

**COUNTER-TERRORISM MEASURES AND MEDIA  
AUTONOMY IN KENYA SINCE 2015: THE CASE OF  
DAILY NATION AND THE STANDARD  
NEWSPAPERS**

**BY**

**THOMAS KEBEDE WOLDEMARIAM**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE  
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN  
GLOBAL JOURNALISM**

**NLA UNIVERSITY, KRSTIANSAND, NORWAY**

**MAY, 2018**

## **Dedication**

Predominantly, I dedicated this study to my mother Yemenushal Shiferawe, whom she passed away without seeing my success. When I was a kid she always advised me for not to sleep on my dream and I will keep her promise until my last breath. Rest in peace, my mom.

Moreover, I dedicated the study to all victims of savage acts of terrorism and for those fallen heroes who gave their lives while fighting with terrorists.

## **Name and calendar usage**

The thesis used American Psychological Association (APA) referencing style. Accordingly, the last name of writers is written as first. But, in the case of two Ethiopian authors used in the thesis their first name mentioned as first and their last name as last, because it is how the Ethiopian naming tradition works. Moreover, all the years stated in the thesis are according to Gregorian calendar system.

## Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank God for everything he has been doing in my life. Also, I am grateful for the Norwegian Centre for Internationalisation of Education (SIU) for provided me the Student At Risk (STAR) scholarship. Moreover, I am heartily thankful to my advisor, Professor Kenneth Andresen, for his willingness to advise me, for his guidance and for crystalized the research project.

Further, I am indebted to, Dr. Terje Skjerdal, for his relented assistance throughout the program. He has made a valuable support in a number of ways. Similarly, I owe my deepest gratitude to, Dr. Zenebe Beyene, for helping me during my bad days.

I also would like to say asante sana (thanks a lot) to the executives of *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers for allowed me to conduct a research. Equally, I want to acknowledge all interview respondents for provided me their expertise and for the best of their cooperation. This thesis would not have been possible without their contribution.

As well, I want to thank my whole family members, special thanks go to my father, Mr. Kebede Woldemariam, for teaching me the value of being a man of principle.

Last but by no means least, I want to offer my best regards to the entire administration and supportive staffs of NLA University, they all are amazing.

Tusen takk, my dears.

Stay woke.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

|  |             |
|--|-------------|
| <b>Declaration.....</b>  | <b>I</b>    |
| <b>Dedication.....</b>   | <b>II</b>   |
| <b>Name and calendar usage .....</b>   | <b>II</b>   |
| <b>Acknowledgements .....</b>  | <b>III</b>  |
| <b>Table of content.....</b>   | <b>IV</b>   |
| <b>List of figures .....</b>   | <b>VII</b>  |
| <b>List of tables .....</b>  | <b>VIII</b> |
| <b>List of acronyms.....</b>   | <b>IX</b>   |
| <b>Abstract.....</b>   | <b>X</b>    |
| <b>CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION .....</b>   | <b>1</b>    |
| 1.1 Background to the Study .....  | 2           |
| 1.2 Statement of the problem .....   | 4           |
| 1.3 Aim of the study .....   | 5           |
| 1.4 Research questions .....   | 5           |
| 1.5 The context of the research.....   | 6           |
| 1.6 Why I need to study on the topic? .....  | 6           |
| 1.7 Significance of the study.....   | 7           |
| 1.8 Scope of the study .....   | 7           |
| 1.9 Organization of the thesis .....   | 8           |
| <b>CHAPTER TWO: COUNTER-TERRORISM MEASURES AND<br/>PRIVATELY OWNED NEWSPAPERS FREEDOM IN KENYA .....</b> | <b>9</b>    |
| 2.0 Introduction.....  | 9           |
| 2.1. Theoretical framework .....   | 9           |
| 2.1.1 Media sovereignty theory .....   | 10          |
| 2.2 Background of terrorism .....  | 12          |
| 2.3 Definitions of terrorism .....   | 14          |
| 2.4 Who is a terrorist? .....  | 17          |
| 2.5 Terrorism as a global problem.....   | 19          |
| 2.6 Terrorism in East Africa .....   | 20          |

|   |           |
|---|-----------|
| 2.7 Kenya and Terrorism .....   | 21        |
| 2.7.1 Underlying causes of terrorism in Kenya .....                                     | 22        |
| 2.8 Media and Terrorism symbiosis.....  | 24        |
| 2.9 Coverage of terrorism by Kenyan privately owned newspapers .....                    | 27        |
| 2.10 Counter-terrorism measures taken by the Kenyan government.....                     | 29        |
| 2.11 The public right to know versus national security .....                            | 31        |
| 2.12. Challenges of dealing with terrorism stories .....                                | 32        |
| 2.12.1 The challenges on press freedom in general .....                                 | 34        |
| 2.13 Overview of press freedom in Kenya.....  | 36        |
| <b>CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY .....</b>  | <b>40</b> |
| 3.0 Introduction.....   | 40        |
| 3.1. Research design .....  | 42        |
| 3.2 Target population and samplings .....   | 43        |
| 3.2.1 Sample size and sampling techniques.....  | 43        |
| 3.2.2 Qualitative data sampling frame .....   | 46        |
| 3.3 Methods of data collection .....  | 46        |
| 3.3.1 In-depth interview.....   | 46        |
| 3.3.2 Qualitative content analysis.....   | 47        |
| 3.4 Data gathering procedure .....  | 48        |
| 3.5 Data analysis and presentation .....  | 49        |
| 3.6 Study site .....  | 50        |
| 3.6.1 Background of Daily Nation newspaper .....  | 50        |
| 3.6.2. History of The Standard newspaper .....  | 51        |
| 3.7 Identification issues.....  | 51        |
| 3.8 Reliability and validity of the research .....                                      | 52        |
| 3.9 Challenges faced during data collection .....                                       | 53        |
| 3.9.1 Practical challenges .....  | 53        |
| 3.9.2 Challenges related to my citizenship.....   | 54        |
| <b>CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS FINDINGS, PRESENTATION,<br/>ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSIONS .....</b> | <b>56</b> |
| 4.0. Introduction.....  | 56        |
| 4.1 Demographic information of interview respondents .....                              | 56        |
| 4.2. Potential causes of terrorism and criteria applied for selected news stories.....  | 59        |

|   |           |
|---|-----------|
| 4.3 Major sources of information for terrorism news stories .....                     | 62        |
| 4.4 Do journalists pursue the agenda of terrorists? .....                             | 63        |
| 4.5 Which must come first? The public right to know or national security .....        | 64        |
| 4.6 The impacts of terrorists and counter-terrorism initiatives on media outlets..... | 66        |
| 4.7 Practices of surveillance and self-censorship .....                               | 69        |
| 4.8 Actual challenges editors and reporters faced .....                               | 70        |
| 4.8.1 Lack of access to information as a challenge .....                              | 71        |
| 4.8.2 Psychological trauma-The principal challenge journalists confronted .....       | 72        |
| 4.8.3 Other challenges .....  | 73        |
| 4.9 The roles of the Media Council in the cases of terrorism coverage .....           | 75        |
| <b>CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND</b>  |           |
| <b>RECOMMENDATIONS .....</b>  | <b>77</b> |
| 5.0 Introduction.....   | 77        |
| 5.1. Summary of the study .....   | 77        |
| 5.2 Conclusion.....   | 79        |
| 5.3 Recommendations.....  | 82        |
| 5.4 Recommended areas for further studies.....  | 84        |
| 5.5 Limitations of the study .....  | 84        |
| <b>References.....</b>  | <b>85</b> |
| <b>APPENDICES</b>   |           |
| <b>Appendix 1: Research permit</b>  |           |
| <b>Appendix 2: Interview guide</b>  |           |
| <b>Appendix 3: Sample news articles</b>   |           |

## List of Figures

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Figure 4.1 Respondent's gender and number of news articles written as per gender..... | 56 |
| Figure 4.2 News stories written by Daily Nation and The Standard newspapers.....      | 58 |
| Figure 4.3 Conceptual Model.....  | 68 |

## **List of Tables**

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Table 3.1. List of Interview Respondents.....                                   | 45 |
| Table 4.1 Age, educational qualification and work experience of respondents.... | 57 |

## List of Acronyms

- ADL**- Anti-Defamation League
- AMISOM**- African Union Mission in Somalia
- APA**- American Psychological Association
- AU**- African Union
- CPJ**-Committee to Protect Journalists
- ECtHR**- European Court of Human Rights
- FDI**- Foreign Direct Investment
- GTD**-Global Terrorism Database
- GTI**-Global Terrorism Index
- GTM**- Government, Terrorists and Media
- ICCPR**-International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
- IMF**- International Monetary Fund
- ISIS**- Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
- KDF**- Kenyan Defense Force
- KKK**- Ku Klux Klan
- NACOSTI**- National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation
- n.d**- no date
- n.p**-no place of publication
- NSA**- Non-State Actors
- NSD**- Norsk Senter for Forskningsdata
- OAU**- Organization of African Union
- PLO**- Palestinian Liberation Organization
- SIU**- Norwegian Centre for Internationalisation of Education
- SLAA**-Security Law Amendment Act
- UDHR**- Universal Declaration of Human Rights
- UK**- United Kingdom
- UN**- United Nations
- UNESCO**-United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

## Abstract

After the US embassy attack in Nairobi in 1998, terrorism has gained a foot in Kenya. According to the reports of international organizations and Kenyan police, Al-Shabaab claimed responsibility for most of these attacks. Owing to the scholarly posits that, the very purpose of terrorists is not to kill, but to draw attention. The perpetrators exploited the media belligerently questioning the media's ability to draw a line on passing useful information and glorifying terrorist activities. Like any good government is expected to find solutions to its people's problems, the Kenyan government came up with new measures when it was faced with one terror attack after another, to tackle a dire issue. This study sets to find out what counter-terrorism measures were set by the Kenyan government and how it affected the functions of media outlets, with a focus on print media, particularly on the case of *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers. To achieve this aim the study applied qualitative research methodology, involving an in-depth interview and quantitative content analysis as techniques of data collection. To select samples, the study mainly adopted the purposive sampling technique. Snowball sampling was also used as an addition. 11 key informants from reporters, editors, and a media expert from Media Council of Kenya and a veteran Journalism professor were interviewed in face-to-face situations. In addition, 52 news articles written by these newspapers between 2015 and 2018 were analyzed. The study based its arguments on media sovereignty theory. The study authoritatively concludes that the counter-terrorism measures built by the government could end up a rat ship. They diminished the freedom of the two newspapers to independently make decisions without fear of possible ramifications. Particularly, individual journalists admitted to coerced self-censorship. Scribes covering terrorism also experienced numerous challenges. The new laws amputate their spirit and broke the boughs in their cradle, leading to the fall of their independence. In sum, the study finds out that, the government turned its guns to the media, with stringent laws and a warning tag to it; 'anything short of that we will burn you at the stake'. The study suggests workable recommendations aimed at mitigating the effects of allowing counter-terrorism measures to override the autonomy of privately owned media houses including consultations and

coordination from both parties. It also, advises the two players to build a rapport with agreements and understanding on how to support each other's functions and responsibilities for a common good.

# CHAPTER ONE

## 1.0 INTRODUCTION

*“Every morning I wake up with the news of bloodshed. I feel my body, desperate to know whether I’m still alive,”* said Suman Pokhrel, a Nepalese poet, lyricist, playwright, translator and artist.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, according to the 2017 Global Terrorism Index, terrorism has touched 77 countries in the year 2016. These are indications that the problem of terrorism is spreading across the globe like a deadly virus. In a bid to combat the acts of terrorism governments try various mechanisms, while media outlets strive to give in-depth coverage of these incidents.

Different views have been fronted about the symbiotic relationship that exists between media and terrorism. One group argues that cases of terrorism have accelerated because they enjoyed publicity from the media. And another school of thought has argued that by covering the attacks, in fact, the media puts the authorities responsible for prosecuting the perpetrators on toes. In her speech presented on 15<sup>th</sup> of July 1985, the then prime minister of England Margaret Thatcher said: *“we must try to find ways to starve the terrorist and the hijacker of the oxygen of publicity on which they depend.”*<sup>2</sup> Those who support the media coverage of terrorist attacks argue that giving prominence to small attacks or sometimes give coverage in the absence of an attack lead to pursuing terrorists’ agenda (Schmid, 2009).

Moreover, a number of researches that have made on the war on terror identify media as one of the evils that hampered the countering process. For example, Shah (2002) stated that either intentionally or not, media outlets promoted the agenda of terrorist groups and their allies. As a repercussion, Shah forwarded that; the autonomy of media must be constrained by some sort of mechanisms. Similarly, many research findings demonstrated that those repetitive terrorists’ attacks and the

---

<sup>1</sup> Accessed from: <https://www.goodreads.com/quotes/842895-every-morning-i-wake-up-with-the-news-of-bloodshed>.

<sup>2</sup> Accessed from: <https://www.nytimes.com/1985/07/16/world/thatcher-urges-the-press-to-help-starve-terrorists.html>.

measures taken by governments to counter the threats of terrorism have changed the practices of media outlets in one way or another. The research conducted by Altheide (2007) concluded that media have the power to escalate terrorism activities by promoting fear.

On the other hand, scholars like Reese & Lewis (2009) argue that after 9/11 attacks, media outlets have played an important role in reinforcing the war on terror framing which was created by the Bush administration. They further argue that there is no compelling evidence which shows that terrorist attacks have increased after elaborate media coverage. Hence, they insisted that the autonomy of media outlets must be respected regardless of any situations. In light of the above counter-arguments, this research has explored the autonomy of *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers in Kenya in the wake of controversial counter-terrorism measures employed by the government to tackle the menace.

This introductory chapter embraced background of the study, statement of the problem, aim of the research, research questions, context and justifications of the research, overview of media and terrorism, significance of the study, scope and organization of the research.

## **1.1 Background to the Study**

The central question of this thesis is to explore the relationship between counter-terrorism initiatives and the freedom of privately owned newspapers in Kenya. A number of sources revealed that, since Kenyan troops were sent along with American, Burundi, Djibouti, Ethiopian, French and Uganda forces to defend the transitional government in southern Somalia with African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), there have been a number of small-scale grenade and bomb attacks on churches, bars, bus stations, military sites and shopping centres around Nairobi and Mombasa. AMISOM is a regional peacekeeping mechanism that was formed on 19<sup>th</sup> of January 2007 by the approval of African Union Peace and Security Council of

United Nations. Kenya is one of the countries which have been contributing troops to AMISOM.<sup>3</sup>

The terror attacks have prompted the Kenyan government to introduce, review and upgrade mitigating policies and laws on terrorism leading to the birth of the Prevention of Terrorism Act of 2012 and the Security Amendment Act of 2014. But can a democratic regime respond terrorism without negatively interfering or gagging the media? Are the Kenyan media bowing to such and are they to blame for those imposed draconian laws against their performance?

In fact, two months after Kenyan media published reports criticized the government response to the Westgate Mall attack; the parliament passed a law to silence their operations; The Kenya Information and Communications Amendment Act of 2013. Most dreaded are the hefty fines to be charged on media houses who fail to respect the government established Code of Conduct and individual journalist risking losing their practice licence if they breach the set standards.

Reporters from *The Standard* newspaper who reviewed a critical contradiction between what the inspector of police reported and what the case was on security officers looting the attacked mall faced arrest threats in what the then police chief David Kimaiyo termed 'inciting Kenyans'. According to records by Reporters without Borders, the Kenyan Complaints Commission would be able to ban newspapers if their content posed 'national security'.

Many concerns have been raised over the implementation of the laws aimed at mitigating terrorist activities with civil societies and human rights organizations criticized the gross human rights violations as a result. These critics vaguely indicate the effects of the law's on the performance of media houses despite largely mentioned the role the media played in the fight.

The controversial Security Laws (Amendment) Bill, 2014, which amended 21 different laws, including the Penal Code, Criminal Procedure Code, Evidence Act, Prevention of Terrorism Act, and the National Police Service Act has been highly

---

<sup>3</sup> Accessed from: <http://amisom-au.org/amisom-background/>.

contested in the court. The security laws expanded the police powers, introduced new criminal offenses with harsh penalties like allowing the detention of terror suspects for up to 90 days, limited the rights of defendants and most relevant to this study, restricted freedoms of expression and assembly. Moreover, The Defamation Act, the Official Secrets Act, and the Preservation of Public Security Act placed the most severe restrictions on freedom of the press. (United States Department of State, 27 February 2014). Actually, Kenya is not the only country suffering with these kinds of irregularities. Democratic countries like the United States and France are also dealing with the issue of press freedom versus national security.

The groups challenged the law on grounds both of substance and procedure, arguing most importantly, that its provisions violate rights enshrined in the Constitution. Even though the court did not suspend the law, it ordered the government to file a defence within the next five days.

It was on this backdrop that my research seeks to find out if and to what extent media houses retained their autonomy while reporting on Terrorism issues in the country.

## **1.2 Statement of the problem**

Like some parts of the world, the problem of terrorism is immense in the East Africa region. The region has hosted many intra and inter-states conflicts (Leenco, 2004). Also, it is a convenient playground for terrorists (Woldeselase, 2010; Din, 2011). As well as the region is a home for one of the international terrorist group; Al-Shabaab. Kenya is among the countries found in this region.

By referring the American counter-terrorism policy, Din (2011) categorized countries into two: potential victims and safe heavens. Arguably, it is hard to put Kenya either in the victims or safe heavens list. Above and beyond, the failed state dichotomy does not seem to work for Kenya which has faced a number of threatening terrorist attacks.

The 2017 Global Terrorism Database (GTD) shows that 68 and 65 terrorist attacks occurred in Kenya in the years 2015 and 2016 respectively. Kenyan police records put

these numbers much lower. Accordingly, there were 66 attacks in the year 2015 and 16 in 2016.

To counter the acts of terrorism the government of Kenya has been taking a variety of measures. The government has created a strong tie with the United States of America. This is manifested by the fact that, Kenya is the highest recipient of aid from the United States for the purpose of countering-terrorism and other transnational crimes. The data from Security Assistance Monitor shows that in the year 2015 America gave \$110,650, 537 million to Kenya. Also, the Kenyan Defence Force (KDF) is part of AMISOM. In addition, the government of Kenya has taken other legal measures like the implementation of Prevention of Terrorism Act of 2012 and the Security Amendment Act of 2014.

As a result, the above counter-terrorism measures taken by the Kenya government seem to have negatively impacted the autonomy of the privately owned media outlets in Kenya.

### **1.3 Aim of the study**

The aim of this study is to assess to what extent drastic counter-terrorism initiatives taken by the government have an impact on the autonomy of the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers in Kenya.

**1.4 Research questions:** The research seeks to answer the following three key research questions.

- I. What are the major focus areas of editors and reporters of *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers while reporting on terrorism?
- II. To what extent do counter-terrorism initiatives pressurized editors and reporters of the two newspapers to go for self-censorship?
- III. What are the challenges editors and reporters of *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers faced while covering terrorism?

## **1.5 The context of the research**

Many research works have been conducted on the issue of terrorism in relation to media by taking Kenya as a case. For instance, the research conducted by Kisang (2014) concluded that the mass media channels in Kenya intentionally or unintentionally promoted the agenda of Al-Shabaab. Similarly, a research did by Mbugua (2015) found out that media outlets portrayed Al-Shabaab and its allies as powerful while depicted the government of Kenya and other stakeholders powerless in the face of Al-Shabaab. Likewise, D'Silva' (2016) came to the conclusion that, the Kenyan media outlets have heightened the agenda of terrorists by giving much coverage to terrorism. Contrary to the above three research findings, a study conducted by Chapia (2015) concluded that media outlets did not have an intention to promote the agenda of terrorist groups. While, this research has studied the impacts of counter-terrorism measures on the autonomy of privately owned newspapers in Kenya, specifically in the case of *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers.

## **1.6 Why I need to study on the topic?**

I would like to mention two basic motives that triggered me to study on the topic. First, with no doubt terrorism is among one of the biggest problems the world faces. Hence, to find a solution to this problem it is important to explore the topic from all possible angles. In fact, nowadays no one is quite safe in the face of heinous terrorist attacks that can happen anywhere and anytime. More specifically, the horrific terrorist attack that happened on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of April 2015 at Garissa University is still fresh in my mind just like it is in the minds of many Kenyans whom I spoke to.

Moreover, as a global journalism student at NLA University in Norway, universal issues like terrorism are inevitably an area of research that undergoes new phases in the wake of technological developments. Without downplaying the numerous studies conducted on terrorism with specific regard to journalism and media studies, the changes in such activities cannot be ignored. This study also came to the realization that many available researches focused on coverage of terrorism and

other related aspects. The begging question that remained unanswered however was how counter-terrorism laws affect reporting and media operations generally.

### **1.7 Significance of the study**

The output from this study has a number of significances. Generally, the study enlightens stakeholders about the ways in which counter-terrorism initiatives change the practice of privately owned newspapers in Kenya. Particularly, it informs how counter-terrorism initiatives taken by the Kenyan government may change the practice of these two newspapers. Along with, the study pointed out that, how these two newspapers covered the story of terrorism. Similarly, the study raised and discussed the practice of self-censorship by the journalists of the two newspapers following counter-terrorism initiatives.

Moreover, the challenges editors and reporters of the two newspapers experienced are presented to give insights for other research works that would be conducted in the future.

All in all, I believe that this research would give an insight that in the process of countering terrorism it is important to consider the autonomy of the privately owned media outlets. Also, editors and reporters who are working in *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers are among the primary beneficiaries of the study. Alike, other media outlets operated in Kenya can be benefited from this research. In the same line, policy makers, security experts, human rights organizations might get workable recommendations from the study. Furthermore, Kenya as a country may use the findings of the study. Thus far, this research can only be an addition to the existed research works. If we exemplify terrorism and media scholarship as an ocean, then the contribution of this thesis is not more than a drop of water. Yet, as the saying goes on, *it is the tiny drops of water that made an ocean.*

### **1.8 Scope of the study**

In terms of geographical area, the study is confined within Kenya. However, to give different perspectives for the thesis examples from other countries have also inculcated. Concerning media outlets, it is only two privately owned newspapers selected for the study. These are the two major media houses in Kenya, *Daily Nation*

and *The Standard*. I believed that these newspapers will give a representative image about the practice of other privately owned newspapers in Kenya. Regarding the time frame, the study purposely selected news stories written since 2015 with the key term '*terrorism and counter-terrorism in Kenya since 2015*'.

## **1.9 Organization of the thesis**

The thesis is made up of five chapters. The first chapter embraces background of the study, statement of the problem, the aim of the study, general research questions, context of the study, justifications for the study, significance and scope of the study.

Chapter two mainly illustrates the theoretical framework that dictated the thesis. Moreover, the chapter discussed the review of related literatures written on the topic such as the background of terrorism, definitions of terrorism, an identity of terrorists. Besides, the chapter explained terrorism from a global, regional and Kenyan perspective. As well, the chapter explains the relationship exists between media and terrorism. An ample of space has given to assess whether counter-terrorism initiatives have an impact on the autonomy of the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers or not. Alike, the challenges editors and reporters of the two newspapers experienced due to their coverage of terrorism are explained.

The following chapter, chapter three discloses about the methodology of the thesis, context of the research place, the design of the study, methods, sampling and sampling procedure, ethical considerations, issues of reliability and validity and the challenges I faced during data collection.

