



THE AGA KHAN UNIVERSITY

eCommons@AKU

Theses & Dissertations

2-2023

Media framing of Islam in the coverage of terrorism in Kenya

Stephen Maina Kamau

Follow this and additional works at: https://ecommons.aku.edu/theses_dissertations



Part of the [Communication Technology and New Media Commons](#), and the [Social Media Commons](#)

THE AGA KHAN UNIVERSITY
Graduate School of Media and Communications

**MEDIA FRAMING OF ISLAM IN THE COVERAGE OF TERRORISM IN
KENYA**

By

Stephen Maina Kamau
552932

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master
of Arts in Digital Journalism

Nairobi, Kenya

20/02/2023
© Copyright

COPYRIGHT

Copyright © 2023, Stephen Maina Kamau

APPROVAL PAGE

The Aga Khan University
Graduate School of Media and Communications

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of
Arts in Digital Journalism

Members of the Thesis Evaluation Committee appointed to examine the thesis of
STEPHEN MAINA KAMAU-552932, find it satisfactory and recommended that it be
accepted.

Nancy Booker, Ph.D.,
Interim Dean,
Chair, Thesis Evaluation Committee,

Benjamin Muindi, Ph.D., Supervisor

Member,
Thesis Evaluation Committee

20/02/2023

DECLARATION

MEDIA FRAMING OF ISLAM IN THE COVERAGE OF TERRORISM IN KENYA

I, **STEPHEN MAINA KAMAU-552932**, declare that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university and that to the best of my knowledge it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference has been made in the text. The editorial assistance provided to me has in no way added to the substance of my thesis, which is the product of my research endeavours.

Signature

Date

DEDICATION

I dedicate this study to my mother, Lucy M. Kamau.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I acknowledge and appreciate Dr. Benjamin Muindi for the invaluable support, time, and expertise he has accorded me while writing this research proposal. Furthermore, immeasurable gratitude goes to Hesbon Hansen Owilla, Henry Kibira, and Alex Taremwa from the Aga Khan University Graduate School of Media and Communication for their thoughtful comments and kind assistance this far.

ABSTRACT

This research used framing theory to analyse the media framing of Islam in the subsequent coverage of the 2015 Garissa University terror attack in Kenya. Daily Nation and The Standard newspapers adopted a quantitative research approach and descriptive content analysis research design. Data was captured from 3rd April 2015 to 10th April 2015, where 112 stories were selected for analysis. Specifically, the research sought to determine the tone of Islam in subsequent coverage of the Garissa University terror attack during the first seven days. Secondly, it examined the prominence of stories touching on Islam during subsequent coverage of the Garissa University Terror Attack in the first seven days. Third, it examined sources in subsequent coverage of the Garissa University terror attack in the first 7 days. The study found that the two newspapers framed Islam in a neutral tone during the subsequent coverage of the Garissa University terror attack. This is a significant deviation from past studies that established Islam is negatively framed during newspaper coverage of terror attacks. The study also found out that the two newspapers gave stories with a religious connotation a higher prominence. Further, the study established that official sources, including security agencies and government officials, were the main sources in subsequent coverage of the Garissa University attack. The study concludes that Kenyan media has moved from a negative to a neutral tone when covering Islam during terror attacks. It also deduces that stories touching on Islam were highly prioritised, drawing a higher prominence. Also, despite official sources appearing predominantly in the initial coverage, there was a shift towards non-official sources during the subsequent coverage. The study recommends that media houses fortify training in terrorism reporting and writing skills and that stakeholders emphasize ethics during coverage of terror attacks in Kenya.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

APPROVAL PAGE	i
DECLARATION	ii
DEDICATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
ABSTRACT	v
LIST OF TABLES	viii
ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS	ix
CHAPTER ONE	1
INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Background to the Study	3
1.3 Statement of the Problem	7
1.4 Objectives of the Study	8
1.4.1 Specific Objectives	8
1.4.1 Research Questions	9
1.5 Justification of the Study	9
1.6 Significance of the Study	10
1.7 Scope of the Study	11
1.8 Limitations of the Study	11
1.9 Operational Definition of Terms	12
1.10 Summary	12
CHAPTER TWO	14
LITERATURE REVIEW	14
2.1 Introduction	14
2.2 Theoretical Framework	14
2.2.1 Framing Theory	14
2.3 General and Empirical Literature Review	19
2.3.1 Islam and Terror Coverage	19
2.3.2 Media Coverage of Terror Attacks	22
2.3.3 News Sources in the Coverage of Terror Attacks	24
2.4 Summary	27
CHAPTER THREE	28
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	28
3.1 Introduction	28
3.2 Research Approach and Research Design	28
3.3 Population	29
3.4 Target Population	30
3.5 Study Site	30
3.6 Sample Size	30
3.7 Sampling Procedures	31
3.8 Research Method	32
3.9 Data Collection Tools	32
3.10 Data Collection Procedures	33
3.11 Pre-Testing of Data Generation/Collection tools	34
3.12 Validity and Reliability of Research Tools	34
3.13 Data Analysis and Presentation Plan	35
3.14 Ethical Considerations	35
3.15 Summary	36
CHAPTER FOUR	37
DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION, AND INTERPRETATION	37

4.1 Introduction.....	37
4.2 Presentation, Analysis, and Interpretation	37
4.2.1 Sample Size and Intercoder Reliability Test.....	37
4.2.1.1 Sample Size.....	37
4.2.1.2 Intercoder Reliability Test	37
4.2.2 Findings.....	38
4.2.2.1 Tone of Islam in the Subsequent Coverage of the Garissa Attack	38
4.2.2.2 Prominence of stories touching on Islam during subsequent coverage of the Garissa University Terror Attack	41
4.2.2.3 Source frame in subsequent coverage of the Garissa University terror attack	43
4.3 Summary of Key Findings	44
4.4 Summary	45
CHAPTER FIVE	46
DISCUSSIONS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	46
5.1 Introduction.....	46
5.2 Discussion of the Key Findings	46
5.2.1 Tone of Islam in the Subsequent Coverage of Garissa University terror attack	46
5.2.2 Prominence of Stories in the Subsequent Coverage of the Garissa Terror Attack	48
5.2.3 Sources in Subsequent Coverage of the Garissa University terror attack... ..	50
5.3 Conclusion and Implications for Practice	52
5.4 Recommendations	53
5.5 Areas for Further Research	53
REFERENCES	55
APPENDICES	64
Appendix A: Code Book.....	64
Appendix B: Code Sheet.....	68
Appendix C: AKU Ethics Review Committee Approval Letter.....	72
Appendix D: Introductory Letter from AKU	73
Appendix E: NACOSTI Research Licence.....	74

LIST OF TABLES

<i>Table 1: Cohen's Kappa Statistic</i>	<i>38</i>
<i>Table 2: Tone of Islam in the coverage of Garissa University attack</i>	<i>38</i>
<i>Table 3: Reflective Stories characterized by higher negative tone.....</i>	<i>39</i>
<i>Table 4: Priority of Different Tones</i>	<i>40</i>
<i>Table 5: Nature of stories of touching on Islam</i>	<i>41</i>
<i>Table 6: Placement of stories on touching on Islam.....</i>	<i>41</i>
<i>Table 7: Use of statistics in the subsequent coverage of Garissa Attack</i>	<i>42</i>
<i>Table 8: Use of pictures images in coverage of Garissa University attack.....</i>	<i>43</i>
<i>Table 9 : Main sources in subsequent coverage of Garissa University attack.....</i>	<i>44</i>

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AKU-GSMC: Aga Khan University-Graduate School of Media and Communications

BBC: British Broadcasting Corporation

CBC: Canadian Broadcasting Corporation

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis

CNN: Cable News Network

ERB: Ethics Review Board

ICR: Intercoder Reliability

IT: Information Technology

KBC: Kenya Broadcasting Corporation

KTN: Kenya Television Network

NACOSTI: National Commission for Science, Technology, and Innovation

NBC: National Broadcasting Company

NTV: Nation Television

RA: Research Assistants

SPSS: Statistical Package for the Social Sciences

SUPKEM: Supreme Council of Kenya Muslims

TWA: Trans World Airlines

UK: United Kingdom

US: United States

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

On April 2, 2015, Al-Shabaab - a Somalia-based terror group, targeted the Garissa University College in a terror attack leaving 148 dead and 79 injured (Mukinda, 2015). The *Daily Nation* reported that about six to ten masked gunmen stormed the student's halls of residence inside the Garissa University College and started to shoot indiscriminately at anyone identifying as a Christian while any student who identified as Muslim was released (Mukinda, 2015). Odhiambo, Wasike, and Kimokoti (2015) explain that it was a retaliatory attack following the invasion of Kenyan military troops into Somalia in October 2011 under "*Operation Linda Nchi*". The Garissa University terror attack was the "second deadliest terror attack in Kenyan history after the United States (US) Nairobi embassy bombing in 1998, where 258 people succumbed to injuries and over 5,000 maimed (Odhiambo et al., 2015).

Local media has remained engrained in reporting terror attacks for the past ten years. Kiarie and Mogambi (2017) opined that subsequent coverage of after day zero of terror attacks have always been given prominence in terms of space and longevity. This is because violence is a popular subject in the news media, which possesses a privilege among media reporting as articles on terrorism were published in prime sections of newspapers and stories on terrorism remained splashed in pages following an attack indicating media reactivity to these stories (Kiarie & Mogambi, 2017). According to Boukes, Jones, and Vliegthart (2020), several factors make a story newsworthy. This includes conflict, proximity, currency, and human interest. In addition, a new angle to reporting terrorism can be viewed from the religious lens, whereby news stories on terrorism are framed on a religious basis.

Extant literature indicates that the religion of Islam has long been subject to unfavourable and perhaps biased coverage by the media (Baker, 2010; Wagner & Boczkowski et al., 2019) and as Kenes (2015) found out, global media has been faulted more than often, for representing an arbitrated portrayal of Islam. In such a context, the media not only conveys the message of continued terrorism as a frightening issue globally but links Islam to extremist violence (Kenes, 2015). To support these findings, empirical evidence points out that from 2009 to 2013, only one per cent of terror attacks in Europe were religiously motivated (Norton, 2015). This exonerates the religion from the unfavourable yet pervasive coverage linking Islam to incidents of terrorism.

Sultan (2016) asserts that Islam has frequently been misrepresented in Western media. USA content analysis study on 3 US newspapers found various instances of distortion of Islam in the coverage of the Gulf Wars of 1991 and 2003, the Palestinian-Israeli disputes, and the Iranian Revolution of 1979. The implied correlation between violence and Islam is not only disputed was also horrifyingly reductionist, linking the actions of a political minority with a contingent group of heterogeneous followers (Sultan, 2016). Thus, Islam has been unfairly portrayed as a religion sympathetic to terror.

Religion was at the heart of the 2015 Garissa University terror attack; according to Odhiambo et al. (2015), an Al-Shabaab spokesperson claimed that the 2015 Garissa University terror attack was motivated by the institution providing education to Christian students in Muslim territory. Most terror attacks in Kenya's North-eastern region have had a connotation of religion as Christian followers comprise most fatalities when these attacks occur.

December 21, 2015, attacks by suspected Al-Shabaab militants also exhibited a religious motivation as terrorists executed Christian passengers, sparing the lives of Muslim passengers (Stephen, Mutisya, & Owuor, 2018). Such attacks, through proclamations of attackers, are based on religious value, thereby giving these terror attacks a religious connotation.

The 2020 International Religious Freedom report by the United States of America's State Department notes that the overall population in Kenya comprises 11 percent Muslims and approximately 85.5 percent Christians. As Otiso (2009) notes, the recent attacks by the Al Shabab have been synonymous with targeting Christians, which has the potential to fan religious tensions among Christians and Muslims.

There is a need for further inquiry into *Daily Nation's* and the *Standard's* newspapers' subsequent coverage of the Garissa University terror attack in the first 7days. This is important because Kenya continues to face an active terror threat from the Al-Shabaab, which has claimed accountability for several terror attacks in Kenya, following the Kenya military's incursion into Somalia in October 2011 (Kiarie & Mogambi, 2017). Therefore, if a terror attack happens, Kenyan daily newspapers need to cover it objectively without misrepresenting any religion or overusing one source.

1.2 Background to the Study

Oluwayesi (2020) cites that any form of violence and intimidation that is politically motivated and utilises communication strategies to increase its targeted impact of causing fear can be described as terrorism. In this respect, media, largely steered by competition to break the news and attract more eyeballs for maximising advertising revenues, has been blamed for fuelling the terror agenda by focussing more on the news touching on atrocities and violence unleashed by terrorists (White, 2020).

Since the coordinated terror attack by the Al-Qaeda 9/11 attack, scholars like Powell (2011) and Parks (2018) have argued that terrorism is occasionally overrepresented in the media. Kurtz (2001) argues that terrorists continue to shape the media's agenda, forcing it to cover any terrorist attack that happens extensively. As the scholar argues, terrorism enjoys some "oxygen of publicity" when its actions are splashed on the headlines by media houses.

This paints a connection between the media's desire for a sensational story and the desire among terrorists for publicity (Nacos, 2007). However, it is instructive to note that the nature of coverage in terms of sourcing and framing of these stories, especially in prolonged coverage of terrorist attacks like the Garissa university attacks, provides a broader context that may or may not tilt the publicity in favour of the terror agenda or glorify terrorism in coverage to terror groups and terror attacks.

Framing is crucial because the media introduces news items with a predetermined and constrained contextualization to connect smaller stories to the greater picture (Tankard & Severin, 2001). Through frames, audiences can interpret a story; thus, framing is based on how an issue is presented in a news story can affect how audiences understand it (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). Since the media greatly affects how people perceive the world, negative framing significantly influences audiences (Brown, 2002). For instance, framing religion is critical in situating terror within context that does not create religious animosity in a society like Kenya, which has seen both Islam and Christianity dragged into the terror discourse. Media coverage of Muslim-perpetrated attacks has dramatically been referenced as terrorism and may portray dominant power structures and values

Tariq and Hanan (2018) agree that more media coverage of Muslim-perpetrated attacks exists. Kanji's (2018) analysis on media coverage of terror attacks in the US found that Muslim-perpetrated attacks had 1.5 more coverage than non-Muslim-perpetrated attacks, while terror plots perpetrated by Muslims had five times more coverage. Powell (2018) found that terror agents were first suspected and labelled as Muslim, creating an emphasis on labels placed on Islam followers resulting in the growth of Islamophobia.

