CITIZEN JOURNALISM AND CONFLICT NEWS REPORTING:

A CASE STUDY OF THE GARISSA UNIVERSITY TERROR ATTACK

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DECLARATION

This project is my original work and has not been presented in any other university.

SIGN_____   DATE: _____

ABDULLAHI JAMILA MOHAMED

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

SIGN_____   DATE: _____

DR.PATRICK MALUKI

DEDICATION

To my husband Ahmed, children Nasteha, Amin, Mohamed, Abdulhakim, Rahma and

my mum Zaynab, you make me strive to a better person, one you can all be proud of.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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ABSTRACT

This section provides global, regional and national perspectives of the subject matter of the study, which is citizen journalism and news reporting on terrorism. The new paradigm of terrorism is partly a consequence of a sudden development of information technology, which is particularly manifested in the fact that terrorist organisations have recognized the importance mass media has on the accomplishment of their aims. The overall objective of this study is to highlight the changing landscape on media reporting with the emergence of citizen journalism with emphasis on terrorism. The aim of the study was to provide an overview of the impact of social media on dissemination of information; to examine the Garissa Terrorist attack as a case study on the effects of citizen journalism on terrorism reporting and to demonstrate the gap in regulation on the dissemination of information in the public domain. This study used both primary and secondary data. The primary data obtained through interviews and questionnaires. The interviewing took a direct format, which involves the presentation of an oral stimulus in form of a question and a verbal response from the respondent. This instrument of data collection enabled the researcher to control the setting; it is flexible as one can probe and in the process get in-depth information; it has a large response rate; one can adopt the language to the ability of the respondents; one can also control the environment and the question order; and, most importantly it the respondent alone, who answers with no assistance from the researcher or any other person. The interview guides were administered to Ministry of information technology, Media houses, and policy makers in the field of information media and technology. The study established that a range of problems in reporting on terrorism that are practical, political, ethical, and structural. This is an evolving issue as both the nature of terrorism and media environment continue to change. The practical problem is of improving accuracy and providing better-informed context. It is particularly difficult with limited resources and rapidly multiplying sources and platforms. The same technologies that give journalists the power to report quicker and more extensively also speed up the news cycle and fill the public sphere with confusing, false, and complex information. Yet verification can be improved by adopting better techniques and insisting on standards across all platforms and under all circumstances. Greater transparency is a key attitudinal change that will

help improve the search for truth and build trust. The study recommends that more It is important we get this right. Trust in American media has plummeted to new lows. At a time when journalism is facing an economic crisis, we must rebuild the public's confidence. Consumers have so many alternatives to mainstream news media and so many distractions from journalism overall, we need to prove our worth. Terrorism is a key testing ground. Improving coverage of terrorism is important because violent extremism is a significant issue and symptomatic of wider problems around the world. The case for more intelligent, informed, and socially responsible reporting of terror is not just a moral plea. It is a chance to show journalism remains a vital part of modern society.

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the background of the study, the statement of the problem, highlights the research objectives both the main and the specific ones, and the research questions. The justification of the study is also included in this chapter. Theoretical framework, literature review, summary of the literature gaps and the research methodology are also contained here.

1.1 Background to the study

This section provides global, regional and national perspectives of the subject matter of the study, which is citizen journalism and news reporting on terrorism. The new paradigm of terrorism is partly a consequence of a sudden development of information technology, which is particularly manifested in the fact that terrorist organisations have recognized the importance mass media has on the accomplishment of their aims. Between media and terrorism there exists a very interactive (symbiotic) relationship, because media industry trends and patterns for media contents production head towards preference of sensation– seeking contents, whereas terrorist organisations can, due to their actions, ensure themselves maximum presence in the media. In so doing, terrorist organizations are constantly trying to manipulate and exploit free media for their own purpose.[1] We might say that it is the mass media itself that provide global reach to terrorism, it influences the way the public perceives terrorism and dangers that arise from it, it influences political decisions used to

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[1] Picard, Robert G.; Sheets, Rhonda S. (1987): Terrorism and the News Media: A Research Bibliography Part I. Political Communication, 4(1), 65-69.

respond to terrorism, but also the relations formed through national and international politics.[2]

The Code of Principles adopted by the International Federation of Journalists almost 60 years ago is a brief and inclusive statement about ethics in journalism. It is universal. It has been endorsed by unions and associations of journalists coming from vastly different cultures and traditions. From Japan to Colombia, Russia to the Congo, Canada to Malaysia, the United States to Iran, it brings together hundreds of thousands of journalists under a global standard for media quality. [3]The code embraces the core values of journalism truth, independence and the need to minimize harm and takes as its starting point the aspiration of all journalists to respect the truth and to provide it through the honest collection and publication of information whatever the mode of dissemination. Ethical conduct, says the IFJ, is also essential in the expression of fair comment and criticism. Journalists, says the code, should report only in accordance with facts of which they know the origin and never suppress essential information or falsify documents and they should use fair methods to obtain news, photographs and documents.

At the same time, ethical journalists recognize the importance of democratic accountability a commitment to seek to do no harm and to do the utmost to rectify any published information which is found to be harmfully inaccurate. Professional secrecy is a cardinal principle of journalism and requires that reporters protect the anonymity of the source of information obtained in confidence.

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[2] Wikipedia, "Now Public", 2 November 2010, available at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/NowPublic (accessed 22 December 2010).
[3] Allan, S. (2006). Online news: journalism and the Internet. Maidenhead and New York: Open University Press.

Journalists need above all to recognize the danger of discrimination being furthered by media, and do the utmost to avoid facilitating such discrimination based on, among other things, race, sex, sexual orientation, language, religion, political or other opinions, and national or social origins.[4] It has been long accepted that plagiarism, malicious misrepresentation, calumny, slander, libel, unfounded accusations, and corrupt practices, such as the acceptance of a bribe in any form in consideration of either publication or suppression, are grave professional offences. Journalists who aspire to high standards must, of course, be independent. That means that they should avoid attachment to partisan political, commercial or other interests that interfere with or have the perception of interference in their work. There are more than 400 codes of one form or another in existence. It is unlikely that we need more, although guidelines and standards of good practice will always help to provide journalists and media professionals with a framework to realize the core aspirations and values of their work. The codes need applying much more than they need refining. How to do that is one of the discussion points in this

For a long time, traditional broadcast journalism meant a reporter, accompanied by a cameraperson and a producer, would cover a news story. But these days, advancement in technology has completely changed this tried and tested way of covering a story for television.[5] Today, the first person at the scene of an event that may be newsworthy will more often than not be an ordinary citizen. Cheap, easy to handle digital devices and smart phones have in the past few years gained immense popularity. This coupled with easier access to the Internet as well as wide spread use of social media have

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[4] Castells, M. (2000). The rise of the network society, Second Edition. Oxford: Blackwell.
[5] Allan, S. and Matheson, D. (2004). Online journalism in the information age. Knowledge, Work & Society, 2(3), 73-94.

contributed to this phenomenon.[6] For some reason, these digital savvy citizens are actively engaged in capturing what they see unfolding before them. After which they are willing to share this footage with media organizations for airing or in many instances upload or share them across social networking sites, such as Twitter, Facebook, Path, Flickr, Instagram, Tumblr, Reddit and YouTube.

News organizations have found ways to manage the footage sent in by these spontaneous contributors. This becomes more important in instances when news is quickly unfolding especially when reporting crisis events. A major case in point occurred on April 2nd, 2015, when gunmen stormed the Garissa University College in Garissa, Kenya, killing 148 people and injuring more than 75 others. The news of the attack was broken on social media by residents who heard gunshots from the university. The first images of the horror that was witnessed in Garissa were put in the public domain by local residents, who were within and in the vicinity of the college during and after the attack and not journalists.

The distance to Garissa from the capital city where the news organizations run their operations contributed to this. It took the journalists at least a couple of hours to arrive at the scene and by then the images from Garissa had already been circulated on different platforms.[7]

These locals who were the first on the scene to capture what was happening even before the trained journalists arrived are known as citizen journalists. They inadvertently gave terrorists a platform to incite fear and terror into the population at

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[6] Allan, S. (2006). Online news: journalism and the Internet. Maidenhead and New York: Open University Press
[7] Botha, A. (2014). Radicalisation in Kenya: Recruitment to al-Shabaab and the Mombasa Republican Council (265). Nairobi, Kenya: Institute of Security Studies.

large. Media publicity and terrorism are linked, intrinsically.[8] It has been argued that terrorists strive for publicity for their acts, their aim, to instill fear in people. A common definition of terrorism states that '……terrorism's impact has been magnified by the capability of the media to disseminate news of such attacks instantaneously throughout the world. Terrorism is "usually intended to influence an audience", while emphasizing "the intention of terrorists to cause fear and terror among a target audience rather than the harm caused to immediate victims".[9] The terrorists want publicity so as "to make their cause known"[10]

The aim is to raise the profile of the cause; one main objective of terrorism is to maximize media exposure so as to further the atmosphere of fear. This means that the public's attention is vital and an important objective of terrorist activities; the media therefore is a platform to promote the terrorists' agenda.[11]

This research project sought to show how citizen journalism can affect the publicity given to an attack as well as how this form of journalism has the potential to provide positive and negative forms of publicity during a terrorist attack.

The research project will first begin by identifying what is meant by the terms ''citizen journalism'' and ''terrorism.'' Second, this research project will look at

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[8] Chakravariti, Rahul (2009): *Media Coverage of Terrorism and Methods of Diffusion*. New Delhi: MD Publications.

[9] Krueger, Alan B., and Jitka Maleckova. 2003. "Education, Poverty, and Terrorism: Is There a Causal Connection?" Jour-nal of Economic Perspectives17(4):119–44.

[10] Frey, B.S. and S. Luechinger (2008). "Three Strategies to Deal with Terrorism." Economic Papers 27 (2): 107-114

[11] Campos, N. F. and M. Gassebner (2013). International terrorism, domestic political instability, and the escalation e ect.Economics & Politics 25(1), 27{47.

information, which sought to present how academics have come to understand the relationship between traditional media and terrorism.

The article concluded with a discussion on the impact of citizen journalism on the publicity of terror and by considering some of the dangers associated with citizen journalism in the reporting of a crisis situation, thereby providing some consideration for future research within this area.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Terrorism is a brutal and violent practice, but it is also a media phenomenon. Terror is vital news: a dramatic, important story that the public needs to know about and understand. But terrorism also relies on such publicity to disrupt society, provoke fear, and demonstrate power. This problematic relationship predates digital technology. It has been said that journalists are terrorists' best friends, because they are willing to give terrorist operations maximum exposure.[12] This is not to say that journalists as a group are sympathetic to terrorists, although it may appear so. It simply means that violence is news, whereas peace and harmony are not. The terrorists need the media, and the media find in terrorism all the ingredients of an exciting story.[13]

The information revolution which reached its peak in the second half of the 20th century exerts influence on all spheres of global society and prompts their transformation. One of the consequences of society thus transformed is its open-

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[12] Richard Breitman and Walter Laqueur, "Who Really Exposed the Holocaust?" Jerusalem Post, 24 July 1991.

[13] Bhatia, A. (2009) 'The Discourse of Terrorism', Journal of Pragmatics 41 (2): 279–289.

Terrorism has in the past two decades become the single largest security threat globally. Its effects have been felt in literally every corner of the globe.

The loss of millions of lives, destruction of property and displacement of people are synonymous with terrorist attacks. Other than these, terrorists spread "terror" and fear among the masses, thereby affecting people's daily lives. In the horn of Africa countries such as Kenya, Somalia and Uganda have been targeted by terrorists.[14]

Because of the massive effects of terrorist attacks on populations, such attacks are prominently highlighted in the media. As a result the media, knowingly or unknowingly provide a platform for terrorists to spread terror among the masses. The attention of the public is important to terrorists as this helps further the atmosphere of fear.

