents also indicated that the attacks affected economy, while a small percentage of the respondents indicated that the attacks affected foreign trade investments, Visa restrictions and instilled sense of insecurity respectively. As a result, this challenged security of most developing nations as a result of the heterogeneity of states in the international system. This was hastened due to the lack the economic, political and social stimulus in weak states that are required to enforce an effective anti-terror strategy. Thus, the main threats to international security emanate disproportionately from poorly governed states in the developing world.

4.3.5 Role of Media in the Fight against Terror

Furthermore, the study asked the respondents to indicate if they felt that the media has a role to play in the fight against terror. The findings are indicated in the Table below.

Table 4.5: Role of Media in Fighting Terror

| Media and Fight against Terror | Frequency | Percent (%) |
|---------------------------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| Yes | 60 | 69 |
| No | 27 | 31 |
| Total | 87 | 100 |

The response as shown in Table 4.5 indicates that 69% of the respondents agreed that media has a role to play in the fight against terror while 31% of the respondents did not. In terms of coverage and influence, media houses are uniquely positioned to dispel any misinformation or terror associate propaganda via a number of safeguards both in house and from industry regulators. By broadcasting objective and accurate information, media platforms are able to isolate terror organizations and limit the avenue in which they recruit, raise funds and spread propaganda. In addition, media houses can ensure that the international community receives information of an attack revealing only what is relevant to the public and may not hinder ongoing rescue disaster management operations. At this point, the lowest point of the Westgate attack was the live conversation of Al Shabaab spokesman and a news presenter of Al Jazeera English news network on the terror attack as it happened. Such a broadcast spread panic and ill-informed stories across the world compromising the rescue operation on the ground. From the above statistics, it is evident that citizens feel that the media should take up greater responsibility for what they produce.

4.4 Dominant Themes

This section covers information on the type of film (s) or TV series mostly watched, drastic impact on the security situation of Kenya, comparison of African content to Western Content in terms of quality, performance and viewership and the media gap between Africa and the west.

4.4.1 Type of Film (S) or TV Series Mostly Watched

The study sought to establish the type of film (s) or TV series mostly watched. The findings are presented in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6: Categories of Films

| Category | | Frequency | Percent (%) |
|----------------------------|-----|-----------|-------------|
| Western film and series | Yes | 57 | 65.5 |
| | No | 30 | 34.5 |
| African film and series | Yes | 42 | 48.3 |
| | No | 45 | 51.7 |
| Spanish (Telemundo) | Yes | 21 | 24.1 |
| | No | 66 | 75.9 |
| Asia (Philippines/Chinese) | Yes | 15 | 17.2 |
| | No | 72 | 82.8 |
| Others | Yes | 15 | 17.2 |
| | No | 72 | 82.8 |

The findings illustrated in the Table above show that majority of the respondents (65.5%) indicated Western film and series as the type of film (s) or TV series mostly watched while 34.5% did not indicate Western film and series as the type of film (s) or TV series mostly watched. Most of the respondents (48.3%) indicated African film and series as the type of film (s) or TV series mostly watched while 51.7% did not indicate African film and series as the type of film (s) or TV series mostly watched. However, majority of the respondents (82.8%) indicated others and Asia (Philippines/Chinese) as the type of film (s) or TV series that were not mostly watched while 17.2% indicated Asia (Philippines/Chinese) as the type of film (s) or TV series that were mostly watched respectively. Furthermore, 75.9% of the respondents indicated Spanish (Telemundo) as the type of film (s) or TV series that were not mostly watched while 24.1% indicated Spanish (Telemundo) as the type of film (s) or TV series that were mostly watched.

These findings indicate that most audiences recognized Western film and series as the type of film (s) or TV series mostly watched. This shows that after the 9/11 terror attack, western movies

were more thematic on scene associated to terror. Some of the Western film and series that respondents indicated include Homeland, Olympus has fallen, Eyes on the sky, 13 hours, 24, Narcos, The dragon, need for speed, John Wick, Informative, Tyrant and Game of Thrones.