Data analysis and presentation are located in chapter four of the thesis. The last chapter of the thesis, chapter five has five sub-sections, in the first sub-section; all the findings of the study are presented in the form of a summary, and then the second sub-section presented concluding remarks. In the third sub-section, I provided recommendations sprang from the conclusions. The fourth sub-section forwarded recommendations for further studies and the last sub-section of the chapter mentioned major limitations of the study.

# CHAPTER TWO

## COUNTER-TERRORISM MEASURES AND PRIVATELY OWNED NEWSPAPERS FREEDOM IN KENYA

### 2.0 Introduction

The overarching theme of this chapter is to provide pieces of related literature written on the main topic of the study, which is looking the interplay between counter-terrorism initiatives and the autonomy of the two privately owned Kenyan newspapers (refers to the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard*). Mainly, the chapter has made discussion on concepts that can give a broader perspective related to the three general research questions of this thesis. These are: what are the major focus areas of editors and reporters working in *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers while covering terrorism? To what extent do counter-terrorism initiatives pressurize editors and reporters of the two major newspapers to go for self-censorship? And what challenges do editors and reporters working for *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers have been facing while reporting on terrorism?

The chapter is organized into the following subtopics. As a starting point, the chapter analyzed a theoretical framework that dictated the thesis. Then, discussion is made on other related concepts such as overview of relationship between media and terrorism, definitions of terrorism, the extent of terrorism globally, terrorism in East Africa, Kenya and terrorism, coverage of terrorism by Kenyan privately owned newspapers, counter-terrorism measures taken by the Kenyan government and the challenges editors and reporters of *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers faced due to their coverage of terrorism.

### 2.1. Theoretical framework

A number of theoretical frameworks may be relevant for studying the relationship that exists between media outlets freedom and counter-terrorism measures. As a common tradition, many researchers who studied this symbiotic relationship choose liberalism theory. However, for the following reasons, I found out that it is

inappropriate to use liberalism theory as a theoretical framework for this thesis. Knowingly, liberalism theory is derived from two basic tenets i.e., individualism and freedom. The concept of individualism is the pillar of liberalism theory, in which priority is given to individuals more than it is to society (Winkler, 2012). But, it is hard to describe the Kenyan society with an individualistic way of living; rather it is more of collectivist.

The second tent of liberalism theory is freedom, which embraces many ideas including media freedom. Whereby, its advocates support a free market system. Like markets for other goods and services liberalism supporters urge to have a media industry free from government intervention (Nacos, 2002; Winkler, 2012). Arguably, it is hard to find absolutely free media system in the world. Moreover, in liberalism oriented countries the fourth estate role of the media takes the upper hand. But when we come to the Kenyan media system, despite having a number of active privately owned media outlets compared with many African countries, still the fourth estate role of the media is an infant. Also, the presence of free media market alone does not represent the whole lot of liberal values. In addition, as disclosed in the analysis chapter (chapter four), there are actual challenges on media freedom in Kenya, which made it difficult to saw Kenya through the lens of liberalism. Despite borrowing important ideas from liberalism theory, this study has employed media sovereignty theory as a theoretical framework of this thesis.

### **2.1.1 Media sovereignty theory**

Amongst many relevant theoretical frameworks, this thesis is dictated by media sovereignty theory. In fact, it is not common to employ this theory in media and journalism studies. Rather, the concept is highly related to political science and communication studies. However, because of the following rationale, I selected the theory to be a framework for the study. At the outset, the thesis wants to study whether or not counter-terrorism initiatives impacted the autonomy of the two privately owned newspapers in Kenya. Whereby, in the context of this thesis the term sovereignty is almost similar to independence. In the following paragraphs, a

discussion is made on the definition, origin of the theory and how it can dictate this thesis.

In the *Encyclopedia of Communication Theory*, Thomas described media sovereignty theory as:

Theory of media sovereignty deals with the degree to which the media are autonomous and independent in light of government interference, commercial requirements, anti-terrorism legislation, and the demands of foreign policy. The gagging of media coverage of the war in Iraq through the institutionalization of embedded journalism and other means illustrates the point (2009, p.643).

Historically, it was the Westphalia peace agreement that used to be a milestone for the creation of the concept sovereignty, particularly with state formation. The agreement was signed amongst European states in the year 1648 after 30 years of war between these states. Consequently, nation-states were granted autonomy and exercise power within their geographically demarked territory. To materialize the agreement a number of conventions were came into effect. Also, international and regional mechanisms have been implemented (Mentioned by Thomas in the *Encyclopedia of Communication Theory*, 2009).

As mentioned above, I used the concept of sovereignty to indicate the independence level of the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers. Obviously, there are factors that can impede these media outlets not to perform up to their maximum level not at least the commercial factor. Like nation-states media outlets also need independence which is more or less synonymous with sovereignty in the context of this study. With the absence of it, the roles media outlets play in the society are insignificant. Especially, for media outlets operated in developing democracies like Kenya the importance of media autonomy cannot be overemphasized. All along, there are pressures coming from different stakeholders that can jeopardize autonomy of media houses. Yet, a pressure from the government is the dominant one and most detrimental.

Similarly, the concept of independent media has an attachment with Windhoek declaration that came into existence in a meeting held in Windhoek, Namibia from April 29 to May 3, 1991. The declaration encourages independent and pluralistic

African press. Kenya as a member of United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) declared to have an independent and pluralistic press. The declaration defined independent press as:

Any media which is free of government, political or economic control or of control of materials essential for its production and dissemination and pluralistic through the absence of media monopolies and the existence of the greatest number of newspapers, magazines and periodicals all reflecting the widest possible range of opinion within the community.

However, there is a claim that the declaration is '*utopia*' in terms of defining independent press. Their argument lies in the fact that, even if privately owned media outlets are free from political interventions they cannot be free from ownership pressures. Because, in the competitive media market media outlets sustain and make a profit on the basis of their strategy, which obviously leads by the idea of the owner or shareholders. I have also the same kind of impression in the understanding of independent media. Thus, in one way or another, there are pressures on privately owned media outlets that can make them to lose their autonomy. However, this thesis focuses only on the assessment of pressures from the government in the guise of countering terrorism.

## **2.2 Background of terrorism**

Arguably, no country is immune to threats of terrorism. Yet, up to date, there is no agreed definition of terrorism. Schmid (2009) argues that it is because terrorism has different nature from other forms of violence and the presence of diverse definitions makes it difficult for the international community to arrive at one general definition. Mathewson and Steinberg (2000) have claimed that it is impossible to have one standard definition of terrorism for three reasons. Firstly, terrorism has many forms; it is not confined to a single form. Secondly, the two scholars say that the actors are different and thirdly, various objectives pursued by different actors make each terrorist activity unique.

However, as the consensus of many scholars, the term terrorism was used for the first time during French revolution that lasted from 1789 to 1795. Maximilien Robespierre, one of the leaders of the revolutionaries said, "*Without virtue, terror is*

*useless, without terror virtue is powerless”* (Woldeselase, 2010, p.28). (Zavalza, n.d) mentioned that, during the time, terrorism was associated with a good virtue that created a better and democratic society and led France to the era of Enlightenment.

As to the origin of the term, it is believed that terrorism is derived from a Latin word ‘terrere’, meaning ‘to frighten, to terrify; to scare away; to deter’ (Ramraj, Hor & Roach, 2005; Başeren, 2008; Weimann, 2008).

Also, historically it was the states that used acts of terrorism as a device to repress other revolutionaries in the state. The 1917 Russian revolution can be an example. Mentioned in Franks, (2004) Leon Trotsky argues that the states are stronger than terrorist groups in terms of bringing destruction. Also, states have better capacity than non-state actors to create terror on a large scale (Skrzypek, 2013). Similarly, dictatorial regimes used terrorism as a tool to stay in power for long (Başeren, 2008). For instance, Saloth Sar alias Pol Pot who ruled Khmer Rouge (Cambodia) as a prime minister from 1975 to 1978 was responsible for the killing of more than one million Cambodians (Başeren, 2008). The same was also true for the mass killing of Jews by Nazi Germany in the 1930s and 1940s (Skrzypek, 2013).

In the same vein, even if it is not blatant like dictatorial regimes and did not reach the level of sponsorship, democratic states also supported terrorism for different causes. They employed terrorist’s tactics either by considering the economic benefit they get in the pretext of fighting terrorism or to suppressed marginalized groups (Başeren, 2008). Yet, Sporat (1997) claimed that more than 90 percent of the literature written about terrorism is about non-state insurgents.

However, through their representatives’ respective member countries of Organization of African Union (OAU) currently named African Union (AU) has taken different mechanisms. Their first initiative was the signing of an agreement so as to suppress the occurrence of terrorism from African soil. The agreement was made in Tunis, the capital city of Tunisia in June 1994.

Furthermore, on the meeting held in Algiers from 11 to 14 September 2002 members of AU prepared an action plan, so as to combat terrorism from the globe as well as from Africa. Most importantly, the African leaders showed commitment to join the ‘war on terror’ which was declared by President George W Bush. In addition,

in the year 1999, they ratified the regional instrument entitled the *Algiers Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism*.

### **2.3 Definitions of terrorism**

Defining the main concept of an issue has gain priority in the academic tradition of many fields of studies, then, other related concepts follow in line with the definition of the main concept. However, as mentioned above in the background part, it is hardly possible to have a generic definition of terrorism (Franks, 2004; Makinda, 2007; Adeyemi, 2015; Bantekas & Oette, 2016)).

In Eugenis (2013) Jackson stated that in a simple count one can find more than 200 definitions of terrorism, yet none of these are universally accepted. Similarly, Makinda, (2007) argues that the biggest international organization, United Nations (UN) also failed to bring a catch-all definition of terrorism. Subsequently, so as to achieve their own purpose many interested parties have defined terrorism in an elastic manner (Franks, 2004; Bantekas & Oette, 2016). Thus, the statement by Norris, Kern & Just (2003, p.6) says, “*Terrorism is in the eye of the beholder*” seems appropriate.

However, the attempts to give a well-governing definition of terrorism are kept going on. Scholars, countries, regional and international organizations are some of the actors that have given different definitions of terrorism. However, this thesis does not make discussion on all definitions. Rather since the thesis is conducted in the case of Kenya, which the country is located in the continent of Africa; it takes the definition given by the Organization of African Union (OAU) currently known as African Union (AU) as a working definition of the thesis with its own critics.

Article 1 (a) of the 1999 convention of Organization of African Union (OAU) on the prevention and combating of terrorism defined it as:

Any act which is a violation of the criminal laws of a State Party and which may endanger the life, physical integrity or freedom of, or cause serious injury or death to, any person, any number or group of persons or causes or may cause damage to public or private property, natural resources, environmental or cultural heritage and is calculated or intended to: (i) intimidate, put in fear, force, coerce or induce any government, body, institution, the general public or any segment thereof, to do or abstain from doing any act, or to adopt or abandon a particular standpoint, or to act according to certain principles; or (ii) disrupt any public service, the delivery of any essential service to the

public or to create a public emergency; or (iii) create general insurrection in a State.

The above definition is more of general, whereas, the United Nations (UN) definition of terrorism is particular.<sup>4</sup> The UN definition singled out political goals as the only demand of terrorist organizations. However, scholars like Woldeselassei (2010) refute with this analogy. He stated that there have been bloody terrorism atrocities happened in many parts of the world because of religious extremism. He gave the Kashmir conflict that has been held between India and Pakistan as an example. Hindu's want Kashmir to be part of India, while Muslim's need Kashmir to be part of Pakistan in a form of republic. Woldeselassei (2010) also mentioned the historical fight of Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland. The Catholics want North Ireland to remain as part of United Kingdom (UK), whereas the Protestants need a free republic of Northern Ireland. Many scholars, who disagreed with Woldeselassei's view, argue that the element of politics has been the major one in almost every terrorist attack even though other triggering factors are playing their own role.

Furthermore, both definitions of AU and UN have identified terrorism as a criminal act. Bantekas & Oette (2016) argues in support of this claim. They explained that since terrorism is a crime conducted by private entities, the culprits of terrorist's attacks are not liable for violation of human rights. And they should not be charged under human rights law; rather with 'destruction of rights' as per domestic international criminal laws. Even if, this distinction does not have much effect in terms of practice, it transmits erroneous lesson to states. Knowingly, it is at the disposal of the signatory states to protect and promote human rights, yet the distinction refrain states from taking all necessary measures.

However, in contemporary times, the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) uses the term 'gross violation of rights' for terrorist attacks committed by Non-State

---

<sup>4</sup> The United Nations General Assembly Resolution 54/110 of 9 December 1999 defined terrorism as "*a criminal act intended or calculated to spread fear among the general public for political goals.*" <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/un-general-assembly-resolution-54-110-december-1999>.

Actors (NSA). Yet, this discourse has also its own critics. Bantekas & Oette (2016) argue that it opened the door to some states to entertain all kinds of negative obligations on a large scale. It can be legislative, judicial, administrative, educative and other required initiatives.<sup>5</sup> In order to take negative obligations, the states presented the incapability of positive obligations as an excuse.<sup>6</sup> In few cases, they even took the life of suspected terrorists than prosecuting them.

Majorly, since terrorism is a politically contested concept it has been very difficult to find its definition in a value-free manner. For example, as mentioned in D'Silva (2016) scholars like Sorel have argued that Mau Mau revolution that Kenyan's did to break the tie from Britain colonialism was an act of terrorism. While others rebutted this argument, stated that Mau Mau was in fact, a peaceful resistance movement employed to gain independence. For instance, the Algiers convention adopted in 1999 distinguished terrorism from self-determination movements. Article 3 of the convention read that:

Notwithstanding the provisions of Article 1, the struggle waged by peoples in accordance with the principles of international law for their liberation or self-determination, including armed struggle against colonialism, occupation, aggression and domination by foreign forces shall not be considered as terrorist acts.

Overall, the presence of many intertwined factors and its nuance nature makes it difficult to found a single legal definition of terrorism. This is why, the 2017 UNESCO handbook for journalists, identified terrorism as a concept with no official definition.

---

<sup>5</sup> Traditionally, liberties and civil and political rights were conceived as essentially imposing negative duties on the state, i.e. to refrain from interfering with a right, for example, 'do not arbitrarily detain a person.' However it is evident that states must also take certain measures to ensure rights. (Bantekas & Oette, 2016).

<sup>6</sup> In the field of economic, social and cultural rights states have a duty to protect, promote and fulfill rights. To fulfill minimum standards states usually take proactive measures. (Bantekas & Oette, 2016).

## 2.4 Who is a terrorist?

This is another debatable point in terrorism studies. It is believed that the disjuncture exists due to the conventional definition of terrorists based on legitimacy. With no doubt, the peoples of a certain nation are expected to be ruled by one authorized body. This body can come to power either by popular vote or through military struggle. Most often, states claim that any politically motivated violent actions against them by another group are terrorism (Franks, 2004). Whereas, others who entitled 'terrorists' by the states tended to take their cause and actions as legitimate (Franks, 2004). Also, since it is value-laden concept guerrilla fighters, liberation or independence front members are susceptible to be included in the list of terrorists (Bantekas & Oette, 2016).

Similarly, the research conducted by Yusof, Hassan, F., Hassan & Osman (2013) concluded that the international media have negatively portrayed Islam by associated with terrorism, especially after September 11 attacks. On the other hand, it is not common to use the term terrorist for homegrown terrorists of Europe and America. Anica (2015) has argued that terrorists can be created in any society regardless of religion, politics and culture. Most of the terrorist attacks happened in USA and Europe can justify Anica's argument. Likewise, in many of terrorist's attacks news stories presented by giant media outlets, it is not common to find a term terrorists for local or home grew perpetrators. Rather, they have employed terms such as hate criminals, narcissist and murder. For example, on 19<sup>th</sup> of June 2017; Al Jazeera reported the terrorist attack on Finsbury mosque (North London mosque) by using the news headline '*Finsbury Park mosque: Man dies as van hits worshippers*'. Also, the news identified the perpetrator 'white van driver' rather than entitled a terrorist.

The same with Anica (2015), Başeren (2008) argues that geographically speaking it is not only from the Middle East and Africa that terrorists have been nurtured. Domestic right-wing extremist groups such as Neo-Nazi in Germany and some parts of Europe and Ku Klux Klan (KKK) from the United States are terrorists if usage of violence is concerned for political purpose. Smith (2011) believes that there is one constant feature that can perfectly characterize all sorts of terrorism. That is violence. Violence can occur without terrorism, yet terrorism cannot occur without violence or

the threat and fear of violence (Smith, 2011). Also, recent statistics show that the number of people killed by white supremacists is on the rise. For instance, on 17<sup>th</sup> of January 2018 Huffington post realised a report of Anti-Defamation League (ADL). ADL report confirmed that in the USA 34 individuals were killed in the year 2017. Of which, 20 of them were killed by white supremacists, which was again more in number when compared with the number of people killed by Muslim extremists.

Regarding the categories of terrorists, Koh (2006) categorized terrorist groups into three. These are ethnic-nationalist, ideological and religious. The first group needs secession from the state which they believe once oppressed them or is curtailing their rights or freedom. The Basque and Catalonia in Spain, the Irish Republican Army and the Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO) can be noted in this regards. The interest of the second group of terrorism, i.e. the ideologists, is to transform the political ideological thinking of the world either to the left or to the right extremely. The third terrorist group according to Koh is religiously affiliated. And their primary purpose is to rule the world by the teaching of their religion. Al-Qaeda and its affiliates Al-Shabaab and Boko Haram can be examples of this kind of terrorism.

Furthermore, even in a single country, the usage of the term terrorist varied from time to time. For example, the cause the Algerian nationalists fought with the French colonialists to get independence in the 1950s is quite different with the cause the fundamentalist Muslim groups clashed with the government following the 1992 election result (Makinda, 2007). Yet, the idea which says terrorism is the product of its time and space seems the opinion of many scholars. For example, in Franks (2004: p.56) Crenshaw stated that *"terrorism cannot be adequately explained without situating it in its particular social, political and economic situation"* Similarly since terrorism is a flawed concept, today's definition of it will probably change by tomorrow. In Adyemei, Imobighe stated that *"the Afghan Mujahedeen's whom Ronald Reagan referred to in 1986 freedom fighters are today seen by other American presidents as terrorists simply because of the change of the target of their struggle from Soviet to American interests"* (2015, p.8).

Thus, it leads to the common cliché that, *'one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter'*. However, even if, terrorism is manifested in many forms, a 'sacred' terrorism type that is entertained by Al-Qaeda and other similar terrorist groups takes the upper hand (D'Silva, 2016).

Moreover, drawing the difference between the two terms, 'terrorist' and 'extremist' is often confusing and debatable, yet important as well. According to Seib & Janbek (2010), the job of extremists is preaching hate about others, while they are not directly involving in the attacks. It is terrorists that perform an actual attack. However, other many scholars negate with this analogy. They argue that terrorism is born out of extremism. As a result, it is hardly possible to alienate the two concepts. Extremist narratives existed on a continuum at the extreme right and extreme left of ideological spectrums across political, racial, tribal and religious lines and they constitute an assault against mainstream societal values (Seib & Janbek, 2010).

Furthermore, Khan (2006) argues that, to the best study of terrorism, attention must be given to identifying terrorism from other crimes that aim to make money for personal gains like involving in contrabands and illicit drug selling. However, these crimes can fuel terrorism in one way or another.

## **2.5 Terrorism as a global problem**

Finding a free land from terrorism is a hard task. This infers that the threat of terrorism touches almost every part of the world. However, it is not an exaggeration if one says terrorism became a common agenda and an enemy of the world after 9/11 attacks (Yusof & et al, 2013; Bantekas & Oette 2016; D'Silva, 2016). Horrendous terror attacks on the World Trade Center in New York and on the Pentagon sky scrapper building near Washington, D.C claim to take the lives of more than 3000 civilians and plenty of property damages (van der Veer & Munshi, 2004). The biggest international terror organization of that time Al-Qaeda under the ruling of the late Osama Bin Laden took the responsibility for the attack. Hence, the US administration under the rule of George W. Bush waged war on terrorism, which is commonly known as 'War on terror.' Yet, a number of scholars argue that the war does not bring the expected result. Rather, it crippled the free space of media outlets

and journalists. They mentioned the introduction of the Patriotic Act in the USA as an example.

Currently, with its obscure and manifold nature, terrorism is almost everywhere in the world. Media outlets are also tireless in giving coverage whenever terrorist's attacks are happening. But, most of the coverage's are debatable and contested. Also in most cases, there are accusations and counter-accusations between government officials and individuals coming from media outlets.

## **2.6 Terrorism in East Africa**

Finding an organized literature about terrorism in the case of Africa as a continent is difficult due to the fact that, the nature of terrorism is different from one region to the other within the continent and even from one country to another in the same region. For example, causes of terrorism in Kenya are different from that of neighboring Somalia though both countries are found in the Eastern part of Africa.

Moreover, the nature, extent and possible causes of terrorism in one region are deferent from the others. Accordingly, terrorism in East Africa is different from the rest parts of the world.

Amongst many causes of terrorism; Smith (2011) picked poverty as the major contributing factor for East Africa region. Youths are attracted by the economic opportunities that have been provided by terrorist groups. Obviously, countries found in this region are economically poor. However, Abadie (2004) challenged this view. Abadie (2004) argues that there is no cause and effect relationship between poverty level and proliferation of terrorists' incidents. He solidifies his argument by taking countries found in a different economic level, but at a similar level of civil liberties. Rich countries do not generate less terrorism than poor countries and vice-versa. In fact, richer countries remain the target of international terrorist attacks.

The second cause for the emergence of terrorist groups in East Africa according to Smith (2011) is the way globalization operates. Smith insisted that, even if globalization has been offering opportunities to the globe, it also remained a cause for terrorism. Due to globalization, many cities have converted into megacities, whereby a lot of individuals are forced to live in a small area of land. Also, in search of cheap labour and to protect their environment many manufacturing companies

from developed countries planted their factories in developing countries. Besides, local farmers lost their land in the name of Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). Moreover, environmental pollution persisted to be a danger to developing countries (Smith, 2011). Besides, in order to repay their huge foreign debt, countries of this region unfairly approached the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), in a way these organizations intervened in the economy as well as politics of these countries (Smith, 2011). Yet, Smith does not blatantly show the direct relationship between globalization and the creation of terrorist groups. Otherwise, Smith's reasoning seems everything can be a cause for terrorism to happen.

Din (2015), mentioned instability as the other major cause of terrorism in the region. Because of many intra and inter-state conflicts the region became a convenient playground for international terrorist groups (Leenco, 2004). Following, the crackdown in December 2006 the Islamic militant group named Al-Shabaab was formed with the aim of ruling the Somalia and the entire region by the rigid interpretation of sharia law (Stanford University, 2016).<sup>7</sup>

Also, scholars like Muhwezi (2014) and many other scholars claimed that the increment of terrorism incidents in East Africa is attributed with Al-Shabaab's reaction to countries that have contributed troops in Somalia, known as African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM).

All in all, it was very difficult to have a full list of causes of terrorism for describing the phenomena of the region. Likewise, the dearth of related works of literature written about terrorism in the case of East Africa made it impossible to give a full image.

## **2.7 Kenya and Terrorism**

Terrorist attacks have a long history in Kenya. According to Mugo (2013), most of the past attacks did not get enough media attention. The Norfolk Hotel attack that happened on 23<sup>rd</sup> of December 1980 can be mentioned (Mugo, 2013; Muhwezi, 2014).