Based on these views, there is a consensus that terror acts will experience wider media coverage if it is Muslim-perpetrated than when it is non-Muslim perpetrated. Therefore, the religion of a terror perpetrator heavily influences the longevity of any media coverage following a terror attack. It is therefore important to investigate the subsequent framing of stories and ascertain the extent to which the sourcing of voices in news stories related to religion and how religion generally influences subsequent coverage (Powell, 2018; Kanji, 2018).

Empirical studies show there are levels of frames in subsequent media coverage following terrorist attacks (Eboi, 2015; Sedrat, 2016). In one such analysis, Kampf (2014) found that through the subsequent coverage, stories on terror attacks are framed in three distinct stages. In the first phase, terror attacks were framed and represented in the next day's evening news newspaper. This phase of terrorism was confined to national boundaries, and traditional media sources were the primary sources of information (Kampf, 2014).

The few minutes' terrorists characterised the second phase were able to disrupt the normal broadcasts schedule as the media reported a terror attack (Kampf, 2014). This was manifested in the advanced technologies in broadcasting, more so in television

which contributed to the growth of live broadcasts (Kampf & Liebes, 2013). The third phase saw terrorists become constant sources of news, with the media focusing on the opinions of terrorists with no connection to any act or terror that may have occurred (Kampf, 2014). This means that terrorists in Gaza, Baghdad, and Afghanistan no longer needed to act to appear in the news and were thus identified as institutional news sources. This development indicated that terrorists in the past were seen as appalling and illegitimate and became a new group of news figures. They are now legitimate sources of news, and their infusion in news stories certainly shapes the overall framing of terrorism and terror activities in media coverage of terrorism.

Kampf's (2014) phases in coverage of terrorism is further supported by Powell (2018), who says that early stages of a terror attack, media houses do not detail the features of the perpetrator (such as religion, nationality, or motives) due to lack of accurate information by authorities. In this case, terrorist acts are labelled as "terrorism" on the first day, while on the second day of subsequent coverage, victim information is provided, and finally, on the third day of subsequent coverage, religion is a dominating factor where terrorists are categorized as either as Muslims or Christians (Powell, 2018). This discussion indicates a bias, and Western news outlets are showing less interest in Muslim victims than non-Muslim victims.

Both Powell (2018) and Kampf (2014) agree that the media assume a pattern of subsequent coverage following a terror attack where terror attacks are labelled as terror attacks at first, and then there is a move to the victims and subsequently to religion. Hence, the subsequent coverage of the Garissa University terror attack by the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* newspapers in the first seven days is timely to establish whether this pattern manifests and how subsequent coverage and voices sourced in writing the stories frame Islam.

The use of various sources in subsequent coverage of a terror attack has been a critical point of interest in various discourses on the subsequent coverage of terror attacks. Sources are important since journalists seek to balance their stories and use various sources through their extensive coverage following a terror attack. Bilgen (2012) supports the argument that the media should report both sides of a story to its audience with no bias to help the public make their personal opinions of the news with no media influence.

O'Neill and O'Connor (2008) analysed Al-Qaeda's activity from September 11, 2011, attack up to 2015 and the related US news coverage in television. The scholars seem to agree that news sources used in any subsequent terror attack coverage are instrumental in agenda-setting and shaping ideologies. For example, when a journalist cites an official source like a policeman or a government official, the source acts as a primary definer of news establishing the limits of public dialogue on issues related to the news story. Therefore, in the coverage of terror attacks in subsequent days after the attack, the sources define the interpretation of these stories and play a big role in how terror attacks are understood.

This evidence shows that an over-reliance on official sources in subsequent coverage of a terror attack could result in a limited clarification of these acts. With an increase in a trend where journalists cite the terrorists themselves when covering a terror attack, it would be interesting to examine sources used in subsequent coverage of the Garissa University terror attack by the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* newspaper.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Globally evidence shows that media cover terrorist attacks along the religious affiliation of perpetrators, and media has gradually shifted from Muslim identification

to making connections to terrorists' cells like Al Qaeda (Powell, 2018). In addition, empirical evidence (Manning, 2003; Karim, 2006; Yusof, Fauziah, Hassan, & Osman, 2013; Alghamdi, 2015; Kenes, 2015; Holmes, 2016, Powell, 2018) points to a tendency of media discourses to draw links between terrorism and Islam.

From the regional perspective, empirical evidence points to a pattern of the media reporting terror along religious lines (Institute for Economic and Peace, 2015; Ezeah & Emmanuel, 2016). Kenya, previous scholars have conducted various studies on the coverage of terror attacks in Kenya, revealing various aspects of framing, journalistic experiences, responsibility theory and reporting based on ethical conduct for journalists in Kenya (Mutie, 2021; Onguny, 2020; Jamah, 2015); Kiarie & Mogambi, 2019; Maina, 2014)

In this regard, sufficient studies exist on how terrorism has been covered in Kenya. However, media framing of Islam in the subsequent coverage of terror attacks remains a scanty subject which needs empirical research attention, especially in Kenya, where terror attacks have some religious undertones. This study contributes to this knowledge gap by examining how *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* newspapers framed Islam in subsequent coverage of the 2015 Garissa University terror attack in the first seven days after the attack happened.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

This study examined how the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* newspapers framed Islam during their subsequent coverage of the Garissa University College terror attack in the first seven days after the attack happened.

1.4.1 Specific Objectives

The study was guided by the following objectives:-

1. To determine the tone of Islam in the subsequent coverage of the Garissa University terror attack during the first seven days after the attack happened.
2. To examine the prominence of stories touching on Islam during subsequent coverage of the Garissa University Terror Attack in the first seven days.
3. To examine sources in subsequent coverage of the Garissa University terror attack in the first seven days.

1.4.1 Research Questions

The study sought to answer the following research questions:-

1. What tone did the two newspapers use to frame Islam in the subsequent coverage of Garissa University terror attack during the first seven days after the attack?
2. What was the prominence given to stories touching on Islam during the subsequent coverage of the Garissa University Terror Attack in the first seven days?
3. Who were the main sources in subsequent coverage of the Garissa University Terror Attack in the first seven days?

1.5 Justification of the Study

Most studies (Kisang, 2014; Kiarie & Mogambi, 2017; Kioko, 2018) in Kenya on terror activities have focused on the basic elements of news like who, what, when, where. Instances where they have gone to how and why, not much has been done on framing of Islam and the sort of voices that speak to religion. The focus on the framing of Islam and the sourcing of voices to speak to such stories is critical because such framing influences how the public interprets Islam as a religion and in a country like Kenya where interpretation is critical for peaceful co-existence and winning public dealing with terrorism as a threat to our society. Much of this reporting on terrorism have focused on the insecurity lens along with security concerns from policy making to

implementation. Media coverage of terror attacks in Kenya has also focused on the capability of security measures or lack thereof in preventing these attacks from occurring.

Globally, terrorist attacks covered by media are influenced by the perpetrator's religion. Scholars (Crenshaw, 2014; Powell, 2018) around the world have shown that there is more coverage of terrorist attacks when perpetrated by Muslims and less when attacks are associated with white perpetrators. Freis-Beattie (2020) agrees that in the US, white offenders are less discussed based on race in media coverage of mass shooting acts.

However, there seems to be an over-emphasis of the ethnicity of non-white offenders who are framed in terms of their Islamic religion. The media after 9/11 reported non-Muslim-perpetrated attacks as isolated personal acts of “mentally ill” persons (Powell, 2011), while attacks perpetrated by adherents of the Islam religion are reported as acts of violence. This is an important issue in how media reports terror attacks in a highly globalized world where different races and cultures and thus posing a threat to security based on the already existing tensions between groups by how a culture or race is reported in the media. This study, thus, is timely as it aims to show how the Daily Nation and the Standard newspaper following a terror attack in Kenya have framed Islam.

1.6 Significance of the Study

The study is of importance to policy, decision-makers and politicians as the information from the study may be useful to come up with guidelines and procedures to guide the media in their coverage of terrorist incidences to enhance ethical practices in their reporting of stories on terror attacks. The study is also important to reporters

and journalists as it will provide insight and recommendations from which they can enhance their reporting of terrorism incidences by meeting ethical considerations of the profession and meeting the expectations of the public. Lastly, the study is of significance to scholars and academicians as it adds existing literature on media and coverage of terrorist incidences while making recommendations for future research on this interaction of media and terrorism events. The study made contributions towards framing theory on the subsequent coverage of terrorist events and Islam in the African region.

1.7 Scope of the Study

The mass media contains several channels through which news is conveyed to the public, including print media, radio, television, and digital media. The study, however, focussed on the print media and specifically newspapers. The *Daily Nation* and *Standard* newspapers were considered the dailies of interest. The study covered seven days subsequent coverage of the Garissa University Terror Attack.

1.8 Limitations of the Study

This study was limited to two newspapers; thus, the findings may not be inferred to other newspaper dailies in circulation. Secondly, the descriptive research design was adopted, implying description of media coverage of Islam in terrorism attacks was its objective. This meant the research was not interested in finding the statistical significance of findings and was limited to descriptive statistical analysis, which does not show any relationship between variables.

1.9 Operational Definition of Terms

Print Media: This is a form of mass communication that utilizes printed publications, such as newspapers and magazines. In this study, print media included the *Daily Nation* and *Standard* newspaper.

Terrorism: According to White (2020), terrorism refers to the pre-meditated use of violence by instigating intentional death, damage to private and public property, and bodily harm aimed at instilling fear as a strategy to achieve political or ideological goals. In this study, terrorism refers to the use of violence to target students at the Garissa University based on their religious beliefs.

Subsequent coverage: Refers to reporting news on a particular piece of information or an event. The reporting often comes days or months after the event have happened. In this study, subsequent coverage refers to coverage done by the media in the first seven days after the attack happened.

Islam: The 2020 International Religious Freedom report by the United States of America's State Department terms Islam as one of the major world religions, with its adherents identified as Muslims. In this study, Islam refers to one of the religion practised by students at the Garissa University school.

Sources: This refers to an individual who furnishes a news reporter with information that could be used to generate a news story (O'Neill & O'Connor, 2008). In this study, sources referred to the persons interviewed for their opinions and experience on the 2015 Garissa University terror attack.

1.10 Summary

This chapter presented the study's introduction, background information, problem statement, objectives, research questions that the study aims to answer, limitations, scope, justification, significance, and operational definitions of terms.

Chapter Two reveals the empirical and general literature and introduces the theory under which the study was anchored on. Chapter three outlines the research design and methodology while Chapter Four showcases the findings of the study. Chapter Five summarises the study with a discussion of findings based on each research objectives as well as its conclusions and implications for practice.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter presented the literature review related to newspaper coverage of terror attacks guided by the researcher's objectives which spoke to the role of Islam as a religion in the coverage of terror attacks, the prominence of content published through this coverage, and a keen look into sources cited through this subsequent coverage. It presents the theoretical framework which explores general and empirical literature review on media coverage of terrorism.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

A theoretical framework ties the research together. First, the researcher approaches the proposed study, which provides the backdrop for the study by using established theories in which the researcher will embed their work.

2.2.1 Framing Theory

Yusof and Osman, (2013) argue that media and the relationship between terrorism and religion, to which this study sits, could be best anchored on various theories. These media theories speak to how media coverage tends to influence the perceptions and opinions of readers and audiences. Among them is the framing theory (Yusof et al., 2013). Framing theory speaks to how news journalists and editors structure new information by presenting it in a specific way (Scheufele & Iyengar, 2014).

The concept of framing was proposed by Goffman (1974), where he posited that media audiences often make sense of news covered or information presented by the media through distinct patterns of organisation. Goffman further argued that these

patterns constitute the "frames" through which mass media audiences can perceive the event or persons being reported. In this context, Papacharissi and Oliveira (2008) support that the framing theory emphasises the media's ability, organisations, and individuals to describe a truth by showing interpretation while having less focus on those that are not popular.

Ardèvol-Abreu (2015) admits that some parts of the truth are selected and receive more importance or significance, the problem is defined, its origins are identified, moral judgements are implied, and adequate answers and solutions are suggested. According to Yang and Chen (2019), the media defines terrorism as an act in the religious frames as the report on terrorist attacks focuses on the religion of the attacker as well as the victims and thus, this creates a further definition of the reality of the public that the terror attacks was fuelled or motivated by religious beliefs and differences.

The media has been shown to emphasize a religious angle of terrorist attacks and has less emphasis on the criminal nature of the attack on innocent victims (Gerhards & Schäfer, 2014). The public, in this case, makes moral judgments against the attacker's religion, which can create a scenario where policies and actions are taken against members of a society from a religious group. This has resulted in the marginalisation of these groups in society and seen aggressive policies of restriction and denial to enter certain geographies worldwide (Yang & Chen, 2019).

In a study to understand how media covered religious-based violence in Nigeria, Demarest, Godefroidt, and Langer (2020) found out that by selecting some features of a perception of reality and these are made more noticeable in a communicating text, media promotes a specific interpretation and definition. The choices as to which aspects

of the information are identified as appropriate, salient, and relevant are made by the news disseminator and are present in the resulting frames. Hence, framing theory is a lens used to examine the outgoing composition of stories. Though the public does not sightlessly adopt these stories, media framing can significantly contribute to how issues in society are addressed and understood (Demarest et al., 2020).

The manner through which news and information are framed largely depends on various factors such as ideology, social norms, and values which determine which elements of information are to be given salience over others as well their presentation to audiences (Scheufele, 1999). He concluded that through framing, different media houses would report on the same news story or event, but the story's information will be packaged differently. These different versions of the coverage of terrorism stories can manipulate how terrorism has been combated as governments take actions targeted towards people who are labelled as perpetrators of crime.