African film and series mostly watched include Criminal wars, Nairobi Half-life, Aki na Ukwa and African Nigerian Movies. Some of the Telemundo (Spanish) films include Love is timeless and Muchacha, Italiana, Asia (Phillipines/ Chinise) films included while other films that were given as examples include Documentary, Inspirations and Investigative 48hrs.

From the analysis above, most viewers preferred western media as they associated with themes and plots that reflect current threats and challenges in a post 9/11 security era. Attacks in Kenya and the region have increased interests in these topics. In a recent interview in a leading national news channel, government spokesman Eric Kiraithe while responding to a question on how an investigation was being conducted responded by making reference to the popular CSI television program whose philosophy is based on the methodological collection of evidence, processing and presentation. It follows therefore that content generated after the attack was relevant to issues affecting the national security of states.

4.4.2 Statements on Impact of Security Situation of Kenya

The study further asked the respondents to indicate if they thought the following statements have a drastic impact on the security situation of Kenya. The responses are shown in the Table below.

Table 4.7: Statements on Impact of Security

| Statements | | Frequency | Percent (%) |
|---|-----|-----------|-------------|
| 1. Violent scenes with heavy gun fire exchange between criminals and law enforcement officers | Yes | 63 | 75.0 |
| | No | 21 | 25.0 |
| 2. The depiction of most drama and action movie/TV series villains (<i>bad guys</i>) as mostly being of Islamic faith | Yes | 57 | 65.5 |
| | No | 30 | 34.5 |
| 3. The referencing of Middle Eastern and North African men and women as sympathizers of international terrorism | Yes | 57 | 65.5 |
| | No | 30 | 34.5 |

| | | | |
|--|-----|-----------|------------|
| 4. Military tactics on specialized combat and interrogation skills | Yes | 60 | 69.0 |
| | No | 27 | 31.0 |
| 5. The capture or purposeful disappearance of criminal operatives by security agents | Yes | 60 | 69.0 |
| | No | 27 | 31.0 |
| Total | | 87 | 100 |

From the findings, majority of the respondents (75%) indicated that violent scenes with heavy gun fire exchange between criminals and law enforcement officers had a drastic impact on the security situation of Kenya while 25% indicated that violent scenes with heavy gun fire exchange between criminals and law enforcement officers had no drastic impact on the security situation of Kenya. Most of the respondents (69%) also indicated that military tactics on specialized combat and interrogation skills and the capture or purposeful disappearance of criminal operatives by security agents had a drastic impact on the security situation of Kenya while 31% indicated that military tactics on specialized combat and interrogation skills and the capture or purposeful disappearance of criminal operatives by security agents had no drastic impact on the security situation of Kenya respectively. Furthermore, most of the respondents (65.5%) indicated that the depiction of most drama and action movie/TV series villains (*bad guys*) as mostly being of Islamic faith and the referencing of Middle Eastern and North African men and women as sympathizers of international terrorism had a drastic impact on the security situation of Kenya while 34.5% of the respondents indicated that the depiction of most drama and action movie/TV series villains (*bad guys*) as mostly being of Islamic faith and the referencing of Middle Eastern and North African men and women as sympathizers of international terrorism had no drastic impact on the security situation of Kenya. These findings imply that most audiences agreed that violent scenes with heavy gun fire exchange between criminals and law enforcement officers had a drastic impact on the security situation of Kenya.

From the above, we note the study notes that these themes are greatly recognized in post 9/11 content and generate huge audiences. In doing so, these themes provide a unique lens into the day to day operations of governments and deviant groups. Specific to the data above is the production of not only movies and TV programs but video games that require with complex coordination skills and tact to maneuver tasks.

4.4.3 Comparison of African Content to Western Content

Furthermore, the study asked the respondents to state how they compared African content to Western Content in terms of quality, performance and viewership. The responses are demonstrated in the Table below.