---

<sup>7</sup> The term Al-Shabaab is the Arabic word meaning 'The Youth.' Al-Shabaab is associated with most of the terrorist attacks happened in the East Africa countries. It is also believed that the group has a strong ideological tie with Al-Qaeda and Islamic state. Accessed from: <http://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/groups/view/61>.

It is also known as the first known terrorist attack in Kenya. Subsequently, Kenya has faced a number of major terrorist attacks. On 7<sup>th</sup> of August 1998, the US embassy in Nairobi was attacked by Al-Qaeda. According to the opinion of many security experts, this attack was an eye opener in many ways. They argue that the attack was particularly targeted at the American government; Al-Qaeda used Kenya only as message holder. Shreds of evidence also suggested that the attack killed far much more Kenyan citizens than Americans. The incident took the life of 213 civilians, 201 Kenyan nationals and 12 American citizens (Woldeselase, 2010). Later in consecutive years, the scholar's point of the argument becomes clear.

According to the Kenyan police report, 127 terrorist attacks have occurred in Kenya from the year 2014 to 2016. The details are Forty-five (45) in 2014, sixty-six (66) in 2015 and sixteen (16) in 2016. With the Garissa University attack that happened on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of April 2015 claim to take the lives of at least 152 students, recording the highest number of fatalities in the recent past. Likewise, the Kenyan police report showed that 202 people lost their lives because of terrorist attacks in the year 2015, while 16 died in the year 2016. Regarding the number of injuries 120 people injured in 2015 and 8 in the year 2016. As regards, the perpetrator of the attacks, Al-Shabaab takes the lions share (Muhwezi, 2014). Furthermore, scholars like Mbugua (2015) claimed that most of the Al-Shabaab attacks were focusing on non-Muslims. For example, the bus attack that took place on 22 November 2014, on primary level teachers is one of it. All teachers in the bus were non-Muslims and they came from different counties. Similarly, after ten days, on 2 December 2014, the killed quarry workers were non-Muslims.

Though the numbers of terrorists' attacks are gradually decreasing, terrorism remained a big threat for Kenya, mainly due to Kenyan Defence Force (KDF) continued operation in Somalia.

### **2.7.1 Underlying causes of terrorism in Kenya**

Alike the definition of terrorism, it is difficult to have a rigorous full list of causes of terrorism in the case of Kenya. It is also difficult to have a readymade list of causes of terrorism that suited with all acts of terrorism. But, there are commonly shared

factors that created a convenient playground for the creation of terrorist organizations and acts of terrorism.

In spite of all the difficulties, scholars have mentioned underlying causes of terrorism in Kenya. The highest unemployment rate, poor governance, corruption, high level of ethnic politics, extremism, historical grievance and colonialism can be mentioned (Woldeselase, 2010; Maina, 2014). According to Maina (2014), causes of terrorism in Kenya are classified into two, i.e. root and justifying causes. He added that there is no a single cause for terrorism to have happened in Kenya. Rather, it is a result of historical and multifaceted factors such as regional character, political situation, economic, and cultural factors. He also claimed that causes of each terrorism group formations and the attacks have been determined by the geopolitical, economic, social, cultural and individual psychological factors. The causes are also situation dependent.

Likewise, there is a trend to classify reasons as internal and external. The high unemployment rate, unfair wealth distribution, corruption, ungoverned spaces, porous borders, illegitimacy, discrimination and intensive ethnic politics are the major internal causes that prompt terrorism in Kenya (Woldesellassei, 2010; Din, 2011). Whereas, The Kenyan government strong tie with western countries, especially with the USA can be recognized as an external cause. This claim is stretched to the level that, the Kenyan government has been executing the mission of western nations (Din, 2011). Similarly, the presence of Kenyan Defense Force (KDF) on Somalia's soil is mentioned as the other external cause. Allison states that:

Unlike Uganda's internationally approved military support for Somalia's fragile central government (along with Burundi, Djibouti, and Sierra Leone), Kenya's was a unilateral intervention. Despite subsequent UN legitimacy, Kenya's intervention in Somalia was essentially an invasion, and the risk of revenge was always going to be high (2013, p. 1).

Moreover, factors such as inequality in wealth distribution, corruption and ethnic conflicts have fuelled the magnitude of terrorism in Kenya (Committee to protect Journalists, 2015). For example, the 2016 Amnesty International Corruption Perception Index report shows that out of 176 countries included in the report Kenya

is placed on the rank of 145; which is among one of the corrupted countries in the world. Similarly, the 2017 Corruption Perception Index by Transparency International demonstrated that with the score of 28 on the scale from 0 to 100. In which 100 is very clean and 0 the most corrupted. Kenya is on the rank of 143 out of 180 countries and territories participated in the index. This again identifies Kenya as one of the highly corrupted countries in the world. The analysis from the report further shows that journalists and activists working in highly corrupted countries are risking their life while they try to uncover the bad deeds of government officials.

According to Maina (2014), Kenya has faced four dominant terrorism types- (referring to religious, ethnic-nationalist, leftist and rightist). Amongst these, the first two brought a heavy damage on Kenya. In fact, a close up look at a Kenyan society and politics can justify this argument. Kenya is known by ethnic tensions. Especially, the tension between the two ethnic groups, Kikuyu and Luo are high (Woldeselase, 2010). The ethnic tension is mainly manifested during election periods. As a number of sources revealed, in 2007 following an election result announcement, a post-election conflict has erupted throughout the country which ended up with taking the life of many individuals and property damages. The same kind of incident has happened in August 2017. A number of scholars agreed that post-election crisis opens the door for further terrorist acts.

In addition, Muhwezi (2014) provided a bold claim that; the high influx of refugees into Kenya has its own contribution, particularly Somalia refugees. He extended his argument that, with the increase of Somalia origin refugees into Kenya, the number of terrorist attacks was also increased correspondingly.

To sum up, from the beginning this thesis does not have any intention of listing all causes of terrorism in Kenya. Besides, the above causes are not the only ones; rather they just served as a departure point for further discussion.

## **2.8 Media and Terrorism symbiosis**

The correlation that exists between mass media and terrorism is manifested in various forms. A number of researchers who studied on media and terrorism concluded that the occurrences of heinous terror attacks have the power to change

media culture of a certain nation. According to Altheide (2007), after September 11 attacks, many media outlets in the USA began practicing protocol journalism, which was not familiar before. Alike, many newspaper stories used government officials as the only news sources. Similarly, during that particular time, the US foreign policy was not challenged by news organizations. As a result, the watchdog role of media was paused for a while. Arguably, it is hard to say the role of media in instigated fear was a new discourse in the USA; rather, the discourse was renewed after the attack.

Altheide (2007) further argues that media were served as a propaganda arm of the government. With the purpose of winning the heart and mind of the public, the politicians of the time brought 'we versus them' kind of narratives, like equated terrorism to the Muslim faith in general and Iraq in particular. In support of this claim, Eid (2013) provided an argument that, since 9/11 the American mainstream media have operated to keep the best interest of the majority western society culture, while disregarded the ethos of the minorities like Muslims. The same is true for Kenyan media outlets. The appraisal report prepared by Media Council of Kenya states that *"the Kenyan media just like the US media during 9/11 attack ignored the context of the terrorist attack and failed to ask the hard critical questions about the incident"* (2014, p.8).

Seib & Janbek (2010) advanced an argument that, during 9/11 attacks Al-Qaeda achieved its ultimate goal not only by killing thousands of innocent people, rather by horrifying millions of people throughout the globe by disseminated graphic images and toxic messages of its leaders through media channels. Similarly, Jenkins stated that: *"terrorist attacks are often carefully choreographed to attract the attention of the electronic media and the international press. The hostages themselves often mean nothing to the terrorist. Terrorism is aimed at the people watching, not at the actual victims"* (1975, p.20). Wilkinson (1997) has also argued that the rapid increase of information communication technology boosts the interest of terrorists to run for publicity.

In fact, in order to sale fear in the mind of the public and to achieve their political goals terrorist organizations intensively use different media outlets (Kellen, 2015).

Similarly, Yusof & etal (2013) have argued that without the help of media the power of terrorists are insignificant. Many other scholars also agreed with this rationale. Every action terrorists made is to gain publicity in the society or in the international public. Weimann stated that *“a detailed manual of the Afghan jihad that was used for the instruction of would-be terrorists in Al-Qaeda’s training camps, publicity was (and most probably still is) an overriding consideration in planning terrorist acts”* (2008, p.72).

Moreover, terrorism has portended itself in different dimensions that make it an imperative subject to be covered by media outlets. It has elements of human tragedy, miracle stories, heroes, shocking footage and action (Agedah, 2008; Media Council of Kenya, 2014). Also, gatekeepers who are operating media outlets believe that acts of terrorism have a potential to increase the number of viewers, listeners and readers. Simply put, terrorism is a newsworthy concept. Alike, to attract a large number of audience’s media outlets competed each other to be first in covering terrorism incidents. Glüpker, calls this *“breaking news mentality”* (2008, p.14).

Furthermore, stated in Maina (2014) Hoffman has argued that, in the absence of media coverage, terrorist attacks are dragged down to the level of other petty crimes. And failure by the media to cover the attacks would not stop terrorists from attacking innocent victims. Similarly, minus audiences terrorism is like other kinds of common incidents such as war and secret killings (Skrzypek, 2013).

In addition, many scholars identified media with a double-edged sharp sword. In one hand it can provide important services to the best functioning of a society, while on the other hand, reports that seem to glorify terrorist activities can be deemed a devastating tool, which only escalates the menace.

Further, though it is not under the scope of this thesis to study about the role of new media in terrorism, it seems important to mention a point in a contemporary media and terrorism studies. Ruane (2016) insists that, in addition to mainstream media types such as television, radio and newspapers, terrorist organizations utilize social media sites like Twitter and Facebook to disseminate their propaganda or to nominate new members to their group or at least to create sympathizers for their

purpose. For instance, during the Westgate shopping mall attack in Nairobi, the media wing of Al-Shabaab transmitted the attack instantly via Twitter.

The above statements indicate the presence of a strong relationship between media and terrorism.

## **2.9 Coverage of terrorism by Kenyan privately owned newspapers**

Jimris-rekve (2016) characterized the Kenyan media as one of active as well as complicated. Also, according to the 2014 Media Council of Kenya ethical and professional glimpse report, the coverage of terrorism has increased in Kenya, particularly after the Westgate mall attack that happened on 21<sup>st</sup> of September 2013. Print media outlets gave more coverage to news stories related to terrorism than other mainstream media types such as radio and television (Maina, 2014). However, the focus of this thesis is only on two privately owned newspapers, *Daily Nation* and *The Standard*.

The handbook on reporting terrorism (2016) prepared by Media Council of Kenya presented standard guidelines so that journalists can effectively report on sensitive issues like terrorism. Actually, the standards on reporting terrorism are emanated from basic journalism ethical standards such as accuracy, objectivity, minimizing harm, the pursuit of truth, balance, and the like. In the same vein, journalists should think about bad consequences that can come due to their coverage.

In fact, in a country like Kenya where the extent of terrorism is high journalists have a greater responsibility than mere reporting. In addition, it is an issue, which challenges the professional capacities of journalists. Traditionally, journalists are expected to provide information to the public on various issues including terrorism. Hence, the public can make an informed decision on the basis of the information that gets from media outlets. However, in the case of reporting terrorism, it is not as such easy. It is the issue, which can even decide the fate of media outlets.

Maina (2014) recommended media stations to be cautious while reporting terrorism. Media outlets should not use graphic images. Similarly, they should choose appropriate terminologies so as not to invoke instability and sell fear in the mind of the people. However, still these days there are basic ethical and professional

limitations from the side of media outlets. For example, in some of media reports, it is evidenced that the journalists directly used the words of terrorists. Hence, they have been playing a 'parrot effect' in repeating what terrorists say. As a result, they can create panic in the mind of audiences. Likewise, the research conducted by Media Council of Kenya in the year 2014 by the title, *Deconstructing Terror: Assessing Media's Role in Religious Intolerance and Radicalization* concluded that the majority of the Kenyan media are biased while in the coverage of terrorism, especially, they equate Islam with terrorism.

In the same way, Mbugua (2015) has argued that enough caution must be taken in the coverage of terrorism issue. Extraordinary coverage of terrorist incidents by using images and terrorists words only results in an increment of terrorist act. Mbugua (2015) provided the report did by *Sunday Nation* as an example. This biggest newspaper in Kenya as well as in East Africa once published a story about Al-Shabaab possible attack on the Kenyan parliament. Part of the news article showed why past terror attempts had failed. In effect, terrorists can take a lesson from this kind of unwise reporting and learn from their previous mistakes and devise a new strategy that can bring a devastating damage. Along, they used media to brand their values and to promote their agenda.

To regulate misconducts of journalists the Media Council of Kenya came up with the act. It is also known as the Code of Conduct for the Practice of Journalism (second schedule of the Media Council Act 2013). Mainly, the act recommended journalists to make a balance between national interest and the public right to know. The act also aims to progress their coverage to a more advanced level. The act has 25 articles and governs all journalists and media practitioners working in Kenya.<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> Articles 3, 4, 10, 12, 15, 21, 23, 24 and 25 of the code explicitly stated about do's and do not do's for the media during coverage of stories of terrorism. The Code of Conduct for the Practise of Journalism in Kenya. Accessed from: <http://www.mediaCouncil.or.ke/en/mck/index.php/code-of-conduct-for-the-practice-of-journalism>.

## **2.10 Counter-terrorism measures taken by the Kenyan government**

Every sovereign government has the duty of protecting their citizens from danger (Anica, 2015; Bantekas & Oette, 2016). This means with no doubt, like other sovereign governments, the Kenyan government is also expected to secure its people from the threat of terrorism. Moreover, United Nations office of counter-terrorism provided a number of legal frameworks so as to fight terrorism from a globe.<sup>9</sup> Anica (2015) argues that the successes of counter-terrorism initiatives are highly reliant on the appropriate definition given for terrorism. Similarly, Eid (2013) explained that terrorism in this modern era is different from the previous times. Whereby, terrorist organizations are highly organized in terms of finance, logistics, strategy and manpower. This implies that, unless governments prepare effective counter-terrorism measures to the level of terrorist groups they can convey a devastating attack than the preceding times.

Furthermore, Tumushabe (2015) argues that, counter-terrorism measures taken by government should get acceptance by the public. Likewise, most of the time there is a tendency to think counter-terrorism initiatives as the sole responsibility of states. Hence, they held accountable for the mistakes they did on the move to combat terrorism. McConaghy (2014) challenged this scholarship. He attached the state with people. Meaning, the individuals that take positions in different levels of the state represented the interest of the people in some ways. Hence, in other ways the responsibility of combating terrorism rests on the public.

Moreover, Donohue (2005) has argued that counter-terrorism measures might change into state terrorism. Donohue further disclosed that democratic countries like the United States, United Kingdom, Israel and Turkey have used a number of unjustifiable meanness like arbitrary arrest, torture and killing of suspected terrorists and innocent civilians. Yet, she also argues that all actions taken by the governments against terrorists were not equivalent with terrorist attacks carried out by Non-State Actors.

---

<sup>9</sup> By clicking the below link you can find the number of relevant legal documents that exist in the field of Counter-terrorism:<http://www.un.org/en/Counter-terrorism/legal-instruments.shtml>.

In the case of Kenya, the government has been taking a variety of measures to counter the acts of terrorism. Isoke (2015) advanced an argument that trans-border terrorism like what Al-Shabaab has done on Kenya can be combated effectively only through regional as well as international cooperation's. The African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) is considered as a regional mechanism. Kenya keeps contributing troops to AMISOM. As an international cooperation, the Kenyan government created a strong tie with the United States of America and other democratic countries. This is revealed by the fact that, Kenya is the highest receiver of support from the United States for the purpose of countering terrorism. Similarly, the US government supported the proposal of the Kenyan government to build a wall on the border of Somalia and Kenya. Mr. Robert F. Godec, the former US ambassador in Kenya stressed that porous border is one of the big problems for Kenya. So, there is a need to intensify the security of the border by making a big wall. (Ringa, 8 July 2015).<sup>10</sup>

In addition, the government of Kenya has taken legal measures like an implementation of the 2012 prevention of Terrorism Act and the Security Amendment Bill of 2014.<sup>11</sup> For example, section 12 of the 2014 Security Amendment Bill clearly states that:

A person who publishes or broadcasts or causes to be published or distributed, through print, digital or electronic means, insulting, threatening, or inciting material or images of dead or injured persons which are likely to cause fear and alarm to the general public or disturb public peace commits an offence and is liable, upon conviction, to a fine not exceeding five million shillings or imprisonment for a term not exceeding three years or both.

Buchanan-Clarke & Lekalake (2015) mentioned the Afrobarometer no. 37 survey dispatched by Pan-African research network's on July 2015. According to the survey, the Kenyan citizens are not satisfied by the way their government handled terrorism.

---

<sup>10</sup> News about USA assistance to Kenya. Retrieved from: <https://www.nation.co.ke/counties/US-to-help-Kenya-fight-terrorism/1107872-2780260-afx4b2z/index.html>.

<sup>11</sup> The 2014 Security Amendment Act: retrieved from: [http://www.kenyalaw.org/kl/fileadmin/pdfdownloads/AmendmentActs/2014/SecurityLaws\\_Amendment\\_Act\\_2014.pdf](http://www.kenyalaw.org/kl/fileadmin/pdfdownloads/AmendmentActs/2014/SecurityLaws_Amendment_Act_2014.pdf)

It is at this juncture that, the government faced a scenario to choose either riding over democratic values to achieve in counter-terrorism initiatives or tolerating some degree of margin of appreciation for terrorism, so as to build a strong democratic system irrespective of the current situation.

In addition, there were allegations coming from Kenyan coastal areas. The investigation conducted by Amnesty International (2015), revealed that some of the counter-terrorism measures taken by the Kenyan government deprived the human rights of Kenyans of Somali origin (Mbugua, 2015). This is actually common even for countries known by consolidated democracy. After 9/11 attacks USA used the 'war on Terror' as a cover to infringe the rights of those perceived enemies or designated terrorists (Bantekas & Oette, 2016).

Yet, arguably, the above counter-terrorism measures taken by the Kenya government may have an impact on the autonomy of the two newspapers. This point will be entertained detail in chapter four of the thesis.

## **2.11 The public right to know versus national security**

In the 2014 Media Council of Kenya report Twalib Mbarak stated that, though it is hard to make a balance between the public right to know and national security, Kenyan media outlets should perform up to their maximum level to bring the equilibrium. Also, the line between freedom of information and state secrets is blurred. Mbarak extended his argument that, even in democratic countries like the USA, there are some sorts of information that keep confidentially by the government. However, the case is different when compared with many African countries. Where, governments can easily override the public right to know in the guise of national security. For example, some of the security individuals of Kenya worked during the past regimes misused their authority in the name of national security. The impunity served them as a shield to corrupt and abuse human rights.

The handbook of reporting terrorism (2016), disclosed that after a serious of gruesome terrorist attacks there were blaming between individuals from the side of media and security officials. The Kenyan government security officials accused media for its biased and subjective reporting, while media counter-accused the security for its serious violation of human rights in general and press freedom in

particular. Moreover, they blamed the security for intimidation of journalists and denial of important information for making stories on terrorism.

On May 2, 2014, during the inauguration of Regional journalist's convention at Kenyatta international convention center, the current president of Kenya, Uhuru Kenyatta passed a message to journalists about the importance of attaching responsibility with journalistic reporting. The president stress on the point that, without considering responsibility there is no such a thing called press freedom. Also, the president pointed fingers at those journalists who wrote stories without looking professional code of conduct and on those who misused the concept of press freedom. Moreover, the president appreciated some good endeavors played by media in the national development. President Uhuru Kenyatta concluded his speech by saying, if media houses are failed to play their protective role, it is at the stake of the government to take over and protect those unprotected from bad messages come through media outlets (Media Council of Kenya, 2014).

## **2.12 Challenges of dealing with terrorism stories**

Editors and reporters worked in different parts of the world have faced a number of challenges and they are among the forefront targets of terrorists' attacks. Yet, the focus of this thesis is only on private media outlets operating in Kenya, more specifically, the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers. It does not mean editors and reporters working in government or public media outlets were immune from the threat of terrorism; rather they relatively have some degree of protection from the government. Also, it is not under the scope of this thesis to study about government-owned media outlets.

The Kenyan media have faced plenty of challenges related to coverage of terrorism (Gicheru, 2014). The ban and intimidation of critical newspapers in Kenya is not a new phenomenon, rather it is back to the time of President Mwai Kibaki. According to Gicheru (2014), a critical newspaper that was owned by the National Council of Christian Churches of Kenya was banned by Mwai. In addition, Mwai declared to close publications that he thought encouraged the voice of oppositions. During his presidency, the government strictly controlled privately owned

newspapers by the means of controlling foreign exchange. As a matter of fact, newspaper organizations need foreign exchange to perform their operation.

Furthermore, members of private newspapers have faced physical intimidation (Gicheru, 2014). For example, on 2<sup>nd</sup> of March 2006, the masked policemen appeared in *The Standard* newspaper newsroom, set fire on the printed issue ready to the market, took a computer and leave the scene. The police justified the act as a measure taken to keep the national security.

Similarly, journalists who covered horrific terrorist attacks faced a Psychological trauma. The Media Council of Kenya 2014 appraisal report demonstrated that many journalists who covered the tragedy of Westgate mall attack are leaving with emotional trauma. Some of them are still extremely suspicious of individuals including their workmates. Especially, their suspiciousness is higher towards Somali origin individuals.

Even if the Kenyan journalists are patriotic and passionate about their job, they lack an in-depth understanding of security issues (Mbarak, 2014). Many of them do not specialize on security issues. Thus, it becomes difficult to get professional reporting of the issue and it remained one of the challenges.

Shortages of working materials are the other challenge. Tom Rhodes, in the 2013 Media Council of Kenya report addressed that, even one of the biggest broadcaster *The Standard* media group had only five flak jackets and five helmets for many of their journalists. And the material shortage is the worst in the case of freelance journalists. Yet, the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) through its 2015 publication advised journalists to equip equivalent with the situation.

In the Media Council of Kenya (2014), Godia, mentioned audiences as the other challenge for journalists in the coverage terrorism in Kenya. Audiences are one of the detrimental factors in the selection of stories to be covered. Godia disclosed the study conducted by Peter Oriare, Rosemary Okello and Wilson Ugangu entitled *The Media We Want: The Kenyan Media Vulnerabilities Study (2010)*. Their study concluded that the interest of audiences impacted the practice of media houses. Likewise, Atemi (2013) has argued that the issue of terrorism is in the interest of every journalist and

editors. However, it is not an easy subject to cover. In most instances, disagreements have occurred on the angles terrorism stories are written from.

Kimutai (2013), an editor of the Management Magazine, believes that even if the performance of media outlets in covering disasters like terrorism is good when evaluated with their working conditions, yet still there are shortcomings that need to be improved. For example, during the Westgate mall attack, some newspapers used images directly from social media sites without verifying authenticity. Hence, it can potentially create panic in the mind that news reader. Similarly, usage of unverified images and statistical texts may succeed the agenda of terrorists. As a solution, he recommends that media outlets should look terrorism from a variety of perspectives. Otherwise, a small mistake in reporting urges the journalists, editors and media houses to pay a huge price.

### **2.12.1 The challenges on press freedom in general**

It is believed that freedom of expression in general and press freedom, in particular, is important for the welfare of any society. It is also the core of democracy and the major value of the liberal world. In addition, these concepts are found at the heart of many international as well as domestic legal documents. For instance, article 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) reads that: *“Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.”*

Similarly, it is also well situated in many international covenants and conventions. The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) can be noted in this regards.<sup>12</sup> Kenya is among 169 signing parties to the covenant.