According to Bahgat and Medina (2013), coverage of terrorists' stories along specific geographies, territories, or ethnicity can influence states to take action and policies against specific groups. This can affect the war against terror as attacks are not limited to a religious group or geographies, as it is a global problem. Therefore, this study is important to observe terrorism coverage by media using framing theory to make recommendations for future coverage of terrorism stories to develop actions geared towards preventing and combating terror as a criminal attack against humanity.

Despite the glowing attributes of framing theory as a possible anchorage of media and terrorism studies, some scholars have argued that the theory holds various weaknesses. Entman (1993) argued that framing as a theory lacked a unifying factor that justifies how frames are derived, how frames present themselves in any given text,

and how frames shape opinions in the audience's minds. He further argued that this heterogeneous conceptualization resulted in a contrasting methodological approach in recognizing frames and measuring their impact on the public.

Further, Weaver (2007) argued that frames did not have a clear formulation and was a picture that consisted of explanatory plans of an incident, the agenda of features of specific objects and procedures of messages influencing attitudes, discernments, and behaviour of the public and individuals (Van Gorp, 2007). Despite this limitation, framing theory remains relevant in understanding how reporters internalize, consume, and disseminate information. At the same time, it offers a chance to explore the workings of terrorism reporting. It gave the researcher a lens through which to observe the exclusion, emphasis, and selection of terrorism stories to present a consistent evaluation and interpretation of the Garissa University terrorist attack by newspapers.

Nevertheless, this heterogeneity of approaches to framing is not a weakness to others. D'Angelo (2002) welcomes various methods to framing in different theoretical models and disciplines and is one of the means that one can best comprehend a subject as complicated as the relationship between media and issues like terrorism and religion. Vicente-Mariño and López-Rabadán (2009) examined the growth of framing theory in the impact of media on its audiences. The scholars argued that this development occurred in three distinct phases. In the first stage from 1974 to 1990, the theory underwent a critical application dependent on the definition of sociological meanings and was then introduced in the communication field.

The mid-1990s saw the second phase, which corresponded to the frame definition specific to media research with its use in media dialogue analysis. This represented a rigid theoretical debate among those who proposed that framing was

merely an extension of agenda-setting theory and not a theory capable of standing on its own. The third and final phase is currently underway, and it argues on framing theory's reorganisation and empirical development.

Despite these limitations, the framing theory is an important framework to analyse coverage of terrorism as the media's power to direct public thinking. Although the idea of framing is like that of agenda-setting, it broadens the scope of the research by focusing on major problems presently rather than on one topic. As Tankard and Severin (2001) opined, framing suggests how a story is presented to audiences in news reports can affect how they understand it. Miller (2000) further argues that framing manifests through how prominent a story is, space allocated, narrative-driven or even the attention given to a specific story. This means the media has the ability to influence public analysis of terrorist news stories along religious lines when it is a constant theme in reporting terror attacks. This can create divisions in society, thereby increasing religious differences, increasing tensions among existing religious lines and escalating situations to conflict.

This study was premised on framing theory in two distinct approaches. First, the research was set within framing in studying newspaper coverage of the Garissa University attack in subsequent days. Empirical evidence exists where scholars (Yusof et al., 2013; Kiarie & Mogambi, 2017; Tariq & Hanan, 2018; Sultan, 2016) previously used framing theory to examine the media coverage of terrorist attacks along religious lines. Second, the study adopted the frame in the communication process of frame building to assist in understanding news frames on how stories covered on the Garissa University terror attack could have been reported along any religious lines and further explore the framing of main sources used in subsequent coverage of the terror attack.

2.3 General and Empirical Literature Review

2.3.1 *Islam and Terror Coverage*

Muslim-perpetrated attacks are covered by media more dramatically, and there are high chances of these attacks being labelled terrorism, thus reflecting dominant power and value structures. The fear of terrorism among the public is often misplaced and is usually influenced by the media's depiction rather than reality (Kearns, Betus, & Lemieux, 2019). There is research on a tendency for media discourses to draw links between terrorism and religion (Cherney & Murphy, 2015; Schmuck, Matthes, & von Sikorski, 2021). The public tends to link terror attacks with Middle Easterners and Muslims rather than Whites due to public reporting bias. The media framed terrorism as a problem specific to Muslims, and this was a dominant narrative (Sultan, 2016).

In the US, Powell (2011) found evidence supporting the hypothesis that terrorism was presented as a small threat as an act of a "mentally-ill" perpetrator when the suspect was White, whereas violent acts were regarded as terrorism when committed by a Muslim or a non-US citizen. The empirical evidence points to a tendency of the media to draw lines along terror and religion. Through this coverage, the longevity of any terror-related coverage tends to be heavily influenced by the perpetrator's religion.

In a later study, Kearns et al. (2019) confirmed the argument that the religion of a terror attack perpetrator predicted news coverage. Using data on terror attacks in the US from 2006 to 2015, the study adopted perpetrator arrested, Muslim perpetrator, and unknown perpetrator as independent variables while several news stories were the dependent variable. The findings revealed that Muslim perpetrators received greater coverage than others and this disparity showed a greater fear of "Muslim terrorists" while ignoring other threats.

Using newspaper samples from Eastern and Western media, Younes, Hassan, and Azmi (2020) explored the use of Islam-related terminologies in media coverage of terror attacks. The sample consisted of 368 news stories from *The Jordan Times*, *Al-Jazeera*, British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), and *The Guardian* as media from the Eastern and Western worlds, respectively, from March 2018 until October 2019. There were significant variations in use of Islam-related terminologies used less in eastern media outlets than in western media. The terms “Islamist” and “Jihadist” were used with negative connotations, which significantly influenced audiences to perceive Islam as correlated to terrorism.

In Canada, Kanji (2018) conducted comparative research on how media represented ideological violence perpetrated by non-Muslims and Muslims in national news media. The media houses included in the sample were the *Globe and Mail*, *National Post*, and Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC), employing qualitative and quantitative research methods. The findings revealed that Muslim-perpetrated attacks had 1.5 more coverage than non-Muslim-perpetrated attacks, while terror plots perpetrated by Muslims had five times more coverage.

In Germany, Schmuck et al. (2021) examined the effects of first-person narratives, and victim religion contributed to audience perceptions by using randomly selected and consisted of 4 experimental groups. In addition, a structured Likert-scale questionnaire was used to collect data. Regardless of the type of narrative, mentioning victims’ Muslim religion in news reports prompted less compassion and anger but more joy among non-Muslim audiences.

In Norway, Alghamdi (2015) used Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to examine how the use of language in media coverage of terrorism represented blind bias

against Muslims and Islam. The study collected the appropriate quantity of video reports and new articles on terror attacks. The study observed that western media used modal expressions, implicative, and word choices that held Muslims accountable for attacks. However, the allegation tone differed from the articles ranging from overt accusation to mere suspicion.

In Kenya, Kisang's (2014) study focused on journalists reporting on terrorism by analysing clips in Kenya Television Network (KTN) and Nation Television (NTV) stations using a content analysis approach. The findings indicated that the media gave more airtime to terror attack incidences. Furthermore, Muslim leaders supported terror attacks, and the media had violated the principles of journalism by reporting these sentiments. The conclusion was that whereas the state stressed that terrorism was not one of the religious groups, much of the media coverage represented a different portrayal where the war on terror was associated with religious beliefs.

Kiarie and Mogambi (2017) analysed newspaper coverage of terrorism by conducting a content analysis of the *Standard* and *Daily Nation* from a sample of 1,142 news articles from January to June 2015. The findings revealed that the media was less likely to put emphasis on analysing and conducting in-depth coverage of terror attacks as the stories on terror attacks were published on newspapers' prime pages whenever an incident of a large scale occurred. This shows biased media coverage of Muslim religion in reporting terror attacks in Kenyan media for misrepresenting Muslims and Islam as a religion which depicts them to be sympathetic to terrorism.

On March 7, 2010, the *Kenya Times* published a story depicting Muslims as "aggressive" and "intolerant" (*Kenya Times*, March 7, 2010: p4). This was followed by an uproar from the Jamia Mosque Committee demanding an apology from the media's

publication for what it termed “negative stereotypes and fuelling animosity” (*The Daily Nation*, March 20, 2005, p.2.). Likewise, on May 12, 2011, *The Star* newspaper reported a cartoon of a foetus holding a gun and the Arabic words “*there is no God but Allah and Muhammad is his prophet*” (2011, *The Star*: p. 23). This resulted in the Supreme Council of Kenya Muslims (SUPKEM) demanding an apology from the newspaper. In this background, it was interesting to find out whether Islam was a factor in the subsequent coverage of the Garissa University terror attack in the first seven days by the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* newspaper.

2.3.2 Media Coverage of Terror Attacks

The media’s relation with terrorism has been of interest to researchers and is a subject that research on terrorism has struggled with (Weimann, 2008). According to Tuman (2010), the media is attracted to coverage of potential or ongoing conflicts, more so those that are sensational or shocking, owing to its thirst to cover news touching on violence and controversy to boost audiences. For example, in the Garissa University attack, the media covered the attack for the immediate time following the incident, but the coverage of the attack in the subsequent days has not been analysed, which is what the proposed study aims to achieve.

Jetter (2017) investigated the daily coverage of US television news on the Al-Qaeda group terror attacks after 9/11 to the end of 2015 found that this coverage on CBS, National Broadcasting Company (NBC), and Cable News Network (CNN) vigorously encouraging Al-Qaeda attacks in the forthcoming week. Further, one minute of Al-Qaeda coverage in a 30-minute news part resulted in almost one attack in the upcoming week, equivalent to 4.9 casualties on average. The television coverage of terrorist attacks was framed along with the Al-Qaeda group as it owned up to 9/11

attacks and became the “poster child” for terror among the media, and this heightened the public's interest in terror attacks perpetrated by the Al-Qaeda.

In India, Neelamalar, Chitra, and Darwin (2009) did a study to understand the public's response to newspaper coverage that was either sensationalising or biased. The research found that the media's 24-hour coverage of the November 2008 Mumbai terror attacks with provoking fear as headlines questioning India's safety and full coverage of the rescue operation contributed to terrorists' goals of spreading fear. This raised discourses on media coverage of terror attacks around the globe. Most of the frames for the attack were based on creating fear as the media reported on the number of fatalities and the extent of destruction and casualties, which affected the perception of security of India in the international scene as a tourism destination. The media also reported the frames of terrorist demands and needs, which further propelled their agenda to the public.

In Israel, Keinan, Sadeh, and Rosen (2003) assessed the reactions and attitudes of the public on media coverage of terror attacks after severe ones collecting information from 534 people apart from reactions and attitudes to news stories, their information-seeking. The study found evidence that exposure to horrifying accounts of terrorist attacks was linked with symptoms like Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD).

In Kenya, Maina (2014) conducted a study on *Daily Nation* and *Standard* newspapers' coverage of terrorism, where it was found that terrorism-related news stories were given more prominence because the newspapers wanted to draw as much attention as possible from the public to the terrorist news story. Focusing on the Garissa University attack, Eboi (2015) critically analysed its coverage by examining language use, use of inverted pyramid, and gatekeeping function of the media. Using content

analysis and a CDA in 115 stories from April 4, 2015, to April 30, 2015, findings revealed that the traditional inverted pyramid form of news writing was used in reporting the newsworthy events precisely and in accordance to processes and small instances of bias. In this regard, it was interesting to find out how much space was allocated to stories published by the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* newspaper during the subsequent coverage of the Garissa University terror attack in April 2015.

2.3.3 News Sources in the Coverage of Terror Attacks

Sources are the heart of news selection and production, and newspapers are in a difficult position as their objective is to make profits while presenting information crucial for democracy. Woods (2007) conducted a study to examine how the elite press portrayed the risk of terrorism in the United States of America during eight years from 1997 to 2005, focussing on the September 11, 2001, terror attack where he noted that choice of types of sources could be used to influence the overall risk perception of levels of threat. Therefore, research into sources of news stories can indicate information quality, different perspectives, and the informative frameworks offered to the audience.

In the United Kingdom (UK), O'Neill and O'Connor (2008) examined types of secondary and primary sources from newspapers to establish the extent that sources of news stories influenced the production and selection of news and the passive role of journalists. The findings revealed that 76% of articles relied on a single source resulting in the source appearing to be heavily influencing the subsequent framing of news stories. Secondary sources accounted for 24% of news articles framed by a primary source with a small quote added at the end. Journalists relied less on readers for news, which implied an over-reliance on single sources, leaving out issues and views relevant to readers and giving space to routine sources to dominate the news agenda and frame subsequent stories.

In Canada, Carver and Harrie (2017) conducted a comparative analysis of the Moncton and Ottawa shootings to differentiate how terrorism was framed by collecting information from three national news media sources. Both print and electronic news articles were included one week before and after a terror incident. The study observed that the framing of the Ottawa shooting used the same language and used the same sources to gather information on the terror attack.

Matthes et al. (2020) assessed event, media, and actor-specific predictors of differentiation in Germany, Switzerland, and Austria from 2015 to 2017 using qualitative content analysis. The sample consisted of 12 quality/tabloid newspapers, and the population was 1,071 articles. The results revealed that non-Muslim sources and journalists had a higher chance of making undifferentiated statements, and less differentiated statements were made from Muslim sources. However, tabloid and quality newspapers did not have a significant difference in the extent of differentiated and undifferentiated reporting.

Xigen and Izard (2003) analysed how various US media houses covered the September 11, 2001, terror attack in US where a clear bias for collecting information from official sources was established. The over-reliance on official sources presented a contracted interpretation of these events surrounding the terror attack in the US In an earlier study, Atwater and Green (1988) explored the night news coverage on television of the Trans World Airlines (TWA) hijacking and revealed that unofficial sources of news stories were used increasingly in television reports through personal coverage of relatives and friends of hostages.