Traditional media have rules, editorial policies that guide the collection and dissemination of information to the masses. Such that the viewers will in most cases be shielded from the true horrors of a terrorist attack. However, the opposite is the case with Citizen Journalism, which has no such rules.[15] Any material will find its way to the public domain in its raw form. This will mean that people will be treated to gory images on social media, images that would have otherwise not seen the light of day on traditional media. This has been enabled by the increase in access to the media. [16]

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[14] Omanga, D. (2012). Editorial cartoons and the war on terror in Kenya's print media. Journal of African Media Studies. 4(1), 75–96.

[15] Allan, S. and Matheson, D. (2004). Online journalism in the information age. Knowledge, Work & Society, 2(3), 73-94

[16] Nacos, B.L. (2006), "Terrorism and Media in the Age of Global Communication," In: Hamilton, D.S., (Ed.), Terrorism and International Relations, Washington, DC: Centre for Transatlantic Relations, p. 81-102.

This study will seek to look at the effects of the publicity of terror on activities of terrorists particularly in their quest to spread terror and encourage the atmosphere of fear. This exposure of terrorist activities especially unfiltered effects by that practicing citizen journalism heightens the spread of fear among the masses. [17]Traditional media are controlled by their rules and policies in broadcasting images and videos, citizen journalists are not. These unfiltered, raw images find their way in the public domain without any consequences for those who upload them. This study will highlight why it is important to have regulation to control those who upload or spread such images, thereby aggravating an already terrible turn of events. Fundamental questions being asked therefore are what is the responsibility of citizen journalists, who supply the oxygen of publicity? Journalism that reports, analyzes, and comments upon terror faces a challenge in creating narratives that are accurate, intelligible, and socially responsible. Many of the issues journalists face also relate to wider journalism practices, especially around breaking news and conflict journalism.[18]

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The overall objective of this study is to highlight the changing landscape on media reporting with the emergence of citizen journalism with emphasis on terrorism.

More specifically the study aims to:

i) Provide an overview of the impact of social media on dissemination of information

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[17] Alali, Andy Odasuo; Byrd, Gary W. (1994): Terrorism and the News Media: A Selected, Annotated Bibliography. Jefferson: McFarland.
[18] Williams, R. (1963). Culture and society, 1780-1950. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

ii) Examine the Garissa Terrorist attack as a case study on the effects of citizen journalism on terrorism reporting

iii) Demonstrate the gap in regulation on the dissemination of information in the public domain

1.4 Research Hypotheses

Ho: 1 there is a significant relationship between impact of social media and dissemination of information

Ho: 2 there is a significant relationship between effects of citizen journalism and terrorism reporting

Ho: 3 there is a significant relationship between regulation policies and dissemination of information in the public domain

1.5 Literature Review

The definition of the terms 'terrorism and 'citizen journalism" have been contested by scholars. It has been difficult to define the term terrorism.[19] This has been apparent "since the beginning of studies on terrorism in 1970s'. As an analytic tool, it has been difficult to make a distinction between terrorism and other violent acts.[20] Also it is important to note that the use of the term "terror" is almost always highly subjective and politically loaded. The recent definition that has been widely accepted:

Terrorism refers on the one hand to a doctrine about the presumed effectiveness of a special form or tactic of fear-generating, coercive political violence and, on the other

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[19] Furedi, F. (2006) The Politics of Fear; Beyond Left and Right, (Continuum Press: London); Robin, C. (2004) Fear: The History of A Political Idea, (Oxford University Press: New York).
[20] Martha Crenshaw Hutchinson, "The Concept of Revolutionary Terrorism," Revolutionary Terrorism: The FLN in Algeria, 1954-1962 (Stanford

hand, to a conspiratorial practice of calculated, demonstrative, direct violent action without legal or moral restraints, targeting mainly civilians and non-combatants, performed for its propagandistic and psychological effects on various audiences and conflict parties.[21]

Citizen journalism has no rules. It involves a person who has a device that can record and upload videos, witnessing an event and recording it. News organizations thrive on having footage accompanying a story to give it the impact required. Since, the cameras cannot be everywhere an event is occurring, news media organizations have been forced to incorporate in their editorial policies, guidelines on the use of and procedures to handle material from such sources.[22]

Competition among media houses has created opportunity for citizen journalism to thrive and grow. The news audiences are the same and the news organizations are constantly trying to outdo each other to attract 'eyeballs' to their screens. In Kenya, the digital television age has opened up the space; the number of television stations has more than tripled in the past 2 years. And now, major news organizations are engaged in the content war. Regional stations, although small seem to be attracting audiences in those regions because the broadcast language for these stations are vernacular, synonymous in those areas.

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[21] Schmid,A.P.(1983).Political Terrorism: A Research Guide to Concepts, Theorised, Databases and Literature. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction.
[22] S. Allan and E. Th orson (eds.), Citizen Journalism: global perspectives, New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2009.

Research has shown that over 75% of television viewers tune in to watch the news, the most watched product on television in Kenya today.[23] News is content, pictures, videos that tell the story.

With this in mind, it is important to note that the citizen journalist is slowly building a space for him/herself in the newsrooms. For the citizen journalist, the monetary compensation for selling the footage to the media houses is part of the appeal.[24]

1.5.1 Reactions on terrorism and media policy

Terrorist organisations constantly attempt to take advantage of the media in order to create and spread the atmosphere of fear and panic among a great group of people, since they are clearly aware of the importance and influence mass media have on them achieving their goals. Furthermore, their goal is to increase their propaganda, publicly proclaim their ideas or force governments to make concessions or to pay ransom. In spite of the fact that mass media present in open societies, as we could see in previous chapters, are at many times subject to terrorist manipulation and exploitation, they can also give a priceless contribution to a successful struggle against terrorism. There is number of ways in which media might react on terrorism and presents them through three main political options: policy of laissez faire, media censorship or statutory regulation and voluntary self-restraint.[25] Regardless of the severity of the situation and dangers coming from a certain terrorist act, the policy of

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[23] US State Department. (2013). Kenya 2013 international religious freedom report, p. 1 Retrieved from US Government website
[24] Nabi, R. L., Biely, E. N., Morgan, S. J., & Stitt, C. R. (2003). Reality-based television programming and the psychology of its appeal. Media Psychology, 5(4), 303- 330
[25] Wilkinson, L., Scholey, A., & Wesnes, K. (2002). Chewing gum selectively improves aspects of memory in healthy volunteers. Appetite, 38, 235–236.

laissez faire implies no specific measures to be taken related to media coverage of terrorism.

There is a great possibility, suggests Wilkinson, that laissez-faire approach additionally triggers attacks which could endanger people's lives and property, because in the worst case scenario "the tame acquiescence of mass media, as an ally of a terrorist campaign, could help create a civil war situation or its outbreak, with a concomitant threat to the stability and survival of the democracy in question".[26]A second policy opinion on media response to terrorism is some form of media censorship or statutory regulation. Despite the fact that free access to mass media is one of the basic postulates of a democratic society, some democratic countries, facing a serious terrorist campaigns and threats, attempted to limit or completely ban media access to terrorist organizations. In recent history there were several examples of such attempts. Former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher demanded from the British government to enact a law which would deprive terrorists publicity, and which would ban broadcasting declarations and statements which were placed in the media by terrorist spokespersons. The Republic of Ireland also banned interviewing of IRA, Sinn Fein or any other terrorist organisation spokespersons through the Media Law of 1960. [27]It is believed that those bans, recalled immediately after ceasefire was signed, indeed did decrease support Sinn Fein had with the voters, and diminished the legitimacy they gained while appearing in the media, especially on television.

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[26] Wilkinson, P. (2002) Terorizam protiv demokracije. Zagreb: Golden marketing.
[27] H.J. Horchem, "Terrorism in Germany: 1985", in Paul Wilkinson and Alasdair M. Stewart (eds.), Contemporary Research on Terrorism (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1989), pp. 141-163.

Similar laws were brought in several other countries. In 1976 the Federal Republic of Germany brought in the Anti-Constitutional Advocacy Act, making an offence of publicity advocating and encouraging others to commit an offence against the stability of the Federal Republic and therefore is a criminal deed. Spanish government enacted a law in 1984 proscribing that support or glorification of all activities, actions, celebrating anniversaries or any type of proclamations and advertising of terrorist organizations are criminal offences, and Spanish courts had the right to close down radio and TV stations which broadcasted such proclamations. Australia went further and, after terrorist attacks in Dunblane and in Tasmania in 1996, banned all scenes of violence on film and TV, and gave clear instructions for film censorship, believing in direct relationship between electronic and real violence. Still, democratic countries did, regardless of the level of danger form terrorism, hesitate with implementing any type of media censorship, mainly because freedom of media is one of the key principles of a democratic society. Also, any type of censorship would at the same time undermine public trust in the credibility of the released information. Irrespective of the importance of avoiding a possibility of any form of terrorist control over mass media, sacrificing free media would imply allowing terrorists to destroy one of the key principles of a democratic society.[28] Nevertheless, free media does not imply unconditional freedom of speech, and banning stoking or encouraging hatred or any form of violence in the media are regulated by criminal laws of every democratic country. Wilkinson points out that the more responsible media organisations prefer the so called voluntary self-restraint, through which they themselves attempt to avoid possible manipulation and exploitation that terrorist organisations are trying to

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[28] H.J. Horchem, "Terrorism in Germany: 1985", in Paul Wilkinson and Alasdair M. Stewart (eds.), Contemporary Research on Terrorism (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1989), pp. 141-163.

conduct. For that purpose handbooks have been drafted and guidelines have been given on how to act and work in situations of crisis cause by some terrorist act. Many major media organisations have adopted guidelines for their staff which commit to "thoughtful, conscientious care and restraint' in its coverage of terrorism, avoiding giving an excessive platform for the terrorist/kidnapper (though live on-the-spot reporting is not limited thereby), avoiding interference with the authorities' communications, using expert advisers in hostage situations to help avoid questions or reports that might tend to exacerbate the situation, obeying all police instructions and attempting to achieve such overall balance as to length that the terrorist story does not unduly crowd out other important news of the day.10 Determining such guidelines and applying them could help in enabling terrorists to achieve their goals so we are of opinion that every media company should train their employees in that direction. The mass media if they really want to demonstrate necessary caution and responsibility in covering such a delicate topic, should try harder in creating measures of selfcontrol which would be both appropriate and efficient" and he quotes Margaret Thatcher that the media should consider "do the actions of those who use freedom to destroy freedom, as terrorists do, deserve such publicity.[29]

The information revolution which reached its peak in the second half of the 20th century exerts influence on all spheres of global society and prompts their transformation. Information technology has radically changed people's lifestyles, in communication, business activities and leisure time and in various other aspects of

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[29] H.J. Horchem, "Terrorism in Germany: 1985", in Paul Wilkinson and Alasdair M. Stewart (eds.), Contemporary Research on Terrorism (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1989), pp. 141-163.

everyday life.[30] One of the consequences of society thus transformed is its openness as well as ever faster and greater availability of information. One may conclude that today's social movements are to a considerable extent under the influence of information that is taking on new meanings. One of the direct consequences of these processes are new possibilities mass media offer in fast information communication and their global spreading. Without the assistance of media, terrorist rhetoric would influence only those in the immediate vicinity of terrorist violence. Conversely, with the assistance of media, terrorism reaches a much broader, sometimes global audience. Most people get their political information from media, so in that way mass-mediated depiction of terrorism can have a profound effect upon the way people think about and engage in discourse about terrorism. It is undisputable that terrorism and media are interrelated in a specific way. However, the real question is not their relationship but the fact if it has influence on public opinion and governmental decision making that would be in favour of terrorists. Numerous governmental officials, scientists and media critics are of opinion that media are "terrorists' best friends" or, as Margaret Thatcher named them "the oxygen of publicity they live from". Media are accused of "making the job easy to the terrorists" or that they have "involuntarily or in certain cases voluntarily become an amplifier of a terrorist campaign for gaining publicity".[31] Based on these statements it can be concluded that depriving terrorist publicity would significantly diminish their disastrous influence and frequency of their actions.