---

<sup>12</sup> Article 19 (2) of the covenant states that: Everyone shall have the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of his choice. However, the covenant stress on the importance of responsibly, also restrictions can be imposed on demanded situations. Retrieved from:

<http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CCPR.aspx>

However, at different times in history freedom of expression has faced up and downs. The attack on press freedom is immense. The work nature of journalists forced them to appear on the scene and inform the public what is going on. As a result, they can be easily vulnerable to physical injury as well as psychological trauma, and in some occasions to death (UNESCO, 2017). The famous case of Charlie Hebdo can be an example. On 14<sup>th</sup> of January 2015, BBC came up with a news story about the Charlie Hebdo attack that happened on the 7<sup>th</sup> of January 2015 with the news headline *Charlie Hebdo attack: Three days of terror*.

Charlie Hebdo is a weekly magazine famous for its controversial caricatures. Majorly, the caricatures made about Prophet Muhammad were graceless in the eyes of radical Muslims. While many others who firmly believed in democratic values took Charlie Hebdo as the best manifestation of freedom of expression. They entitled the attack as an assault against freedom of expression. Sadly enough, the attack took away the lives of 12 of the magazine staffs including three editors and five caricaturists.

Following the attack, many ideas have been forwarded. Many say media outlets must be free to entertain any kind of ideas without any form of pressures. Whereas, others like the current president of Turkey Recep Tayyip Erdogan said, "*provocative publications about Muslims by Charlie Hebdo equates to wreaking terror by intervening in the free space of others. Hence, media must be responsible for covering sensitive issues like religion*" (The Economist, 2015, January 8).

Besides, there is an assumption that, it is only governments that can limit press freedom. However, Cliteur, Herrenberg & Rijkema (2015) challenged this assumption. According to them, currently, there is a new kind of censorship imposed by terrorist groups. By exerting pressures they tried to twist media outlets, so as to cover stories in favor of their interest. Moreover, terrorists attack media outlets to gain publicity and also to damage media outlets which practice professional journalism or whom they think supports the government ideology which is against them.

Perbal, B., & Perbal, A. (2015) have argued that the Charlie Hebdo incident was not a plan to attack France as most politicians underscored, but rather it was an

assault against freedom of expression in general and press freedom in particular. They took Iraq as an example. Under the pretext of the 'war on terror', the then time president of USA George W. Bush, created a narrative about how Iraq is a danger to America. Yet, the Bush administration did that to regain the lost trust from the public.

Despite, Charlie Hebdo and other similar cases are debatable, to show solidarity with the victims and to denounce the terrorist act, the slogan in French said '*Je Suis Charlie*' meaning, I am Charlie is still memorable in the mind of many individuals.

### **2.13 Overview of press freedom in Kenya**

Press freedom in Kenya has a strong base. The 2010 Kenyan constitution article 33 (1) and 34 (1-3) stated a promising statement about freedom of expression and the press freedom respectively.<sup>13</sup> Arguably, this Kenyan constitution is one of the liberal constitutions like few other democratic countries have. Yet, the constitution is not without restrictions.<sup>14</sup>

The limitation and derogation of this right have entertained a robust debate. In one side, there are scholars who supported the limitation of this right in order to demark the line between freedom of expression and hate speech that later lead to

---

<sup>13</sup> The 2010 constitution of Kenya article 33 (1) said that every person has the right to freedom of expression, which includes – (a) freedom to seek, receive or impart information or ideas; (b) freedom of artistic creativity; and (c) academic freedom and freedom of scientific research. And Article 34 (1-3) Freedom and independence of electronic, print and all other types of media is guaranteed, (2) The State shall not – (a) exercise control over or interfere with any person engaged in broadcasting, the production or circulation of any publication or the dissemination of information by any medium; or (b) penalise any person for any opinion or view or the content of any broadcast, publication or dissemination. (3) Broadcasting and other electronic media have freedom of establishment, subject only to licensing procedures that – (a) are necessary to regulate the airwaves and other forms of signal distribution; and (b) are independent of control by government, political interests or commercial interests.

<sup>14</sup> Article 33 (2&3) stated that: (2) The right to freedom of expression does not extend to – (a) propaganda for war; (b) incitement to violence; (c) hate speech; or (d) advocacy of hatred that – (i) constitutes ethnic incitement, vilification of others or incitement to cause harm; or (ii) is based on any ground of discrimination specified or contemplated in Article 27 (4). (3) In the exercise of the right to freedom of expression, every person shall respect the rights and reputation of others.

terrorism. While on the other hand, others insisted that there must not be limitations on freedom of expression. In fact, let alone Kenya with a developing democracy, in countries which are known for consolidated democracy the absolute nature of freedom of expression is challenging. In Carlsson, Helge Rønning stated that “*even Norway, one of the world’s democratic countries the implications of freedom of expression is controversial*” (2013, p.22).

Many journalists and media practitioners claimed that, by different modus operandi with what the terrorists have been doing, the Kenyan government has also attacked media freedom by employed national security as a pretext. For example, the Prevention of Terrorism Act, 2012 Article 30(a) by the title publication of offending material, specified that:

A person who Publishes or utters a statement that is likely to be understood as directly or indirectly encouraging or inducing another person to commit or prepare to commit an act of terrorism commits an offense and is liable on conviction to imprisonment for a term not exceeding fourteen years.

By the same line, the Act, under the title incitement stated restrictive statement.<sup>15</sup>

According to the Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) 2015 special report, because of the above legal frameworks the Kenyan journalists could not perform what they could perform. Also, they are threatened by President Uhuru Kenyatta's Jubilee collation. The report further stated that the pressure from commercial actors was also high. Hence, journalists worked under inconvenient situations to practice their journalistic duty. Also, it is common to entitled journalists as 'Al-Shabaab sympathizers.'

Jimris-Rekve (2016) claimed that started from the implementation of Security Law Amendment Act (SLAA) in 2014; the Kenyan media have been forced to self-censorship while reporting on the issue of terrorism. As a result, they acted

---

<sup>15</sup> Prevention of Terrorism Act 30 of 2012 stated that a person, who publishes, distributes or otherwise avails information intending to directly or indirectly incite another person or a group of persons to carry out a terrorist act commits an offence and is liable on conviction, to imprisonment for a term not exceeding thirty years.

differently than previous times, whereby, media outlets enjoyed an ample of media freedom (Jimris-Rekve, 2016). By doing so, the government tried to cripple the activity of media outlets. Actually, self-censorship is not only practiced in Africa, yet, the practice is widespread in Africa because of the number of reasons such as governments intervention in the works of the media and unsteady political conditions (Skjerdal, 2010). I understand that self-censorship is a mental process which guides a journalist to take a decision to include or exclude some points before reaching the audience which is practiced by journalists found in every country. The only difference might be the extent of the practice and its form. I also considered that self-censorship is a combination of many factors. The journalist's personal preference, culture, politics and religion can be stated.

Jimris-Rekve (2016) further described that it was after the first multi-party election which press freedom seems to flourish in Kenya. Yet, as mentioned in CPJ (2015), report David Ohito, digital content editor of *The Standard* group described the existing press freedom situation of Kenya by saying, "*This is one of the most hostile regimes we have seen to press freedom*" (2015, p.6). On the other hand, the Kenyan government officials did not accept this critic. They pointed out that, it is during this regime that journalists gain an ample of freedoms to practice their journalistic work. Ezekiel Mutua, who served as a secretary general of the Kenya Union of Journalists from 2001 to 2007 told to CPJ that, from the beginning, President Uhuru has a strong interest to have a free press in Kenya. He added that, if we allow numbers to talk, Uhuru made more number of press conferences than the sum of press conferences held by three former presidents.

In the 2013 Media Council of Kenya report, David Kimaiyo, the inspector general of the police disclosed that there is no such a thing called absolute freedom of media. There is a need to see the legal frameworks closely so as to close the door against those individuals who want to commit a crime on Kenya in the pretext of press freedom.

As far as the opinion of many scholars are concerned to give a solution to the problems related with press freedom in Kenya converting the promises written in the

constitution into practice is expected from the government, whereas the journalists must act appropriately as per legal frameworks. Otherwise, mere promises in any forms cannot suffice to the Kenyan's press freedom demand.

# CHAPTER THREE

## RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

### 3.0 Introduction

This research has assessed the impacts if any Counter-terrorism initiatives taken by the Kenyan government have on the autonomy of the privately owned media outlets (referring to the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers). The chapter mainly discusses the methodology of the study.

Like any other research issues, the issue of terrorism in relation with media can be studied either by qualitative, quantitative or by mixed method research traditions. Questionnaire, interview, focus group discussion and document analysis are the common data gathering tools (Bryman, 2012; Jensen, 2013; Oliver, 2014). Emanated from the nature of the research in general, the aim and the research questions in particular, I have selected qualitative research to be the methodology of this thesis. Quantitative aspects were also included in the research in a meaningful way. But, it did not mean that the very nature of the research changed into quantitative or mixed types.

Mainly, I want to understand the issue from editors and reporters point of view. Of course, their perspectives are not the only one; rather I interpret the issue through the lens of respondent's. One of the common features of qualitative research is the roles researchers play in the research. Qualitative research is defined as human interpretive subject and the human subject is the basic instrument of qualitative researches (Jensen, 2002). The epistemological position of a qualitative research is interpretivism (interpretivist), which is a common paradigm in the social science researches. Bryman defined it as:

Interpretivism is a term that usually denotes an alternative to the positivism orthodoxy that has held sway for decades. It is predicated upon the view that a strategy is required that respects the differences between people and the objects of the natural sciences and therefore requires the social scientist to grasp the subjective meaning of social action. Its intellectual heritage includes Weber's notion of *Verstehen*; the hermeneutic-phenomenological tradition; and symbolic interactionism (2012, p.30).

Similarly, qualitative research tradition allows for reflexivity. According to Malterud (2001), reflexivity brings the researcher and the respondents to the commonplace, so that they jointly participated in knowledge production. Reflexivity also allows having collective stories between interviewees and the researcher (Silverman, 2016). Thus, reflexivity provided me an opportunity for reframing topic of the thesis and research questions while the research unfolds.

Moreover, the selected methodology gave me the chance to control the research environment, which in a way helped me to guarantee the reliability of the data gathering process. In addition, for qualitative researchers, knowledge is not only getting through experiment but also by critically observing the research environment and interpreting the context mostly qualitative kind of data (Gunter, 2000; Creswell, 2003; Bricki & Green, 2007).

Likewise, the flexibility it gives for researchers is another advantage of qualitative research methodology. Researchers can understand and interpret the context based on their critical observation (Bricki & Green, 2007). In the same vein, it allows the respondents to use their convenient terminologies and answer the questions freely (Gunter, 2000). Furthermore, different from quantitative design, issues in qualitative research design cannot be determined prior to the data collection. The collected data may change the overall nature of the research (VanderStoepn & Johnson, 2009; Oliver, 2014).

However, the selected methodology has also certain limitations. Mainly, in the qualitative methodological approach like this one, the researcher might be influenced by respondents and the question of impartiality can be raised. Thus, the researcher must be critical in selecting samples, data gathering procedure, analyzing data and presentation of findings (Bryman, 2012; Oliver, 2014). Similarly, because of my physical presence interview respondents may spoke out superficial responses which they guess satisfied my interest, not from their inside. Also, a researcher's background will have an effect on the choice of the subject, methods, the findings and communication of conclusion (Malterud, 2001). To minimize subjectivity in interpreting the data I got through in-depth interviews and documents, I prepared a format which is commonly applied to all collected data.

The next sub-sections of the chapter presents concepts such as research design, target population and sampling, sample size and sampling techniques, methods of data collection, data gathering procedure, data analysis and presentation, study site, ethical considerations, reliability and validity and challenges faced during data collection.

### **3.1. Research design**

From the start, this study has intended to answer three general questions, i.e., what are the major focus areas of editors and reporters working in *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers while covering terrorism? To what extent do counter-terrorism initiatives pressurize editors and reporters of the two major newspapers to go for self-censorship? And what challenges do editors and reporters working for *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers have been facing while reporting on terrorism?

To answer the above main questions of the study, I employed exploratory research design involving in-depth interviews and document analysis methods of data collection. By using these two methods, I assessed whether counter-terrorism measures have impacts on the autonomy of *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers or not. I conducted qualitative interviews with eleven respondents in a face-to-face situation.

I created the list of interview respondents based on their attachment with the issue by reading news stories written by journalists of *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers. Also, I got important advice from Mr. Joe Kahdi on the list of potential respondents. Initially, I had a plan to have interviews with 14 respondents. However, when I checked the availability of the interview respondents during that specific interview periods, 3 of the potential interviewees were not available. As a result, I did interviews with the remaining 11 respondents. Regards the procedure, I enlarged the sample by using snowball sampling. I first interviewed editors from the two newspapers, and then I used them to give the contact address of journalists who are specialized on reporting terrorism.

In addition, I observed newsrooms of *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers, yet the observation did not bring visible result to the research. As a matter of fact, freedom of media outlets cannot be adequately addressed just by looking the working environment of media outlets, rather mainly manifested by the attitude of journalists. Yet still, it enabled me to figure out the work vibe of journalists.

### **3.2 Target population and samplings**

*“The total numbers of individuals to whom the results of the research are intended to apply constitute the research population”* (Oliver, 2014, p.149). However, due to a number of reasons studying the all population is quite difficult. As a result, selecting a sample for the study is common and acceptable in the tradition of research (Bryman, 2012; Oliver, 2014). However, the sample must be representative of the population. In the case of this study, I considered the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers to be a representative of privately owned newspapers in Kenya. Also, I believed that the selected interview respondents and news articles potentially represented the topic of this research.

#### **3.2.1 Sample size and sampling techniques**

Like quantitative studies, qualitative studies are also expected to ascertain the way the samples are selected. As a common tradition, the sample size of qualitative studies is determined based on the concept of saturation (Malterud, Siersma & Guassora, 2016). But, this concept is applied differently from one researcher to the other and also it is not consistent. Thus, I did not find it relevant to decide sample size to this study. Rather, this thesis employed a concept called information power. The concern of information power is not about a number, rather it is about the depth of information the samples have and their relevancy for the study (Malterud, Siersma & Guassora, 2016).

About techniques of sampling, I used purposive sampling. In purposive sampling technique, the samples are selected in a non- random way (Bryman, 2012). In this sampling type, the researcher has a discretionary power to decide on respondents whom they can provide relevant data for the research (Oliver, 2014). Besides, I used a snowball sampling technique so as to reach some interview respondents. Concerning

the sample size, I had interview sessions with two editors and four reporters from *The Standard* newspaper and with one editor and two reporters from *Daily Nation*. All the interviewed editors and reporters were selected due to their experience in covering security issues, more specifically terrorism. In addition, background data was gathered from the expert in Media Council of Kenya and from veteran journalism and communication professor. The following table indicates list of interview respondents with their job title. Their detail profile is entertained in the introductory part of the next chapter.

**Table 3.1.** List of interview respondents with their job title

| No. | Name of the interviewee | Sex    | Current/recent employer                                 | Title                                     |
|-----|-------------------------|--------|---|---|
| 1   | Abraham Kisang          | Male   | Media Council of Kenya                                  | The head of research and media monitoring |
| 2   | Anonymous respondent    | Male   | <i>The Standard</i> newspaper                           | Reporter                                  |
| 3   | Charles Omondi          | Male   | <i>Nation Media Group</i>                               | African division editor                   |
| 4   | Cyrus Ombati            | Male   | <i>The Standard</i> newspaper                           | Senior reporter                           |
| 5   | Fred Mukinda            | Male   | <i>Daily Nation</i> newspaper                           | Senior security issues reporter           |
| 6   | Immaculate Akello       | Female | <i>The Standard</i> newspaper                           | Security issues reporter                  |
| 7   | Joe Kahdi               | Male   | University of Nairobi and <i>Daily Nation</i> newspaper | Veteran professor and editor              |
| 8   | John Ngirachu           | Male   | <i>Daily Nation</i>                                     | Senior reporter                           |
| 9   | Nicholas Asego          | Male   | <i>The Standard</i> newspaper                           | Chief sub-editor                          |
| 10  | Njoroge Kinuthia        | Male   | <i>The Standard</i> newspaper                           | Deputy chief editor                       |
| 11  | William Bulemi          | Male   | <i>The Standard</i> newspaper                           | Senior reporter                           |

### **3.2.2 Qualitative data sampling frame**

The news articles that were selected for the study have consisted of the years 2015, 2016 and 2017 and one news story from 2018. In total, the study took fifty-two (52) news stories from the two newspapers, 35 from *Daily Nation* and 17 from *The Standard*. News articles were selected arbitrarily based on a purpose, however, as much as possible priority was given to the main theme of the thesis. Moreover, I selected news stories with the key term, '*terrorism and counter-terrorism in Kenya since 2015*'. Besides, to assure reliability the selected news stories are found both in print and digital forms.

### **3.3 Methods of data collection**

As a common tradition, qualitative researches mostly applied data-collecting mechanisms such as case study, interview, direct observation and focus group discussion (Hogan, Dolan & Donnelly, 2009; Bryman, 2012; Oliver, 2014). In consideration of the selected research methodology, to gather relevant and enough data for the research I employed in-depth interview and qualitative content analysis as methods of this study.

#### **3.3.1 In-depth interview**

An interview is one of the famous means of information gathering tool for the research (Gunter, 2000; Creswell, 2003; Grix, 2004; Bricki & Green, 2007; Bryman, 2012; Oliver, 2014). Among many types of interview, I employed in-depth interview as one means of data gathering. Some writers identified in-depth interview as similar to qualitative or semi-structured interview types. Bryman defines it as "*like the term 'qualitative interview', this one sometimes refers to an unstructured interview but more often refers to both semi-structured and unstructured interviewing. The use of this term seems to be increasing*" (2012, p.213). In this thesis, I used in-depth and semi-structured interviews interchangeably. As its name indicates, in-depth interview helped me to gather information in an exhaustive manner. Moreover, it has a room for flexibility and it gave me a chance to get unexpected information. It is also advised to employ interview by mixing with other methods, so as to get pertinent data for the research

(Grix, 2004). Besides, I preferred semi-structured interview types due to the fact that it gave room for researchers to ask follow up questions during interview sessions (Stallings, 2003).

### **3.3.2 Qualitative content analysis**

In addition to in-depth interviews, this thesis used content analysis from the news articles written by *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers.

Content or textual analysis can be anything. It can be film, a statue, a book, a television show, a music that convey meaning, and can also be analyzed (VanderStoep & Johnson, 2009). Every document carried symbolic meaning. For instance, the colour choice of my friend told me about his personality. Texts are not actually confined only to written documents, but also for non-verbal communication (VanderStoep & Johnson, 2009). The way someone walks or talks can give us a hint about that individual behaviour. Many researchers who applied textual analysis believed that texts have the power to influence the behaviour of individuals. Also, in most instances texts inclined towards the interest of a particular group. Later, it reinforces the power of that group (VanderStoep & Johnson, 2009). For example, the war on terror rhetoric imaged Iraq as the enemy of the USA. In the case of this thesis, I only took news articles as texts.

Furthermore, I employed a coding system which is appropriate for qualitative researchers. Jensen (2013) describes that a code may be understood as a resource or instrument for detecting and saving a given portion of the field. In a next step, this unit of analysis may be examined either for its inherent structure and specific qualities or with reference to some additional portion of its context. Here, the ambition of research is to examine a wider setting, which is said to always circumscribe and embed the central object of analysis and its meaning.

In this connection, I prepared the code sheet. For instance, the first news article I got from *The Standard* newspaper was coded after TSN1 and as well as *Daily Nation*, DNN1. Moreover, the news articles were coded with the date of publication. Furthermore, the key terms used in the news articles picked systematically and objectively for further analysis.

### 3.4 Data gathering procedure

Based on purposive sampling, I selected two Kenyan privately owned newspapers, the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* to be a sample of privately owned media outlets in Kenya. I choose these two newspapers due to the rationale that they have the highest number of circulations and readership. According to unclassified sources, currently, the two newspapers have taken more than half of the readers in Kenya. Besides, they are also accessible online. Regarding interview respondents, eleven interviews were made with key informants. The respondents were chosen purposely so as to achieve the aim of the study. Amongst these, two of them were selected to give background information for the research, a veteran journalism and media professor from the University of Nairobi and head of research and media monitoring from Media Council of Kenya. To avoid the element of subjectivity in selecting interview respondents, first I gathered information about journalists who have experience of covering security issues including terrorism from both newspapers, and then I selected the samples. Similarly, I used snowball sampling in an ethical way and approached four reporters through two chief editors.

Regarding the procedure, I gave a notice to all interviewees ahead of every interview sessions I arranged time and place of an interview with them. As I mentioned above, this thesis employed semi-structured interview question types. This type combined the benefits of both informal and structured interviews. VanderStoep & Johnson, (2009) calls it guided interview.

The guided interview follows an outline of questions, but not all of the prescribed probes, transitions, and follows - ups are established prior to the interview. The interviewer is given freedom to deviate from the interview questions as needed to pursue serendipitous findings and fruitful directions. (VanderStoep & Johnson, 2009, p.225).

Further, before every of the interview sessions, I checked whether I hold all the required equipment's such as notepad, pen and recorder. Besides, afore all interviews I provided structured interview questions for interviewees. Also, I asked follow-up questions. Finally, before I left the interview settings I listened to the recorded sound to be sure whether it's recorded or not. In addition, in three of interview sessions, after I switched off my recorder, I took important notes, but first I

asked them a permission to jot down notes. Concerning gathering of news articles, I spent two hours for 15 days in each newspaper offices.

All interviews were conducted in a one-to-one and face-to-face situation. The face-to-face platform created an opportunity for interview respondents to ask me for clarity if there were something unclear. In addition, it gave them a chance to know about my background and intention. Also, since terrorism is one of the sensitive issues, in the absence of me it would be hard to found responses through other alternative means such as E-mail and phone. Alike, my physical presence helped me to get trust from respondents. Similarly, all interviews were made in their respective venues.

The second method used for gathering data was document analysis. Like the in-depth interviews, it has also passed through a serious of procedures. To be objective in the selection of news stories I employed a key term '*terrorism and counter-terrorism in Kenya since 2015*' for both media outlets. Moreover, I only selected news genre. Features, letter to the editor, opinions, commentaries and advertisements are not included in the analysis. Similarly, news articles bought from international news agencies were not included in the list.

In addition, before I directed my question to list down criteria that the two media outlets applied to select stories of terrorism, I forwarded a question about the major causes of terrorism in Kenya in order to know the understanding of the respondents about the issue.

### **3.5 Data analysis and presentation**

The data gathered through in-depth interviews systematically transcribed and presented in a narrative form and simple graphs (they are indicated in page numbers 56-58). Whereas, data extracted from news articles were analysed by using document analysis technique and the findings were presented majorly in the form of narrative, simple graphs and pie-charts. The overall purpose of using these techniques was to create uniformity in the presentation of collected data both through interviews and documents, and also to provide readers with unambiguous information. Moreover, I

prepared a conceptual model that illustrates the relationship between the government, terrorist groups and media outlets (It is indicated on page number 68).

### **3.6 Study site**

Geographically, the study was conducted in Nairobi, the capital city of Kenya. Whereby, the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspaper offices located. Also, the city is a destination of Media Council of Kenya which included in the study. Similarly, the leading University of the country, University of Nairobi is also found in this city.