In Britain, Mathews (2013) conducted a content analysis study on how the British Press covered five alleged Islamic terror attacks from January 2003 to January

2008 using content analysis. These attacks were chosen to represent the breadth of media coverage where elite sources were more prevalent in news reports on the terror attacks, with three sources of stories consisting of security sources, government, and police accounting for more than 40% of all sources. It was revealed that unidentified sources from public agencies featured prominently in this coverage, but state sources did not influence the presentation of specific threats details.

In a study done in the US on framing the war on terror, Reese and Lewis (2009) adopted 20-minute in-depth interviews to explore perceptions of 13 *USA Today* on the “war on terror” frame. The study found that less access to sources after 9/11 created a novel routine among journalists to employ increased use of anonymous sources, leading to increased reporter autonomy. Based on their government sources and state officials information on terror stories, journalists accepted the terminology used by their sources to describe a dominant situation of modern life. This form of reporting resulted in the structuring of the world after 9/11, and created a favourable discourse that justified the war on Iraq.

Mohammed (2016) examined citizen journalism and conflict news reporting on the Garissa University terror attack in Kenya using secondary and primary data sources. The study sample consisted of media houses staff, government officials, and information technology (IT) sector policymakers. Using citizen journalists to report terror attacks consisted of structural, practical, ethical, and political challenges. The use of social media to report terror news was giving false, confusing, and complex information. One of the implications of these was the lack of critical reporting of news by journalists if terrorists made religious claims about their heinous crimes.

With the over-reliance of information from official sources, journalists risk presenting biased accounts of a terror incident which can lead to reduced quality of journalism and create unbalanced public anxiety on risks associated with terrorism. The foregoing research on source selection in media coverage of terror attacks has a bearing on concern among the public, with government officials describing the risks in ominous terms than non-government officials (Woods, 2007). Therefore, it was prudent to explore which sources and key players were cited in the subsequent coverage of the Garissa University terror attack by the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* newspaper. This would further contribute to determining the overarching presentation of terrorism by the newspaper.

2.4 Summary

The chapter presented and justified framing theory as its theoretical framework, followed by an empirical review of media coverage of terrorist attacks from a global, regional, and local perspective.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter outlined the research approach and design adopted in examining the framing of Islam in the coverage of the Garissa University College terror attack in the subsequent days after the terror attack. The chapter also detailed the population and sampled two of Kenya's newspapers with a national reach in the first seven days after the Garissa University terror attack. The data collection methods and tools, data analysis, and ethical considerations of the study were also introduced and described.

3.2 Research Approach and Research Design

According to Bhawna and Gobind (2015), a research approach can either be a mixed method, qualitative, or quantitative. Quantitative research focuses on gathering data in numbers and analysing it using statistical methods. Quantitative methods are based on statistics and numbers (Bhawna & Gobind, 2015). Conversely, qualitative research focuses on analysing social production practices, events, or issues by gathering information using non-standard methods and using image or text analysis, not statistics and numbers (Rahman, 2017). On its part, a mixed method approach integrates qualitative and quantitative elements for the main purpose of depth and wide understanding and corroboration (Almalki, 2016).

Based on the different research approaches, the quantitative approach was ideal for this study as it enabled analysis of data and presentation of findings on the frequency of stories that have different manifest content of such categories in this study, like sourcing, placement of stories and the prominence given to stories.

In the first objective, the quantitative research approach allowed the researcher to determine the tone under which stories were framed. In objective two, a quantitative research approach allowed for the measurement of space allocated to news stories by the *Daily Nation* and *Standard* newspapers, the size of the story on the newspaper page, and its placement inside the newspaper. The study described the types of sources quoted in stories in objective three.

A research design enables one to select the problem in research by answering what, how, what, and where questions (Mukherjee, 2017). It is the planning, organising, and strategy of examination to deliberate as helpful in answering research questions (Mukherjee, 2017). Research designs are categorised into a survey, experimental and ex-post facto research designs (Mukherjee, 2017).

The descriptive research design was deemed appropriate for this study as it examined how Islam was framed by the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* newspapers in their subsequent coverage of the 2015 Garissa University terror attack in the first seven days. Further, the design matched the research as it did not aim to manipulate the variables but rather gave a description of the coverage.

3.3 Population

This study examined how daily newspapers in Kenya framed Islam in their subsequent coverage of the Garissa University terror attack in Kenya in the first seven days. Singh and Masuku (2014) describe a population as a group of non-human or human elements such as educational institutions, geographical areas, or objects. The population in this study was newspapers; the Kenya Audience Research Foundation (2019) lists 44 newspapers in Kenya comprised the study's population.

3.4 Target Population

A group of elements or individuals that are important to a researcher and are selected to infer conclusions from is referred to as a target population (Taherdoost, 2016). Description of a target population involves explaining the unit of analysis, which was the 2 newspapers, while stories were the units of observation. The study targeted newspapers recognized by the Media Council of Kenya (MCK), have a national circulation, and are published daily. To this end, the study targeted six newspapers with a national circulation: *Daily Nation*, the *Standard*, the *Star*, *People Daily*, *Business Daily* and *Taifa Leo*. The *People Daily* is a free weekday news publication. *Taifa Leo* is a Kiswahili publication; the rest are English-language newspapers.

3.5 Study Site

Nairobi City County was the research site and is home to the two leading newspapers' headquarters. Data was analysed at the Kenya National Library and the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) newspaper library since both facilities have sufficient physical copies of the two newspapers.

3.6 Sample Size

The quantity of objects selected from a target population is referred to as a sample size; researchers must ensure the competence, dependability, and representativeness requirements (Mukherjee, 2017). To this end, two newspapers, *Daily Nation* and the *Standard*, represented the sample size owing to their long history and experience with newspaper readership in Kenya (Kipkemboi, 2020).

The researcher purposively sampled physical copies of the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* newspapers published between April 3, 2015, and April 10, 2015, covering precisely seven days after the attack. The 7-day time frame of subsequent coverage of

the terror attack was important because it focused on when coverage on any news cycle was given top priority and allocated key prominence (Marthoz, 2017). A similar study period has also been used by Elmasry and El-Nawawy (2020) in examining subsequent coverage of Las Vegas and Orlando mass shootings by the *Los Angeles Times* and *New York Times* newspapers exactly seven days after the attacks happened in 2017 and 2016, respectively.

According to statistics from MCK (2021), the *Daily Nation* newspaper (59%) is the mainly read newspaper, followed by the *Standard* Newspaper (28%), with both papers having 87% of the newspaper market share in Kenya. The *Daily Nation* accounts for close to 60% of the mainly read newspapers and is more prevalent in a bigger part of respondents in rural than urban areas (MCK, 2021). On the other hand, the *Standard* newspaper is more popular in a bigger segment of readers in urban than rural areas and it's the oldest newspaper in the country (MCK, 2021).

3.7 Sampling Procedures

The purposive or judgemental sampling method is the careful selection of a respondent owing to their qualities (Etikan, Musa, & Alkassim, 2016) and was adopted for this study. During the 7, the study selected all terror stories in the daily copies of the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* newspaper and analysed them in that constituted a census of all the cases. The researcher focused on both hard news and soft news published between the cover page and page six, sampling both the headline and the story using specific keywords, which include “Islam”, “Muslim”, “terror”, and “Garissa University”.

In a census, information is collected from all elements of a target population by complete enumeration thus, the sample size is equal to the target population (Singh &

Masuku, 2014). Therefore, a census is more practical when using a small target population while it also eliminates sampling errors and provides data on all elements in a target population (Singh & Masuku, 2014).

3.8 Research Method

The study adopted a quantitative content analysis research method that involved collecting and converting data from media content into numerical form for statistical calculations. Riffe, Lacy, and Fico (2005) found that messages are separate from communicators and the audience in content analysis. This infers that the messages are analysed separately without considering factors related to the audience or the communicators.

Therefore, content analysis allows scholars to make inferences from published content or evidence. As guided by Krippendorff (2012), a quantitative content analysis proves most effective in conducting this study. This means the researcher read stories published on the 2015 Garissa University terror attack while coding each manifest content from these stories based on the three research objectives and categories developed in the code sheet and analysis criteria. This involved determining the tone of Islam, analysing the space allocated to stories published by the newspaper on the Garissa University terror attack and identifying the main sources cited in these stories.

3.9 Data Collection Tools

The researcher used a code sheet to collect and collate data from the stories gathered from sampled newspapers. It is a document which helps in coding the variables into numerical data that can be easily analysed while minimising research bias. The code sheet was developed from the operationalization of variables and based on literature in chapter two (*Appendix A*). Here, the three objectives of the study were

shown along with the variables from which a list of indicators was derived. A description of how each of these indicators was measured was presented alongside the indicators.

The first objective focused on determining the tone of Islam in the Garissa University terror attack coverage in the subsequent seven days. The second objective analysed spaces allocated to stories published by the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* newspapers during their subsequent coverage of the Garissa University terror attack, measured by the prominence given to these stories. Finally, the third objective of the study focused on how sources in the story were presented and the sources of stories during media coverage of the attack.

3.10 Data Collection Procedures

The researcher physically analysed coverage of stories on the Garissa University terror attack by the *Daily Nation* and *Standard* newspapers. This was done by selecting the seven daily newspapers published by the target population within the first seven days after the attack happened. The 7-day window has also been utilized by previous scholars like Zerback, Reinemann, Aelst, and Masini (2020) in examining subsequent media coverage of an event. In addition, the researchers conducted a comparative content analysis on how local media portrayed the Lampedusa shipwreck accident in October 2013 in three different European countries. In their findings, the scholars discovered that the shipwreck had a significant impact on the audience perception of immigration in one country as compared to the other two. This is so because, compared to the other two countries, the media in Italy gave the event a higher priority in terms of coverage than the other two countries.

The researcher coded both hard and soft news published on Garissa University terror attack stories in the first six pages of the newspaper and according to the variables explained in the attached analysis criteria (attached in the appendices). The prominence of the story, for instance, included analysis and coding of the study regarding whether the story has been published on prominent pages (front, back and every odd page in the first six pages of the newspaper) or less prominent pages. Other variables included treatment and nature of the story (hard news, reflective or opinion), placement of the story, and the infusion of a picture or numerical statistics.

3.11 Pre-Testing of Data Generation/Collection tools

The code sheet was pre-tested by involving two coders trained on the study objectives and finally engaged in data collection after the pre-test. Two Research Assistants (RAs) were provided with copies of five *People Daily* newspapers covering the study period, and while working independently, they were required to log in the data following the code book to determine the intercoder reliability (ICR).

3.12 Validity and Reliability of Research Tools

Reliability speaks to an instrument's ability to achieve stability and equivalence (Robson, 2011). Stability refers to an instrument employed repeatedly on the same individuals yielding similar results. On the other hand, equivalence refers to an instrument used by different investigators that yields similar results (Robson, 2011).

The ability of an instrument to measure what it was developed to measure is called validity (Robson, 2011). An instrument is deemed reliable if it can correctly measure the concepts under study. The code sheet validity and reliability were measured using the ICR approach, a numerical measure of how well several coders can code the same data (O'Connor & Joffe, 2020).

The intercoder reliability formula was presented as $2 * M / (N1 + N2)$. M is the total number of decisions the two coders agree on; N1 and N2 are the number of decisions made by Coder 1 and Coder 2 (O'Connor & Joffe, 2020). The ICR was calculated between a score of 0 (no agreement) to 1 (perfect agreement). Krippendorff (2012) suggests that a coefficient score of .70 and above is sufficient to determine reliability and validity.

3.13 Data Analysis and Presentation Plan

The researcher captured the coded data on an excel spreadsheet and used Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) Version 26 software to analyse data. Arkkelin (2014) advises that SPSS gives researchers the power to generate statistics ranging from simple descriptive analysis to complicated multivariate analysis. In this case, frequency distributions were used to analyse the data.

3.14 Ethical Considerations

The researcher upheld ethical principles while carrying out this study by documenting and collecting accurate information on how the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* newspapers framed Islam in their coverage of the Garissa University attack in the created data collection sheet.

Informed consent is one of the core ethical principles to consider when conducting research. It requires that participants have all information on what they are required to use, data they give and if there are any consequences in participating. Since there are no individual participants in the study, the researcher paid a courtesy call to Nation Media Group and the Standard Group to inform the companies about the research study and its objective, which spoke to analysing how the two newspapers framed Islam in their coverage of the 2015 Garissa University terror attack. In addition,

clearance from Aga Khan University Graduate School of Media and Communications was done prior to data collection while also applying for a research permit from the National Commission for Science, Technology, and Innovation (NACOSTI).

3.15 Summary

This chapter identified a descriptive research design as the suitable design, listing the target population as news stories published on the Garissa University attack by the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* newspaper in the first seven subsequent days after the attack. A mixed-method approach to data collection was selected for the study, with the researcher developing a data collection sheet to capture the information on the frequency, tone, and format of stories covered in the subsequent days after the Garissa University attack.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION, AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presented findings from analyzed data on newspaper coverage of the framing of Islam during the subsequent coverage of the Garissa University attack in the first seven days. The data was analyzed descriptively and presented in tabular format.

4.2 Presentation, Analysis, and Interpretation

The study analyzed 112 news stories from the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers on the framing of Islam during the subsequent coverage of the Garissa University attack by looking into the tone of Islam coverage, the prominence of stories touching on Islam, and the actor and sources used in the subsequent coverage of the Garissa University terror attack in the first seven days. The study adopted a codebook and a code sheet to collate numerical data from the sampled articles.

4.2.1 Sample Size and Intercoder Reliability Test

4.2.1.1 Sample Size

The sample consisted of 7 publications of the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspaper which implies a sample of 14 newspaper copies were used in the analysis. 112 stories were identified and described from these publications for analysis. Of the 112 stories, 65 were from the *Daily Nation*, representing 58 %, while 47 were from *The Standard* newspaper, amounting to 42 %.