Table 4.8: Comparison of African Content to Western Content

| Comparison | Frequency | Percent (%) |
|-------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| Very bad | 15 | 17.2 |
| Bad | 12 | 13.8 |
| Fair | 39 | 44.8 |
| Good | 15 | 17.2 |
| Very Good | 6 | 6.9 |
| Total | 87 | 100 |

From the findings and as indicated by Table 4.8 above, most of the respondents, 44.8%, compared African content to Western Content in terms of quality, performance and viewership as fair, 17.2% compared African content to Western Content in terms of quality, performance and viewership as very bad and good respectively, with 13.8% comparing African content to Western Content in terms of quality, performance and viewership as bad. The remaining, 6.9%, compared African content to Western Content in terms of quality, performance and viewership as very good. This implies that most of the audiences of the September 9/11 attacks in the USA compared African content to Western Content in terms of quality, performance and viewership as fair.

4.4.4 A Media Gap between Africa and the West

The respondents were asked to state their view on media gap between Africa and the west. Most of the respondents indicated that there was a media gap between Africa and the West in that the west is advanced in technology. A small number of the respondents indicated that there was no gap between Africa and the West. The media stations in African nations were weak but have made remarkable contributions to peaceful and transparent elections; to post-conflict transitions

and the restoration of peace; and to sustaining constitutional rule in times of political. And many continue to push to open up the space for freedom in suffocating environments.

4.5 Threats to the National Security

This section covers information on consideration of films, documentaries and TV programs as a source of threat to National Security, view on movies/ (series) programs and form of reality and some of the tactics used in movies or (series) programs and documentaries being employed in the country.

4.5.1 Source of Threat to National Security

The study sought to find out if the respondents considered films, documentaries and TV programs as a source of threat to National Security and the responses are provided in the Table below.

Table 4.9: Threat to National Security

| Threat to National Security | Frequency | Percent (%) |
|------------------------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| Yes | 45 | 51.7 |
| No | 42 | 48.3 |
| Total | 87 | 100 |

According to the results of the Table above, 51.7% of the respondents stated that they considered films, documentaries and TV programs as a source of threat to National Security while 48.3% of the respondents did not. The findings imply that most audiences considered films, documentaries and TV programs as a source of threat to National Security. The study indicates that these productions could potentially transmit information that may compromise a states security.

4.5.2 Movies/ (Series) Programs that Represent Some Form of Reality

The study also sought for the respondents' views on movies/ (series) programs and some form of reality and the responses are provided in the Table 4.10.

Table 4.10: Movies/ (Series) Programs and Form of Reality

| Movies/ (Series) Programs and Form of Reality | Frequency | Percent (%) |
|--|------------------|--------------------|
| Yes | 66 | 75.9 |
| No | 21 | 24.1 |
| Total | 87 | 100 |

From the findings, 75.9% of the respondents stated that movies/ (series) programs had some form of reality while 24.1% of the respondents indicated that movies/ (series) programs did not have some form of reality. The findings imply that most audiences acknowledged that movies/ (series) programs had some form of reality.

Drawing from the Uses and Gratification theory, audiences are assumed to be active actor and ration thus they select content relevant to them depending on their motives and use the information acquired as they desire. This is seen in the data above where ideas and motives from post 9/11 content can be adopted and used in everyday life whether professionally or illegally. The respondents noted that information is easily transferable and therefore, information, ideas or techniques could be employed to commit crime etc.

4.5.3 Tactics Used In Movies or (Series) Programs

The study wanted also to find out if the respondents had seen/read/heard about some of the tactics used in movies or (series) programs and documentaries being employed in the country and the feedback is provided in Table 4.10.

Table 4.11: Tactics Used In Movies

| Tactics Used In Movies | Frequency | Percent (%) |
|---|------------------|--------------------|
| Law enforcement agencies Yes | 21 | 24.1 |
| (National Police, Military, No Intelligence organs) | 66 | 75.9 |
| Deviant groups such as violent Yes | 33 | 37.9 |
| extremists and other criminals No | 54 | 62.1 |
| Total | 87 | 100 |

From the findings, majority of the respondents (75.9%) indicated law enforcement agencies (National Police, Military, Intelligence organs) utilize some of the tactics used in movies or (series) programs and documentaries that were not being employed in the country while 24.1% indicated law enforcement agencies (National Police, Military, Intelligence organs) as some of the tactics used in movies or (series) programs and documentaries being employed in the country. Majority of the respondents (62.1%) also indicated deviant groups such as violent extremists and other criminals as some of the tactics used in movies or (series) programs and documentaries that were not being employed in the country while 37.9% indicated deviant groups such as violent extremists and other criminals as some of the tactics used in movies or (series) programs and documentaries being employed in the country. These findings imply that law enforcement agencies (National Police, Military, Intelligence organs) utilize some of the tactics used in movies or (series) programs and documentaries that were not being employed in the country.