#### **3.6.1 Background of Daily Nation newspaper**

The *Daily Nation* which formerly known as *Tafia* was established in the year 1958 by an individual named Charles Hayes. Initially, the newspaper was written in Swahili language and circulated on a weekly basis. Later in the year 1959, Prince Karim Aga Khan took over the ownership of the paper and renamed the newspaper from '*Tafia*' in Swahili to English meaning the '*Nation Today*,' which well along changed to *Daily Nation*. Currently, the newspaper is published under *Nation Media Group* (NMG). NMG controls media market in East Africa, it owns and distributes more than eight newspapers, radio and television channels in Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania and Rwanda (Daily Nation Newspaper and Facts about Nation Media Group, 2017).

Regarding circulation and readership, *Daily Nation* is the biggest newspaper in East and Horn of Africa; and it has 205,000 circulations daily. *Daily Nation* and *Sunday Nation* controlled 74% of the newspaper market in the region. Also, the electronic version of the newspaper boosts the number of readership in addition to the print version. Everyone can access the web portal for free. The newspaper also earns additional money by distributing international magazines and newspapers like *times*, *economist* and *fortune*.

At present, the newspaper is owned by 7,500 shareholders. Amongst, the agency for Aga Khan Development network: Aga Khan Fund for Economic Development has the biggest share.

### **3.6.2. History of The Standard newspaper**

According to the information from the encyclopedia of Britannica, the weekly newspaper *East African Standard*, currently known as *The Standard* was established in 1902 by A.M Jeevanjee in Mombasa. This makes it the oldest newspaper in Kenya. After 8 years, in the year 1910, it changed its office to Nairobi and became a daily printed paper. In the early years, the newspaper was known for its defensive stance to the white settlers of Kenya. But, since 1970s it follows a balanced approach in the reporting of news stories, as a result, its acceptance by the public increased significantly.

Following the independence of Kenya from British colony, *The Standard* got an opportunity to publish the stories without intervention. Yet, even at that moment, it was impossible for *The Standard* to criticize the bad deeds of the government on power or its leaders.

Currently, *The Standard* is the second most readable newspaper next to *Daily Nation*. It is also known for its critical stance against the government.

### **3.7 Identification issues**

I considered ethical issues as the core of this research. Throughout the research process, I treat all individuals with great care and sensitivity including my advisor and friends. More importantly, I never harm my research participants. Also, since the nature of this research is sensitive, I did not ask personal questions or questions which can create trauma in the minds of interview respondents.

During interviews, I asked the free consent of my research participants whether they want to participate in the research or not. Oliver (2014) called this informed consent. Without their consent, I did not take any kind of information. Also, I was strict in keeping the confidentiality of respondents' information. I did not give one respondent's interview response to the other. In addition, I asked all respondents whether I can use their name or they want to stay anonymous in the research. The names presented in the research are only by their assent. Out of eleven interview respondents, only one respondent wanted to stay anonymous in the research.

Mainly, I did not treat interview respondents only as subjects of my study; rather they are human beings with dignity.

Moreover, to assure the issue of legality I annexed the research permit I got from the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI). Similarly, I attached the permit I got from NSD- Norsk Senter for Forskningsdata. Also, related to plagiarism this thesis was underway through NLA's plagiarism test and in the appendices, part certificate of originality is attached.

### **3.8 Reliability and validity of the research**

Reliability and validity are the two important concepts for evaluating the quality of a certain research (Grix, 2004; Bryman, 2012; Oliver, 2014). Even if, applying these concepts is a common tradition for quantitative researches, their application for qualitative researches are also growing (Bryman, 2012). In a simple reading reliability and validity seems similar, but they are different in some ways. Reliability refers to the stability of a measure of a concept and validity is referring to the issue of whether an indicator (or set of indicators) that are devised to gauge a concept really measures that concept (Bryman, 2012). These two concepts born another concept called triangulation. Dolley described the advantages of triangulation said, *"the researcher does have a vantage point to check divergent techniques of gathering data and able to come up with qualified figures"* (2004, p.260).

Even though the study was complex to understand how counter-terrorism initiatives taken by the Kenyan government impacted the autonomy of the two privately media outlets, the documents and in-depth interviews used for the study were reliable. Moreover, the presence of structured interview questions in the form of interview guide made it easy to keep consistency. Also, in order to boost reliability, the voice of all respondents was recorded. Alike, I provided similar questions for respondents found in the same category.

Similarly, I guaranteed the issue of validity by selected appropriate interview respondents based on their closeness with the research topic. And the selection of news stories was based only on the aim of the study. Furthermore, I employed a key term in order to select among news stories. Also, I ensured the validity of the

research by triangulated data that I got through in-depth interviews and document analysis.

The study employed both primary and secondary sources of data. In-depth interview respondents are the primary source of data while news articles and organizational records are secondary sources of data.

### **3.9 Challenges faced during data collection**

I faced a number of challenges during data collection period in Nairobi, Kenya. For the purpose of clarification, let me categorize these challenges into two parts, i.e. practical challenges and challenges related to my citizenship.

#### **3.9.1 Practical challenges**

Delay to get a research permit was my first practical challenge. As a legal and ethical requirement, I need to get a research permit before I began collecting data through in-depth interviews and documents. The name of the organization that gives research and related permits is named: National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI), where I passed a few bad days. The concerned officers provided work burden as an excuse for delayed my research permit which I have begun the process before months while I was in Norway. Starting from the first day I appeared in their office in Nairobi, all the officers almost spoke in one mouth, they aforementioned that your approval is on the way to be finalized, yet you need to wait for some more extra days, even two of the officers asked me to give bribe. However, since it was a must to strictly adhere to the ethical principles, I waited for their response with great tolerance. Finally, after ten days of tight follow up I got a research permit.

Moreover, two interviewees were interested to know the answer of other respondents, which was again the other challenge. But, in whatever circumstances since keeping the confidentiality of all respondents is a must; I let them to know that I never give the answer of one interview to the other regardless of any reasons they were provided.

Shortage of time was the other challenge I faced. Within, one month and ten days period, I was expected to make 11 in-depth interviews and 52 document analysis. Besides, though I disclosed before all interview sessions, three of the interviewees were not interested to be recorded. Yet, after I clearly discussed the purpose of the research they gave consent to be recorded. In addition, it was not easy to find some interview respondents as per our prior program. Hence, it was tough to conduct interviews based on a strict action plan.

The budget constraint is another challenge. But, in the other way round it is a strong side of this research. Since this thesis was fully self-sponsored it is free from any kind of pressure, also no one can vest its interest. Oliver (2014) appreciates self-sponsored researches because of the fact that they are free from arrangements that commercial sponsors want to pursue. As a part of informed consent, I told the source of the budget to my interview respondents in advance of all interview sessions.

### **3.9.2 Challenges related to my citizenship**

It becomes common to see the terms emic and etic in social science researches. Emic represent inside perspective of a certain culture, while etic concerns about outside perspective of a culture. In most instances, psychological studies and anthropologists want to understand a certain culture from within. Whereas, behavioral studies like that of Skinner's choose etic or outside perspective (Morris, Leung, Ames & Lickel, 1999).

As far as my approach is concerned, I followed a mixed approach. It is emic because I tried to see the media culture of the country from the native Kenyans point of view. Undeniably, it is difficult to get the full picture of the culture within a short period of time. At the same time, it is also etic due to the fact that I came from other different culture.

Since I am the citizen of another country in almost all of the interview sessions the respondents were curious to know about my background in detail. Though it was in the form of witticism, one interview respondent even identified me as a Somalia origin. He loudly laughed and spoke out that this research might be a new attempt by Al-Shabaab so as to know the attitude of Kenyan journalists about Al-Shabaab. To

clear this and other kinds of confusions, before every of the interview sessions I exhaustively disclosed about myself and the purpose of the study. Similarly, some of the interview respondents were skeptical to give precise information about the issue; rather they preferred to give a general comment. In some cases, they provided vague or unrelated answers to the interview questions. To fill these gaps I asked them follow-up questions and also back them to the main track of our discussion.

## CHAPTER FOUR

# RESULTS FINDINGS, PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSIONS

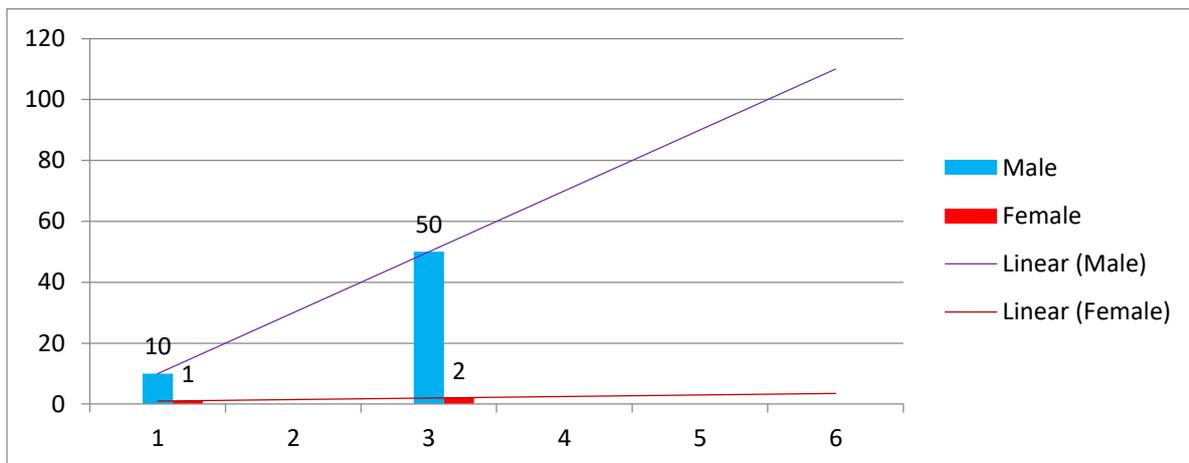
### 4.0. Introduction

This part of the thesis presents the findings obtained from my field work in Nairobi. During my stay in Nairobi, I conducted 11 in-depth interviews with editors, reporters and media experts. Besides, I analyzed 52 news articles written by both newspapers. The chapter has classified and presented findings as per the following subtopics: overview of respondents demography, coverage of terrorism by the selected newspapers, agenda of terrorists and the practice of journalists, national security versus the public right to know, the impacts of counter-terrorism initiatives on independence of media outlets, the role of Media Council, practice of self-censorship and the real challenges that editors and reporters faces.

### 4.1 Demographic information of interview respondents

In a qualitative research like this one, it is not a common tradition to mention about the demography of respondents. However, I found it insightful to explain about the research respondents.

**Figure 4.1 Respondent's gender and number of news articles written as per gender**



Source: I gathered the information during my data collection period in Nairobi

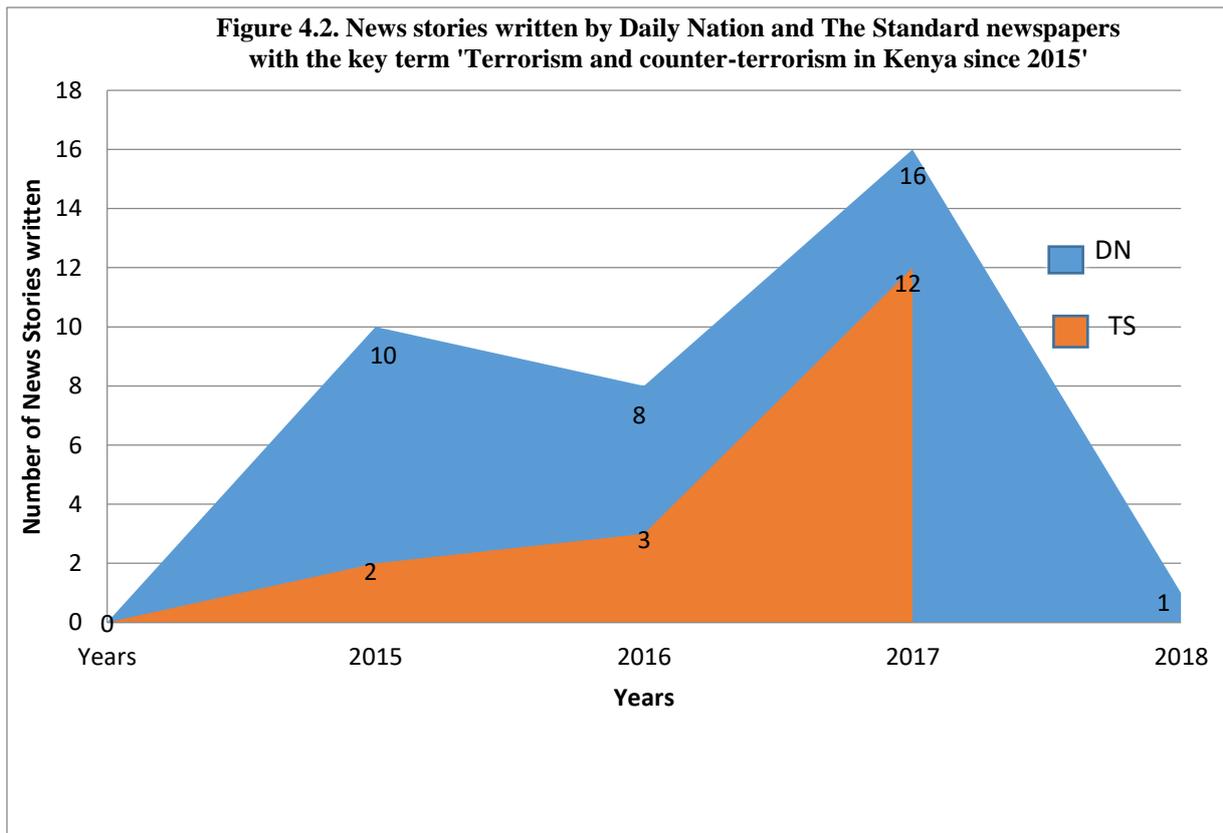
As indicated in the figure above, out of eleven respondents there is only one female respondent. Similarly, out of fifty-two (52) news articles, only two (2) are written by female journalists. This implies that the issue of terrorism was male-dominated in *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers. A number of reasons can be mentioned for this unbalanced sex representation. The horrific nature of terrorism might be one of the reasons. Or it may be due to the reason that these media outlets have applied masculinity as one criterion though it was not stated explicitly in their working manuals. Moreover, even amongst male journalists few of them take a big share. For example, a journalist named Fred Mukinda from *Daily Nation* wrote 7 news articles out of the total 35 news articles selected from the newspaper.

**Table 4.1 Age, educational qualification and work experience of respondents**

| No. | Number of respondents | Age (In years) | Experience (In years) | Educational qualification   |
|-----|-----------------------|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1   | 1                     | Below 25       | Less than 5           | Bachelor degree             |
| 2   | 5                     | 25-35          | 5-9                   | 3 master's and 2 bachelor's |
| 3   | 3                     | 35-55          | 10-19                 | 2 master's and 1 bachelor   |
| 4   | 2                     | 55 and above   | 20 and above          | 2 master's                  |

**Source: I gathered the information during my data collection period in Nairobi**

Shown above in the table, the experience in covering terrorism varies among respondents. Two of the respondents have more than 20 years of experience in covering terrorism and security issues and their age is 55 and above. Five respondents have 5 to 9 years of experience and they are aged between 25-35 years, three of the respondents have 10 to 19 years of experience, while the age of the remaining one respondent was below 25 years and has less than 5 years of experience in covering terrorism. Moreover, out of 11 interview respondents, 7 of them have a master's degree educational qualification in journalism or related field of studies, while the rest 4 have a bachelor's degree in journalism and communication.



The above figure shows that, out of thirty-five (35) news stories written by *Daily Nation*, 16 of them were written in the year 2017 though less number of terrorist attacks was happened in that year than in the years 2015 and 2016. On the other hand, 10 news stories were written in the year 2015, yet it was in that year that the Garissa University attack happened. And 8 news articles were written in the year 2016, while only one news article was written in the year 2018. Actually, it is only the first month of 2018 that included into the analysis.

The trend seems similar to *The Standard* newspaper. From the total of 17 news stories selected for analysis, 12 were written in the year 2017, whereas, 2 and 3 news stories were written in the years 2015 and 2016 respectively.

The above points illustrated general information about the profile of respondents, the background of the issue and the number of stories written by the two newspapers with the key term 'terrorism and counter-terrorism in Kenya since 2015', whereas the next sub-sections of this chapter provided the main findings of the study. The findings are presented in subsequent themes under each section.

## **4.2. Potential causes of terrorism and applied criteria to select terrorism news stories**

Like stated in different documents, the respondents of this thesis also believed that Kenya has faced horrific terrorist's attacks. And they outlined a number of reasons to be potential causes of terrorism in Kenya.

Njoroge Kinuthia, deputy chief editor in *The Standard* newspaper claims that the presence of Kenyan Defense Force (KDF) in Somalia is one of the reasons. He argues that, before KDF was not going into Somalia, terrorism was almost non-existent in Kenya, but after KDF joined The African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM), the number of terrorist's attacks have increased dramatically. Joe Kahdi, the former editor at *Daily Nation* newspaper and retired journalism professor at the University of Nairobi also supported Kinuthia's argument. Kahdi added that still these days there is a debate on this point. Individuals from the Opposition political parties urged the government to pull out troops from Somalia while the government resisted their question.

A senior reporter in the *Daily Nation* John Ngirachu pointed the weakness of the Kenyan security as a major reason for the creation of many terrorist attacks in Kenya. He mentioned Lamu County as an example. Lamu is a border between Kenya and Somalia and this place is attacked by Al-Shabaab many times. In spite of this, the Kenyan army did not take any measures, let alone went to a foreign land and fight terrorism. This point was mentioned by all respondents.

As regards the coverage, all of the interview respondents believe that the quality of covering terrorism by Kenyan newspapers has been incremented from time to time. Kahdi described the situation saying:

The Kenyan newspapers are the leading ones in the East Africa region. Particularly their professional level is higher when compared with newspapers of other African countries. Moreover, in Kenya, there is a vibrant competition among newspapers to cover stories of terrorism. Especially, the competition among the four famous newspapers namely *The Standard*, *Daily Nation*, *The People* and *The Star* are noticeable in every single day (Personal interview, January 31, 2018).

Abraham Kisang, the head of research and media monitoring in Media Council of Kenya also witnesses that, the coverage of terrorism by *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers are enhanced. All respondents believed that the respective newspapers covered terrorism stories as spot news. Kahdi defines spot news as “*stories that come without anybody’s knowledge; just strike on the spot without anybody anticipating they are going to take place*” (Personal interview, January 31, 2018).

Regarding the criteria’s these media outlets applied to select stories of terrorism respondents had different kinds of view. African division editor in *Nation Media Group*, Charles Omondi put proximity as the first criteria to the selection of terrorism stories. He explained that,

For example, if terrorist attacks happen simultaneously in Kenya and some other country, we usually give priority to the attack happened in Kenya, after that we can give space for others. However, sometimes we wrote other attacks parallel with Kenya, so as to give an additional insight to the readers (Personal interview, February 9, 2018).

Deputy Chief Editor Kinuthia agreed with this point, he stated that “*if two attacks have occurred simultaneously we gave coverage to a terrorism incident happen in Kenya than happened in Iraq. It also again dependent on the magnitude of the attack, the number of people dead and properties damaged.*” (Personal interview, February 2, 2018).

According to editor Omondi, the number of people victimized, the agenda of terrorist organizations, and the impact of the attack on regional and global scenario are the other criteria’s applied by *Daily Nation* to select terrorism stories. He concluded that there is no strict guideline that used as a measurement to select one terrorism story over the other. In many circumstances, what matters most is the good judgment of the editor. Similarly, the chief sub-editor in *The Standard* newspaper Nicholas Asego disclosed that,

We do not have a special qualification to select stories of terrorism, but we have guidelines, we have principles. All stories must inform, educate and respect the value of the society. However, terrorism has added quality. Stories of terrorism must not create panic among citizens, also we consider security situation of the country. Our emphasis is on safety and security. Importantly, stories of terrorism

must be factual and true, not propaganda (Personal interview, February 5, 2018).

According to the senior reporter in *The Standard* newspaper, William Bulemi, newsworthiness is the primary one to choose among stories of terrorism. He said that journalists mostly considered the interest of readers. Whenever there were terrorist attacks in Kenya newspaper rushed to give coverage. Reporter Bulemi adds that journalists also focused on the number of people being killed and injured, the amount of property damaged and unique incidents happen during the attacks like bravery or funny moments. From the same media house, deputy chief editor Kinuthia believed that accuracy is the first requirement for *The Standard* newspaper to give space for terrorism stories. He stated that “*any kind of terrorism story which is factual will be presented to the readers, yet as an editor, I am always cautious of the possible consequences that can be brought due to our coverage. Writing without considered future outcome urged us to pay a huge price*” (Personal interview, February 2, 2018). This idea is supported by all other respondents.

Kinuthia also pointed out that perpetrators of terror attacks are the other elements that we use to select stories of terrorism. “*In most instances, we related all attacks with Al-Shabaab*” (Personal interview, February 2, 2018). Similarly, in almost all of the reviewed news articles, the name Al-Shabaab has appeared. Yet, the majority of the interview respondents believed that there are local groups that used terrorists’ tactics to achieve their own purpose. A gangster group named *Mungiki* can be mentioned in this regard. But, the scales of these groups’ attacks are insignificant when compared with Al-Shabaab. Besides, most of the respondents acknowledged that their news stories were not focusing on the deeds of the government in countering-terrorism at the expected level. Most of the reviewed news articles also agreed with this point. Yet, a senior security issues reporter from *Daily Nation* newspaper Fred Mukinda disagreed with this claim. He said that the *Daily Nation* newspaper journalists have been cultured in the usage of multiple angles such as the victims, general observation and report from the side of the government in the coverage of terrorism. As a result, journalists produced balanced stories. Cyrus Ombati, a senior reporter in *The Standard* newspaper agreed with Mukinda. He stated that, “*even if it is not enough, we*

*covered counter-terrorism measures taken by the government by getting information through internal credible sources from government agencies”* (Personal interview, February 6, 2018).

### **4.3 Major sources of information for terrorism news stories**

Initially, this research was planned to answer three main questions. These are: what are the major focus areas of editors and reporters working in *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers while covering terrorism? To what extent do counter-terrorism initiatives pressurize editors and reporters of the two major newspapers to go for self-censorship? And what challenges do editors and reporters working for *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers have been facing while reporting on terrorism?

In principle, sources of information to write news stories on terrorism must be multiple. The government, the general public, the victims, the suspected perpetrators are the major ones. However, I found out that, the actual practice by Kenyan privately owned newspapers were the opposite. All of the interview respondents claimed that it is the government that has used as the only source of information to write news stories of terrorism, particularly, officials from security agency or police.

The only female respondent and security issues reporter from *The Standard* newspaper Immaculate Akello stated that most terrorism stories are written by sourcing the security agency. She rationalized that, journalists did not have an option to get relevant and authenticated information apart from the government. So, what the security agency informs become a news story. This was also concluded by the research of Chapia (2015). According to Chapia (2015), there was a tendency among Kenyan journalists to evaluate any kind of information they got from other sources as uncritical. However, Article 1(2) of the Code of Conduct for the Practice of Journalism under the heading accuracy and fairness reads that “*all sides of the story shall be reported whenever possible.*” It means that the voice of suspected terrorists can also be included in a systematic way without glamorizing their intention and act.