4.2.1.2 Intercoder Reliability Test

Cohen's Kappa statistic was used to determine the inter-rater reliability of the two coders involved in the data collection strategies. Out of the study variables, 19

indicators were identified and were later copied into SPSS to conduct the analysis. Table 1 shows the results of this analysis where the Kappa value is 0.724, which means there was a relatively strong level of agreement among the coders, and this was ranked as moderate agreement and accept to continue with the analysis (McHugh, 2012).

Table 1: Cohen’s Kappa Statistic

Symmetric Measures	Value	Asymptotic Standardized Error ^a	Approximate T ^b	Approximate Significance
Measure of Agreement Kappa	0.724	0.123	5.885	0.000

a Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

4.2.2 Findings

4.2.2.1 Tone of Islam in the Subsequent Coverage of the Garissa Attack

The first objective was to determine Islam's tone in the subsequent coverage of the Garissa University terror attack during the first seven days after the attack happened. In Table 2, the results indicate the tonality of stories on Islam to belong to the neutral category as shown by 76%, followed by positive stories with 19% of publications indicating this tone. The findings revealed few negative tones of Islam coverage after the attack, as shown by the minimal 5% of stories bearing this tone.

Table 2: Tone of Islam in the coverage of Garissa University attack

Tone	Frequency	Percentage
Positive	21	19
Neutral	85	76
Negative	6	5
Total	112	100

The results go against past studies that have found that Islam coverage in terror attacks has often been sensational. The results indicate that stories on the Garissa

University attack were neutral in their portrayal of Islam when covering terror attacks, with an even smaller number of stories portraying Islam negatively. The results go against Kearns, Betus and Lemieux’s (2019) findings that Muslim-perpetrated attacks were covered by media more dramatically, and there are high chances of these attacks being labelled terrorism, thus reflecting dominant power and value structures. There is evidence of a tendency for media discourses to draw links between terrorism and religion (Cherney & Murphy, 2015; Schmuck, Matthes, & von Sikorski, 2021).

The public tends to link terror attacks with Middle Easterners and Muslims rather than Whites due to public reporting bias. The media framed terrorism as a problem specific to the Muslims and this was a dominant narrative (Sultan, 2016). However, the findings from this study are contrary to this evidence as there was not much negativity in the Garissa University attack coverage.

Reflective stories characterized by a higher negative tone

Cross-tabulation of the tone of Islam and the nature of the stories published revealed that reflective stories were characterized by a slightly higher tone in negative framing. In Table 3, results indicate that 10% of reflective stories had a negative tone of Islam compared to hard news, which stood at a minimal 2%.

Table 3: Reflective Stories characterized by higher negative tone

Tone	Reflective News	Hard News
Positive	14%	16%
Neutral	76%	82%
Negative	10%	2%

An intriguing viewpoint is provided by the type of stories published by the two newspapers with a specific tone of Islam. With up to 10% of reflective stories having a negative tone of Islam, this shows that print media took time to analyze the terror attack and unpack how Islam as a religion interacts with terrorism. Moreover, reflective stories

are usually longer and more in-depth than general news stories, which are relatively short and precise (Price & Tewksbury, 1997). This is a worrying trend because a significant percentage of the longer version of stories in the 2 dailies had a negative portrayal of Islam.

Negative Tone Allocated Significant Priority

In Table 4, a negative tone received a high priority of 6%, and 5% of stories with a negative tone of Islam were published with a low priority. A high priority involved stories published on the front page, back page, third page and every odd page in the first six pages of the newspaper.

Table 4: Priority of Different Tones

Tone	High Priority	Low Priority
Positive	18%	21%
Neutral	73%	74%
Negative	6%	5%

Though cross-tabulating the tone of Islam and the priority given to news stories during the subsequent coverage of the Garissa University terror attack, the researcher found that a negative tone was allocated significance priority as compared to a positive tone. This means that print media gave a significant level of prominence to stories which had a negative portrayal during the subsequent coverage of the Garissa University terror attack.

Nature of Story Touching on Islam

Table 5 the analysis on the nature of stories published in the two newspapers. The findings indicate that general news stories were more prominent, accounting for 54%, followed by 39% of stories under the hard news category. The findings here point towards a similar argument by Laqueur (2001), who found out that when reporting

terror attacks after day zero, the media tends to focus on longer news articles rather than superficial reporting.

Table 5: Nature of stories of touching on Islam

Nature of the Story	Frequency	Percentage
Hard news	35	29
General news	60	54
Commentary/Criticism	9	15
Others	1	2
Total	112	100

4.2.2.2 Prominence of stories touching on Islam during subsequent coverage of the Garissa University Terror Attack

The second objective examined the prominence of stories touching on Islam during the subsequent coverage of the Garissa University Terror Attack in the first seven days. The prominence of stories was measured by placement in the newspaper, use of statistics, pictures and graphs.

Placement of stories

More stories touching on Islam belong to the high-priority stories, as shown by 58% of the sample. This was followed by low-priority stories representing 38% of the sample, and a minimal number of 4% of stories were medium-priority stories, as summarised in Table 6.

Table 6: Placement of stories on touching on Islam

Placement	Frequency	Percentage
High priority stories	65	58
Medium priority stories	4	4
Low priority stories	43	38
Total	112	100

These findings mean that 58% of stories which had a religious connotation were placed on sections of the newspaper that the reader easily sees. This includes a splash

story or the upper part of the newspaper page. Conversely, 43 out of 112 news stories were published in less prominent sections of the newspaper, accounting for 38%. This included the bottom part of the newspaper.

Use of statistics in stories

Table 7 shows less use of statistics in coverage of the Garissa University attack as 83% of stories did not have any statistics in comparison to 17% that had statistics. However, statistics are an important component of any reporting and terror attacks in terms of the survivors and any fatalities experienced.

Table 7: Use of statistics in the subsequent coverage of Garissa Attack

Statistics	Frequency	Percentage
Absent	93	83
Present	19	17
Total	112	100

According to Mitnick, Freilich, and Chermak (2020), numbers improve coverage of any terror attack since they help audiences understand the magnitude of its impact in an instant. The evidence from research (Mutie, 2021) indicates that the media has often published unverified figures of terror attacks in Kenyan media. This implies that a lack of verifying figures and numbers of fatalities and casualties may often end up in published stories on terror attacks. However, the present study indicates deviation from this as reporters did not include figures or statistics in most stories on the Garissa University attack

Use of pictures images in terror stories

The research sought to group stories based on their use of pictures and graphics during the study period. Table 8 shows that 64% had illustrations in the stories while a smaller number 37% of stories did not have any pictorial elements. The use of pictures

during the subsequent coverage of any terror attack in Kenya has been a keen focus by scholars.

Table 8: Use of pictures images in coverage of Garissa University attack

Picture/ Graphic	Frequency	Percentage
Absent	41	37
Present	71	63
Total	112	100

Lester (2003) and Terry (2006) opine that photos tend to elicit strong or rational feelings among print media audiences. Even without any form of text, a well-captured photo from the terror attack holds a huge potential to attract audiences' attention. Therefore, during the subsequent coverage of any terror attack, journalists leverage photos and images to create sensationalism from their readers and boost newspaper circulation.

4.2.2.3 Source frame in subsequent coverage of the Garissa University terror attack

The third objective examined sources cited in the subsequent coverage of the Garissa University terror attack in the first seven days.

Main Sources in stories

In Table 9, the main stories covering the Garissa University attack in the first seven days were mostly state sources, including security agencies, national and county government officials, and the legislature representing 40% of stories published, followed by non-state sources, which represented 32% of the stories published. Survivors and witnesses to the attack accounted for 18% of sources in stories published, while terrorists represented 7% as sources in the two Dailies. International sources were least represented in the stories as they accounted for 3%, as seen in Table 9.

Table 9: Main sources in subsequent coverage of Garissa University attack

Sources	Frequency	Percent
Survivors and witnesses	20	18
State sources	45	40
International sources	3	3
Non-state sources	36	32
Terrorists	8	7
Total	112	100

4.3 Summary of Key Findings

This research examined how print media in Kenya framed Islam in the subsequent coverage of the Garissa University terror attack. This study established the following findings:

1. The tonality of stories on Islam belonging to the neutral category represented 76%, followed by positive stories, with 19% of publications indicating this tone. The findings, however, revealed a substantive percentage of negative tones of Islam, as shown by the 5% of stories bearing this tone.
2. The findings indicated hard news stories were more prominent, accounting for 49%, followed by 34% of stories under the general news category.
3. More stories belonged to the high-priority stories, as shown by 58% of the sample. This was followed by low-priority stories representing 38% of the sample, and a minimal number of 4% were medium-priority stories.
4. There was less use of statistics in coverage of the Garissa University attack as 83% of stories did not have any statistics in comparison to 17% that had some elements of statistics; 63% had illustrations in the stories, while a smaller number of 37% of stories did not have any pictorial elements.

5. State officials represented 40% of sources in the initial coverage, including security agencies with and national government officials. However, in the subsequent coverage, Parents and victims of the attack dominated the sources cited at 18%.

4.4 Summary

This chapter outlined the analysis, presentation, and interpretation of the analysis of 112 stories on the Garissa University attack seven days after the attack. There was more coverage in the *Daily Nation* than *The Standard* newspaper. The findings were summarized descriptively using frequency distributions to analyze and present the data.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSIONS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter outlined the discussion of findings based on the research objectives and the conclusions and implications for practice. The chapter also presented recommendations for reporting terror attacks in subsequent days after an attack while also suggesting further research on terrorist coverage based on religion.

5.2 Discussion of the Key Findings

5.2.1 Tone of Islam in the Subsequent Coverage of Garissa University terror attack

The study aimed to determine the tone of Islam in the subsequent coverage of the Garissa University terror attack during the first seven days after the attack happened. The results indicated the tonality of stories on Islam to belong to the neutral category, as shown by 76 %, followed by positive stories, with 19 % of publications indicating this tone. In addition, there is evidence from Hassan, Azmi, and Abdullahi (2020) to show that newspaper coverage of terror attacks has conveyed a neutral tone in this study was the most dominant in all the newspapers.

The findings revealed few negative tones of Islam coverage after the attack, as shown by the minimal 5% of stories bearing this tone, indicating that the findings go against past research that has found a negative tone in newspaper coverage of terror attacks. Past work (Cooper, 2001) on the emotional tonality of Islam and terror attacks coverage has been on negative emotions of anger and fear. In another study, Hassan et al. (2020) established that more than half of articles related to Islam represented a negative tone, with less portraying a positive tone.

This implies that published stories were more likely to have negative tones towards Islam. Allen (2014) asserted that these tones are often alarmist and contain abusive and emotive expressions. In addition, the creation of words used in these stories would often manipulate the audience to form bias against Muslims and promote bigotry in the minds of audiences (Cissel, 2012).

According to framing theory, media often portray such stories in a manner that would express negative or positive value judgment (Hassan et al., 2020), leading to a bias by description (Wariboko, 2015). Therefore, the media is at fault for using language to dehumanize and stigmatize Islam as a religion, and this conforms to the hypothesis of framing theory that media cover stories on a group of people in a negative manner would lead to negative perceptions of that group in its audience (Wariboko, 2015).

The findings found a deviation from past studies that have often had a negative tone when reporting terror attacks. This implies a major finding from the research was that Islam received a neutral tone during the subsequent coverage of the Garissa University terror attack. Hastie and Park (1986) argued that audiences form opinions and attitudes based on how information is packaged and presented by the media and the prominence given to it. Therefore, by giving a neutral tone to Islam during the subsequent coverage of the Garissa University terror attack, the media missed out on a perfect opportunity to shape audiences' minds by portraying Islam as a religion which abhors and condemns terror or any use of violence.

Secondly, hard news dominated the coverage of the Garissa University terror attack. The results on the nature of stories published in the two newspapers indicate that hard news accounted for 49% followed by 34% of stories under the general news category. There are stories which only sought to directly inform the audiences about the

terror attack but not unpacking the issues at hand in a long, more profound, or analytical manner.

The newspaper coverage of terror attacks in Kenya has previously been shown to be dominant in the general news category. Maina (2014) found out that there were different natures of stories published by the *Daily Nation* and *the Standard* newspaper. News stories comprised 75%, briefs were 16 %, editorial stories were 6%, while feature stories only accounted for 2% of the total stories published. In a later study, Kiarie and Mogambi (2017) established that general news accounted for 75% of the total number of stories published.

This is a point of departure when it comes to subsequent coverage. Unlike previous studies that show hard news dominating coverage of terror attacks, this study showed an increase in reflective stories in the subsequent attack coverage. This is consistent with previous studies, which suggest that when a terror attack occurs, the media rushes to cover it prominently, and this coverage subsides as we depart from day zero of the attack with a new shift towards feature stories (Jetter, 2017; White, 2020; Eboi, 2015). Reflective pieces are generally longer than hard news stories since the latter seeks to primarily inform the audience on what transpired, while feature stories are generally longer to unpack various issues like policy and impact.

5.2.2 Prominence of Stories in the Subsequent Coverage of the Garissa Terror Attack

This research objective sought to examine the prominence of stories touching on Islam during the subsequent coverage of the Garissa University Terror Attack in the first 7 days. The findings indicated that more stories belonged to the high-priority category (58%) followed by low-priority stories represented 38%, and 4% of stories were medium-priority stories.

This finding agreed with Kiarie and Mogambi (2017), who revealed that stories published on terror attacks were found on prime pages of newspapers when a large-scale incident occurred. This implied that the media was not actively covering terrorism subject unless such an attack occurred and was then given prominence. This argument is consistent with findings from this research study which suggest that the Garissa University terror attack was subsequently covered in main pages by the *Daily Nation* and *the Standard* newspaper.

Further, the study established that 63% of stories had photographs related to the terror attack while a smaller number (37%) did not have any pictorial elements. The use of pictures in reporting a terror attack has been proved in past events, such as the coverage of the Mumbai terror attacks, where Neelamalar, Chitra, and Darwin (2009) found that 70% of the respondents affirmed to have been attracted to the newspaper by a photo strategically published on the cover page.