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[30] Callon, Michel (1987): Society in the making. Technology as a tool for sociological analysis (in: Bijker, Weibe E. – Hughes, Thomas P. – Pinch, Trevor /eds./ The social construction of technological systems: New directions in the sociology and history of technology MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.)

[31] Hoffman, B., & McCormick, G. (2004). Terrorism, signaling, and suicide attack. Studies in Conflict and Terrorism, 27, 243–281

It is often ignored that media attention is rarely positive.[32] He also points out that even scholars like Laqueur, who in one breath criticizes the media for its unstinting coverage of terrorism, concedes in the next that this has not led to more favourable public attitudes towards either terrorists or their causes. A study in which it tried to empirically study the ways public perceive terrorism and terrorists and analyse the influence terrorist acts have on public opinion.[33]

Despite a continuous and frequently intensive attention that the media gave to terrorist activities during the course of many years, RAND's study showed that public commitment to terrorists was non-existent. There are, however, two special areas in which the symbiotic relationship between media and terrorism has a negative influence on public and governmental decisions. The first is the public notion in terms of personal danger from terrorism, due to which, for example, arises a certain fear of travelling and tourist arrangement are being cancelled. Second are the pressures the media imposes on the governmental decision making, especially in crisis situation.[34] Media today not only shape public opinion but they also conduct politics, and journalists, besides reporting, deal with defining a great number of various operations which are on disposal to the government, and with predicting possible public reactions on certain government moves. Hoffman for that reason thinks that analytical journalism in connection with electronics has essentially altered the context and contents of the news, and that it sometimes has a wrong influence both on public opinion and on political decisions making. It is this manner, in this era of mass

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[32] Hoffman, B., & McCormick, G. (2004). Terrorism, signaling, and suicide attack. Studies in Conflict and Terrorism, 27, 243–281
[33] Asch, B., personal communications, RAND, Santa Monica, Calif., 2001.
[34] CNN has a ten-minute head start before NSA" (National Security Agency). (Hoffman, 2003:135)

communication media, that the terrorists get a chance for such a manipulation and influence they have never so far had, because "what was not released in the media, did not happen at all!". In order to make the struggle against terrorism successful, counterterrorist organisations need also to adjust to its actions, on organizational, strategic and technological level. Based on the thesis given in this study it can be concluded that the new paradigm of terrorism is the result of information technology development, which is manifested in particular by the recognition by terrorist organisations of the importance of mass media in achieving their objectives. Thus, contemporary terrorism may be regarded as a special form of communication. Therefore, contemporary democratic societies should respond to new terrorism by a new counterterrorist strategy which will take into account the role of mass media in contemporary society, but also their role in terrorist strategies. Including mass media could significantly contribute to a successful struggle against terrorism.[35]

1.6 Theoretical Framework

This paper is based on two theories: Media-morphosis and Democratic Participants Media Theories. Mediamorphosis refers to the transformation of communication media as a result of the interplay of perceived needs, competitive and political pressures, and social and technological innovations.[36] To him, the new media grow out of the metamorphosis of the traditional media. This emergence is as a result of the perceived inadequacies and denials of opportunities to the citizens and the pressing need of their participation in democracy. Thus the new media become a solace for

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[35] Lumbaca, Sonise and Gray, David H., The Media as an Enabler for Acts of Terrorism, Global Security Studies, Winter 2011, Volume 2, Issue 1, http:// globalsecuritystudies.com/Media.pdf, consulted 21.01.2016.
[36] Fidler, R. F. (1997). *Mediamorphosis: understanding new media*: Pine Forge Press

them to satisfy their information and communication urge. The Democratic Participant Media theory, assumes that individual citizens and minority groups should have right of access and right to communicate through the media according to their determination of need, and that media organization and content should not be subject to centralized state or political bureaucratic control especially in democracy where popular participation is necessary for good governance.[37]

These theories give an analysis of the citizen journalism and conflict news reporting. Over the years, citizen journalists have become regular contributors to mainstream news, providing information and some of today's most iconic images, especially where professional journalists have limited access or none at all.[38] While some hail this opportunity to improve journalism, others fear that too much importance is placed on these personal accounts, undermining ethical standards and, eventually, professional journalism.

Since the invention of the printing press, non-professional writers have shared information and highlighted perceived injustices through pamphlets and brochures. However, these early forms of citizen journalism had their restrictions: information could only be shared with a limited number of people, and only after a lengthy, and often costly, production process.[39] With the coming of age of technological advancement, sharing information with millions of "web-citizens" around the world within seconds has become a reality for anyone who can access the internet. As a result, millions of non-professional journalists have been sharing their experiences

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[37] McQuail D (1987). Mass Communication Theory: An introduction. London; Newbury Park, California, Sage.
[38] Bowman, Shane, and Chris Willis, 2003, We Media: *How Audiences Are Shaping the Future of News and Information*, Reston, Va.: The Media Center at the Kenyan Press Institute.
[39] Arnison, Matthew, 2002, Nov., "Open Editing: A Crucial Part of Open Publishing,"

online, bringing issues to the news agenda that were not—or could not be—covered by mainstream media. This includes some information such as those of terror attack and attempts of terrorism.

At the global level, this has been most apparent during times of terrorism: eye witness reports on 9/11 or the violent crackdown on demonstrators during the contentious 2009 Iranian presidential election. Hence, many journalists and academics hail citizen journalism as a more transparent and democratic form of journalism, or as David Cohn, founder of several citizen journalism initiatives, states: "Citizen Journalists are artisans who work in the unshaped clay of events before perception has been hardened, glazed and fired in the kilns of public discourse.[40] The flow of information is no longer controlled from the top. Readers are becoming reporters, citizens and journalists share one identity. This is why champions of citizen journalism, such as Dan Gillmor and Jay Rosen, acclaim it as the most democratic form of journalism, because, in principle, anyone with access to the internet can influence the news agenda.[41]

1.7 Research Methodology

This study used both primary and secondary data. The primary data obtained through interviews and questionnaires. The interviewing will take a direct format, which involves the presentation of an oral stimulus in form of a question and a verbal response from the respondent.

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[40] D. Cohn, Broowaha.com, "About us", 17 October 2010, available at http://www.broowaha.com/about_us (accessed 31 October 2010)
[41] Gillmor, Dan (2004). We the Media, Sebastopol, CA: OíReilly Media, p. 134.

1.9 Data Collection

This instrument of data collection enabled the researcher to control the setting; it is flexible as one can probe and in the process get in-depth information; it has a large response rate; one can adopt the language to the ability of the respondents; one can also control the environment and the question order; and, most importantly it the respondent alone, who answers with no assistance from the researcher or any other person. The interview guides were administered to Ministry of information technology, Media houses, and policy makers in the field of information media and technology.

1.10 Scope and Limitation of the Study

This study limited itself to Citizen Journalism and Conflict News Reporting: a case study of the Garissa university terror attack in Kenya. The study was also limited in data source since it was only confined to media.

1.11 Chapter Outline

Chapter I – This chapter details the background content to the topic of research, problem statement, objectives of the study, study justification the Literature Review, theoretical orientation, study methodology employed and finally the chapter outline

Chapter II – Historical Development of CJ

.Chapter III – Provide an overview of the impact of social media on dissemination of information.

Chapter IV – Critical Analysis

Chapter V – Findings, Conclusion and recommendations

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF CITIZEN JOURNALISM

2.0: Introduction

The previous chapter dealt with the background of the study including reasons for conducting the study and objectives that the research sought to meet. Moreover, it contains problem statement, objectives of the study, study justification the Literature Review, theoretical orientation, study methodology employed.

2.1 Theoretical application

2.2 Citizen Journalism

Citizen Journalism is news stories created by amateur reporters or ordinary citizens who may not have any professional training in journalism. These amateur reporters or citizens are basically the audience, viewers or readers who too want to share their stories and concerns in the society in which they live. Citizen journalism facilitates participation of the public in the media. With use of modern technology and the global distribution of the Internet, citizens without any background in journalism can write on issues in different platforms.[42] A citizen journalist has the ability to become an important player in the public discourse. Facilitating a diversity of voices and views from the public enhances the social responsibility of the media and helps strengthen the public sphere. [43]

The rise of citizen journalism is linked to the notion of active citizenship and the need to strengthen democratic governance. An active citizen is an alert member of the

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[42] M. Deuze, A. Bruns, C. Neuberger, "Preparing for an Age of Participatory News", *Journalism Practice,* Vol. 1, No. 3, 2007, pp. 322–338,
[43] A. Bruns, Produsage: Towards a Broader Framework for User-Led Content Creation, presented at the Creativity & Cognition Conference, Washington, D.C., 2007

society who represents different concerns and happenings around him/her. "Democracy is an impossible thing until the power is shared by all….Even a pariah, labourer, who makes it possible for you to earn your living, will have his share in self-governance."[44] To ensure better functioning of democracy, we not only need to ensure that all sections of the society takes part in the democratic processes but also strive to build a better citizenry. Only a competent and responsible citizenry can secure democracy.

According to Noam Chomsky (1989), "Citizens of the democratic societies should undertake a course of intellectual self-defense to protect themselves from manipulation and control, and to lay the basis for meaningful democracy."

Democracy, wrote Benjamin Barber, is not representative government or majority rule, but citizen self-government. "It makes citizenship not a condition of participation but one of participation's richest fruits'. He further wrote that as 'democracy depends upon citizenship, the emphasis then was to think about how to constitute a competent and virtuous citizen body.'

Changing nature of citizenship and stresses that a 'monitorial' citizen is not an absentee citizen but watchful even while he or she is doing something else.[45] He says media is an important tool in the concept of 'monitorial' citizenship which is premised on the notion that he or she must know how to interact with information.

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[44] Printed by S. G. Banker and Published by Mahadev H. Desai at Navajivan Press, Chudi Ole, Pankor. Naka AHMEDABAD

[45] Schudson, Michael. 1997. "Why Conversation Is Not the Soul of Democracy." *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 14 (4): 297–309

The notion of 'monitorial' or an active citizen is therefore linked to the rise of the citizen journalist who is watchful of what's happening around him/her. By writing on the condition of the road to Rohmaria, Rukmini Borah is trying to contribute to the citizen's voice on the dismal condition there. Similarly, if there is something good that is happening in the society, we can share it in the public sphere.[46] Citizen journalism is one of the channels through which ordinary citizens can speak up and participate in the democratic process. It enables the audience to become part of the media system rather than being a simple consumer of the media product.

For instance, www.merinews.com (a citizen's journalism news site) underlines on what it stands for, "Emanating from the need to empower democracy by providing a media to the people of the country to communicate with one and all, www.merinews.com is an effort to provide one such platform to interact and express. It is a news platform for collective wisdom."

The site further says it is *'based on the concept on participatory media and citizen journalism, which transcend beyond the limitations of conventional media and allows citizens of the country to report, read, write, comment and debate news, views-happenings they find significant. In unique ways, it provides the tools of informing and opinion shaping to the people- in both text and visual forms.'*

Recollect any disaster like the Mumbai terror attack, the tsunami or the recent earthquake in Japan.[47] You will recall that many television channels were inviting citizens to send videos or mobile clippings from their respective areas. Increasingly,

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[46] Klapper, Joseph T. 1960. *The Effects of Mass Communications*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press
[47] Terrorists Attacking Mumbai Have Global Agenda," *Yale Global*, December 8, 2008. As of January 14, 2009:

many channels have special programmes which encourage video or mobile clippings for some unusual events by a citizen journalist.