Furthermore, all respondents stated that in many instances the government officials have declined to provide information or they give partial or inaccurate information. Alike, they provided politicized information.

Moreover, all respondents believed that, if journalists inculcated the voice of terrorists in the news articles, the government would consider journalists as promoters of terrorist's agenda. Knowingly, when the government of Kenya communicated with the above two media outlets, the communication is determined by either their internal work nature or external factors. For instance, if the two newspapers send their journalists to the scene during terrorist attacks, the government can develop two different explanations. If the government associated their activity with internal factors, it might consider that they are running to make a profit or compete to be the first in breaking the news. While, if the government correlate their behavior to external causes, the government might arrive on a conclusion that, they are sympathizers of terrorists. With no doubt, these kinds of attribution affected their future relationship. Moreover, both internal and external attributions have a potential to affect the future of these media outlets. The next subsection discussed the issue in detail.

#### **4.4 Do journalists pursue the agenda of terrorists?**

During interviews with all respondents, this point was contested. All of them did not provide yes or no answer to the question. Rather, they described the attitude of journalists through cases and examples. A veteran journalism professor Kahdi disclosed that during the Westgate mall attack there was cutthroat competition among the Kenyan newspapers, whereas, terrorists got vital information from speedy and uncritical media reporting. In the offing, journalists can promote the agenda of terrorists unconsciously. Kahdi added that it is the low understanding level of journalists that make them vulnerable to sway by terrorists. Most of the time journalists did not cover terrorism stories in a professional way.

Furthermore, the majority of the interview respondents disclosed that because of their religious affiliation some journalists were sympathetic to terrorist groups. The anonymous respondent from *The Standard* newspaper stated that:

Because of following a similar religion the interest of few journalists were suited with the interest of Al-Shabaab. For example, few Muslim journalists who were worked for *The Standard* newspaper were sympathetic to the cause of Al-Shabaab. Those journalists vindicated the cause of Al-Shabaab and other terrorist groups as if right and put

the interest of terrorists in a positive light. Yet, they have not supported the act of terrorists (Personal interview, February 8, 2018).

Similarly, reporter Mukinda considered that there are journalists who blatantly supported the cause of terrorists. He mentioned about one journalist who worked in one of the electronic media channels in Kenya. That journalist mostly used video footages of Al-Shabaab in his documentaries. Hence, Al-Shabaab got much publicity through this journalist. And the journalist was attributed as sympathizers of Al-Shabaab. The research conducted by Mbugua (2015) also concluded the same result. According to Mbugua, even if it was hard to attach with the interest of media outlets, some Kenyan journalists were sympathetic to the agenda of Al-Shabaab. Also, Kisang's (2014) research concluded that ample coverage of terrorism boosted the agenda of terrorists. But, deputy chief editor Kinuthia opposed this view; he argues that the first job of media outlets is to give coverage to every kind of stories including terrorism.

Abraham Kisang from Media Council of Kenya illustrated that the media usage habit of terrorists is highly advanced. He stated that "*terrorists know how to manipulate media than any other governments in the world.*" (Personal interview, February 13, 2018). Likewise, Nacos discussed how terrorists effectively used global communication networks to advance their cause. She calls it, "*propaganda of the deed*". (2006, p.7). Similarly, Article 3(1) of the Code of Conduct for the Practice of Journalism under the heading integrity warned journalists to avoid real or perceived conflicts of interest.

#### **4.5 Which must come first? The public right to know or national security**

This is a debatable point in the academic as well as in the professional circle. Yet, up to date, there is no simple answer. Reporter Bulemi has argued that in the first place it is not clear what national security constitutes. It is the government that has defined national security and in most instances, the government use as a pretext to cover its bad deeds. This Bulemi's idea is supported by the majority of the respondents.

Moreover, all of the respondents felt that striking the balance between these two concepts has been one of the biggest challenges journalists faced. It is a very tight

balance. They disclosed that the government preceded national security before the public right to know, while journalists had a co-mandate. In one hand, they are expected to tell the people what happened and on the other side, they have to compromise national security. But, according to the opinion of the majority of the respondents, journalists should prioritized national security over the public right to know. Chief sub-editor Asego disclosed that:

National security should outweigh all the other issues. I am a human being before being a journalist, if a terrorist attack happens I can lose my life. Also, if the security of Kenya is not good I will not have a chance to practice journalism (Personal interview, February 5, 2018).

He added that, to ensure the security of the nation media outlets should have a close tie with the security agency. Also, the journalists must pledge the public right to know, but not at the expense of national security. However, Kahdi disagreed with the above idea. He argues that:

It is the fourth estate role of media that makes the profession of journalism important. Whereby, high emphasis is given to the interest of audiences. If journalists are absolutely professional in an upright manner there is no way not to be unpatriotic (Personal interview, January 31, 2018).

Likewise, as the opinion of the anonymous respondent, the public right to know must be preceded national security. The anonymous respondent has argued that, even if national security is important to the best function of journalism, it is not the primary duty of the journalist. Any functions are secondary to the profession of journalism. Correspondingly, the right of the public to get information is clearly stated in article 35 (1) of Access to Information Proclamation, which stated *“every citizen has the right of access to information held by the state; and information held by another person and required for the exercise of protection of any right or fundamental freedom.”*

Editor Omondi, reporters Ombati and Bulemi considered that by provided an accurate presentation of information and by being independent, journalists can ensure a balance. Besides, they insisted that Journalists should far from being sensational so that the act of terrorism will not be exaggerated beyond what actually

was and is. Any kind of information must not be reported just because it has news values. For example, a journalist can get information about a planned terrorist attack, in that case, a journalist should first report the information to the police and afterward it's possible to make stories on the case. Reporter Ombati stressed that journalists should never compromise national security.

On this point, deputy editor Kinuthia has a different view. He believed that it is hard to choose the public right to know over national security or vice-versa, rather it is important to see individual cases. He discussed that *"if the coverage of specific terrorism incident is not good for the national security, rejecting the coverage is preferable. In fact, the public has the right to know as long as the news did not deteriorate national security."* (Personal interview, February 2, 2018).

#### **4.6 The impacts of terrorists and counter-terrorism initiatives on media outlets**

Studying the impacts of counter-terrorism initiatives on the autonomy of the two newspapers is the sole purpose of this study. All interview respondents appreciated the promising statements stated in the constitution about freedom of expression and press freedom. Kahdi believes that the independence of media institutions in Kenya is truly guaranteed by the 2010 constitution of the country. This supreme law supports the practice of fourth estate or watchdog role of media and the freedom of the press. But, the majority of the respondents claimed that there is a hench when looking at other laws. They mentioned that, for example, the 2012 Anti-Terrorism Proclamation created a self-regulatory regime within the media fertility. They added that with the help of this and other draconian laws the government controlled the press systematically. Hence, the presentation of news took the form of a tabloid, which obviously belittled news values and piloted to the low level of professionalism.

Similarly, reporter Akello has argued that counter-terrorism measures have a strong impact on the practice of journalism. She disclosed that the 2012 Anti-Terrorism Proclamation allowed detention of suspected terrorists for a long period of

time without trial. So, if a journalist wants to interview the suspected terrorist it's against the proclamation and can take the journalist into jail.

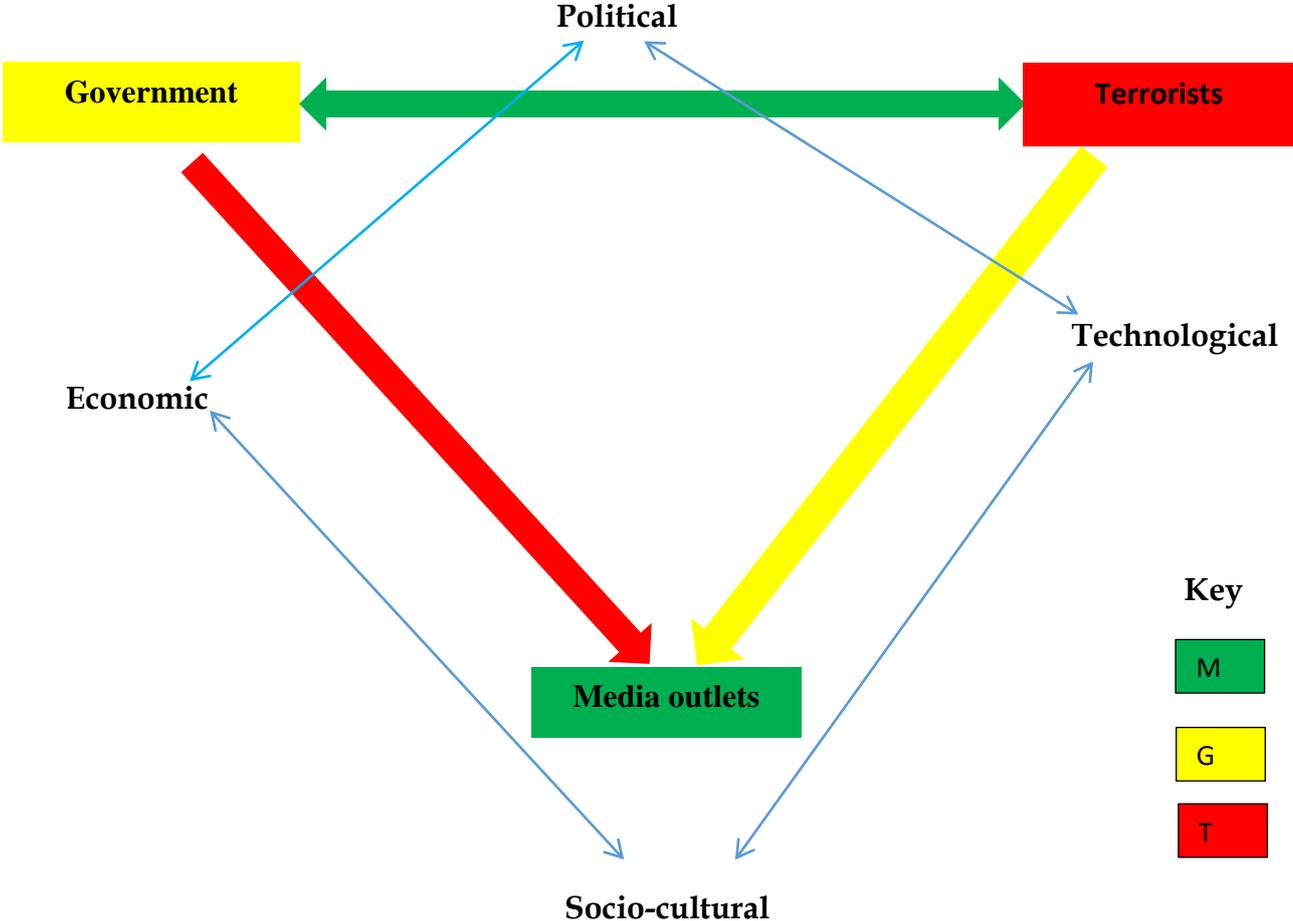
Likewise, editor Omondi stated that counter-terrorism measures put a restriction on journalists about the kind of information they are looking for. For example, a journalist needs to get permission from the government before writing news stories about the activities of the army. Alike, reporter Ombati disclosed that many Kenyan journalists vigorously opposed laws related to terrorism, particularly the 2014 Security Amendment Bill. On the other hand, chief sub-editor Asego argues that counter-terrorism measures that have been taken by the government make journalists sensitive and stick them with the profession of journalism. He further argues that the very purpose of counter-terrorism measures are not to infringe the rights of media outlets, rather it is to combat acts of terrorism. In this regard, editor Omondi has a different view. He stated that even though forces of counter-terrorism laws are high journalists can handle by being professional. That is why journalists passed through journalism and media schools. Whereas, reporter Mukinda argues that, like any other professions, journalism is also governed by certain laws. Thus, what is expected from journalists is to be aware of these laws and act appropriately.

All respondents understood that counter-terrorism initiatives by nature are security issues and have an impact on the practice of media outlets. However, from the two newspapers, no journalist was taken to prison for infringing these laws. Kisang described that during the drafting process of laws related to terrorism such as the 2014 Security Amendment Bill, there was antagonism between the government and media outlets. To sensitize journalists about these laws the Media Council prepared workshops.

In addition, all respondents believed that terrorists tried to impact media outlets in different ways. The next conceptual model shows the likely relationship exists among the government, terrorists and media outlets in Kenya during the study period.

Based on the above research questions and discussions made I developed the following conceptual model, that shows the interaction among the government, terrorists and media outlets during the study period.

**Figure 4.3. Conceptual Model**



As shown in the above model, three main actors, i.e., the government, terrorists and media outlets are involved and GTM is an acronym representing these three actors. And they were operated within confined political, economic, socio-cultural and technological environments. The model has three key aspects. First, there is a symmetrical (two-way) relationship between the government and terrorists. They influenced one another. Second, to achieve their purpose and to challenge the status quo of the government, terrorists aggressively used all kinds of media outlets, which is unidirectional. Third, the government utilizes media outlets to inform the public about its deeds. That was again unidirectional. In sum, to get the upper hand in the usage of media, the two competing forces (referring to the government and terrorists)

have influenced media outlets. As a result, media outlets had been powerless and failed to accomplish their mission.

#### **4.7 Practices of surveillance and self-censorship**

The above two terms have to be differentiated before looking their actual practice in *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers. All respondents understood surveillance as an external force majorly did by the government, while they realized self-censorship as personal decision journalists take to avoid harm. I had also the same kind of understanding. Besides, many literatures revealed that it is not easy to define self-censorship in a simple manner.

Regarding the actual practice, respondents have different kinds of attitude. Chief sub-editor Asego believes that, there was no surveillance by the government. He claims that the only time the government can do surveillance is when media outlets covered terrorism story that is against the national security of the country. Deputy Editor Kinuthia and editor Omondi disagreed with Asego's view. Kinuthia pointed out that surveillance by the government was high all the time. He mentioned that, even during the recent swearing-in ceremony of opposition leader Raila Odinga, as the people president of Kenya, the Communication Authority of Kenya switched the signals of NTV, Citizen and KTN television channels. Likewise, reporter Omondi illustrated that when media outlets tried to exercise their duty they may clash with the government. Following that the government kept an eye on media outlets.

The anonymous respondent disclosed that, in Kenya, there was a reasonable expectation for surveillance. This is why many good journalists cannot get the chance to embed with the army to Somalia. He disclosed that:

The army picked embedded journalists with unknown criteria's. So, this implied that the government has done some sort of surveillance on journalists. Especially, after the Westgate mall attack, the government wants to know what is happening inside media outlets, which obviously show the presence of surveillance. Also, the due to the feeling of surveillance journalists go for self-censorship. (Personal interview, February 8, 2018).

All interviewed respondents felt that self-censorship turned-out to be a common practice after the Westgate mall attack. Few of the respondents mentioned the name of two journalists named Joshua Sang and Walter Barasa who were charged by the International Criminal Court (ICC) because of their critical reporting. As a result, other journalists took a lesson from those two journalists and became critical to themselves and towards the stories they wrote, which obviously means journalists began practiced self-censorship.

#### **4.8 Actual challenges editors and reporters faced**

The interview respondents mentioned manifold challenges they faced during the coverage of terrorism. The horrific nature of terrorism is the common challenge identified by all respondents. Reporter Ombati described the threat to life as the main challenge. He remarked that, when journalists write stories on terrorism their names usually appear in the newspaper, which obviously put the life of the journalist in jeopardy. Actually, it is not that much difficult for terrorists to find the writer of the story even if the name journalist did not mention in the paper. Similarly, editor Omondi believes that the security threat is a challenge for both journalists and media outlets. Fortunately, no journalist was killed by terrorists in Kenya. Reporter Ombati mentioned that:

In some cases, Kenyan journalists attempted subterfuge, where they tried to join terrorist groups and became a terrorist in order to get secret from terrorists. This would probably involve the risk of being killed. But, if they do not get killed they will probably come out with a first class story (Personal interview, February 6, 2018).

However, subterfuge is an unethical issue in the Code of Conduct. Article 8 of the Code of Conduct for the Practice of journalism in Kenya (Second Schedule of Media Council Act 2013) identified subterfuge as misrepresentation. It allows only when there are no other means of obtaining information.

According to all interview respondents, lack of in-depth knowledge about terrorism is another challenge for journalists who write stories on terrorism. Chief sub-editor Asego revealed that most journalists in Kenya do not have enough preparation and knowledge on the subject of terrorism. Also, they do not take

advanced training on security issues. He also mentioned newness of terrorism incidents in Kenya as a reason. He said that Iraqi journalists are more prepared than Kenyan journalists. Also, restrictive laws by the government remained the imminent obstacle for the operation of journalistic duty.

#### **4.8.1 Lack of access to information as a challenge**

All respondents agreed that lack of access to information was one of the biggest challenges. Reporter Ngirachu pointed out that since the government is the only source of information it has been very difficult to verify the information through other sources. For instance, when the government said, *“it killed 20 Al-Shabaab terrorists we reported as it is. Yet, the fact may be different.* (Personal interview, February 2, 2018). Likewise, reporter Bulemi has illustrated that during the Westgate mall attack the government reported the killing of terrorists while on the siege. But, since no journalist saw the deceased of ‘terrorists’ it was hard to be a witness. However, the journalists were forced to believe what the security agency said. Reporter Akello agreed with their argument. She said that writing news stories on the issue of terrorism is quite interesting inquiry for journalists, but lack of access to information makes it a boring and difficult subject.

By the same story, chief sub-editor Asego disclosed that journalists were struggled all the time to get accurate information from the government. He said that the government usually has played with numbers. For example, if the number of individuals killed by a certain terrorist attack was 100, the government told to media that 10 individuals were dead. Deputy editor Kinuthia also agreed with this idea. He disclosed that:

The government gave very scanty information about terrorism incidents. Before a year ago on January 27 2017 Al-Shabaab stormed Kenyan soldier’s camp at the base in Kulbiyow, near the Kenyan border. By that attack, many Kenyan soldiers were slaughtered. But until today no journalist know the exact number of soldiers killed by the siege. (Personal interview, February 2, 2018).

Similarly, reporter Ombati, claimed that in a few cases government officials give exaggerated information about their deeds, yet it is the duty of the journalists to verify the facts from a variety of angles and many times as much as possible.

Likewise, the majority of the respondents disclosed that if media outlets do not get relevant information from the responsible government offices, journalists likely to believe what terrorists say. In a way, they promote the agenda of terrorists. The research conducted by Ahsan (2015) concluded that several media outlets unintentionally fall into the hands of terrorist groups and propagated the extremist agenda of terrorists. Thus, propaganda became an identifying feature of media outlets.

#### **4.8.2 Psychological trauma-The principal challenge journalists confronted**

All respondents identified psychological trauma as one of the big challenges. Most of the time journalists who covered bloody scenes have faced psychological trauma. The anonymous respondent from *The Standard* newspaper shared the psychological trauma that he faced as it is:

In 2012, I went to Somalia embedded with Kenyan soldiers. After I returned to Kenya I have begun to be traumatized by every little incident. For example, when there is tire explosion while I am walking on the street I slept on the ground or find someplace to hide. However, I cannot get advanced psychological counseling. (Personal interview, February 8, 2018).

Likewise, reporter Bulemi described that during the Westgate mall attack dead bodies were laid all over the surface and those journalists who covered that scene faced psychological problems. Yet, sadly *The Standard* newsgroup did not have a post-trauma therapy service. Reporter Akello added that, psychological trauma has not happened just because the journalist appeared on the scene of terrorists attack, but also talk with victims of the attack leave a big anguish in the mind of the journalist. However, it did not get enough attention by the owner of media outlets. She believed that every journalist who covered disaster-related stories have experienced some sort of psychological problem, which must be fixed by counseling or medication. The research conducted by Stone (2000) concluded that journalists

who covered the traumatic incidents of the 9/11 attacks were experienced greater anxiety and they were complaining to get counseling.

#### **4.8.3 Other challenges**

In addition to lack of information and psychological traumas, journalists who reported on terrorism faced a variety of challenges. Some of the interview respondents considered ethical dilemmas as the challenge. Alike, in few of the reviewed news articles, journalists used prohibited terms such as Islamic terrorism, radical Islamists, Jihadists and *downis* (referring to people from down part of Kenya). Actually, these terms were used even by researchers. For example, a research conducted by Chapia (2015) entitled: *Reporting Terrorism in Kenya; Striking a balance public interest and national security*, described Al-Shabaab as an Islamic terror group.

Kisang from the Media Council of Kenya has argued that there have been a misunderstanding amongst most Kenyan journalists, they equated Islam with extremism. Also, they have diffused the attention of readers by stated the names of suspected terrorists. Similarly, the handbook on reporting terrorism (2016) suggested some English and Swahili terms that journalists needed to avoid in their reporting. The list goes on fiery cleric, jihadist, Islamist, *kafir* (non-Muslim), *kiongozi tatanishi wa kidini* (controversial religious leader), *watu wa bara* (people who stay a distance from the coast), *downis* (people from down part of Kenya), *nywele ngumu* (tough hair). These terms need to be avoided based on the rationale that they can incite violence and hate among the public.

Moreover, to attract the attention of their readers these newspapers rarely used graphic images. For instance, during the Westgate shopping mall attack on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of September 2013, the *Sunday Nation* newspaper published an offensive photo on its the front page; and that photo received much dislike from the public. Following the incident, the respective editor left his duty. Apparently, the photo violated Article 20 (1) of the Code of Conduct which stated about caution when taking photos. In addition, that photo failed to adhere to Article 23 (1) of Code of Conduct that put in charge responsibilities on the editors whom they have the primary gatekeeping role. Similarly, an appraisal report prepared by Media Council of Kenya (2014) found out

that during the Westgate mall attack newspapers published sensational stories; bloody photographs, panicky headlines and also inflammatory catchwords which resulted in needless invasion into grief and shock of the injured survivors in their quest for news.

The anonymous interview respondent from *The Standard* newspaper said that some of the journalists intentionally used those prohibited terms in their news report in consideration of revenging Al-Shabaab and its supporters. And yet, they do not think of the anger they are created in the mind of some portion of the public. Later, the cumulated anger will be manifested in the form of terrorist attacks. Except Kahdi, the remaining respondents agreed on this point. Kahdi believes that all mistakes that have been made by journalists are unintentional and due to lack of knowledge about terrorism.

According to reporter Akello language barrier was another challenge. She had experience in this regard. She explained that:

In one of the terrorism story I did, I wanted to include the opinion of a suspected terrorist originally from Somalia. However, the suspected guy cannot speak English or Swahili, while I cannot speak Somalia. As a result, we cannot understand each other. Also, at that particular period, *The Standard* newspaper did not have a translator. (Personal interview, February 5, 2018).

Low salary of journalists was the other challenge mentioned by all respondents. Reporter Mukinda has argued that this is not an issue that ends on job dissatisfaction; rather it led journalists to corruption. The 2014 appraisal report prepared by the Media Council of Kenya also demonstrated the same result. Similarly, even if there are improvements, shortage of working material remained the challenge. The anonymous respondent stated that there were few bulletproof vests for *The Standard* newspaper journalists. Also, in order to buy vests, it is a must to get an approval from the government which usually takes a long period of time. Shortage of vehicles is also another challenge mentioned by respondents. Sometimes, a journalist assigned to report terrorism incident has delayed due to the shortage of vehicles.