4.6 Consequences

This section present information on the influence of films, TV series/programs and documentaries are in life, consequence of watching of films or TV series, statements that relate to consequences of watching films/series, Kenya Film Commission strategies and confidence of the country on war against terror.

4.6.1 Influence of Films, TV Series/Programs and Documentaries in Life

The study requested the respondents to indicate the influence of films; TV series/programs and documentaries are in life. The responses are shown in the table below.

Table 4.12: Influence of Films, TV Series/Programs

| Influence of Films | Frequency | Percent (%) |
|---------------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| Very Influential | 18 | 20.7 |
| Moderately Influential | 33 | 37.9 |
| Not sure | 15 | 17.2 |
| Not Influential | 21 | 24.1 |
| Total | 87 | 100 |

From the findings, majority of the respondents (37.9%) indicated that films, TV series/programs and documentaries are moderately influential in life while 24.1% of the respondents indicated that films, TV series/programs and documentaries are not influential in life. Most of the respondents (20.7%) also indicated that films, TV series/programs and documentaries are very influential in life while 17.2% of the respondents indicated that they were not sure if films, TV series/programs and documentaries are influential in life. These findings suggested that films, TV series/programs and documentaries are moderately influential in life.

4.6.2 Consequence of Watching Films or TV Series

The study asked the respondents to state the consequence watching of films or TV series. On matters concerning the law enforcement agencies (Police, Military, and Intelligence Organs), majority of the respondents indicated that watching of films or TV series exposed their tactics, equipped them with skills on how to counter extremist and created more scrutiny to intelligence gathering organs. On General Public (Citizen), majority of the respondents stated that watching of films or TV series such as explicit material brings uncultured behaviour. Some of the respondents also stated that in regard to deviant groups such as violent extremists/ kidnappers, watching of films or TV series provides them with the knowhow of attacking enforcers, enables them acquire skills which make them achieve their activities and promotes radicalizations of youths. On matters concerning Government officials such as policy makers, legislators and judicial staff, watching of films or TV series helps them to formulate laws and how to enforce them and toughen laws governing and mass media.

4.6.3 Statements that Relate to Consequences of Watching Films/Series

Furthermore, the study asked the respondents to kindly rate the following statements that relate to consequences of watching films/series. The responses were rated on a five point Likert scale where: 5 – Strongly agree, 4 – Agree, 3 - Not sure, 2 – Disagree, 1 – Strongly disagree. The findings are illustrated in Table 4.13.

Table 4.13: Consequences of Watching Films/Series

| Statements | Mean | Std. Deviation |
|---|-------------|-----------------------|
| 1. The war on terror has affected national cohesion in Kenya | 1.97 | 1.104 |
| 2. It is possible to mimic/ copy actions and motivations from watching movies and series into real life actions | 2.25 | 1.028 |
| 3. Western media (Films and TV programs) accurately reflects the war on terror | 2.18 | 0.894 |

From the findings, majority of the respondents disagreed with the statements that it is possible to mimic/ copy actions and motivations from watching movies and series into real life actions and Western media (films and TV programs) accurately reflects the war on terror with mean scores of 2.25 and 2.18 respectively. Some respondents strongly disagreed with the statement that the war on terror has affected national cohesion in Kenya with a mean score of 1.97. The results therefore indicate that audiences of TV disagree that it is possible to mimic/ copy actions and motivations from watching movies and series into real life actions and Western media (films and TV programs) accurately reflects the war on terror.

4.6.4 Strategies of Kenya Film Commission (KFC)

The respondents were requested to indicate if the Kenya Film Commission is doing enough to air content suitable to the security of the country. The findings are shown in Table 4.14.