Shoemaker and Cohen's (2006) argument that a story's significance is heavily influenced by its prominence, can be used to explain these findings. To draw audiences in and influence their decision to continue consuming a story, enticing storylines are employed to catch their interest. To ensure that their daily headlines continue pique readers' interest in learning more about current events, editors use this information while making headline decisions. This argument also supports the findings by Buckler & Travis (2005), who established that audience's perception of a story is heavily influenced by how prominent it is. For instance, the *Daily Nation* newspaper on April 3rd, 2015, splashed stories on the Garissa University terror attack in its first six pages while using compelling photos to elicit the reader's emotions.

A closer look into coverage by the two newspapers revealed that as we moved further from day zero of the attack, most subsequent stories covering the Garissa University terror attack were published in the inside pages and not the front page. According to Shoemaker (1991), a news story is deemed highly important and prominent when published on the front page and less prominent as you move further from the front page.

In their subsequent coverage, stories on the Garissa University terror attack published by the two newspapers were buried further from the main page, increasing the chances of audiences missing out on crucial information regarding terrorism or the incident. The study's major finding on this objective found less coverage of the Garissa University attack after the sixth and seventh day after the attack. This means the prominence of stories on the attack went down.

5.2.3 Sources in Subsequent Coverage of the Garissa University terror attack

The study's third objective was to examine the actor frame in subsequent coverage of the Garissa University terror attack in the first seven days. In terrorism news, sources play a critical role in providing authenticity and authority of any coverage (Matthes et al., 2020). This study established that 40% of state sources were cited during the Garissa University terror attack coverage. These results were consistent with previous studies in the United Kingdom (Mathews 2013), which suggests that media coverage of terror-related attacks tends to incline towards officials to shape and frame a story. This trend of official sources was also reported in Kenya as Ileri (2018) found that journalists allocated more space to government officials during the Westgate Mall and Garissa University attacks in 2013 and 2015, respectively.

No-state actors accounted for 32% of sources in subsequent coverage of the Garissa University attack. This supports the findings from international media coverage of terror attacks where journalists preferred institutional quotation sources, including medical agencies and victim national governments. This implies that the media favour official and national sources. Individual sources from victims and their social connections were used in reporting the Kunming Attack by international media houses, which showed the media's aim to publish stories from various sources rather than relying on state or government sources (Du & Li, 2018).

In a study to examine Media framing of Westgate and Garissa University terror attacks in Kenya, Ileri (2019) found out that the media mostly cited government sources. However, this study noted that in subsequent coverage, there was a shift towards witnesses as sources for stories published. In addition, it is common for journalists to use the lived experiences of terror attacks, such as survivors and this trend was also found in this study. Previous research (Feinstein, Wanga, & Owen, 2015; Aswani, Mbutu, & Mwithia, 2020) has focused on lived experiences of journalists who experience terror attacks as well as including survivors and family and friends of victims as sources in their stories.

The main finding thus focuses on the importance that witnesses have in reporting terror attacks in subsequent days as the discussion and reporting of these attacks focuses on policy and actions that need to be taken to prevent and avoid terror attacks in public spaces. This elaborates that journalists are aiming to diversify the context of stories from different angles beginning from the state sources to get accurate and authentic information and move into the lived experiences of survivors and witnesses.

5.3 Conclusion and Implications for Practice

The study aimed to determine the tone of Islam in subsequent coverage of the Garissa University terror attack during the first 7 days after the attack happened. Under the tonality aspect, this study concludes that stories on the Garissa University attack were covered in a neutral tone. The study concludes that Kenyan media has improved its coverage of Islam during terror attacks compared to other regions where the religion has been poorly portrayed in terms of coverage of terror incidents.

The second objective examined the prominence of stories touching on Islam during subsequent coverage of the Garissa University Terror Attack in the first seven days. Regarding placements, the study concludes that stories touching on Islam during the Garissa University attack were under the high-priority category and were given more prominence in the first days after the attack.

The third objective examined sources framed in subsequent coverage of the Garissa University terror attack in the first seven days. Under this, the study concludes that most stories came from state sources. However, the study concludes that in subsequent days after the attack, reporters focused more on seeking stories from witnesses and victims rather than official sources.

According to framing theory, media portrays stories in a manner that would express negative or positive value judgments (Hassan et al., 2020), leading to a bias by description (Wariboko, 2015). Therefore, the media is at fault for using language to dehumanize and stigmatize Islam as a religion, and this conforms to the hypothesis of framing theory that media cover stories on a group of people in a negative manner would lead to negative perceptions of that group in its audience (Wariboko, 2015). However, the study found that Kenya's media coverage of the Garissa University attack was based

on a neutral tone which ratifies the assumptions of framing theory of media using a positive or negative value judgement. This implies that the study findings upholds the arguments by framing theory regarding the coverage of terror attacks in Kenya.

5.4 Recommendations

The findings showed that a neutral tone was maintained by journalists when reporting on the Garissa University attack. Therefore, it is pertinent for media houses to fortify training in terrorism reporting and writing skills by providing internal-media exchange initiatives, exposure to various religions, cultural and social experiences, and sensitivity training to maintain their objective stance when reporting on religion and terrorism. In addition, the findings showed that most stories were reported as hard news in both dailies. Based on this finding, the study recommends that journalists pay more attention to reflective stories to provide diverse perspectives on terror attack stories.

There is a need for stakeholders in the media industry to emphasize on ethics training for journalists in reporting terrorism. The study recommends that journalism schools and training institutions to introduce a course in trauma journalism which has become a growing area of interest due to the prominence given to terror attacks since the 9/11 attack in the United States.

5.5 Areas for Further Research

This study sought to examine the framing of Islam in subsequent coverage of the Garissa University terror attack by *Daily Nation* and *the Standard* newspapers in the first seven days after the attack happened. The variables under investigation were the variables under investigation: the tone of Islam, the prominence of stories, and actors and sources of stories on the Garissa University attack. The findings indicate the use of statistics and images in reporting terror attack stories. Therefore, there is a need for

further research to examine the use of pictures in reporting terror attacks and what role it plays in shaping audience perception. Secondly, the impact of a negative tone seems to be changing. There is a need for further research to examine what factors are motivating journalists to report terror attacks in a neutral tone. Such research would also attempt to identify and describe triggers and determinants of tone in newspaper coverage of terror attacks.

REFERENCES

- Abbink, J. (2020). Religion and Violence in the Horn of Africa: Trajectories of Mimetic Rivalry and Escalation between 'Political Islam' and the State. *Politics, Religion & Ideology*, 21(2), 194-215.
- Ahmed, S., & Matthes, J. (2017). Media representation of Muslims and Islam from 2000 to 2015: A meta-analysis. *International Communication Gazette*, 79(3), 219–244. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1748048516656305>
- Akbarzadeh, S., & Smith, B. (2005). *The representation of Islam and Muslims in the media (The Age and Herald Newspapers)*. Unpublished Thesis. Monash University. Subang Jaya. Malaysia.
- Alghamdi, E. A. (2015). The Representation of Islam in Western Media: The Coverage of Norway Terrorist Attacks. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics & English Literature*, 4(3), 199-204.
- Allen, F. (2014). *Islamophobia in the UK: The role of British newspapers in shaping attitudes towards Islam and Muslims*. Doctoral dissertation. University of Wales, United Kingdom.
- Ally, J. (2015). Kenya's print media coverage of religious communities in the Mandera and Garissa terrorist attacks (Doctoral dissertation).
- Al-Majdhoub, F. M., & Hamzah, A. (2016). Framing the Isil: A Content Analysis of the News Coverage by CNN and Aljazeera. *Malaysian Journal of Communication*, 32(1), 335-364.
- Almalki, S. (2016). Integrating Quantitative and Qualitative Data in Mixed Methods Research – Challenges and Benefits. *Journal of Education and Learning*, 5(3), 288-296.
- Altheide, D. L. (2006). Terrorism and the Politics of Fear. *Cultural Studies Critical Methodologies*, 6(4), 415-439.
- Ardèvol-Abreu, A. (2015). Framing theory in communication research. Origins, development and current situation in Spain. *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social*, 70(1), 423–450. <https://doi.org/10.4185/RLCS-2015-1053en>
- Ardèvol-Abreu, A. (2015). Framing theory in communication research in Spain. Origins, development and current situation. *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social*, 70, 423- 450.
- Arkkelin, D. (2014). *Using SPSS to Understand Research and Data Analysis*. *Psychology Curricular Materials*. Valparaiso University. Valparaiso, Indiana.
- Aswani, D. R. (2021). *Victims' Perceptions towards Government Communication on Terror the Case of Garissa University College Attack*. Doctoral dissertation. Daystar University. Nairobi. Kenya.

- Aswani, R., Mbutu, P., & Mwithia, J. (2020). Exploring Terror Victims' Expectations of Government Communication. *International Journal of Media, Journalism and Mass Communications*, 6(4), 7-19. DOI:10.20431/2454-9479.0604002
- Atwater, T., & Green, N. F. (1988). News Sources in Network Coverage of International Terrorism. *Journalism Quarterly*, 65, 967-971.
- Bahgat, K., & Medina, R. (2013). An Overview of Geographical Perspectives and Approaches in Terrorism Research. *Perspectives on Terrorism*, 7(1), 38-72.
- Baker, P. (2010). Representations of Islam in British broadsheet and tabloid newspapers 1999–2005. *Journal of Language and Politics*, 9(2), 310-338.
- Best, J. (2018). *American Nightmares: Social Problems in an Anxious World*. Oakland, CA: University of California Press.
- Bhawna, M., & Gobind, M. (2015). Research Methodology and Approaches. *Journal of Research & Method in Education*, 5(3), 48-51.
- Bilgen, A. (2012). Terrorism and the Media: A Dangerous Symbiosis. *E-International Relations*, 1-6.
- Boukes, M., Jones, N. P., & Vliegenthart, R. (2020). Newsworthiness and story prominence: How the presence of news factors relates to upfront position and length of news stories. *Journalism*, 1-9.
- Broersma, M., Den Herder, B., & Schohaus, B. (2013). A Question of Power: The Changing Dynamics Between Journalists and Sources. *Journalism Practice*, 7(4), 388–395.
- Buckler, K., Travis, L. (2005). Assessing the newsworthiness of homicide events: An analysis of coverage in the Houston Chronicle. *Journal of Criminal Justice and Popular Culture*.
- Carver, A., & Harrie, C. (2017). Framing Terrorists in Canada: A Comparative Analysis of Two Shootings. *International Journal of Criminal Justice Sciences*, 12(1), 98-110.
- Cherney, A., & Murphy, K. (2015). What does it mean to be a moderate Muslim in the war on terror? Muslim interpretations and reactions. *Critical Studies on Terrorism*, 9(2), 159-181.
- Cissel, M. (2012). Media framing: A comparative content analysis on mainstream and alternative news coverage of Occupy Wall Street. *The Elon Journal of Undergraduate Research in Communications*, 3(1), 67-77.
- Crenshaw, M. (2014). Terrorism Research: The Record. *International Interactions*, 40(4), 556-567.
- D'Angelo, P. (2002). News Framing as a Multiparadigmatic Research Program: a Response to Entman. *Journal of Communication*, 52(4), 870–888.

- Demarest L., & Langer A. (2018). Peace Journalism on a Shoestring? Conflict Reporting in Nigeria's National News Media. *Journalism*, 22(3), 671-688
- Demarest, L., Godefroidt, A., & Langer, A. (2020). Understanding News Coverage of Religious-based Violence: Empirical and Theoretical Insights from Media Representations of Boko Haram in Nigeria. *Journal of Communication*, 70(4), 548-573.
- Du, Y. R., & Li, L. (2018). When press freedom meets national interest: How terrorist attacks are framed in the news in China and the United States. *Global Media and China*, 2(3-4) 284-302.
- Eboi, A. (2015). A Content and Critical Discourse Analysis of the Nation Newspaper's Coverage of the Garissa University College Terrorist Attack in Kenya. *Contemporary Social Sciences*, 24(3), 138-162.
- Elmasry, M. H., & el-Nawawy, M. (2020). Can a non-Muslim Mass Shooter be a "Terrorist"? A Comparative Content Analysis of the Las Vegas and Orlando Shootings. *Journalism Practice*, 14(7), 863-879.
- Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), 51-58.
- Etikan, I., Musa, S. A., & Alkassim, R. S. (2016). Comparison of Convenience Sampling and Purposive Sampling. *American Journal of Theoretical and Applied Statistics*, 5(1), 1-4.
- Ezeah, G. H., & Emmanuel, N. O. (2016). Foreign media framing of Boko Haram insurgency: A critical analysis of BBC and Aljazeera online coverage. *International Journal of Advanced Scientific Research and Management*, 1(10), 30-44.
- Feinstein, A., Wang, J., & Owen, J. (2015). The psychological effects of reporting extreme violence: a study of Kenyan journalists. *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine Open*, 6(9) 1-6. DOI: 10.1177/2054270415602828
- Fleming, J., & Zegwaard, K. E. (2018). Methodologies, methods and ethical considerations for conducting research in work-integrated learning. *International Journal of Work-Integrated Learning, Special Issue*, 19(3), 205-213.
- Freis-Beattie, R. C. (2020). *Fear and Loathing in Post 9/11 America: Public Perceptions of Terrorism as Shaped by News Media and the Politics of Fear*. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation. University of New Hampshire, Durham. United Kingdom.
- Gerhards, J., & Schäfer, M. S. (2014). International terrorism, domestic coverage? How terrorist attacks are presented in the news of CNN, Al Jazeera, the BBC, and ARD. *International Communication Gazette*, 76(1), 3-26.
- Goffman, E. (1974). *Frame analysis: an essay on the organization of experience*. New York, NY: Harper and Row