Moreover, commercialization remained the biggest challenge for privately owned newspapers in Kenya. Kisang from the Media Council of Kenya explained that during terrorist's attacks many commercial firms run for advertisements and media outlets usually received those advertisements. Hence, commercial advertisements have swallowed critical news pieces. Likewise, three of the interviewed editors from both media outlets disclosed the public relation spinning effects as the challenge. Like commercial advertisements, organizations which provide assistance to victims can also divert the attention of media outlets towards human element, rather than investigated the root causes of the attacks. Similarly, there is a breaking news mentality among journalists. Obviously, journalists make gross mistakes while they rushed to be the first.

Reporters Ombati and Ngirachu presented ownership as a challenge. They disclosed that in almost all of privately owned newspapers in Kenya politicians have shares. So, in addition, to making a huge monetary profit they want to pursue their own political agenda, which rested a challenge for exercising independent journalism. Alike, deputy chief editor Kinuthia argues that, because journalists got a paycheck from their respective media outlets, most of the times they wrote stories in favor of their media houses best interest.

#### **4.9 The roles of the Media Council in the cases of terrorism coverage**

Abraham Kisang, the head of research and media monitoring in Media Council of Kenya classified the work of the Council into three, i.e., guiding, monitoring and receiving compliant. In 2013, the Council brought a Code of Conduct that must be applied by all media practitioners while doing their journalistic duty. It also prepared a guideline for journalists on how to cover stories of terrorism. Moreover, the Council monitors the works of media outlets on a regular basis and gives recommendations and corrections whenever they get mistakes. For instance, on 8<sup>th</sup> of February 2018, *The Standard* newspaper came up with a news story about terrorism. In the news, the writer used Islam as equivalent with terrorism. The Council immediately wrote a letter to correct the mistake. In addition, the Council hosts

conferences that invite different stakeholders. Mainly, it works to promote high professional standards amongst Kenyan journalists.

Additionally, Kisang believed that the Council is a detached body from the government. However, the veteran journalism professor Kahdi disagreed with this statement. Kahdi claimed that previously the Council was used to be run by professional people, but currently it is not independent from the government. Rather, it is working for the best interest of the government. It is a statutory body financed by the government. Kahdi stated that *“it is one of the government oppressive hand and smart way to snatch the freedom of media outlets.”* (Personal interview, January 31, 2018).

Asego, chief sub-editor from *The Standard* newspaper said that our media institution work in collaboration with the Council. For doing a journalistic work in Kenya every journalist should be registered professionally by the Media Council. Those journalists only accredited by the Council can perform their duty and it makes journalists different from bloggers and fake journalists. Editor Omondi also took the council as a supporting agent. He stated that, in addition to its other functions, the Media Council has the responsibility of sanctioning errant journalism practices.

In sum, almost all respondents have a positive attitude to the activities of the Council. However, they also felt that it would be better if the Council share best experiences from Media Councils found in other countries.

# CHAPTER FIVE

## SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### 5.0 Introduction

This chapter summarizes the study, draws conclusions from the study findings, gives recommendations; indicate potential areas for further researches and limitations of the study. From the outset, the study seeks to fish out the impact of counter-terrorism measures on the freedom of privately owned newspapers in Kenya (referring to *Daily Nation* and *The Standard*). To achieve this aim, the study reconnoitered the following three research questions which are also indicated on page 5 of the thesis. These are: What are the major focus areas of editors and reporters working in *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers while covering terrorism? To what extent do counter-terrorism initiatives oblige editors and reporters of the two newspapers to go for self-censorship? And what challenges do editors and reporters working for *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers have been facing while reporting on terrorism?

### 5.1. Summary of the study: Media outlets freedom in a post counter-terrorism period

The major aim of this study was to explore counter-terrorism measures taken by the Kenyan government and their impact on the independent of privately owned newspapers, particularly on *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers. The study utilized qualitative research methodology and exploratory research design involving in-depth interviews and document analysis methods of data collection.

The study found out that *the coverage of terrorism by these media outlets were declining from time to time*. Further, the study found that the government was the only source of information to write stories on terrorism. As a result, the journalists failed to report terrorism issues from multiple angles.

In addition, the study found that *after the introduction of new counter-terrorism laws journalists of the two media outlets censor themselves more than before*.

Furthermore, the study noted that *journalists of the two media outlets prioritized national security over the public right to know when it is a must to choose one from the two*. The study also established that interviewed respondents valued the public right to know.

Regarding, pursuing of terrorists agenda, *though they were few in number, still there are journalists who are sympathetic to the ideals of Al-shabaab, especially, few Somalia origin Muslim journalists. Yet the study cannot find any evidence which complimented that those journalists supported the acts of terrorism*. Also, even if there were attempts to tie the acts of most notorious terror gang group with Al- Shabaab beliefs or practices or with Muslim religion and Somalia origin they were futile. It was despite many reports seemingly portended the two as synonymous. The research conducted by Ahsan (2015) found out that terrorist organizations like ISIS not only create sympathizers from the Muslim world, rather they were also successful in created die-hard supporters even from western countries, mostly they attracted youths.

Additionally, the study found that *the Media Council of Kenya; the media regulatory body in Kenya, has provided support to media outlets, so as to spur their capability of covering terrorism*. It provides capacity building training to journalists; it arranged conferences that invited all stakeholders. Besides, the Council gives practical comments to media outlets. In few occasions, it penalized reporters, editors, as well as media outlets when they violated the Code of Conduct and media related laws. Further, this study established that few of the respondents were suspicious of the Councils' independence from the government.

The final point the study sought to assess was *assessing the challenges that editors and reporters of Daily Nation and The Standard newspapers faced due to their coverage of terrorism incidents and counter-terrorism initiatives*. Accordingly, *journalists worked in the privately owned newspapers have faced a lot of challenges*. Yet, some of the challenges are not peculiar to Kenyan journalists; rather they are common to all journalists across the world. Reporter Ngirachu disclosed that,

If we take two journalists covering the issue of terrorism, one from the USA and the other one from Kenya, both probably face psychological trauma. Yet the difference lays on the experience and preparedness level of the two journalists and the economic capacity of media outlets

to provide counseling and medical service to the needy journalists. However, there are also country-specific challenges. The context of terrorism in Kenya is quite different from that of the USA. Thus, some of the challenges would probably take the political, economic and cultural shape of the country. For instance, shortage of working materials is not an issue for a media outlet found in the USA unlike the media house in Kenya (Personal interview, February 2, 2018).

## 5.2 Conclusion

The study concluded that the coverage of terrorism by *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers are *depreciated rapidly both by number and quality*. This can be attributed to the instigation of the new laws which Kenyan media largely referred to as 'draconian'. Before these new laws which imposed hefty fines on media houses who did not play by the government standards, reporting was more in-depth with maximum sources quoted to ring out every side of the attack. After the attacks, most sources giving controversial information against the government were unidentified if the side of the government failures is not left out entirely.

Both newspapers do not have written criteria when it came to the qualifications to select terrorism stories. Rather, they are dictated by the concept of newsworthiness or news values like drama, tragedy, proximity, prominence, number of casualties etc. This could also be because they are commercial newspapers they select stories that can attract a huge number of readers. The research conducted by Kondrasuk (2005) concluded that terrorists intentionally used violence to get attention by media. This is proved in my study too.

Moreover, this study concluded that in almost all of the cases *the government remained the only source of news stories related to terrorism, and all the comments were to paint the authorities in good light*. However, when journalists wrote critical stories against the government, they either withheld their names or their sources. For instance, *Daily Nation* reporter Gerald Bwisa in his story 'police had been tipped on terror raid but did not act' published on July 17, 2016 quotes 'high placed sources within the security apparatus', 'sources within the county security team' to pass high-risk information against the government. Ambiguous statements aimed at covering the identity of the speaker for instance, 'it is said' was largely used in the story. This trend replicated by and large across the two media houses.

Further, this study concluded that there are shreds of evidence which showed *the practice of surveillance and self-censorship has been common among Kenyan journalists, especially, during election periods.* This is evidenced by the recent past post-election crisis in Kenya. However, this study did get explicit evidence which supported the claim that there is a direct relationship between counter-terrorism measures and practice of self-censorship. In one case, a journalist informed me that; 'no story is worth your life'. She said that referring to the on-going extrajudicial killings in the country which did not spare journalists.

I will tell you of an analogy of an elephant and an antelope. The elephant met the antelope running and asked him what was chasing him. Scared, the antelope said, the king of the land was chasing goats away. When Mr. Elephant questioned why he was running as he was not a goat, the antelope said; 'No, I'm not. But in Kenya, the police can take decades to prove that'. And the elephant joined the antelope. Said the journalist, (Personal interview, February 5, 2018).

To place this analogy into context, the journalist meant for her, it would be better to practiced self-censorship even when they were certain that they were right and their work factual.

This study concluded that *the journalists faced many challenges such as lack of access to information, (though they expressed hope after the passing of Access to Information Bill).* Psychological trauma, physical injury, lack of working materials (bullet proof jacket, helmet, vehicles...), low pay, commercialization and ownership are also the other major challenges.

Media outlets have used provocative terms such as Islamist extremism and *downis* (people from coastal part of Kenya). Actually, this kind of culturally biased and aggressive usage of terms is almost all over the world. For instance, the research conducted by Ahsan (2015) named ISIS as a jihadist group.

Moreover, this concluded that *interviewed journalists working in these two privately owned newspapers prioritized national security over the public right to know.* Alike, the study found out that journalists considered the public right to know as important element for creating a democratic society. In addition, the interview respondents were critical of the definition of national security.

Furthermore, the study concluded that few journalists were sympathizers of Al-shabbab's principle, not their acts.

The study also discovered that *reporting on terrorism was done by male journalists, even though this did not affect the scope of my study directly*. Also, most of the news articles of the selected newspapers were partial. This conclusion is similar to a study of Altheide (2007). He claims that after 9/11 attacks most media outlets in the USA used government agencies as the only and credible source of news. In turn, the media are fallen in the hands of the politicians and the rich, which makes difficult for the masses to get accurate information. Likewise, the media outlets turn out to be tools of propaganda to dictatorial regimes. Altheide (2009) has argued that by promoting accurate and balanced information to the public, the media can determine the information consumption of the public, and subsequently helps to minimize pressure emanated from terror attacks.

This study concluded that *the autonomy of privately owned newspapers in Kenya has deteriorated from time to time because of counter-terrorism initiatives taken by the government*. In fact, the impact of counter-terrorism measures on the autonomy of media outlets is an issue of growing concern in Kenya and in some other countries. For example, according to CPJ 2016 special report, after the Charlie Hebdo attack, the French government has applied broad anti-terror laws. The French parliament approved a bill that allows intelligence offices to tap phones and emails without seeking permission from a judge. As a result, press freedom in France has weakened dramatically. The report placed France as a second deadly country to press freedom next to Syria. And since there are a number of factors involved in conceptualizing the relationship existed between the two was complex. On the move to perform their duty media outlets and governments come into conflict. The very purposes of media outlets are to inform people on different kinds of issues, while governments have a duty of protecting their public from insecurity. This study also discovered that journalists of the two newspapers are highly abided by legal counter-terrorism measures like Anti-Terrorism Proclamation and Security Amendment Bill. Besides, the study found out that, almost all of the interviewed journalists are aware of the Code of Conduct to practice their journalistic function.

### 5.3 Recommendations

Following the analysis of data gathered through in-depth interviews and content analysis, and given the above conclusions, I observed that there are areas which need improvement concerning keeping the right balance between counter-terrorism measures and the autonomy of privately owned newspapers in Kenya. This study, therefore, recommends that:

First and foremost, I would suggest that it will be better if privately owned media outlets strictly follow a Code of Conduct and the handbook of reporting terrorism. Also, they must be cautious in the usage of terms. The words should not amplify the agenda of terrorists; belittle the efforts of the government and sell fear in the minds of readers. In addition, they should also encourage female journalists to participate in the reporting of terrorism stories.

Furthermore, media outlets should use different sources including suspected terrorists so as to achieve balance and objectivity in their reporting. However, their usage must be pragmatic. Otherwise, they can easily be manipulated by terrorists. In any case, reporting on terrorism must be well designed to deny playground for terrorists.

It is also recommended that as much as possible media outlets should keep national security and the public right to know at equilibrium. Mainly, I advise that these media outlets should draw a line between their emotions and their role as agenda-setters in order not to gamble with the national security of the country. Altogether, the media must ensure the public right to know.

Moreover, this study recommended that it would be better if the media outlets create a strong collaboration with the Media Council of Kenya. So that in the long run, the media outlets and the council will create a unified force against terrorists. In fact, other countries best experiences tell us that, to combat terrorism from its roots the combined efforts of all stakeholders must come into play.

In regards self-censorship, this study would like to suggest that the journalists should feel free to perform their journalistic duty. Also, they are expected to be abided by laws related to the media and write stories accordingly. In addition, they should adhere to the principles of journalism such as accuracy, objectivity, fairness

and pursuit of truth and the like. Likewise, the journalists must underscore that ignorance of the law has no excuse. Similarly, once the law is enacted by the parliament the journalists should adhere to it. Yet, they can discuss with the concerned government organ to improve or reject the law or parts of the law which they think affect the autonomy of their media outlets in the constitutional procedure.

Furthermore, the concerned media outlets should strive hard to alleviate some of the challenges they faced. They should consistently build the capacity of their journalists by preparing short and long-term training sessions, working hand-in-hand with the concerned stakeholders and also share best experiences from other countries media outlets. Similarly, as it would be better if they increase the salary of journalists and fulfill working materials like Vehicles, bulletproof jackets and helmets. Moreover, they should form an advanced counseling unit, so that traumatized journalists can get the required counseling service. Also, these media outlets should work in collaboration with government-owned hospitals, because in some cases the level of trauma cannot be adequately treated by the counseling unit.

Further, it is advised that it will be good if the Media Council sensitize journalists. As a result, their capacity of covering terrorism will boost. Also, it would be better if the Council plays more of counseling role than punishing, because, the relationship between media outlets and the Council must not be adversarial. That, in the long run, creates an opportunity for terrorists to dismantle a unified force into self-interested groups.

The final recommendation is directed towards the government. I recommend that keeping the security of the country cannot be an excuse to ride over the freedom of media outlets. Hence, I would like to suggest that the government refrain from taking measures that abuse the autonomy of media outlets. Rather, it would be good if the government create an integrated force with media outlets. Similarly, since terrorists tell the public to lose faith in the government, it will be better if the Kenyan government work in collaboration with media outlets. The message “we are one” must be practical. Thus, the government can keep the good name of Kenya in terms of media freedom when compared with many countries in Africa and some parts of the world.

## **5.4 Recommended areas for further studies**

There is lack of scholarly literature written on the topic of this study. Studies conducted on the possible impacts of Counter-terrorism measures on freedom of the media are scanty. Even the already done ones are focusing on specific issues like the impacts of anti-terrorism proclamation rather than looking the whole Counter-terrorism initiatives.

Also, there is a tendency to take governments and privately owned media outlets as competing forces. Thus, the government and the media outlets cannot stand as a fused entity, which also hinders to have an agreement between the two. Therefore, there is a need to have plenty of research works to be conducted in this regard. All along, the outputs acquired from the coming researches can develop theoretical frameworks or give insights to government policies of countering terrorism.

## **5.5 Limitations of the study**

I write this specific sub-section on the understanding that every study has certain kinds of limitations. Meaning, this study has also limitations.

Even if, the study used a range of latest scholarly literatures, due to time constraints, I cannot use additional literatures which would serve to augment the findings herein. In addition, the analysis of data collected through the news articles will be more rigorous if I employed software-based data analysis techniques. However, as indicated in methodology chapter I tried to guarantee the reliability and validity of the thesis as much as possible.

## References

- Abadie, A. (2004). *Poverty, political freedom and the roots of terrorism*. Cambridge, Mass: NBER.
- Adeyemi, A. (2015). *Terrorism and Transnational Security Threats in West Africa: A Global Perspective*. Xlibris Corporation. Retrieved September 3, 2017, from: <https://www.amazon.com/Terrorism-Transnational-Security-Threats-Africa/dp/1503598187>.
- Ahsan, M. (2015). *ISIS and Media*. International relations insights and analysis. IRA IRIA Report No. 8
- Allison, S. (2013, September 23). *Nairobi terror attack: Why Kenya and why now?* The Guardian Africa Network. Retrieved from <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/sep/23/nairobi-terror-kenya-africa>.
- Al-Sibai, N. (2018, January 17). *White supremacist terrorists killed more people in the US last year than any other extremist group*. Retrieved from: <https://www.rawstory.com/2018/01/white-supremacist-terrorists-killed-more-people-in-the-us-last-year-than-any-other-extremist-group-report/>.
- Altheide, D. L. (2007). *The mass media and terrorism*. Los Angeles: Sage. 1(3), 287-308. Accessed from: <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/1750481307079207>.
- Altheide, D. L. (2009). *Terror post- 9/11 and the media (Global crises and the media)*. Vol. 4. Peter Lang. ISBN-13: 978-1433103650. Accessed from <https://www.amazon.com/Terror-Post-Media-Global-Crises/dp/1433103656>.

- Anica, L. L. C. (2015, January). The Fight against terrorism-Between the political action and the professional activity Charlle Hebdo: The Freedom of Speech and the new Terrorism. In *International Scientific Conference" Strategies XXI"* (Vol. 2, p. 285). " Carol I" National Defence University.
- Apple Jr, R.W. (1985). Thatcher urges the press to help 'starve' terrorists. Retrieved October 2, 2017 from:  
<https://www.nytimes.com/1985/07/16/world/thatcher-urges-the-press-to-help-starve-terrorists.html>.
- Bantekas, I., & Oette, L. (2016). *International human rights law and practice*. (2nd ed.). London: Cambridge University Press.
- Başeren, S. H. (2008). *Terrorism with its differentiating aspects*. Turkey. Turkey: Ankara University.
- Brigitte, L. (2007). *Mass mediated terrorism: The central role of the media in terrorism and counterterrorism*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield publishers Inc.
- Bricki, N., & Green, J. (2007). *A guide to using qualitative research methodology*. Downloaded from MSF-Médecins sans Frontières. <http://fieldresearch.Msf>.
- Bryman, A. (2012). *Social research methods*. (4th ed.). New York: Oxford University Press.
- Buchanan-Clarke, S., & Lekalake, R. (2015). *Is Kenya's anti-terrorist crackdown exacerbating drivers of violent extremism. Afrobarometre Dispatch, (37)*. Retrieved October 12, 2017, from:  
[http://afrobarometer.org/sites/default/files/publications/Dispatches/ab\\_r6\\_dispatchno37.pdf](http://afrobarometer.org/sites/default/files/publications/Dispatches/ab_r6_dispatchno37.pdf).
- Carlsson, U. (Ed.). (2013). *Freedom of expression revisited: Citizenship and journalism in the digital era*. Norway: Nordicom.

Chapia, J. (2015). *Reporting terrorism in Kenya: striking a balance between public interest and national security*. A Research Project Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Award of the Degree of Master of Arts in International Studies. University of Nairobi.

Charlie Hebdo Attack: Three Days of Terror. (2015, January 14). Retrieved November 17, 2017, from: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-30708237>.

Claussen, B. (2015). *Freedom and Terror: The Relationship between Political Rights, Civil Liberties and Transnational Terrorism*. University of Wisconsin:Milwaukee.

Cliteur, P. B., Herrenberg, T., & Rijpkema, B. R. (2015). *The New Censorship: A Case Study of extrajudicial restraints on free speech*. (pp. 291-318). The Hague: Eleven international Publishing.

Committee to Protect Journalists. (2015). Broken Promises: How Kenya is failing to uphold its Commitment to a Free Press. Retrieved October 1, 2017, from: <https://cpj.org/reports/2015/07/broken-promises-kenya-failing-to-uphold-commitment-to-free-press.php>.

Committee to Protect Journalists. Syria, France most deadly countries for the press. Retrieved November 15, 2017, from: <https://cpj.org/reports/2015/12/journalists-killed-syria-france-most-deadly-countries-for-the-press.php>.

Constitution of Kenya. (2010). Retrieved 25 September, 2017, from: <https://kenyaembassy.com/pdfs/The%20Constitution%20of%20Kenya.pdf>.

Creswell, J. (2003). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. Sage Publications.

Daily Nation newspaper and facts about Nation media group. Retrieved December 18, 2017, from: <https://buzzkenya.com/daily-nation-newspaper-media-group>.

- Din, V. (2011). *Understanding Terrorism in the Horn of Africa: American Perceptions of Somalia, Kenya and Al-Qaeda*. Claremont McKenna College.
- D'Silva, A. W. (2016). *An analysis of challenges and opportunities in reporting Terrorism by Journalists in Kenya*. A Research Project Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of Master of Arts Degree in Communication Studies. The University of Nairobi.
- Eid, M. (2013). *The new era of media and terrorism*. *Studies in conflict & terrorism*, 36(7), 609-615.
- Eugenis, K. (2013). *Who will tell the story? Terrorism's relationship with the international news media*. Las Vegas: University of Nevada.
- Franks, J. (2004). *Rethinking the roots of terrorism: Through the doors of perception*. Thesis submitted for the degree of doctor of Philosophy, University of St. Andrews.
- Gicheru, C. (2014). *The challenges facing independent newspapers in Sub-Saharan Africa*. Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism.
- Global Terrorism Database. (2017). Terrorism attacks in Kenya. Retrieved from: [https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/search/Results.aspx?page=7&casualties\\_type=&casualties\\_max=&country=104&expanded=no&charttype=line&chart=overtime&ob=GTDID&od=desc#results-table](https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/search/Results.aspx?page=7&casualties_type=&casualties_max=&country=104&expanded=no&charttype=line&chart=overtime&ob=GTDID&od=desc#results-table).
- Gunter, B. (2000). *Media research methods: Measuring audiences, reactions and impact*. London. Sage publications.
- History of The Standard newspaper. Accessed from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/The-Standard>.
- Hogan, J., Dolan, P. and Donnelly, P.F. (Eds). (2009). *Approaches to Qualitative Research: Theory and Its Practical Application*. Cork: Oak Tree Press.