An important reason for the global recognition of citizen journalism is the impossibility of journalists of mainstream media to be physically present everywhere for coverage.[48]

2.3 Mass Media and Terrorism

The modern technologies have made it possible for small terror groups to use the mass media as a powerful gun, in such a way the mass media serves in the interests of terrorists, against its own will. But, opinions on the real relationship between media and terrorism vary greatly.[49] Modern media technology and communications satellites have had a marked effect in increasing the publicity potential of terrorism, giving them – the oxygen of publicity". It is the aim of terrorists to appear in the most popular programmes in order to gain mass publicity, but also legitimacy such media attention creates in the eyes of their followers and fans. That is the reason why – Minimanual of the Urban Guerrilla – is of such importance. It was published in 1969 and is written by Carlos Marighella, a Brazilian terrorist and one of the most influential "theorists" of modern terror, and has become the handbook for numerous terrorist movements all over the world. It discusses different ways of taking advantage of the mass media for terrorist purposes. He states that: "to inform about the revolutionists' actions is enough for the modern mass media to become an important

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[48] Rober tson, R. (1995) "Glocalization: time-space and homogeneity-heter ogeneity." In M. Featherstone, S. Lash, & R. Robertson (Eds.), Global modernities (pp. 25–44). London: Sage
[49] Cohen-Almagor, R.,(2005). *Media Coverage of Acts of Terrorism: Troubling Episodes and Suggested Guidelines, Canadian Journal of Communication*, Vol. 30, No. 3, 2005,

tool of propaganda and that the psychological war is a technique of fight, based on direct or indirect usage of the mass media.[50]

Terrorism may be seen as a violent act that is conceived specifically to attract attention and then, through the publicity it generates, to communicate a message. As a one of leaders of the United Red Army once realistically explained: "violent actions… are shocking. We want to shock people, everywhere… It is our way of communicating with the people.[51] Mass media, as the principal conduit of information about such acts, thus play a vital part in the terrorists' calculus. It is obvious that only by spreading the terror and outrage to a much larger audience can the terrorists gain the maximum potential of their actions and intentions they need to effect fundamental political change. On the other hand, informing about terrorism, especially kidnappings and hostage crisis, is for mass media a source of news that, due to the fact that these news are dramatic, updated and raise great public attention, could significantly raise reader and viewer ratings, and thus media companies' profit as well. Mass media will always do so in case of terrorist attacks because of a great public attention for such an event.

Every percentage of rating increase raises the annual profit by tens of millions of pounds. At the same time, in his opinion, chief editors are not even aware of the political implications caused by their relentless struggle to increase ratings, i.e. profit. Determining influences mass media have on terrorism is a very complex issue.[52] The

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[50] Kahney, Leander. (2003, 17 May). "Citizen Reporters Make the News." Wired News. http://www.wired.com/news/culture/0,1284,58856,00.html (accessed 3 June 2004).
[51] Hoffman, B. (2003) Unutrašnji terorizam. Beograd: Alfa
[52] Wilkinson, P. (2002) Terorizam protiv demokracije. Zagreb: Golden marketing.

hypothesis, one of which advocates "the powerful mass media paradigm" which is trying to prove great effects of the mass media, and the other "the weak mass media paradigm", states that the mass media effects are minimal.[53] She came to the conclusion that the influence of mass media grows in cases when they are the only source of information and when there are no other opinions on certain event. Taking into consideration that information on terrorism are mostly transmitted through mass media and that the public does not have a preconception on a certain event, considers that the hypothesis according to which mass media shall play the crucial role in forming public opinion on terrorism and their actions is a logical conclusion. Some authors have even tried to develop a theory according to which the development of mass media had a primary influence on expansion of terrorism.[54] Wilkinson, Hoffman and others strongly opposed to these attempts in their works, and they point out that terrorist organizations, throughout history, have tried to spread the word on their actions in many different ways, first through retelling, and later due to technological development, through different ways as well. Both authors give the theory on symbiotic relationship between terrorism and mass media which occurs during terrorist actions. The attempts to dismiss the claim that terrorism and the media are in a symbiotic relationship, offering his theory according to which there are four modes between the terrorists and the media: Pure indifference – when the terrorists neither seek to frighten a given population group neither beyond their intended victims nor to realise propaganda through their acts. Relative indifference – in which perpetrators are indifferent on news about terrorist's violence. The media-oriented strategy –

[53] Laquer, W. (1987) The Age of Terrorism, Boston: Little Brown. Nelson, P. S. & Scott, J. L. (1992) "Terrorism and the Media – an empirical analiysis", Defence Economics, 3(4), 1992
[54] Wieviorka, M. (1993) The Making of Terrorism. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

terrorists uses mass media as an instrument for spread messages of threats. Total break – relationship where the terrorists come to view the media organisations, editors and journalists as enemies to be punished and destroyed.[55] Wilkinson rejects Wieviorkina's modes and in defending his thesis on the symbiotic relationship between terrorism and media states that terrorism is in itself a psychological weapon which depends on transmitting the threat to the public and that is the essence of their symbiosis, according to him.[56] Wilkinson finds the evidence on the nature of relationship between terrorism and media in the following facts: terrorists feed on publicity; Media freedom in an open society enables their manipulation and exploitation. The symbiotic relationship between terrorism and media, from which neither of the two can step out. He noted: "terrorism is capable of writing any drama – no matter how horrible – to compel the media's attention … Terrorism, like an ill-mannered enfant terrible, is the media's stepchild, a stepchild whom the media, unfortunately, can neither completely ignore nor deny. The revolution in mass communication offers abundant new opportunities to communicate on a vaster scale than ever before and the development of technological inventions significantly changed the way news are communicated, making them accessible to a great number of people. Terrorists take advantage of that successfully and recklessly. The uses the term symbiosis between media and terrorism and he mentions three great revolutions in mass communications which had a direct influence on terrorism.[57]

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[55] Wilkinson, P. (2002) Terorizam protiv demokracije. Zagreb: Golden marketing
[56] Cepulkauskaite, I. (2000) "The mass media and terrorism", Sociumas, Internet magazine, http://www.sociumas.It

[57] Hoffman, B. (2003) Unutrašnji terorizam. Beograd: Alfa

CHAPTER THREE

OVERVIEW OF THE IMPACT OF SOCIAL MEDIA ON DISSEMINATION OF INFORMATION

3.1 Introduction

There is a growing body of practice and literature on the role of Information and Communication Technologies in preventing and responding to violence.[58] A lot of excitement and corresponding literature about the role of the internet in non-violent change and democratization in citizen journalism have been published. The use of mobile phones, social networks such as Facebook and Twitter, and user-generated content (UGC) like blogs and YouTube videos in the terrorist attacks in Kenya, have shown how citizen journalism can complement and augment the exercise of our rights to freedom of expression, freedom of association, and freedom of peaceful assembly. The "Arab spring" has in turn provided a plethora of examples on the use of citizen journalism by protesters and by government during conditions of terror attacks and security transformation.[59]

There was particularly apparent during the contentious 2009 Iranian presidential election, when foreign correspondents were banned from the country, local media was under governmental control and opposition journalists were imprisoned. The rest of the world-and indeed many Iranians-only knew about the demonstrations and the violent crackdown due to the images and reports uploaded on personal blogs, social websites or sent directly to international media. The video of the dying Neda Agha

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[58] Joseph G. Bock, The Technology of Nonviolence, Cambridge, MIT Press: 2012, and Peacebuilding in the Information Age: Sifting Hype from Reality, ICT4Peace Foundation, 2011
[59] Reese, S.D., Rutigliano, L., Hyun, K., & Jeong, J. (2007) "Mapping the blogospher e: citizen-based media in the global news arena." Journalism: Theory, Practice, Criticism, 8(3), 235–262.

Soltan, a student who was shot by the Basij militia, became the iconic image for the opposition movement in Iran. The video was taken on a mobile phone, and to avoid censorship, emailed to an Iranian expatriate in the Netherlands, who uploaded it on YouTube and Facebook, and sent it to various international media outlets, which showed it immediately.[60] Millions of people around the world watched it, and its popularity forced world leaders as well as the Iranian government to publicly comment on political developments in Iran. Terrorists attack of September 11 on America and the July 2005 London attacks, made citizen journalism or "accidental journalism" as many would regard it at work. Ordinary citizens at the wrong place at the right time have risen to the challenge and have committed "acts" of journalism by using new communication "toolkit" to capture footage of these important developments as they unfolded adding depth, timeliness and comprehensiveness. These random acts have enriched our world of information and journalism and in the same breath re-defined the relationship between the traditional media and the audience. Dan Gillmor captured this epoch when he said:

Something else, something profound was happening this time around: news was being produced by the regular people, who had something to say and show, and not solely by the 'official' news organizations that had traditionally decided how the first draft of history would look. This time, the first draft of history was being written in part by the former audience[61]

The sheer magnitude of the impact of a number of natural disasters of 2004 Boxing Day tsunamis in Southeast Asia that occurred in the last few years would have been

[60] Osnos, E. (2008) "Angry youth: the new generation's neocon nationalists." The New Yorker, 28 July
[61] Gillmor, Dan (2004). *We the Media*, Sebastopol, CA: OíReilly Media, p. 134

very challenging for any media organizations to cover, no matter how deep their pockets are. Coverage of disasters is mostly a race against time. It's a fact that journalists are not always present when incidents or disasters strike. Their job is to piece together the occurrences using images, videos, eye witness accounts. As Dan Gillmor says citizen journalists can help "capture the moment, not the aftermath[62]

In Africa the wave of a democratized media world has caught on in Nigeria. Millions of Nigerians have signed up for social networking sites and numerous audience-driven online citizen journalism sites and discussion forums. A lot of excitement now surrounds the perceived empowering potential of citizen journalism. As in most parts of the world, the promise of participatory media is being delivered faster than envisaged since the global democratization spirit took hold. It is this same new media technology that has given international broadcasters like the CNN, BBC, VOA and German Radio the platform to reach a global audience.[63] The birth of information and Communication Technologies, ICTs, has engendered a new era of new media tools signaling unbounded possibilities for citizen journalism. Through the instrumentality of the internet, emerging sites that aggregate views, information, news, comments and diverse opinions have opened a new frontier of possibilities in the way news is produced, distributed and consumed. More importantly, it has brightened the hope for a participatory and interactive process. Prior to the advent of the internet and its full appropriation by the media and by ordinary Nigerians, the traditional or mainstream media held sway. Newspapers, magazines, periodicals,

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[62] Dan Gillmor in interview with BBC's Roy Greenslade Press For Freedom Part 4 Wed 2 Jan 2008
[63] Anti-CNN (2008) "About us." Anti-CNN.com.

Breaking news on the death of Nigeria's former President, Umar Yar'adua, who died after months of intensive care abroad. For months rumors flew around about his death and the state of his health. However, Sahara Reporters was one of the first media houses that broke the news of his death on Wednesday 5th of May 2010. Less than a few hours after the death of the President, Sowore received the breaking news while at a gas station somewhere in New Jersey. All he did was to park his car and ask the attendant to pump in gas. He typed the story, uploaded it on the site and it went out to the whole world. It was from Sahara Reporters that most people learnt about the death. The site had also produced some groundbreaking stories on the health status of President for over a year and was the first to identify and publish the medical name of the President's illness.[64]

With its horrific attack on a Kenyan university, the Somali militant group Al-Shabaab has given up all pretense of governing and has joined the depths of global jihadi depravity all this has been propelled as a result of citizen journalism. On April 2, 2015, gunmen affiliated with Somalia's Al-Shabaab jihadist-terror group, entered Garissa University College in Garissa, Kenya, killing 148 and wounding dozens.[65] "The assault on Garissa a pastoral area that is home to many Somali refugees stands in stark contrast to the group's deadly 2013 attack on Nairobi's Westgate shopping center, which was frequented by expats and rich Kenyans. This is part of a perceptible shift in modern terror tactics through the social media by citizen journalists; increasingly, the world's terror organizations seem to be turning away from attacks on

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[64] Jenkins, Henry. (2006). Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide, New York: NYU Press.