- Graham, J., Haidt, J., Koleva, S., Motyl, M., Iyer, R., Wojcik, S., & Ditto, P. (2013). Moral Foundations Theory: The pragmatic validity of moral pluralism. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology*, 47(1), 55-130.
- Haner, M., Sloan, M. M., Cullen, F. T., Kulig, T. C., & Jonson, C. L. (2019). Public Concern about Terrorism: Fear, Worry, and Support for Anti-Muslim Policies. *Socius: Sociological Research for a Dynamic World*, 5, 1–16.
- Hassan, I., Azmi, M. N. L., & Abdullahi, A. (2020). Investigating the Use of Language in Islam-related News: Evidence from Selected Non-Western Online Newspapers. *Arab World English Journal*, 11(1) 166-180
- Hassan, I., Azmi, M. N., & Abubakar, U. I. (2017). Framing Islam in news reporting: A Comparative content analysis. *Asian Social Science*, 13(10), 105-116.
- Holmes, J. (2016, January 26). *Who is the Discourse of 'Islamic Terrorism' problematic?* Retrieved August 25, 2016, from <http://www.e.ir.info/2016/01/26/why-is-discourse-of-terrorism-problematic/>
- Ileri, K. (2019). *Media framing of Westgate and Garissa University terror attacks in Kenya: News frames, responsibility and major actors*. Nairobi, Kenya: Horn Actors.
- Iyengar, S. (1991). *Is anyone responsible? How television frames political issues*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Jetter, M. (2017). *Terrorism and the Media: The Effect of US Television Coverage on Al-Qaeda Attacks*. Bonn: Institute for the Study of Labor.
- Kampf, Z. (2014). News Media and Terrorism: Changing Relationship, Changing Definitions. *Sociology campus*, 8(1), 1-9.
- Kampf, Z., & Liebes, T. (2013). *Transforming Media Coverage of Violent Conflicts: The New Face of War*. New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Kanji, A. (2018). Framing Muslims in the “War on Terror”: Representations of Ideological Violence by Muslim versus Non-Muslim Perpetrators in Canadian National News Media. *Religions*, 9(9), 1-26.
- Karim, K. H. (2006). American media’s coverage of Muslims: The historical roots of contemporary portrayals. In E. Poole & J. Richardson (Eds.), *Muslims and the news media* (pp. 116–127). London, UK: I.B.Tauris.
- Kearns, E., Betus, A., & Lemieux, A. (2019). Why Do Some Terrorist Attacks Receive More Media Attention than Others? *Justice Quarterly*, 36(1), 1-24.
- Keinan, G., Sadeh, A., & Rosen, S. (2003). Attitudes and reactions to media coverage of terrorist acts. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 31(2), 149–165.
- Kenes, B. (2015, September 4). *Marginalien*. Retrieved August 28, 2016, from <http://marginalien.hypothesed.org>

- Khan, M., & Ecklund, K. (2012). Attitudes toward Muslim Americans Post-9/11. *Journal of Muslim Mental Health*, 7(1), 1-16.
- Kiarie, L., & Mogambi, H. (2017). Media and Conflict: An Analysis of Print Media Coverage of Terrorism in Kenya. *American International Journal of Social Science*, 6(1), 45-64.
- Kingdon, J. (1995). *Agendas, alternatives and public policies*. (2nd edn). New York, NY: Longman.
- Kioko, Z. K. (2018). *Assessing Social Responsibility through Narratives Published During and after the Garissa (2015) and Mandera (2016) Terror Attacks In the Daily Nation Online Newspaper*. Unpublished thesis. Daystar University. Nairobi. Kenya.
- Kipkemboi, A. (2020). *Determinants of newspaper readership in Kenya*. Unpublished dissertation. Strathmore University. Nairobi. Kenya.
- Kisang, A. K. (2014). Reporting terrorism among Kenyan media: Should journalists be cautious? *Journal of Media and Communication Studies*, 6(5), 78-84.
- Krippendorff, K. (2012). *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Laqueur, Walter (1987). *The Age of Terrorism* (2nd ed.). Boston: Little & Brown, p. 143
- Laqueur, W (2001). Left, Right, and Beyond: The Changing Face of Terror in James F. Hoge Jr. & Gideon Rose (eds.), *How Did This Happen? Terrorism and the New War*, (New York: Public Affairs, 2001), pp. 71-82.
- Maina, 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*. Unpublished thesis. University of Nairobi. Nairobi. Kenya.
- Makhadmeh, N. (2014). *Frames, Modalities, Topics and Sources: A Comparative Content Analysis of Natural Disaster, Terrorist Attack and Civil Unrest Crises by Egyptian Journalist Bloggers and Citizen Bloggers*. Unpublished Thesis. Michigan State University. East Lansing, Michigan.
- Manning, P. (2003). *Australians Imagining Islam. In Muslims and the News Media*. London: I.B. Tauris.
- Mathews, J. (2013). News narratives of terrorism: Assessing source diversity and source use in UK news coverage of alleged Islamist plots. *Media, War & Conflict*, 6(3), 295–310.
- Matthes, J., & Kohring, M. (2008). The Content Analysis of Media Frames: Toward Improving Reliability and Validity. *Journal of Communication*, 58(2), 258–279.
- Matthes, J., Kaskelvičute, R., Schmuck, D., von Sikorski, C., Klobasa, C., Knupfer, H., & Saumer, M. (2020). Who Differentiates between Muslims and Islamist

- Terrorists in Terrorism News Coverage? *An Actor-based Approach*. *Journalism Studies*, 21(15), 2135-2153.
- McHugh, M. L. (2012). Interrater reliability. *Biochemia Medica*, 22(3), 276-282.
- Media Council of Kenya (2021). *State of the Media Report Survey 2021*. Nairobi: Media Council of Kenya.
- Miller, K. (2000). *Communication Theories: Perspective, Processes and Context*. Boston, MA: McGraw Hill.
- Mitnick, Z. S., Freilich, J. D., & Chermak, S. M. (2020). Post-9/11 Coverage of Terrorism in the New York Times. *Justice Quarterly*, 37(1), 161-185, DOI: [10.1080/07418825.2018.1488985](https://doi.org/10.1080/07418825.2018.1488985)
- Mohammed, A. N. (2016). *Citizen Journalism and Conflict News Reporting: a Case Study of the Garissa University Terror Attack*. Unpublished research project. University of Nairobi. Nairobi. Kenya.
- Muindi, M. (2020). *Mitigating the Impact of Media Reporting of Terrorism Case Study of Government Communication during Westgate and DusitD2 Attacks*. The Hague. International Centre for Counter- Terrorism.
- Mukherjee, M. (2017). A Review of Research Design. *International Journal of Advanced Engineering and Management, Technical and Scientific Publisher*, 2(3), 56-59.
- Mukinda, F. (2015, April 4). *Shame of slow response in 15-hour campus terror*. *Nation Africa*. <https://nation.africa/kenya/news/Shame-of-slow-response-in-15-hour-campus-terror/1056-2676432-13wgdjy/index.html>
- Mutie, B. M. (2021). *A Phenomenological Enquiry on Journalistic Experiences and Structural Influences in the Coverage of Terrorism in Kenya*. Doctoral dissertation. Daystar University. Nairobi. Kenya.
- Neelamalar, M., Chitra, P., & Darwin, A. (2009). The print media coverage of the 26/11 Mumbai terror attacks: A study on the coverage of leading Indian newspapers and its impact on people. *Academic Journals*, 1(6), 095-105.
- Nickerson, C. (2019). Media portrayal of terrorism and Muslims: a content analysis of Turkey and France. *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 72(5), 547-567.
- Norton, B. (2015, November 14). *Out terrorism double standard: After Paris, let's stop blaming Muslims and take a hard look at ourselves*. Retrieved August 30, 2016, from <http://salon.com>
- O'Connor, C., & Joffe, H. (2020). Intercoder Reliability in Qualitative Research: Debates and Practical Guidelines. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 19, 1-13.
- O'Neill, D., & O'Connor, C (2008). The passive journalist: How sources dominate local news. *Journalism Practice*, 2(3), 487-500.

- Odhiambo, E. O. S., Wasike, S., & Kimokoti, S. N. (2015). Learning Institutions' Vulnerability to Terrorism: An Overview of Issue Coverage in Nowadays' Media and Specialized Literature & A Case Study of Garissa University College, Kenya. *Journal of defense resources management*, 6(2), 21-30.
- Oluwayesi, B. R. (2020). An Attempt to Define Jihad: Terrorism as a Focal Point. *African Journal on Terrorism*, 9(1), 1-14.
- Onguny, P. (2020). Framing the fight against terrorism in Kenya: perspectives on the attacks at Westgate Mall and Garissa University. *African Journal of Terrorism and Insurgency Research*, 1(1), 77-101.
- Oppermann, K., & Spencer, A. (2013). Thinking Alike? Saliency and Metaphor Analysis as Cognitive Approaches to Foreign Policy Analysis. *Foreign Policy Analysis*, 9(1), 39-56.
- Otiso, K. (2009). Kenya in the crosshairs of global terrorism: fighting terrorism at the periphery. *Kenya Studies Review*, 1(1), 107-132.
- Papacharissi, Z., & Oliveira, M. F. (2008). News Frames Terrorism: A Comparative Analysis of Frames Employed in Terrorism Coverage in U.S. and U.K. Newspapers. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 13(1), 52-74.
- Parkin, W. S., & Green, D. A. (2016). Terrorism in the News: The Efficiency and Impact of Sampling Methods on Data Collection and Content Analysis. *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism*, 7(8), 668-686.
- Parks, L. (2018). *Rethinking Media Coverage: Vertical Mediation and the War on Terror* (1st edn.). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Powell, K. A. (2011). Framing Islam: An Analysis of U.S. Media Coverage of Terrorism since 9/11. *Communication Studies*, 62(1), 90-112.
- Powell, K. A. (2018). Framing Islam/Creating Fear: An Analysis of U.S. Media Coverage of Terrorism from 2011–2016. *Religions*, 9(9), 257-273.
- Price, V., and D. Tewksbury. (1997). News values and public opinion: A theoretical account of media priming and framing. In *Progress in communication sciences: Advances in persuasion* (Vol. 13), edited by G. A. Barrett and F. J. Boster. Greenwich, CT: Ablex
- Rahman, S. (2017). The Advantages and Disadvantages of Using Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches and Methods in Language "Testing and Assessment" Research: A Literature Review. *Journal of Education and Learning*, 6(1), 102-112.
- 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.
- Riffe, D., Lacy, S., & Fico, F. G. (2005). *Analyzing Media Messages Using Quantitative Content Analysis in Research* (2nd edn.). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

- Sandler, T. (2014). The analytical study of terrorism: Taking stock. *Journal of Peace Research*, 51(2), 257–271.
- Scheufele, D. A. (1999). Framing as a theory of media effects. *Journal of Communication*, 49(1), 103–122.
- Scheufele, D. A., & Iyengar, S. (2014). The State of Framing Research: A Call for New Directions in K. Kenski and K. H. Jamieson (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Communication*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Scheufele, D. A., & Tewksbury, D. (2007). Framing, Agenda-setting, and Priming: The Evolution of Three Media Effects Models. *Journal of Communication*, 57(1), 9-20.
- Schmuck, D., Matthes, J., & von Sikorski, C. (2021). No Compassion for Muslims? How Journalistic News Coverage of Terrorist Crimes Influences Emotional Reactions and Policy Support Depending on the Victim's Religion. *Crime & Delinquency*, 1–24. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00111287211000626>
- Sedrat, A. (2016). *Sorry, you are not as important! A study about the unequal media treatment of different terrorist attacks in the world in 2015 – Aftonbladet*. Unpublished Bachelor Thesis. Stockholm University. Sweden.
- Severin, W. J. & Tankard, J. W. (2001). *Communication Theories: Origin, Methods, and Uses in the Mass Media* (5th edn.). New York, NY: Longman.
- Shoemaker, P. J., & Cohen, A. A. (2006). *News around the world: Content, practitioners, and the public*. New York: Routledge
- Singh, A. S., & Masuku, M. B. (2014). Sampling Techniques & Determination of Sample Size in Applied Statistics Research: An Overview. *International Journal of Economics, Commerce and Management*, 2(11), 1-22.
- Sözeri, S., Kosar-Altinyelken, H., & Volman, M. (2019). Mapping discourses on mosque education in the Netherlands: a content analysis of the Dutch press, 2010–2016. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 40(3), 358-371.
- Stephen, A., Mutisya, S., & Owuor, B. (2018). Counseling as a Predictor of Posttraumatic Growth among the Garissa University Terrorist Attack Survivors. *African Journal of Clinical Psychology*, 1(3), 1-22.
- Sudan, R. (2015, December 8). *Increasing attacks on Muslims caused by media-hyped Islamophobia*. Retrieved September 1, 2016, from <http://www.rt.com>
- Sultan, K. (2016). Linking Islam with Terrorism: A Review of the Media Framing since 9/11. *Global media journal*, 5(2), 1-10.
- Tariq, K., & Hanan, M. A. (2018). Terrorism and racial profiling-Islamophobia in International press. *Journal of Islamic Thought and Civilization*, 8(2), 127–144

- Tuchman, Gaye. 1972. "Objectivity as Strategic Ritual: An Examination of Newsmen's Notions of Objectivity." *American Journal of Sociology* 77 (4): 660-679.
- Tuman, J. (2010). *Communicating terror: The rhetorical dimensions of terrorism*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.
- United States Department of State (2020). *International Religious Freedom Report*. Retrieved August 12, 2020, from <https://www.state.gov/reports/2020-report-on-international-religious-freedom/>
- van Gorp, B. (2007). The constructionist approach to framing: Bringing culture back in. *Journal of Communication*, 57, 60-78.
- Vicente-Mariño, M., & López Rabadán, P. (2011). Current results of research on 'framing': solid international progress and start of the specialty in Spain. *ZER: Journal of Communication Studies*, 14(26), 13-34.
- Wagner, M. C., & Boczkowski, P. J. (2019). The reception of fake news: The interpretations and practices that shape the consumption of perceived misinformation. *Digital journalism*, 7(7), 870-885.
- Wariboko, O. P. (2015). Prospects of Islamophobia in Nigeria and its dangers. *Journal of Religion and Human Relations*, 7(1), 42-52.
- Weaver, D. H. (2007). Thoughts on agenda-setting, framing and priming. *Journal of Communication*, 57, 142-147.
- Weimann, G. (2008). The Theatre of Terror. *Journal of Aggression Maltreatment & Trauma*, 9(3), 379-390.
- Woods, J. (2007). What We Talk about When We Talk about Terrorism: Elite Press Coverage of Terrorism Risk from 1997 to 2005. *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, 12(3), 3–20.
- Yang, L., & Chen, H. (2019). Framing terrorist attacks: A multi-proximity model. *International Communication Gazette*, 81(5), 395–417.
- Younes, Z. B., Hassan, I., & Azmi, M. N. L. (2020). A Pragmatic Analysis of Islam-related Terminologies in Selected Eastern and Western Mass Media. *Arab World English Journal*, 11(2), 70-84.
- Yusof, S. H., Hassan, F., Hassan, M. S., & Osman, M. N. (2013). The framing of international media on Islam and terrorism. *European Scientific Journal*, 9(8), 104-121.
- Zerback, T., Reinemann, C., Van Aelst, P., & Masini, A. (2020). Was Lampedusa a key Event for Immigration News? An Analysis of the Effects of the Lampedusa Disaster on Immigration Coverage in Germany, Belgium, and Italy. *Journalism Studies*, 21(6), 748-765.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Code Book

Frame Analysis: Framing of Islam in the coverage of terrorism in Kenya.