Table 4.14: Strategies of Kenya Film Commission (KFC)

| Advancements of KFC | Frequency | Percent (%) |
|----------------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| Yes | 48 | 55.2 |
| No | 39 | 44.8 |
| Total | 87 | 100 |

From the findings, majority of the respondents (55.2%) stated that Kenya Film Commission is doing enough to air content suitable to the security of the country while 44.8% of the respondents indicated that Kenya Film Commission is not doing enough to air content suitable to the security of the country. The findings therefore show that Kenya Film Commission is doing enough to air content suitable to the security of the country.

4.6.5 Confidence on Unity against the War on Terror

The respondents were requested to indicate if they felt confident that the country is united against the war on terror. A higher percentage of the respondents indicated that they did not feel confident that the country is united against the war on terror as compared to those who indicated that they felt confident that the country is united against the war on terror. A small percentage of the respondents indicated that they felt somehow confident that the country is united against the war on terror.

4.7 Discussion of the Findings

The study found that African content to Western Content in terms of quality, performance and viewership was fair. This concurs with general perceptions that indicate that the economics of local television is fragile, with its subordinate status in the ownership regime and thus in power over programming and its elaborate mechanisms for truly local advertising. Aggregation has not delivered the economic benefits foreseen.” I should note here, the term “fragile” is open to varied interpretations. By their nature, and often restricted industry-base, individual regional economies can certainly be classed as fragile, but there is a strong argument to be advanced that in the years since Wilson’s critique of the regional commercial television industry, the economic landscape as pointed out by Baker, has changed significantly for the better.

Furthermore, the study found that African films are less watched when compared to Western films. Hair, Bush and Ortinau (2009) indicate that being involved with a specific TV show increases the chance of noticing a placed brand, since viewers pay more attention to what is going on in the show.¹⁸⁵ Being highly involved with a TV show also indicates that viewers are fan of the characters in it, which explains the correlation between these two factors. Therefore, the main factors in influencing brand awareness are brand familiarity and program involvement.

Consequently, the study found that audiences are exposed to different information ranging from free-to-air stations to Pay TV stations (such as Star times, GoTV, DSTV) depending on viewer's choice in addition to alternative sources of information and entertainment such as the internet. Photographs in 2004 showing torture of Iraqi prisoners in Abu Ghraib prison by American soldiers only worsened the American presence in Iraq. The American war on terrorism has not lessened but increased the number of terrorists' and attacks world confirmed by the National Counter-terrorism Center.

Media coverage for terrorists' attacks and claims has been on the increase too. This has tended to increase the demand side of terrorism by making it key news thus giving the terrorists more motivation to conduct their attacks. Global feelings are that the US war on terror did not have any other considerations for other countries but only its interests thereby making them a bully; this after a research involving over fifty nations and 90,000 people. This attitude towards other countries and their citizens changed the peoples' perception from land of opportunities to exploiter and a world bully.¹⁸⁶

As a result of TV and media, the human cost of terrorism has been felt virtually in every corner of the globe. Many countries recognize the promotion and protection of human rights for all and the rule of law. Effective counter terrorism measures and protection of human rights as well as their promotion are not conflicting goals but complimentary and mutually reinforcing. As part of government's obligations to secure its citizens, it must put in place effective legislation to deter the commission of terrorist attacks as well as investigate and prosecute criminal elements arising

¹⁸⁵ Hair, J., Bush, R., & Ortinau, D. (2009). *Marketing Research*. Irwin: McGraw Hill.

¹⁸⁶ Stokes, B., & Andrew, K. (2006). *America Against the World: wHow we are different and why we are disliked*. Reno: Times Books.

from the acts of terror. Governments also hastily introduced legislations as curbs against unwanted TV programmes that promote terrorism incursions.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of the findings presented in chapter four according to the study objectives. This chapter also presents the conclusions and the recommendations to the study.