[65] Honan, Edith (2015). "Al Shabaab storms Kenyan university, 14 killed". Reuters. Retrieved 2 April 2015.

subway cars and airport terminals, to focus lethal attention on institutions of learning[66].

The violence in Garissa marked the bloodiest terrorist attack on Kenyan soil since the 1998 bombing of the U.S. Embassy in Nairobi and is Al-Shabaab's most high-profile violence in the country since the 2013 attack on the Westgate mall. It also represents a final point in al Shabab's long evolution from a populist resistance movement into a full-blown, international terrorist organization. All these made citizen journalism at work. Ordinary citizens at the wrong place at the right time have rose to the challenge and committed "acts" of journalism by using new communication "toolkit" to capture footage of these horrific scenes as they unfolded adding depth, timeliness and comprehensiveness.

3.2 Gap in regulation on the dissemination of information in the public domain.

Compared with its neighbours, Kenya enjoyed a good deal of political stability prior to the violence that followed the 2007 elections, and nationals from the region came to view Kenya as a safe haven from different forms or degrees of instability in their own countries. Kenya has participated in prominent regional diplomatic initiatives and provided leadership in solving regional conflicts, as it did during the Sudan peace process that culminated in the formation of the new state of South Sudan and the establishment of a transitional national government – later the transitional federal government in Somalia.[67]

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[66] Honan, Edith (2015). "Al Shabaab storms Kenyan university, 14 killed". Reuters. Retrieved 2 April 2015.
[67] Schmid, P.A. (1989) "Terrorism and the Media: The Ethics of Publicity", Terrorism and political Violence, 1(4).

The country also has high diplomatic standing arising from its hosting some of the largest diplomatic missions and international agencies in sub-Saharan Africa, while maintaining a moderate profile in international politics by adopting a posture of 'silent diplomacy'. In most international controversies or crises, Kenya employs a 'wait and see' posture in accordance with its principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of other states.[68]

Although the need for it to assume an overtly hegemonic position in the region is routine speculation in media and academic circles, the government instead opts for friendly relations to promote the expansion of its business interests across the region; a stance taken especially since the increased involvement of the private sector under the national economic recovery strategy (ERS) reforms for Employment and Wealth Creation of 2003–2007. This friendly posture has been aimed mainly at assuaging persistent fears attending negative sentiments – particularly from Tanzania – towards Kenya following the collapse of the original EAC in 1977.[69]   In a competitive and complex world, public diplomacy is essential to actively promote Kenya's image, values and culture abroad. The Kenya foreign policy approach therefore embraces use of available technologies and platforms, especially social media networks to communicate with stakeholders on the country's Foreign Policy.

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[68] Loughran, Gerald, 2010. *Birth of a Nation. London:* I.B. Taurus and Co Ltd

[69] Abuoga, John and Mutere, A. (1998). *The History of the Press in Kenya. Nairobi: ACCE. African Media Barometer Kenya 2009 Nairobi, Kenya and Windhoek Namibia*: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung Kenya

3.3 Citizen journalism and the Media

While it is important not to see citizen journalism as simply an outgrowth of the Internet and new media, three elements of digital media technologies are critical to the rise of citizen journalism and citizen media. The first is open publishing. The development of an open publishing architecture by Mathew Arnison and others involved in the 'Active Sydney' group in 1999, and the adoption of such open source models by the Independent Media Centres (Indymedia) that year was a landmark development in enabling new forms of news production.[70] There are parallels between open publishing and the free software movement, arguing that the key to open publishing, as with open source software, was that the process of production was open and transparent. Second, collaborative editing is vital to citizen journalism. In his taxonomy of peer-to-peer (P2P) publishing, and the extent to which a site and a news practice can be deemed to be open and participatory, Bruns (2005) differentiates such sites on the basis of the scope for user participation at the input stage (contributing stories), output stage (ability to edit or shape final content), response stage (ability to comment on, extend, filter, or edit already published content), and the extent to which specific roles (editor, journalist, user, reader) are fixed in the production process.[71]

Ideally in Australian case, democratic societies are underpinned by an inclusive media. This is reflected by equality of access, a diversity of viewpoints and multiple voices connected together in a public conversation. The growing concern in many democratic societies, including Australia, is that journalism has become depoliticized

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[70] Bobobo, X. (2007) "The result of human research engine: the antetype of the tiger photos were found." Xitek, 16 November.
[71] Arnison, Matthew 2003, 'Open Publishing is the same as Free Software', , first published March 2001, accessed 28 April 2007.

in favour of profit driven media policies. This has stimulated ideas about the possibilities of Internet communication technologies (netCT) to enable new ways to revive the public conversation, and thus citizenship. While publics hold concerns that they don't get the whole story from mainstream media, they are often accused of being disinterested in the political fundamentals of society.[72]

Danny Schechter rejects the assertion that the public are not interested in political news and blames the media itself for the public's growing discontent with traditional news media. John Hartley observes this phenomenon as a shift in the way people use media to communicate.[73] Changes in the ways that people use media communication are most obvious to traditional news media operators whose audiences have been slowly dropping away from traditional news sites such as newspapers and current affairs programs. Following an Australian Broadcasting Authority (ABA) report that showed Australian audiences were turning away from hard news and current affairs, like Gans, Graeme Turner has called for new news formats that better suit public needs where citizen journalism is seen to be conflicting the journalism as a whole. Turner argues that mainstream media are "the most important influence on news and current affairs on the web".[74]

A 2006 Pew Internet Project (PIP) blogger survey has found an increased interest in the practice of blogging. The report estimated that around 12 million American adults kept blogs while 57 million read them. Not surprisingly, the survey found that most bloggers didn't think that their work was journalism particularly those who wrote

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[72] Schechter, D. 2005. *The death of media and the fight to save democracy*. Hoboken, N.J. : Melville House.
[73] Flew, T. 2006. Media and Citizenship: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives. (forthcoming)
[74] Turner, G. 2005. Ending the affair: the decline of television current affairs in Australia. Sydney, N.S.W. : UNSW Press.

about their life experiences. 34% of bloggers thought they were practicing journalism. Of those, 35 % said they verified facts often, while 28% said they never practiced verification; 15% said they directly quoted other people/media often, while 41 % said they never used direct quotes. Only 12% of bloggers who believed they practiced journalism abided by copyright restrictions while 50% never got copyright permission; 35% linked to original source material while 27% never used original sources; 11% posted corrections and 38% never posted corrections.[75] This report shows a growing trend in the uses of blogging. It also brings into question how the traditional practices of journalism such as verification, original sourcing, direct attribution and legal and ethical guidelines, are addressed by bloggers.

There is an argument that the period from the 1960 to the late 1980s marked a period of 'High Modernism' in American journalism, as 'an era when the historically troubled role of the journalist seemed fully rationalized, when it seemed possible for the journalist to powerful and prosperous and at the same time independent, disinterested, public-spirited, and trusted and beloved by everyone, from the corridors of power around the world to the ordinary citizen and consumer.[76] The 'journalist as hero' had a clear image in the popular consciousness, as Dustin Hoffman and Robert Redford portrayed the Washington Post journalists Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward in the 1976 film All the President's Men, about the reporting of the Watergate scandal and the resignation of Richard Nixon. The image was that of young investigative journalists with a commitment to late nights at the office,

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[75] Lenhart, A. and S. Fox. 2006. Bloggers: A portrait of the internet's new storytellers. Research Project. US: Pew Internet & Kenyan Life Project,
[76] Hallin, Daniel 1994, We Keep America on Top of the World: Television Journalism and the Public Sphere, Routledge, London.

checking their facts and sources closely, and linking up with well-connected insiders, who could bring down the U.S. President. Through the 1970s and 1980s, the wages of high-profile journalists continued to rise, particularly in television, as the cult of the 'journalist-as hero' was embraced through programs such as 60 Minutes.

The Punch is a leading newspaper in Nigeria. It is privately-owned and has been in existence since 1970. The newspaper prides itself as the most widely read (in Nigeria). In its own attempt to create a channel for Citizen Journalism, the newspaper used none of the four features of online community sites developed by news organisations, as identified by Williams et al 4. Rather, the newspaper (hard copy) created a special page "for readers to create their own news". The page tagged, 'My News.Com' calls on readers.[77]

According to The Punch staff in charge of the page, the page started about two years ago; and the idea behind it was to give readers the opportunity of getting their stories and photographs published with their by-lines. Initially, response of readers to the page was very overwhelming. It is however now difficult to get publishable stories for the page. Noting that the page is only for stories, the staff who this author interviewed, however, regretted that "most people do not seem to understand the concept". Decision on publishing a story or picture will depend on whether such will benefit other readers. The newspaper does get feedback from readers as according to the staff, there are always follow-up stories or reactions to already published stories. The staff added that government officials and agencies do not waste time to respond to stories that adversely affect them. Some government officials have also had to

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[77] Salawu, A. (2011). Citizen journalism off-line: the (Nigerian) punch's model. http://www.ec.ubu.pt/ec/09/2011mai-10.pdf.

confess that their jobs were on the line unless they found a way to get their reactions published.[78] Even though, the staff in charge of the page does not understand the concept of Citizen Journalism/Blogging, the page, to some extent, serves the purpose of getting readers to create their news. It is also possible that readers may have misconstrued the page for another 'Letters to the Editor' because the staff complained that while the page is only for news stories, most people seem not to understand the concept. This indicates that rather than sending news stories of happenings in their localities and where they go to, most readers seem to be sending opinion and advocacy pieces in form of letters to the editor, comments on the social media. Most of the stories written by members of the public are actual attempts to expose the rot in the system. We shall look at some of the stories.

The modern Kenyan media sector is more than 100 years old. This history is presented by various writers, including Abuoga and Mutere 1988; Beachey 1996; and Loughran 2010. The mass media was first introduced to Kenya by missionaries, followed by the Indian merchants and the early colonial administration, before settler interest took over and dominated the scene. The first African owned press appeared in the early 1920s, but it was not until after World War II that a vibrant nationalist press emerged. After Kenya's independence in 1963, the country's media became famous and unique for its freedom, diversity of ownership and professionalism[79].

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[78] McQuail D (2000). Media Performance: Mass Communication and the Public Interest. New York: Sage

[79] Abuoga, John and Mutere, A. (1998). *The History of the Press in Kenya. Nairobi: ACCE. African Media Barometer Kenya 2009 Nairobi, Kenya and Windhoek Namibia*: Friedrich Ebert Stiftung Kenya

Today, Kenya citizen journalism is diverse, vibrant and largely free. According to the Media Council of Kenya (MCK) annual Status of the Media Report for 2012, the country has 301 radio stations categorized as being "on-air," six daily national newspapers and, at least, 11 weekly newspapers. Under the print media, there are more than 20 monthly magazines, as well as eight bi-monthly and six quarterly ones. The country has 83 television channels classified as "on-air" available in major towns across Kenya. The Kenya Broadcasting Corporation holds 25 digital channels classified as "not-on-air." While there are 110 individuals listed as owning media houses, the scene is dominated by less than 10 major players with interests in print; broadcast and online media. [80]

The Government owns the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation (KBC) as the only public broadcasting station. The corporation in turn has over 11 other radio stations broadcasting in various regions. Engagement and participation in development and policy-making is not given but thanks to the advancement in technology in this 21st century where citizen journalism has tried to break the barrier of information dissemination to the public. In January 2008, Kenya was engulfed by ethnic violence, fuelled by the irregularities of the December 2007 election. During the election period, the mainstream media was divided along ethnic lines, which was reflected in the level and depth of reportage on issues affecting certain regions. During the violence, some television stations chose to air soap operas and football shows while some of the vernacular stations were used to spread and incite violence. The print

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[80] Rumsfeld, D.H. (2006) "How to fight terrorism in the media", The Daily Star, http://www.dailystar.com

media also reported variable versions of similar events, which left a gap of what was the actual reflection of events. [81]

This gap was filled by people spreading information that may not have been entirely true, fanning the flames of violence. Kenyans in the Diaspora were also desperate for information. At that point of desperation, Kenya's top bloggers, Ory Okolloh, Erik Hersman, Juliana Rotich and David Kobia, developed a citizen-journalistic platform that would allow the public to share information using the available communication means. The crowd-sourcing platform was called 'Ushahidi', which means 'testimony' in Swahili. It was a way for the public to share their stories and discount rumours. Ushahidi was used to get citizens' testimonies via text messages, Twitter, Facebook and blogs. [82]

At that point, Kenya's online community collaborated and shared content, depending on their location. Ushahidi complemented the work of bloggers by graphically showing location and information through maps. Through Ushahidi, people received real time information and tips. As Daudi Were, one of Kenya's top bloggers put it: 'At the height of violence, there were rumours that Raila Odinga, who was the opposition candidate, had been killed; others were saying that all leaders of the Orange Democratic movement had been killed. When I attended a meeting at the Serena hotel and published photos on my blog, it calmed a lot of nerves.' During the crisis, people used cell phones to record short videos and take photos, which were shared online; the citizens were producers of news. The citizens' voices online might

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[81] Schmid, P.A. (1989) "Terrorism and the Media: The Ethics of Publicity", Terrorism and political Violence, 1(4).