- International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. (1966). Adopted and opened for signature, ratification and accession by General Assembly resolution 2200A (XXI) of 16 December 1966 entry into force 23 March 1976, in accordance with Article 49. Retrieved September 24, 2017, from:  
<http://www.ohchr.org/EN/ProfessionalInterest/Pages/CCPR.aspx>.
- Isoke, H. (2015). *The dilemma of porous borders: Uganda's experience in combating terrorism* (Doctoral dissertation, Monterey, California: Naval Postgraduate School).
- Jenkins, B. (1975). *International Terrorism*. Los Angeles: Crescent Publication. p. 20.
- Jensen, K. B. (Ed.). (2013). *A Handbook of media and communication research: Qualitative and quantitative methodologies*. London: Routledge.
- Jimris-Rekve, B. (2016). *A Clampdown on a Public Sphere: The Impacts of Al-Shabaab Terror Attacks on the Kenyan Media Freedom*. A thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the Master of Arts Degree in Life Sciences, Ås Norwegian University.
- Kellen, W. (2015). *The Role of regional integration in combating terrorism in the Horn of Africa: A case study of East African Community (EAC)*. University of Nairobi Institute of Diplomacy and International Studies.
- Khan, L. A. (2006). *A theory of international terrorism understanding Islamic militancy* (Vol. 56). Martinus Nijhoff Publishers. Accessed from:  
<https://www.scribd.com/document/290102685/A-Theory-of-International-Terrorism-Understanding-Islamic-Militancy-2006-Blackatk>.
- Kisang A. (2014). *Reporting Terrorism among Kenyan Media: Should Journalists be Cautious?* Journal of Media and Communication Studies, Kenyatta University, Nairobi.
- Koh, J. M. (2006). *The Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism: The Evolution and implementation of international standards*. Doctoral dissertation, University of

- Edinburgh. Downloaded from:  
file:///C:/Users/Bruker/Downloads/508134%20(1).pdf.
- Kondrasuk, JN (2005). *A US View of Terrorism: Disaster Prevention and Management*. (14)5:644-656. Accessed from: <https://doi.org/10.1108/09653560510634070>.
- Laqueur, W. (2001). *A History of terrorism*. New Jersey New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.
- Leenco, L. (2004). *The Horn of Africa as common homeland: The state and self-determination in the era of heightened globalization*. Canada: Wilfrid Laurier University Press.
- Littlejohn, S. W., & Foss, K. A. (Eds.). (2009). *Encyclopaedia of communication theory (vol. 1)*. California: Sage.
- Malterud, K., Siersma, V. D., & Guassora, A. D. (2016). *Sample size in qualitative interview studies: Guided by information power*. *Qualitative health research*, 26(13), 1753-1760. Denmark: University of Copenhagen.
- Mania, B. W. (2014). *Assessment of Print Media Coverage of the War against Terrorism in Kenya: A Case of the Daily Nation and The Standard Newspapers*. Doctoral dissertation, University of Nairobi.
- Mbugua, G. (2015). *The Role of Mass Media in Aiding International Terrorism: The case of Kenyan media and AL-Shabaab*. Master of Arts in International Studies, University of Nairobi.
- Meckl, M. (2014). *Freedom of the press: Two concepts*. Háskóla Íslands: Reykjavík: Félagsvísindastofnun. Downloaded from [https://skemman.is/bitstream/1946/19989/1/Freedom%20of%20the%20press\\_F%C3%A9lags-%20og%20mannv%C3%ADsindadeild.pdf](https://skemman.is/bitstream/1946/19989/1/Freedom%20of%20the%20press_F%C3%A9lags-%20og%20mannv%C3%ADsindadeild.pdf).

Media Council of Kenya. (2013). Code of Conduct for the Practise of Journalism in Kenya (Second Schedule of the Media Council Act 2013).

Media Council of Kenya. (2014). Ethical and professional glimpse report: Media coverage of the Westgate Mall attack.

Muhwezi, A. M. (2014). *Transnational terrorism in East Africa: A qualitative and quantitative analysis of the recent rise in Kenyan violence*. Doctoral dissertation, Monterrey: California Naval Postgraduate School.

Morris, M. W., Leung, K., Ames, D., & Lickel, B. (1999). *Views from inside and outside: Integrating emic and etic Insights about culture and justice judgment*. 24(4), 781-796. Academy of management review.

Mugo, W. (2013). Kenya's first terror attack caught police unawares.

Retrieved on December 5, 2017 from:

at:<https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000095154/kenya-s-first-terror-attack-caught-police-unawares>.

Nacos, B. L. (2006, August). Terrorism/counterterrorism and media in the age of global communication. In United Nations University Global Seminar Second Shimame-Yamaguchi Session, Terrorism – A Global Challenge. Downloaded from:

[http://archive.unu.edu/globseminar/files/shimane06/Nacos\\_text\\_en.pdf](http://archive.unu.edu/globseminar/files/shimane06/Nacos_text_en.pdf).

Nacos, H. (2002). *Libertarianism*. In Miller, Wilburn R., ed. *The social history of crime and punishment in America*. London: Sage Publication.

Newsweek. (2015, January 7). Police officer Ahmed Merabet shot during Charlie

Hebdo Massacre. Accessed on December 11, 2017, from: [http:](http://www.newsweek.com/officer-shot-during-charlie-hebdo-massacre-identified-297603)

[www.newsweek.com/officer-shot-during-charlie-hebdo-massacre-identified-297,603](http://www.newsweek.com/officer-shot-during-charlie-hebdo-massacre-identified-297603).

Oliver, P. (2014). *Writing Your Thesis*. (3rd ed.). Los Angeles: Sage publications Ltd..

Perbal, B., & Perbal, A. (2015). *Liberté, Liberté Chérie: The International CCN Society*.

Accessed on September 17, 2017 from:

<https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s12079-015-0270-1>.

Pokhrel, S. Quotes about terrorism. Retrieved on September, 2, 2017 from:

<https://www.goodreads.com/quotes/842895-every-morning-i-wake-up-with-the-news-of-bloodshed>.

Prevention of Terrorism Act. (No. 30 of 2012). Retrieved on October 7, 2017, from:

[file:///C:/Users/Bruker/Downloads/PreventionofTerrorism Act 30of 2012\\_subsiidiary](file:///C:/Users/Bruker/Downloads/PreventionofTerrorism%20Act%20of%202012_subsiidiary).

Ramraj, V. V., Hor, M., & Roach, K. (Eds.). (2005). *Global anti-terrorism law and policy*.

London: Cambridge University Press.

Reese, S. D., & Lewis, S. C. (2009). Framing the war on terror: The internalization of

policy in the US press. *Journalism*, 10(6), 777-797. Downloaded from

<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/1464884909344480>.

Ringa, S. (2015, July 8). Retrieved on September 17, 2017, from:

<https://www.nation.co.ke/counties/US-to-help-Kenya-fight-terrorism/1107872-2780260-ifx4b2z/index.html>.

Ruane, K.A. (2016). *The advocacy of terrorism on the internet: Freedom of speech issues and the material support statutes*. Congressional Research Service.

Schmid, P.A. (2009). *Terrorism and the media: The ethics of publicity*. *Terrorism and political violence*, 1(4).

Security Assistance Monitor. (2015). Retrieved November 25, 2017, from:

<https://securityassistance.org/data/program/military/Kenya/>.

Seib, P., & Janbek, D. M. (2010). *Global Terrorism and New Media: The post-Al Qaeda generation*. (n.p): Routledge.

- Shah, A. (2002). *War on terror: Mainstream media and propaganda*. Accessed from:  
<http://www.globalissues.org/article/352/mainstream-media-and-propaganda>.
- Silverman, D. (Ed.). (2016). *Qualitative research*. London: Sage publications.
- Skjerdal, T. (2010). *Justifying self-censorship: A perspective from Ethiopia*. Gimlekollen School of Journalism and Communication, Kristiansand, Norway.
- Skrzypek, J. (2013). *Is terrorism theatre? Dramaturgical metaphor in the cases of Budyonovsk, Dubrovka and Beslan* (Doctoral dissertation, University of St Andrews).
- Smith, U. (2011). *Globalisation and the spread of terrorism in Northern and Sub-Saharan Africa: Causes and consequences*. Master of Arts degree in defence studies, Massey University.
- Sproat, P. (1997). *An Investigation of the Concept of state terrorism*. Ph.D. Thesis. Department of politics. England: University of Newcastle.
- Stanford University. (2016). *Mapping militant organizations: Al-Shabaab*. Retrived September 22, 2017, from:  
<http://web.stanford.edu/group/mappingmilitants/cgi-bin/groups/view/61?highlight=2016>.
- Stallings, R. A. (2003). *Methods of disaster research*. (n.p): Xlibris Corporation.
- Stone, M. (2000). *Responses to media coverage of terrorism*. Journal of Conflict Resolution, 44(4), 508-522. Isreal: Tel Aviv University
- Sturman, K. (2002). *The AU Plan on Terrorism joining the global war or leading an African battle?* African Security Review 11(4). Accessed from:  
<https://journals.co.za/content/isafsec/11/4/EJC47072>.
- The African Union Mission in Somalia. AMISOM Background. Retrieved October, 9 2017, from: <http://amisom-au.org/amisom-background/>.

The Economist. (2015, January 8). The attack on Charlie Hebdo: Terror in Paris.

Accessed on October 7, 2017, from:

<https://www.economist.com/news/leaders/21638118-islamists-are-assailing-freedom-speech-vilifying-all-islam-wrong-way-counter>.

Transparency International 2016 Corruption Perception Index. Accessed from

[https://www.transparency.org/news/feature/corruption\\_perceptions\\_index\\_2016](https://www.transparency.org/news/feature/corruption_perceptions_index_2016).

Transparency International. 2017 Corruption Perceptions Index. Retrieved October 27, 2017, from:

[https://www.transparency.org/news/feature/corruption\\_perceptions\\_index\\_2017](https://www.transparency.org/news/feature/corruption_perceptions_index_2017).

The Security Laws (Amendment) Act. (2014). Enacted by the Parliament of Kenya.

Accessed on 12 November, 2017, from:

<https://kenopalo.files.wordpress.com/2014/12/the-security-laws.pdf>.

Tumushabe, A. B. (2015). *The Dilemma of combating terrorism in democratizing states: A case study of the republic of Uganda*. Naval post graduate school Monterey, CA Department of National security Affairs.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Accessed from:

[http://www.ohchr.org/EN/UDHR/Documents/UDHR\\_Translations/eng.pdf](http://www.ohchr.org/EN/UDHR/Documents/UDHR_Translations/eng.pdf).

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. (2017). *Terrorism and the media: A handbook for journalists*. Paris: de Fontenay. Accessed from:

<http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0024/002470/247074E.pdf>

United States Department of State. ( 2014, February 27). 2013 *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices – Kenya*. Retrieved on September 25, 2017, from:

<http://www.refworld.org/docid/53284abe14.html>

- VanderStoep, S. W., & Johnson, D. D. (2009). *Research methods for everyday life: Blending qualitative and quantitative approaches*. (1st ed.). San Francisco: John Wiley & Sons.
- Van der Veer, P., & Munshi, S. (Eds.). (2004). *Media, war, and terrorism: responses from the Middle East and Asia* (Vol. 41). Psychology Press.
- Weimann, G. (2008). *The psychology of mass-mediated terrorism*: 52 (1). Los Angeles: Sage publications.
- Wilkinson, P. (1997). *Media and Terrorism: A reassessment, terrorism and political violence*: 9 (2), 51-64. London: Frank Cass.
- Winkler, G. (2012). *Contending Liberalisms in World Politics: Ideology and Power*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Woldeselase, W. (2010). *Terrorism in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa: Threat, impact and response*. (1st ed.). Addis Ababa: Mega printing P.L.C.
- Yusof, S. H., Hassan, F., Hassan, M. S., & Osman, M. N. (2013). *The framing of international media on Islam and Terrorism*. 9(8). *European Scientific Journal*.
- Zavalza, E. (n.d). *Why is mass media important for modern terrorism?* Lexington: University of Kentucky.

## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1: Research permit



### NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

Telephone: +254-20-2213471,  
2241349,3310571,2219420  
Fax: +254-20-318245,318249  
Email: dg@nacosti.go.ke  
Website: www.nacosti.go.ke  
when replying please quote

NACOSTI, Upper Kabete  
Off Waiyaki Way  
P.O. Box 30623-00100  
NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref. No. **NACOSTI/P/18/99346/20477**

Date: **24th January, 2018**

Thomas Kebede Woldemariam  
N.L.A University College  
**NORWAY.**

#### **RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION**

Following your application for authority to carry out research on "*Assessing the autonomy of the private media outlets in Kenya in the aftermath of terrorist attacks occurred since 2015*" I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Nairobi County** for the period ending **24th January, 2019.**

You are advised to report to **the County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Nairobi County** before embarking on the research project.

Kindly note that, as an applicant who has been licensed under the Science, Technology and Innovation Act, 2013 to conduct research in Kenya, you shall deposit **a copy** of the final research report to the Commission **within one year** of completion. The soft copy of the same should be submitted through the Online Research Information System.

*G.P. Kalerwa*

**GODFREY P. KALERWA MSc., MBA, MKIM**  
**FOR: DIRECTOR-GENERAL/CEO**

Copy to:

The County Commissioner  
Nairobi County.

The County Director of Education  
Nairobi County.

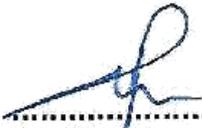
**THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:  
MR. THOMAS KEBEDE WOLDEMARIAM**  
of **NLA UNIVERSITY COLLAGE**, bergtoras  
vei 120, --4633 krstiansand, has been  
permitted to conduct research in  
*Nairobi County*

**Permit No : NACOSTI/P/18/99346/20477**  
**Date Of Issue : 24th January, 2018**  
**Fee Recieved :Ksh 2000**

on the topic: **ASSESSING THE  
AUTONOMY OF THE PRIVATE MEDIA  
OUTLETS IN KENYA IN THE AFTERMATH  
OF TERRORIST ATTACKS OCCURRED  
SINCE 2015**



for the period ending:  
*24th January, 2019*

  
.....  
**Applicant's  
Signature**

  
.....  
**Director General  
National Commission for Science,  
Technology & Innovation**



## Vilkår for vår anbefaling

Vår anbefaling forutsetter at du gjennomfører prosjektet i tråd med:

- opplysningene gitt i meldeskjemaet og øvrig dokumentasjon
- vår prosjektvurdering, se side 2
- eventuell korrespondanse med oss

## Meld fra hvis du gjør vesentlige endringer i prosjektet

Dersom prosjektet endrer seg, kan det være nødvendig å sende inn endringsmelding. På våre nettsider finner du svar på hvilke [endringer](#) du må melde, samt endringskjema.

## Opplysninger om prosjektet blir lagt ut på våre nettsider og i Meldingsarkivet

Vi har lagt ut opplysninger om prosjektet på nettsidene våre. Alle våre institusjoner har også tilgang til egne prosjekter i [Meldingsarkivet](#).

## Vi tar kontakt om status for behandling av personopplysninger ved prosjektslutt

Ved prosjektslutt 15.02.2018 vil vi ta kontakt for å avklare status for behandlingen av personopplysninger.

*Dokumentet er elektronisk produsert og godkjent ved NSDs rutiner for elektronisk godkjenning.*

Se våre nettsider eller ta kontakt dersom du har spørsmål. Vi ønsker lykke til med prosjektet!

Vennlig hilsen

Marianne Høgetveit Myhren

Håkon Jørgen Tranvåg

Kontaktperson: Håkon Jørgen Tranvåg tlf: 55 58 20 43 / [Hakon.Tranvag@nsd.no](mailto:Hakon.Tranvag@nsd.no)

Vedlegg: Prosjektvurdering

Kopi: Thomas Kebede, [kebedethomas@gmail.com](mailto:kebedethomas@gmail.com)



## Prosjektvurdering - Kommentar

---

Prosjektnr: 57714

### PURPOSE

The purpose of the project is to assess the implications counter-terrorism initiatives may have on the autonomy of private media outlets in Kenya.

### INFORMATION AND CONSENT

According to your notification form the sample will receive oral information about the project and will give their consent to participate. Information for the sample must at the very least include:

- the name of the institution that is the data controller
- contact information for the project leader (or both student and supervisor)
- the project's objective and what the personal data will be used for
- that participation is voluntary and participants can withdraw at any time without giving a reason, so long as the study is on going
- that information will be treated confidentially and who will have access to it
- when the project will be completed and what will happen to the personal data at this stage; whether personal data will be deleted, anonymised or stored for a set amount of time

### SENSITIVE PERSONAL DATA

It is indicated that you intend to process sensitive personal data about ethnic origin or political/philosophical/religious beliefs.

## INFORMATION SECURITY

The Data Protection Official presupposes that you will process all data according to the NLA Høgskolen AS internal guidelines/routines for information security. We presuppose that the use of a personal computer is in accordance with these guidelines.

## PUBLICATION OF PERSONAL DATA

According to your notification form you intend to publish indirectly identifiable personal data. The Data Protection Official presupposes that you will gain explicit consent from each participant to publish their personal data. Furthermore, we recommend that participants are given the opportunity to read through their own information and give their approval before publication.

## END DATE AND ANONYMISATION

The estimated end date of the project is 15.02.2018. According to your notification form/information letter you intend to anonymise the collected data by this date. Making the data anonymous entails processing it in such a way that no individuals can be identified. This is done by:

- deleting all direct personal data (such as names/lists of reference numbers)

- deleting/rewriting indirectly identifiable personal data (i.e. an identifying combination of background variables, such as residence/work place, age and gender)

#### ADDITIONAL

The project is cleared with the Kenyan national commission

## **Appendix 2: Interview guide**

In partial fulfilment for the Master of Art degree in Global Journalism, I am expected to conduct a research on one relevant topic. Hence, I am interested to research on the autonomy of the private media outlets in Kenya in the aftermath of terrorist attacks. Your participation in the interview is appreciated. The information gathered from, you, respondents shall be treated with high confidentiality. Moreover, your name mentioned in the research report only by your consent, otherwise your identity can be stated anonymously.

### **1. Interview questions for Editors**

#### **1.1 Background information**

- Age
- What is the highest level of education you have received?
- Who is your present or most recent employer?
- What are/were your major responsibilities at (present/most recent job)?

#### **1.2 Position specific questions**

- II. What do you think as the major causes of terrorism?
- III. What are the qualifications you used to select stories of terrorism?
- IV. What are the major focus areas while coverage of terrorism?
- V. In what ways and to what extent counter terrorism measures changes the nature of your media house?
- VI. How can your media institution strike the balance between the public right to know and the national security?
- VII. In what ways your newspapers work in collaboration with the national press council?
- VIII. What are the common challenges related with coverage of terrorism?
- IX. Does your media organization design a system to accept feedback from readers, particularly on coverage of terrorism?
- X. If your answer is yes for the above question, in what ways your media organization used the feedback?
- XI. Do you feel some sort of surveillance from the government?

XII. What sorts of coping mechanisms you applied to solve the challenges?

## **2. Interview questions for reporters**

### **2.1 Background information**

- Age
- What is the highest level of education you have received?
- Who is your present or most recent employer?
- What are/were your major responsibilities at (present/most recent job)?

### **2.2 Position specific questions**

- I. Which types of angles you mostly used to write stories of terrorism?
- II. How can you create a balance between the national security and the public right to know?
- III. What are the major attributions created about journalists working in private media institutions because of their coverage of terrorism?
- IV. How can you perform your journalistic work in the presence of counter terrorism measures, especially anti-proclamation law?
- V. Do journalists working in the private media organizations further the agenda of terrorists in their reporting?
- VI. What are the main challenges you has been experienced while you report on stories of terrorism?

## **3. Interview guide for Media Council of Kenya**

### **3.1 Background information**

- Age
- What is the highest level of education you have received?
- Who is your present or most recent employer?
- What are/were your major responsibilities at (present/most recent job)?

### **3.2 Position specific questions**

- I. How far private media organizations report terrorism incidents as per the guideline of the council? Monitoring or dealing with complains.

II. What kinds of impressions do private media organizations have towards the guideline?

III. To what extent private media organizations collaborate with the council?

#### **4. Interview guide for veteran journalism professor**

##### **4.1 Background information**

- Age
- What is the highest level of education you have received?
- Who is your present or most recent employer?
- What are/were your major responsibilities at (present/most recent job)?

##### **4.2 Position specific questions**

- I. What do you think as the causes of terrorism in Kenya?
- II. How do privately owned newspapers report an issue of terrorism?
- III. What pressures do you think led journalists to self-censorship? Do you think counter-terrorism measures have a role?
- IV. What are the main challenges journalists faced while they are covering terrorism?
- V. How do describe the role of the Media Council in improving the coverage of terrorism by Kenyan media outlets?

**THE END**

**THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION**

**Appendix 3: Sample news articles written by Daily Nation newspaper journalists since 2015.**

| No. | Date                     | Headline/title  | Writer                | Link to the news article  |
|-----|--------------------------|---|-----------------------|---|
| 1   | 11 April 2015            | <u>Time for Kenya to rethink its war on terror</u>                    | <u>Trevor Analo</u>   | <a href="http://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/news/Time-for-Kenya-to-rethink-its-war-on-terror/2558-2682346-sicck3z/index.html">http://www.theeastafrican.co.ke/news/Time-for-Kenya-to-rethink-its-war-on-terror/2558-2682346-sicck3z/index.html</a>   |
| 2   | FEBRUARY 28<br>2015 2015 | Ruling on anti-terrorism law a triumph for Kenya's Judiciary          | Peter Kagwania        | <a href="https://www.nation.co.ke/oped/opinion/Security-Laws-High-Court-Ruling-Terrorism/440808-2638706-522bndz/index.html">https://www.nation.co.ke/oped/opinion/Security-Laws-High-Court-Ruling-Terrorism/440808-2638706-522bndz/index.html</a> |
| 3   | SEPTEMBER 7<br>2016      | <u>Uhuru launches counter-terrorism strategy, names special envoy</u> | Stella Cheronno       | <a href="https://www.nation.co.ke/news/Uhuru-launches-counter-terrorism-strategy--names-special-envoy/1056-3372608-w4du8t/">https://www.nation.co.ke/news/Uhuru-launches-counter-terrorism-strategy--names-special-envoy/1056-3372608-w4du8t/</a> |
| 4   | OCTOBER 22<br>2017       | <u>Kenya asked to emulate Uganda in taming terror</u>                 | Kevin J. Kelley       | <a href="https://www.nation.co.ke/news/Kenya-asked-to-emulate-Uganda-in-taming-terror-/1056-4150218-vboitm/index.html">https://www.nation.co.ke/news/Kenya-asked-to-emulate-Uganda-in-taming-terror-/1056-4150218-vboitm/index.html</a>           |
| 5   | APRIL 13 2017            | <u>Kenya, Netherlands ink counter-terrorism deal</u>                  | <u>Aggery Mutambo</u> | <a href="https://www.nation.co.ke/news/Kenya-Netherlands-terrorism-deal-/1056-3889164-hyhpui/index.html">https://www.nation.co.ke/news/Kenya-Netherlands-terrorism-deal-/1056-3889164-hyhpui/index.html</a>                                       |

**Sample news articles written by The Standard newspaper since 2015.**

| No. | Date                       | Headline  | Writer                      | Link to the news article  |
|-----|----------------------------|---|-----------------------------|---|
| 1   | December 1 2017            | President Uhuru urges military to remain steadfast in fight against terrorism | Stephen Mkawale             | <a href="https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2001261787/president-uhuru-urges-military-to-remain-steadfast-in-fight-against-terrorism">https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2001261787/president-uhuru-urges-military-to-remain-steadfast-in-fight-against-terrorism</a> |
| 2   | June 21 <sup>st</sup> 2017 | Community key in war on terrorism, NCTC boss says                             | Cyrus Ombati                | <a href="https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2001244374/community-key-in-war-on-terrorism-nctc-boss-says">https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2001244374/community-key-in-war-on-terrorism-nctc-boss-says</a>   |
| 3   | May 30 2015                | Security experts criticise government's strategy in fighting terrorism        | Joe Kiarie and Juma Kwayera | <a href="https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000164016/security-experts-criticise-government-s-strategy-in-fighting-terrorism">https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000164016/security-experts-criticise-government-s-strategy-in-fighting-terrorism</a>               |
| 4   | March 27 2016              | Muslims seek inclusion in drafting laws to fight terrorism                    | Protus Onyango              | <a href="https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000196233/muslims-seek-inclusion-in-drafting-laws-to-fight-terrorism">https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000196233/muslims-seek-inclusion-in-drafting-laws-to-fight-terrorism</a>                                       |
| 5   | December 18 2017           | Anti-radicalisation should tackle anger driving terrorism                     | Hassan Malik Mohamed        | <a href="https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2001263434/anti-radicalisation-should-tackle-anger-driving-terrorism">https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2001263434/anti-radicalisation-should-tackle-anger-driving-terrorism</a>   |