5.2 Summary of Findings

In regard to dominant themes, the study found that Western film and series were the type of film (s) or TV series mostly watched with examples including Narcos, Eyes on the sky, The dragon, Olympus has fallen, need for speed, John Wick, 13 hours, Informative, Tyrant, Homeland, 24 and Game of Thrones. The study also found that violent scenes with heavy gun fire exchange between criminals and law enforcement officers had a drastic impact on the security situation of Kenya. It found that most of the audiences of the September 9/11 attacks in the USA compared African content to Western Content in terms of quality, performance and viewership as fair. The study further found that there was a media gap between Africa and the West in that the west is advanced in technology.

From the analysis in chapter four, the following inferences can be noted in relation to the first hypotheses. Production films have indeed increased in the aftermath of September 9th 2001 and they have described a world striving to restore global peace and security. This is based on the large number of youths who are able to access post 9/11 film productions and with varying scale of their gender, they are influenced by them. The respondents also noted that they watched more western produced films than any other due to their representation of the current security challenges across the world.

Consequently, creative illusions, themes and actions have increased the vulnerability of Kenya's national security. This is evident from the respondents who noted that one is easily influenced by films and they may utilize the ideas and motives seen in the films to carry out attacks in the country. Reinforcing this is the fact that mass mediated terror has been facilitated actively by the

terrorists and used to spread propaganda, raise funds and recruit new followers. It was also noted that another challenge to securing Kenya was the lack of national cohesion in the fight against terror. This can be attributed to challenges in utilizing a soft approach of gathering intelligence on terrorists than torture, deportation and marginalization. The actions by security agencies have led to outcries on human rights atrocities, impeding on community led programs to curb terrorism. Significantly, themes from these films were identified as impetus of crime such as use of militaristic tactics, association of movies with Islam as of Islamic faith, continued stereotyping of Muslims as sympathizers of terrorism and finally the disappearance of criminal suspects by security organizations.

The research also established inadequacies in the media fraternity have led to increased insecurity in Kenya. This is not limited to industry safeguards but production houses inability to embed the fight against terror into its production. As noted earlier, the respondents felt that the media had a role to play in enhancing security of Kenya but equally a large percent felt that they prefer western production to African productions. This can be attributed to current themes in the market that talk of family feuds, life in the ghetto, suburban relationships, teenage life etc., It is worth noting that the scripts are poorly written, image quality and clarity is significantly low, actors are underpaid, they are shot in under equipped studios and shackled by stringent backward industry policies. A number of productions are exempted from this critic but the cumulative effect of the rest diminished whatever impact it could have had on audiences.

5.3 Conclusion

Regarding the first objective which endeavored to determine the dominant themes, the study concluded that Western film and series were the type of film (s) or TV series mostly watched with examples including Narcos, Eyes on the sky, The dragon, Olympus has fallen, need for speed, John Wick, 13 hours, Informative, Tyrant, Homeland, 24 and Game of Thrones. It concluded that violent scenes with heavy gun fire exchange between criminals and law enforcement officers had a drastic impact on the security situation of Kenya. As such, most of the audiences of the September 9/11 attacks in the USA compared African content to Western Content in terms of quality, performance and viewership as fair. The study concluded that there was a media gap between Africa and the West in that the west is advanced in technology.

The study also established that audiences considered films, documentaries and TV programs as a source of threat to National Security. The study also concluded that movies/ (series) programs had some form of reality. Matters concerning law enforcement agencies (National Police, Military, Intelligence organs) are some of the tactics used in movies or (series) programs and documentaries that were not being employed in the country.

Finally, the study discovered films, TV series/programs and documentaries are moderately influential in life. Watching of films or TV series exposes their tactics, equips them with skills on how to counter extremist and creates more scrutiny to intelligence gathering organs. The study concluded that IT is cannot mimic/ copy actions and motivations from watching movies and series into real life actions and Western media (films and TV programs) accurately reflects the war on terror. It also established that there was no confidence with the audience that the country is united against the war on terror.

5.4 Recommendations

The study recommends that regardless of cost, the media companies in weak states should invest in advanced equipment and technology, skilled personnel to ensure efficiency in live productions. This will enable them take advantage of technological platforms that enable a wider audience access their products. In doing so, the current media gap between the west and Africa will reduce as creativity will inspire more attractive themes.