[82] Magaga, ―People and Communication in Kenya,‖ Kenya Literature Bureau, Nairobi, 1982

not have been as loud as those people matching in the streets, but the online communities expanded the democratic space and allowed people to share their opinions.[83]

Essentially, Citizen Journalism has profound implications for the flowering of democracy. But do we consider the question of ethics in this open source journalism, and how to regulate activities of the great army of participants, just to ensure the health of the society? No doubt, Citizen Journalism, especially through the Internet, has brought forth an unprecedented flowering of news and information. But, it has also destabilized the old business models that have supported quality journalism for decades. We have to consider the increasing impact of bloggers who make their livings by blasting opinions (as opposed to facts) across cyberspace. They are the technology age's equivalent of reporters and columnists, but without the degree of separation that used to protect readers and consumers from being targeted for commercial or political purposes. The problem is veracity has been guillotined and thrown into thrash bin[84]

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[83] Higgins, ―Kenyans blame corrupt government for escalating Al-Shabaab Violence,‖ Time, (Online). 5th April. P. 8, 2015. Available from: http://time.com/3771445/kenyans-blame-corruptgovernment-al-shabaab-violence/ (Accessed on: 12th June 2015).
[84] Bowman, S. and C. Willis (2003). We Media: How audiences are shaping the future of news and information

CHAPTER FOUR

CRITICAL ANALYSIS

4.0: Introduction

This chapter critically examined studies related to approach on media diplomacy affecting tourism. This chapter also presents, analyzed and interpreted the data from the respondents as well as from the secondary sources so as to answer research questions. Detailed coverage of the factors that influences media diplomacy in tourism sector in Kenya was also examined.

4.1 Overview of the Impact of Social Media on Dissemination of Information

4.1.1 ICT and Citizen Journalism

In terms of technology, although the internet is increasingly becoming available to more people, mobile technology was cited by many of the respondents as the technology driving citizen journalism. The technology allows for voting, participation, debate as well as generation and sharing of content. For example, handsets with cameras and video allow users to generate content and then upload it on the internet.

In citizen journalism – and perhaps especially in war journalism and peace journalism – information and communication technologies have always played a critical role. Even before the mainstream availability of the Internet and other new media, advances in technology have had a direct impact on the professional collecting and reporting of information. For example, when comparing the 1990/1991 Gulf War with the 2003 Iraq War, it can be observed that the availability of modern live and portable technology in the second war has led to a higher number of active journalists in the affected region, as well as to more and better pictures and to a generally higher

output.[85] Roughly speaking, modern ICTs can affect the work of professional journalists in two ways: They enable them to collect more information, and they make it possible to disseminate their own work through new publishing channels.

Today, the idea of citizen journalism is a widely accepted (although maybe not widely practiced) concept that continues to evolve, and which is more and more recognized as a powerful instrument in working toward a more peaceful world. This emerging field can of course benefit from ICTs in similar ways as traditional journalism and citizen journalism have been able to do so. It has been suggested that the use of ICTs has the potential to "lower the threshold of entry to the global debate for traditionally unheard or marginalized voices, particularly from poorer parts of the world which are too often represented by others, and to transcend geo-political barriers created by national media systems, therefore boosting the efforts of moderate voices to redefine the nature of ongoing conflicts. Both of these abilities are powerful assets for peace journalism.

Women Technology Empowerment Centre (W.Tec) is a non-governmental organisation (NGO) based in Nigeria. It is dedicated to networking for the success of young women in Nigeria. Their activities include initiating a citizen journalism project championed by Ms. Oreluwa Somolu, the organisation's executive director. This is clearly an institutionalized form of citizen journalism, managed by the executive director, her staff and a board of trustees. The primary targets of the citizen journalism project are girls and women of Nigeria. The core aim of the project is to provide training for women and young girls on ICTs, especially Web 2.0 tools to

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[85] Cha, V.D. (2008) "Gulf War Catch-22." International Herald Tribune, 4 August.

enable them to engage in activism and leisure by applying the principles of citizen journalism. Technology has a definitive place in citizen journalism, but that is not all. According to W.Tec, technology shapes and is shaped by the concept of citizen journalism. As such, although technological innovations are a passing fad, W.Tec believes citizen journalism is 'an enduring process that has being advanced through the use of technology in many communities. Technology just makes it easier and enables more people to participate in citizen journalism.' Yet one cannot over-emphasize the fact that technology has, in some instances, determined the shape that citizen journalism takes. The internet, mobile phones and affordable digital cameras have made the promotion of W.Tec's citizen journalism project possible. Individual projects under W.Tec usually consist of blogs, videos and social networking technologies. Tools such as Twitter, Facebook and YouTube are the most widely used in citizen journalism efforts in Nigeria.[86]

In South Africa, many people are using the internet and can be reached over the internet, but mobile technology has the real potential to cause a citizen journalism boom, if fully utilized. Facebook is very popular with many users in South Africa, unlike Twitter, MySpace and YouTube, which are less known by users in southern Africa. Mobile technology now has the power to drive the uptake of the internet.

In Zimbabwe, for example, those interviewed believed that although a number of people had access to the internet and there were initiatives to increase internet access such as the President's donation of computers, the real technology that had the capacity to effectively drive citizen journalism is mobile technology. This is because

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[86] McCartney, J., & Ford, R. (2008) "Unmasked: Chinese guardians." The Times, 9 April

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of its cheap access and also relative ease to use. The 3G technology in Zimbabwe is, for example, rapidly being embraced by users. It is also possible for people to send text messages and participate in surveys and referendums through their cellular phones. Handsets that have video and photo applications also make it possible for ordinary people to generate content and share it with others through uploading on such internet sites as Facebook, or send it to other cell phone users through Short Messaging Services (SMS) or Multimedia Messaging Services (MMS).

In Zimbabwe, for example, Econet Wireless had embarked on an ambitious project to link the country with the rest of the world through a fiber optic cable via the Zambian capital of Lusaka. This upgrade in Econet's infrastructure would greatly improve the mobile providers' data, video and voice connections. The services would be transferred at a faster speed amounting to several gigabytes per second and would benefit the whole telecommunications sector, as they would be able to use the infrastructure at much cheaper rates. The country's second largest mobile services provider in terms of subscribers, Telecel, was recently granted a Third Generation (3G) operating licence by the Postal and Telecommunications Regulations Authority (POTRAZ).[87]

In the past few years, with the evolution of the web and a rapid deepening of internet and mobile phone penetration in Tanzania, an alternative space for citizen journalism has emerged. The increasing popularity of social networking sites like Facebook and Twitter and the success of Jamii Forums and bloggers such as Issa Michuzi, coupled with the growth of mobile phone usage in the country (62% of Tanzanians is now

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[87] Feike, S. (2008) "To defend Zimbabwe." My1510, 24 May.

having household access, point to a huge potential for online and citizen journalism. The rise in access to mobile phones also represents a potential boost for access to broadcast media – either by people listening to the radio on their cell phones or by sharing information heard on mass media throughout their personal networks via SMS. Although their numbers are growing, internet users are still a small minority (3%) and constitute an even smaller pool of potential media consumers and active media producers (citizen journalism). While it is important to keep an eye on these platforms and watch out for potential partners Tanzania Media Funds (TMF) can support, it is important to note that this area of journalism is still in its infancy. That said, the fast growing mobile phone market does offer promising possibilities for the future of professional and citizen journalism in Tanzania.

In Kenya successful uses of ICTs in governance have been found in cases where non-Internet based ICTs such as radio and mobile phones (feature phones) are used, or in areas where forums exist for citizens to physically meet then follow up on issues raised using ICTs. Mobile and web applications, which are created mostly in tech hubs and tech competitions such as hackathons, are popular and hyped only among people who are particularly interested in technology and applications.[88]

Few people are reached through the app creators' marketing strategies, if at all there are any such attempts. Radios are the most common ICT tools in many rural areas; Many success stories were reported among the organizations which use radios to make information on various governance issues accessible to citizens. Overall, citizen

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[88] Dai, J., & Reese, S.D. (2007) Practicing public deliberation: the role of celebrity blogs and citizenbased blogs in Kenya. Paper presented at the Harmonious Society, Civil Society and the Media Conference

participation is the most dominant use of ICT tools from the interviews and focus group discussions we conducted. Citizen participation exists in forms such as, using mobile phones to share and receive information with CSOs that run governance programs, toll-free numbers, radio shows, social media platforms by both CSOs and Government ministries and departments. Participation by citizens is in reporting cases of poor management of public resources and sharing opinions on governance issues. Monitoring service delivery by the citizens is especially dominant in areas away from cities. Monitoring service delivery is through using an integration of innovative methods such as using digital cameras for evidence based monitoring, and simple ways such as using SMS to report cases of poor service delivery. Social media is mostly used by organizations interviewed to push out information to citizens with an aim of increasing access and raising awareness. This was particularly prevalent with civil society initiatives targeting youth.

Transparency International Kenya (TI Kenya) uses a toll-free tool (both SMS and phone calls) where citizens are able to lodge complaints; the system came into use in November 2012.[89] The aim of the toll-free number is to report corruption cases or to seek advice on how to go about any corruption incidents experienced. TIKenya uses toll-free numbers because citizens often fail to make reports out of a conviction and experience of no action taken to those they report to; some are uninformed on the reporting processes and mechanisms; some complain that physical offices are inaccessible; and others are afraid to report due to victimization fears.

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[89] TI Kenya's tollfree numbers are 22129 for SMS and 0800720721 for direct calls. TI Kenya chose Safaricom (Kenya's leading mobile service pro vider) due to the network's vast customer base

4.1.2 Media and Citizen Journalism

Citizen journalism initiatives can also fill a void in regions where mainstream media do not or cannot fully cover the news. In Mexico, the controversial El blog del Narco (blogdelnarco.com) is said to be run by an unknown IT student. The site publishes reports and at times gory images of the country's war on drugs, which the mass media cannot cover for fear of attacks by the drug cartels or because they are already owned by them, and which the government does not always want to see published. Contributions about killings and street fights come from ordinary citizens as well as professional journalists who are not able to publish their articles in their usual outlets under their real names. For people living in the affected areas, this is their only source of information. The site draws around three million unique monthly hits. [90]

Many citizen contributors do not see themselves as journalists but rather as activists, and therefore do not believe they should adhere to media ethics. However, if their work is published in the media, it can have damaging eff ects, especially on sites where the editorial gatekeeping is left completely to the audience. One of the most striking examples for this was a report by an anonymous source, only identified as 'johntw', on CNN iReport on 3 October 2008 about Apple CEO Steve Jobs suffering a heart attack and being rushed to hospital. As there had already been concerns about Mr Jobs's health, Apple's stock prices sank to a 17-month low within minutes of the posting. Only when the blog Silicon Valley Insider rectified the information after having checked it with an Apple spokesperson, who had strongly denied the report, was the story brought to a halt and Apple's stocks slowly recovered. The incident also damaged CNN iReport's reputation, although the site clearly states that only content

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[90] S. Ackerman, "Mexico's Top Narco-Blogger Comes Forward", Wired,

marked 'CNN iReport' has been vetted. While this "news item" might have been relevant, it was neither reliable nor accurate, and since the author was anonymous, he or she could not be held accountable or responsible.