Sampling Period: April 3rd, 2015, to April 10th, 2015 – 7 Days

Unit of Analysis

- The newspaper is the unit of analysis, while frame occurrence represents the study's unit of observation. A frame will count once, even if it appears more than once in a story. In a case where more than one frame appears in a story, this will be coded differently.
- The unit of observation for the framing type (episodic vs. thematic) occurrence is a news story. Therefore, only one framing type will count in a news story; however, the dominant frame will be selected when both types of framing are present.
- All stories will be coded as either episodic or thematic. The second level of coding will match the occurrence of a frame attribute with the level of prominence.

Construct validity

Construct validity was established by adapting previous studies framing of terrorism coverage along with the prominence of articles published (Freis-Beattie, 2020; Crenshaw, 2014; Powell, 2018; Kampf, 2014; Woods, 2007; Xigen and Izard, 2003). Based on the categorization of variables, this study will focus on valence to examine how Islam has been framed, with a keen lens on the prominence of stories touching on Islam during the subsequent coverage of the Garissa University terror attack in the first 7 days after it happened. Based on Iyengar's (1991) categorization of frames into thematic and episodic frames, the study focussed on episodic frames. The episodic stories focus on specific, often immediate, events without reference to historical context, temporal sequence, or greater consequence. The testing by two coders was done to ensure that the categories answered the research questions. In addition, to ensure statistical significance, data episodic frames were treated as mutually exclusive, as supported by previous studies (Kondracki, Wellman & Amundson, 2002).

Operationalization of Categories:

1. **Tone:** this refers to the narrative advanced by stories published on the Garissa University terror attack to establish whether they are presented in a positive, neutral, or negative way.
 - **Positive:** Islam is presented in an objective manner which appreciates Islam as a form of religion which abhors and condemns violence
 - **Neutral:** Islam is presented in a manner that does not give any crystal image
 - **Negative:** Islam is presented in a biased and unfair manner depicting it as a religion which is sympathetic to terrorism or upholds the use of violence along religious lines.

Prominence of a Story

2. **Treatment:** This refers to the degree of importance given by journalists and/or editors. The following attributes can operationalize this prominence.
 - **Hard news:** A story is hard news if the item meets the criteria of being political, social, or economic items of a highly significant nature and is also stories that need to be reported immediately. This includes breaking news, attacks, or an accident etc,
 - **General news:** A story is categorised as general news is significant but does not need to be published immediately. This includes feature stories, entertainment stories, etc.
 - **Reflective:** These are longer stories on the attack that has a more insightful tone and cover the Garissa University terror attack using a complex approach
 - **Commentary/Criticism:** Stories offering a first-person view or are a stated outlook of the newspaper, including editorials and opinion editorials written by columnists.
 - An article which assumes any other nature will be categorised as other.
3. **Placement:** This refers to the amount of space in which a story is given in a newspaper and will be identified as a high-focus story. The focus given to a

news story stipulates its gravity or importance. Placement will be categorised into high-focus, medium-focus story or low-focus stories.

- High-focus stories include: (1) stories on the Garissa University terror attack published on the front page, back page, third page and every odd page in the first six pages of the newspaper (2) stories that have “Garissa University terror attack” in their headline (3) stories published in more than 1000 words (4) stories on the Garissa University terror attack with an accompanying picture or statistical data,
- Stories with a medium focus include (1) stories on the Garissa University terror attack published on the second page and every even page in the first six pages of the newspaper (2) a story on the Garissa University Terror attack and is between 300 to 1000 words,
- Low-focus stories are (1) stories on the Garissa University terror attack published in less than 300 words (2) stories published after page six (3) stories that have no graphic nor statistical data on the Garissa University terror attack.

4. **Statistics:** This refers to where a statistical figure accompanies a news story

- Statistics Present
- Statistics Absent

5. **Pictures and Graphics:** This refers to where a news story is accompanied by a picture related to the Garissa University terror attack.

- Illustration Present
- Illustration Absent

6. **Main Sources:** These refer to the various stakeholders involved in the Garissa University terror attack coverage. They can include survivors, witnesses, political actors, civil society actors, and others. Categories here include

- Survivors and witnesses; people with first-hand experience during an attack. These could be students, staff members, and residents neighbouring the institution.

- State Sources; government officials, security agencies, security experts, the president of Kenya, speaking on behalf of the state and the government, and County government officials responding to the attack.
- Non – State sources; include Local non-governmental organizations, activists, trade unions or lobby groups in the security/terrorism agenda, and The business community (both local and international) in industries highly affected by terrorism events, such as the tourism and hospitality industry.
- International Sources: these may include other nations or their governments as actors, including presidents and high-ranking government officials and political leaders, and International non-governmental organizations engaged in the security sector and tackling the terrorism agenda.
- Terrorists themselves

Appendix B: Code Sheet

Frame Analysis: Framing of Islam in the coverage of terrorism in Kenya.

Name of the coder:

Date of coding:

Rationale: The researcher's sampling period will include a 7-day period of the two newspapers' coverage of the Garissa University Terror Attack between April 3rd 2015 and April 10th, 2015.

The Coding Sheet

The framing of stories will be based on prominence attributes: placement, tone, the inclusion of an illustration, use of statistics, treatment of the story and nature. Every story selected into the sample will be recorded by date and all stories will be included in an Excel spreadsheet as the units of observation. The prominence attributes will be presented on the Excel sheet columns. In each of the rows (stories) will be coded 100 (Present) if an attribute is present and 0 (Absent) if a framing attribute is not present. A second level of analysis will include coding stories and locating them on the six categories of nature of the story. All stories will be framed as either episodic (100) or thematic (0).

Coding of the prominence attributes

Tone of the Story

100 Positive: A story is framed positively if Islam is presented in an objective manner which appreciates Islam as a form of religion which abhors and condemns violence

200 Neutral; a story is framed in neither a positive nor negative tone and does not give a clear perspective on Islam as a religion.

300 **Negative;** Islam is presented in a biased and unfair manner depicting it as a religion which is sympathetic to terrorism or upholds the use of violence along religious lines.

Nature of the Story

100 **Hard news;** A story is hard news if the item meets the criteria of being political, social, or economic item of a highly significant nature and are also stories that need to be reported immediately. This includes breaking news, attacks, or an accident etc,

200 **General news;** A story that is categorized as general news is significant but does not need to be published immediately. This includes feature stories, entertainment stories, etc.

300 **Reflective stories;** These are longer stories on the attack that have a more insightful tone and cover the Garissa University terror attack using a complex approach

400 **Commentary/Criticism;** Stories offering a first-person view or are a stated outlook of the newspaper, including editorials and opinion editorials written by columnists.

500 **Others;** An article which assumes any other nature will be categorised as other.

Focus of the story

100 **High focus stories include:** (1) stories on the Garissa University terror attack published on the front page, back page, third page and every odd page in the first half of the newspaper (2) stories that have “Garissa University terror attack” in their headline (3) stories published in more than 1000 words (4) stories on the Garissa University terror attack with an accompanying picture or statistical data,

200 **Stories with a Medium focus include** (1) stories on the Garissa University terror attack published on the second page and every even page in the first six pages of the newspaper (2) a story on the Garissa University Terror attack and is between 300 to 1000 words,

300 Low-focus stories are (1) stories on the Garissa University terror attack published in less than 300 words (2) stories published in the second half of the newspaper (3) stories that have no graphic nor statistical data on the Garissa University terror attack.

Placement of the Story

100 High priority includes stories that have been published on the upper part of the newspaper page

200 Medium Priority includes stories that have been published on the middle left or right part of a newspaper page

300 Low Priority includes stories that have published on the bottom part of the newspaper page

Statistics in a story: This refers to where a statistical figure accompanies a news story

100 Present

0 Absent

Pictures and Graphics: This refers to where a news story accompanied by a picture related to the Garissa University terror attack.

100 Present

0 Absent

Main sources in the stories

100 Survivors with first-hand experience during the attack recuperating from injuries sustained in the attack. These could be students, staff members or security officials

200 Witness to the 2015 Garissa University terror attack but incurred no injuries. This could be residents neighbouring the institution.

300 Security agencies & personnel responding to the 2015 Garissa University attack

400 National Government officials responding to the attack.

- 500** President of Kenya, speaking on behalf of the state and the government
- 600** Other nations or their governments as actors, including presidents and high-ranking government officials and political leaders
- 700** International non-governmental organizations engaged in the security sector and tackling the terrorism agenda
- 800** Local non-governmental organizations, activists, political leaders, unions, or lobby groups in the security/terrorism agenda
- 900** The business community (both local and international) in industries highly affected by terrorism events, such as the tourism and hospitality industry
- 1000** Parents/guardians of students who were victims of the attack
- 1100** County Government officials responding to the attack
- 1200** non-Governmental organisations like Kenya Red Cross officials responding to the attack
- 1300** Education stakeholders and or religious leaders commenting on the attack
- 1400** Terrorists themselves

Appendix C: AKU Ethics Review Committee Approval Letter



THE AGA KHAN UNIVERSITY
Graduate School of Media and Communications

REF: AKU-GSMC/ERC/2022/003

Date: September 05, 2022.

Dear Steve Maina (Student No. 552932)

RE: FRAMING OF ISLAM IN THE COVERAGE OF TERRORISM IN KENYA

This is to inform you that Aga Khan University - Graduate School of Media and Communications Ethics Review Committee has reviewed and approved your above research proposal. Your approval period is September 05, 2022, to September 04, 2023, and your application's approval number is AKU-GSMC/ERC/2022/003.

This approval is subject to compliance with the following, under the supervision of your two supervisors:

1. Only the approved documents including the informed consent form and the data collection instruments will be used.
2. Any changes, made on the approved documents that may increase the risks or affect the welfare or safety of the participants or compromise the integrity of the study must be reported to GSMC within the shortest time possible. The amended documents will be taken through a fresh review and the due process of approval.
3. In the event that the research cannot be completed within the one-year approved period, the researcher will request for renewal of approval 30 days prior to the end of the approved period.
4. The researcher will be required to submit a comprehensive progress report when applying for renewal of approval.
5. Submission of an executive summary report to the GSMC's Ethics Review Committee within 90 days of completion of the study.
6. Produce all the data collected using the approved tools as and when required by the Ethics Review Committee within the 90 days of completion of your study.

Prior to commencing your study, you will be required to obtain a research permit from National Commission for Science, Technology, and Innovation (NACOSTI). You can access the application portal from the website on <https://www.nacosti.go.ke/>.

Please feel free to contact me should you require any further information.

Yours sincerely

Dr Nancy Booker
Interim Dean

University Centre, 4th Floor, 3rd Parklands Avenue
P.O. Box 30270 - 00100 G.P.O. Nairobi, Kenya
Tel: +254 20 3740062/63, +254 (0) 731 888 055; +254 (0) 719 231 530
Email Address: info.gsmc@aku.edu; Website: www.aku.edu

Appendix D: Introductory Letter from AKU



THE AGA KHAN UNIVERSITY
Graduate School of Media and Communications

National Commission for Science, Technology, and Innovation
P. O. Box 30623 – 00100
Nairobi

September 05, 2022

Dear Sir/Madam.

STEVE MAINA (STUDENT NO. 552932)

Steve Maina is a registered student at the Aga Khan University, Graduate School of Media and Communications. He is enrolled in the Master of Arts in Digital Journalism Programme and has completed his course work. He is now working on his Master's thesis. Mr. Maina's topic is "**Framing of Islam in the Coverage of Terrorism in Kenya.**"

The purpose of my writing is to request you to assist Mr. Maina complete this important academic exercise. Any information collected will be used solely for academic purposes. Upon completion of the research, Mr. Maina's thesis will be available at our library. He will also submit two hard copies and one soft copy in pdf of his completed work to your department.


We appreciate your support to our student towards his successful completion of his thesis research.


Please feel free to contact me should you require any further information.

Yours sincerely,

Prof. Nancy Booker
Interim Dean


Appendix E: NACOSTI Research Licence


REPUBLIC OF KENYA


**NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR
SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION**

Ref No: **783988** Date of Issue: **20/September/2022**


RESEARCH LICENSE




This is to Certify that Mr., STEPHEN MAINA KAMAU of Aga Khan University, has been licensed to conduct research in Nairobi on the topic: The Framing of Islam in the Coverage of Terrorism in Kenya for the period ending : 20/September/2023.

License No: **NACOSTI/P/22/20391**

783988
Applicant Identification Number


Director General
**NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR
SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY &
INNOVATION**

Verification QR Code



**NOTE: This is a computer generated License. To verify the authenticity of this document,
Scan the QR Code using QR scanner application.**