Furthermore, this study advocate's for increased locally generated television programming. TV viewers cannot be hindered from watching these programmes, even though not all the programmes have negative contents, but the entertainment TV stations as part of their social responsibility must ensure that entertainment programmes with demoralizing contents are not shown at prime time.

5.5 Suggestions for further Research

This study focused on the impact of post 9/11 film and TV content on the national security of Kenya. The researcher therefore recommends further research to be conducted on impact of terrorism on the psychological motives and effects of violent scenes in a society and extensive

research done to uncover industry challenges that bring about a media gap in terms of film, and television programs between the West and Africa.

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APPENDIX I: QUESTIONNAIRE

I am Solomon Macharia, a master's student of international studies at the University of Nairobi doing a research on the 'The Impact of post9/11 film and TV content on the National Security of Weak States; A case study of Kenya.'

Section I: General Information

1. Please indicate your gender a) Male b) Female
2. Please indicate your age category
16-20 Years 21-25 Years 26-30 years
31-35 Years 36-40 Years >41 Years
3. Kindly state your religion
Christian Muslim Hindu
Other I wish not to disclose my religion
4. How did the September 11 USA attack affect the security of the country?
5. Do you feel that the media has a role to play in the fight against terror?
Yes No
If yes, briefly elaborate

Section II: Dominant Themes

6. List the type of (a) film (s) or TV series you watch most by giving examples.

| Category | Tick | Example of film/series |
|----------------------------|------|------------------------|
| Western film and series | | |
| African film and series | | |
| Spanish (Telemundo) | | |
| Asia (Philippines/Chinese) | | |
| Others | | |

7. Do you think the following have a drastic impact on the security situation of Kenya?

1. Violent scenes with heavy gun fire exchange between criminals and law enforcement officers.

Yes []

No []

2. The depiction of most drama and action movie/TV series villains (*bad guys*) as mostly being of Islamic faith.

Yes [] No []

3. The referencing of Middle Eastern and North African men and women as sympathizers of international terrorism.

Yes [] No []

4. Military tactics on specialized combat and interrogation skills.

Yes [] No []

5. The capture or purposeful disappearance of criminal operatives by security agents.

Yes [] No []

8. How would you compare African content to Western Content in terms of quality, performance and viewership?

Very bad [] Bad [] Fair []

Good [] Very good []

9. In your view is there a media gap between Africa and the west?

Section III: Threats to the National Security

10. Do you consider films, documentaries and TV programs as a source of threat to National Security?

a. Yes []

b. No []

11. In your view, do movies/(series)programs represent some form of reality?

a. Yes []

b. No []

12. Have you seen/read/heard about some of the tactics used in movies or (series) programs and documentaries being employed in the country by:

i. Law enforcement agencies (National Police, Military, Intelligence organs)

Yes [] No [] If yes kindly give an example_____

ii. Deviant groups such as violent extremists and other criminals

Yes [] No []

If yes kindly give an example.

Section IV: Consequences

13. Please rate how influential films, TV series/programs and documentaries are in your life?

Very Influential [] Moderately Influential []

Not sure [] Not Influential []

14. In your view, what consequence does watching of films or TV series have on the following?

a. Law enforcement agencies (Police, Military, and Intelligence Organs)?

b. General public (citizens)

c. Deviant groups such as violent extremists/ kidnappers etc

d. Government officials such as Policy Makers, Legislators and judicial staff

15. In your view, kindly rate the following statements that relate to consequences of watching films/series

| Statement | Strongly Agree | Agree | Neutral | Disagree | Strongly disagree |
|---|----------------|-------|---------|----------|-------------------|
| The war on terror has affected national cohesion in Kenya | | | | | |
| It is possible to mimic/copy actions and motivations from watching movies and series into real life actions | | | | | |
| Western media (Films and TV Programs) accurately reflects the war on terror | | | | | |

16. Do you feel that the Kenya Film Commission is doing enough to air content suitable to the security of the country? If no briefly explain.

Yes [] No []

17. As a country, do you feel confident that we are united against the war on terror?

Thank you