However, the making of the news is no longer exclusive to journalists and a legion of newsmakers and public relations people.[91] In the last decade, traditional journalism has been in serious competition for relevance. Legacy media continues to struggle to secure its turf as the "authoritative" voice and the manager and processor of news in the face of citizen journalism. The audience, aided by internet technology which has made the online communicative experience possible, is no longer a passive receiver of news, but also an active creator of content, altering the face of journalism from being a lecture to a conversation.[92] The restructuring of the architecture of information flow as we have it today is due largely to what Davis Buzz Merrit calls the fragmentation of the internet. At the core of the paradigm shift are interactive publishing platforms which have given rise to a flurry of virtual spaces where information is created and shared.[93] In the early 1990s, journalism "by the people and for the people" began to flourish as new networking technologies became readily available.

Kenyan media has never been in a comfortable position with regard to the political, economic, technological and social environment.[94] Often the media environment has been politicized and little has been done in terms of policy to address issues that could

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[91] 4Dan Gillmor, We the Media -Grassroots Journalism by the People, For the People. O'Reilly Media. 2004

[92] 3 Fackson Banda, "Citizen Journalism & Democracy in Africa"-An Exploratory Study. Highway Africa. 2008.p26

[93] Jack Rosenberry and Burton St. John III-'Public Journalism Values in an Age of Media Fragmentation" pg 10 in book ' Public Journalism 2.0-The Promise and Reality of a Citizen- Engaged Press"- 2010 Routledge

[94] Mbeke, P. O. 2008. The media , legal, regulatory and policy environment in Kenya.. A historical briefing. School of Journalism and Mass Communication. University of Nairobi Kenya

lead to a stable, independent and critical media. The media environment has been volatile, one that gives room for the bullying and gagging of the media whenever the media strives to function as a watchdog in exposing government scandals and other issues of public interest. Kibaki's administration (2003-2008) had a difficult relationship with an independent, assertive and watchful media in Kenya: for instance the media exposure of Anglo leasing scandal, low public rating, a hostile media and a formidable Orange Democratic Movement opposition. Kibaki's government succumbed to pressure and changed tack towards the creating the Media Council of Kenya for the conduct and discipline of journalists and the media as a mechanism to provide self-regulation of the media. The Council was financed by the government and the members appointed by the government. In other words, Kibaki created a control mechanism underscoring the political economy argument and the capacity of politicians to exercise influence and control of the media through state machinery as.[95]All this was unveiled by the citizen journalism which thus conflict both media and citizen journalism. Kenya is embracing social media as a tool to disseminate information thus everyone has the potential to be watchdog, citizen journalist and photo journalist and constantly survey the world around them and share what they source online. This acceleration of communication and awareness has serious implications for crisis communications. It is changing the landscape in which crisis communicators operate. [96]

[95] McNair, B. 1998. The sociology of journalism. London: Arnold
[96] C. Tomno, Journalism and social media (Nairobi:Center for International Media Ethics, 2012)

4.1.3 Policies Governing Media

Media is no longer confined to one way communication. Using available technology and social media we can now communicate and interact with one another anywhere on earth instantly. Today information virtually has no barriers thanks to this media explosion. The media today is a far more complex subject. For example, social media such as Facebook, Flickr, Instagram YouTube, twitter, mobile blogs and RSS feeders have introduced a whole new era of communication. These trends must be observed carefully and understood on how each of these developments will influence the future of journalism.[97]

The Act establishes the Broadcasting Standards Committee of the Authority whose responsibility is to set Broadcasting Standards. The Committee replaces the Broadcasting Content Advisory Council (BCAC). The BCAC's responsibilities included the administration of broadcasting standards, enforcement of those standards and handling related complaints.[98]

In many countries, ownership of the media is controlled by a few vested business and political interests. A 2001 study of 97 countries by the World Bank shows that throughout the world, media monopolies dominate. The study says: "In our sample of 97 countries, only four percent of media enterprises are widely held. Less than two percent have other ownership structures (apart from family or state control), and a mere two percent are employee owned. On average family-controlled newspapers account for 57 percent of our sample, and families control 34 percent of television

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[97] Hans, M. K. Donsbach, W. Hans B. B. and Joachim, F. S. *Media Tone and Public Opinion: A Longitudinal Study of Media Coverage and Public Opinion on Chancellor Kohl', International Journal of Public Opinion Research,* 1 (1989), pp.326-342.
[98] The Kenya Information and Communications (Amendment) Act, 2013

stations. State ownership is vast. On average the state controls approximately 29 percent of newspapers and 60 percent of television stations. The state owns a huge share − 72 percent − of radio stations. The media industry is therefore owned overwhelmingly by parties most likely to extract private benefits of control."[99] Indeed, media owners have not been shy about extracting such private benefits. In the new democracies, media magnates have used their newspapers or broadcast stations to promote their business interests, cut down their rivals, and in other ways advance their political or business agenda. State ownership, meanwhile, allows government functionaries to clamp down on critical reporting and recalcitrant reporters and enables the government to propagate its unchallenged views among the people. The interests of media owners often determine media content and allow the media to be manipulated by vested interests. In Thailand, for example, Prime Minister Thaksin Shinawatra owns the only independent television network in the country. The rest of the broadcast media is state owned or controlled, thus enabling the Thaksin government to have a monopoly of the airwaves. Anti-Thaksin journalists and commentators have been removed from the air, so broadcast news is now subservient to the government. The Prime Minister has also sought to silence the vibrant Thai newspapers by putting the squeeze on their advertising (he owns the largest telecommunications company, a major advertiser, and has also banned government ads in critical newspapers) and by initiating an investigation into the assets of newspaper owners. The result: acquiescence, muted criticism and a general hushing of public debate on crucial issues. In some instances, the media are used as proxies in the battle between rival political groups, in the process sowing divisiveness rather than

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[99] Simeon Djankov, Caralee McLeish, Tatiana Nenova and Andrei Shleifer, "Who Owns the Media?" Draft paper for the World Bank's World Development Report 2001.

consensus, hate speech instead of sober debate, and suspicion rather than social trust. In these cases, the media can be anti-democratic, contributing to cynicism about government and democratic decay. The public loses confidence in the media and in democratic institutions in general. The result is public apathy and democratic breakdown.

4.6 Regulation on the Dissemination of Information in the Public Domain

In the last few years, this problem has become more acute and more complicated technically, practically, and ethically with the acceleration of the news cycle and the advent of social media. News events are amplified by social media, which often host the "first draft" of terror coverage. These platforms are specifically targeted by terrorists and referenced by journalists. Yet these companies often have only a short history of dealing with the political and commercial pressures many newsrooms have lived with for decades. The fear is that reporting of terror is becoming too sensationalist and simplistic in the digitally driven rush and that the role of professional journalism has been constrained and diminished. In February 2014, when the Kenyan government sought help to counterterror groups, it invited executives from Facebook, Google, Twitter, Instagram, Snapchat, Tumblr, and Microsoft to come up with ideas to halt the use of the internet by extremists.[100]

This research project sought to describe this developing situation in the context of changes in the very nature of journalism and news. It identifies trends, problems, and best practices for more constructive journalism about terror. In the first section, the

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[100] Jack Rosenberry and Burton St. John III-'Public Journalism Values in an Age of Media Fragmentation" pg 10 in book ' Public Journalism 2.0-The Promise and Reality of a Citizen- Engaged Press"- 2010 Routledge

research project will look at the problems facing journalism around terrorism: the increasing speed of the news cycle; new technologies and the limits on resources; the challenge of verification, definition, proportionality; and dealing with spin and propaganda.

The second section explores ways towards better reporting of terror: which systems should be in place; what language journalists should use; how journalists should judge perspective and give context in a fast-moving incident; the responsibilities of the journalist to show empathy, to demonstrate discretion, and to avoid sensationalism; and the possibility of creating narratives that show the relevance of what is happening to different communities and influence policy.

The third section will look at the role of the major platforms, especially Google, Facebook, and Twitter. What impact do they have on audiences? How do they relate to the creation of journalism about terror, especially in disseminating news? Social platforms have become part of the way the public understands and responds to terror events, but their ethical, social, and editorial responsibilities are yet to be determined. The role of the platforms is evolving significantly as they become part of the news flow. How transparent should they be about their algorithms or policies that shape the flow of content? New developments, such as live video, are creating fresh dilemmas.[101]

Journalism has a responsibility to help society cope with the threat, reality, and consequences of terrorism. The role of independent, critical, and trustworthy

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[101] Simeon Djankov, Caralee McLeish, Tatiana Nenova and Andrei Shleifer, "Who Owns the Media?" Draft paper for the World Bank's World Development Report 2001

journalism has never been more important. Yet, the news media has never been under such pressure economically and politically. This research project sought to add to that pressure with a plea for better reporting. This is not just a moral or academic appeal. Unless journalism responds to the challenges that issues like terror pose, it will become less and less valued. Improving the work of journalists is central to the news media's survival as a vital part of a modern, democratic society.

This is neither a handbook for journalism about terrorism nor a comprehensive research study. The aim of this research project is to provoke reflection and improve the diversity and quality of journalism. This research project also has a self-conscious bias towards American and European media, partly because of the importance of this issue in the current American and European electoral cycles.[102]

4.7 Effects of Citizen Journalism on Terrorism Reporting

There is widespread concern that the news media is reporting terror events in a way that can spread fear and confusion. Journalists struggle with the accelerating pace of the news cycle and the complicated and diverse nature of terrorism itself. Especially in the context of breaking news, they have to adapt to the speed and complexity of information flows that are increasingly influenced by the authorities, the digital platforms, and even the terrorists themselves.[103]

There is a danger that news coverage can provide the publicity the terrorist sought, as well as add to disinformation through poor verification and lack of context. Such publicity can even be seen to be helping terrorists increase their impact and make

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[102] Bandurski, D. (2008) "Sanlu's public relations pawns: a relay of lies in International media." China Media Project, 28 September.
[103] McCartney, J., & Ford, R. (2008) "Unmasked: Terrorist Attacks." The Times, 9 April.

their recruitment more effective. The way journalists frame news around terror events can also reinforce prejudices and stereotypes.

Social media amplifies the communicative scale and impact of terrorism, and it adds to the misinformation and emotional responses to terror events. Journalists using social media as a platform or a source do not always maintain the best editorial standards. Social media has changed the very nature of news around terror, for example, by providing imagery, eyewitness accounts, and live video. But it can also deceive, distort, and distract. Journalists are adapting to this new context, but there are still practical and policy problems in terms of verification and news judgment.[104]

Digital platforms are now where many people consume news about terrorism. They are influential in filtering information and shaping the flow of news, but they do not have the same ethos or practical capacity and experience as news organizations. They also have not yet come to fully understand their role or accepted their responsibilities in the mediation of terrorism, and are still negotiating their relationship with news media.

Digital platforms have a special dilemma as open environments that also seek to protect their users from offense. While they provide an immense opportunity for journalists and the public to be better informed and to interact around these events, their algorithms and editing policies are still problematic.

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[104] Feidez, S. (2011) "Defending Social Media." My1510, 24 May.

4.8 Recommendations

News media organizations need to have detailed guidelines on all aspects of terrorism coverage. They need to deal with language, significance, and context, as well as accuracy and balance. Coverage needs to be backed up by a self-conscious iterative process that allows journalists to reflect, discuss problems and best practices, and improve. Especially for those organizations that are larger or are multiplatform, these guidelines need to be communicated widely. Coordinated internal systems, including systems such as Slack, should be put in place to make sure best practices are maintained even in breaking news or developing story situations.

Journalists need to be as transparent as possible with the audience about their sources and the limits of their knowledge. Transparency is key to trust. Social media can be a valid and important source, but it must be verified and put into context.

News media and digital platforms need to develop better technical and editorial systems for verification and accuracy. This might include using "honest brokers" or other agencies and experts. Fact-checking needs to be central. The principle of "better right rather than first" has to be enforced across all publications or broadcasts on all platforms. Editorial management has to make sure the pressure to be fast does not threaten the audience's right to be able to trust what is published.

Journalists need to think harder about the way they are framing stories. The news media logic that determines how important a story is and what scale of treatment it gets is too often driven by herd mentality or repeated formulae. Journalists need to

reflect on whether they treat similar stories in different places proportionally, and whether they include diverse voices and informed comments.

News media should invest in the great opportunities for deeper reporting presented by new technologies. Not just to report faster and to more people, but to create better context and clarity. Data visualization offers the opportunity for more fact-based reporting, for example. New platforms offer creative ways to engage with different demographics. But ultimately, better journalism is about digging deeper and looking further. More constructive narratives that include empathy, resilience, and positive responses to terror should be created as part of the news coverage itself. The social impact of news coverage should be considered, not just audience numbers and the drama of the event.

The digital platforms need to work more closely with news organizations to improve the production and distribution of trustworthy information and informed debate around terror events. They need to bring in more journalistic expertise to improve their own verification and filtering systems. They should use more "honest broker" organizations and be more transparent about their own systems. Above all, they need to accept their responsibilities as defacto editors of news about terror.

By its very nature, terrorism challenges normal narrative frames and processes. The basic facts themselves are often difficult to establish after a terrorist incident, much less analyze: What happened? Who did it? Why? What is the reaction of the authorities and the public? What policy or political change might it provoke? How can we report it without making it more likely to happen again?

This chapter looks at the challenges of covering terror events. Some of these are new problems, created by technological innovation or economic and political factors. Some are longstanding issues that have become much more complex in the digital environment, making good editorial practices more difficult to carry out.

4.9 Historical Coverage of Terrorism

Terrorism is always a relative term, and its application has changed over time. Former UK Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher once labeled Nelson Mandela's anti-apartheid African National Congress party as a "terrorist" organization before later going on to urge his release. The American extreme left-wing group the Weathermen, founded in 1969, began as an anti-imperialist group that bombed government buildings and ended up as a counter-cultural cult. The nationalist Irish Republican Army (IRA) was highly organized along military lines which Thatcheralso described as terrorist, but with whom she initiated negotiations. Hamas has won elections and has a strong social service network but has also carried out attacks, including suicide bombings on civilians. The American government describes Hamas as terrorist, while others such as Turkey are prepared to treat it as a political actor in the Middle East and give it support.[105]

Because of the term's subjective nature, some people argue *terrorism* should at all by journalists. But semantics are only part of the problem. For journalists, part of the challenge has always been how to reflect the perspectives of the authorities and public in their own countries. This is only made more complex with international terrorism

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[105] Laquer, W. (1987) The Age of Terrorism, Boston: Little Brown. Nelson, P. S. & Scott, J. L. (1992) "Terrorism and the Media – an empirical analiysis", Defence Economics, 3(4), 1992.

and transnational media. For example, this year Turkey was subject to a series of attacks by different groups killing civilians. The way those narratives are framed by Western news media has not been consistent, according to Azzam Tamimi, editor in chief of the London-based Arabic channel Al Hiwar:

Whereas the Islamic State [Daesh] is considered a menace, the PKK and its affiliates are seen as legitimate actors or even freedom fighters. Few Western journalists can resist the temptation to take sides on ideological or cultural basis. The inherited fear or hate of Islam and Muslims usually manifests itself.

Terrorism has always had a symbiotic relationship with news media, one that predates the internet. Journalist and terrorism expert Jason Burke points out that those involved in violent struggle soon realized the opportunity provided by the arrival of mass media:

In 1956, the Algerian political activist and revolutionary Ramdane Abane wondered aloud if it was better to kill 10 enemies in a remote gully "when no one will talk of it" or "a single man in Algiers, which will be noted the next day" by audiences in distant countries who could influence policymakers.[106]

As Burke writes, the same technological advances such as communications satellites which created a globalized media also gave opportunities for expanded publicity for terrorism:

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[106] Schmid, P.A. (2009) "Terrorism and the Media: The Ethics of Publicity", Terrorism and political Violence, 1(4).

In 1972, members of the Palestinian Black September group attacked Israeli athletes at the Munich Olympics, the first games to be broadcast live and the first to be the target of a terrorist attack. The cameras inevitably switched their focus from the sports to the ongoing hostage crisis.

The September 11th attacks were, of course, a watershed moment. Observing the attacks unfold in real time was a communal event, shared by tens of millions of people around the world. A report by Annenberg on journalism and terror published two years later recognized the internet had become a significant factor. It points out that the internet allowed the public to "aggregate bits of information" independently and extended "reach" for smaller media organizations. It also notes that "problematic information is now available on non-journalistic sites."

Al-Qaeda also exemplified the way that terror organizations have become media producers as well as media subjects. Most famously, Osama bin Laden made a series of videos that allowed him to speak through the world's media. But as Burke has chronicled, from 2005 onwards with the expansion of the internet, the Al-Qaeda network with its widespread, diffuse organization of cells and affiliates prioritized the recording of its activities and the dissemination of its propaganda online. Some of this ended up in mainstream news media, such as the video in 2004 of the American contractor Nick Berg in Iraq.[107]

A few years later, the transformative effect of Web 2.0 and the meteoric rise of Facebook, Twitter, and other social networks would utterly reshape that digital

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[107] Geljman, M. (2004) Russkij sposob: Terrorizm i mass-media v tretjem tysjachiletiyi. Moskva: Guelman.

context. Although the core editorial concerns of the report would remain, the media landscape in which terror attacks now unfold is on a very different scale.

Terrorism in the age of instant news and social media is a "different beast," said former BBC Global News Director Richard Sambrook in an interview. He has worked through the last three decades and insists the subject is now more complex:

Twenty years ago reporting terror was simpler. You knew who had done it. A car bomb goes off outside Harrods, and the IRA communicates directly with code words. The police would know. The issues were more straightforward, and you knew who you were dealing with. Now it's much more complicated. Terrorism is a different beast, and the fact that it is networked or that it is more likely to be indigenous raises a raft of issues.[108]

ISIS again raises the problem of how journalists define terror events. Acts committed in the name of ISIS don't always have clear links with the core organization, and claims of responsibility are more tenuous. This amorphous form of terrorism raises the question of what other violent, ideologically motivated attacks on innocent civilians—designed to gain publicity for a cause and to create fear and reaction—fall under the label of terror. The 2016 attack on the gay nightclub in Orlando, the 2015 shootings in San Bernardino, and the 2016 Munich shopping center shooting were all very different kinds of events described as "terrorism" at some point. If we give a name to one incident, why not another?

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[108] Cepulkauskaite, I. (2000) "The mass media and terrorism", Sociumas, Internet magazine, http://www.sociumas.

The Challenging New Context for the Journalist and Audience

Social platforms are increasingly the place where terrorism is reported first. From ISIS beheadings to video from inside the Bataclan Paris nightclub, these sites are a key news player, sometimes shaping coverage.

There has been a fundamental shift, from news media having control over the flow of information to a more distributed set of sources and platforms. The journalist is no longer the primary gatekeeper. Today's audiences have vastly more immediate and direct access to a greater volume of material and variety of sources online. The public can get information directly from other citizens, the authorities, or even terrorists themselves. The relative ease with which the news media are able to report events quickly and graphically—thanks to digital technology—means that audiences often report they feel overwhelmed and even repulsed by the onslaught of "bad news" events.[109]

Around terror events, live broadcasting, and particularly television, remains the dominant news information source for a majority of the media-consuming public. However, over the last decade, those reports are becoming more reliant on social media. Coverage of the London bombings in 2005 featured grainy mobile phone video of survivors walking away from the wrecked train carriages down underground tunnels. In the wake of that, the BBC set up a user-generated content (UGC) hub specifically to gather and verify content created by citizens for use in its news.[4] By the attacks in Mumbai in 2008, journalists were able to find imagery and

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[109] Rumsfeld, D.H. (2006) "How to fight terrorism in the media", The Daily Star, http://www.dailystar.com

information from citizen photography sites such as Flickr and the 900 tweets published every minute. Traditional news distribution agencies such as Reuters became clearing houses for UGC. AP appointed its first social media editor in 2012.

In 2016, the first phase of broadcast coverage of the attacks in urban centers such as Paris, Brussels, Munich, and Ankara was dominated by both video and stills harvested from social media. ABC News's International Managing Editor Jon Williams, who has been making broadcast news for more than 30 years, points out that this is an historical change in the visibility of news events:

Clearly in the 1970s and 80s very often incidents would happen without pictures. In 1996 the only imagery of the IRA Manchester bombing came from CCTV sometime after the event. Today there would be any number of people recording that on cellphones and inundating social media with it in real time.[110]

New technologies also provide opportunities for other kinds of enhanced visual input such as the live Google Map created by one journalist during the Mumbai attacks. The arrival of live video on social networks means that the citizen (as well as the journalist and terrorist) can become a social network broadcaster. As discussed in the second and third sections, this immediate streamed access creates editorial issues for news organizations and ethical problems for the platforms themselves. At the moment, their use around terror incidents is sporadic but becoming more common.

Social media networks also mean terror news intrudes directly into our intimate media sphere. The same profiles we use for personal content or the consumption of

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[110] Wieviorka, M. (1993) The Making of Terrorism. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

entertainment, routine information, and social exchange are now a space filled with dramatic and shocking images and messages. News is increasingly consumed on mobile devices and smartphones, making the news part our personal, socially connected lives. In their interaction with media, it is not surprisingly that people react more personally, emotionally, and instantly than ever before.

4.10 Framing the Narrative: Definitions of "Terrorism"

There is enormous pressure with a major breaking story to come up with a fresh line amidst the surge of information. Audience expectations of instant reportage combined with the increasing market competition add to that need for journalists to work quickly and at the limits of their abilities and resources. This rush to certainty can lead to false leads from mainstream as well as social media. Journalists and audiences inevitably seek to fit terrorist incidents into a pattern. This is exacerbated by group think among journalists, especially on social media. In the race to publish and in the midst of a dangerous situation it is difficult to maintain a critical attitude to those dispensing authoritative information.[111]

One manifestation of this is the expert commentator, who is often chosen as much for their closeness to a TV studio as for their relevant insights. Live broadcasters are developing a language that relativizes its statements: "this is what is being reported," "this is what we are being told," "reports on social media suggest." The danger is the audience does not understand the precise nature of the qualifications involved.

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[111] Hoffman, B. (2003) Unutrašnji terorizam. Beograd: Alfa.

Adding qualifiers such as "appears to be" or "potential" to "terrorism" is highly risky in a breaking news story. "Terrorism" has traditionally been seen as an external threat, such as 9/11, but as the London Bombings of 2005 and many of the incidents of 2016 show, there are "home-grown" terrorists who draw upon international networks as well as "domestic" terrorists with a local or national agenda. Individuals who carry out terror attacks are not necessarily a "lone wolf." Someone with mental health issues might also be a terrorist. The descriptions are rarely clear. Section two makes the case for greater reflection on terminology and sets out some principles.

One option is to never use the word. Al Jazeera English made it clear that its journalists should not use the term, along with others such as "jihadist." BBC guidelines do not ban the use of the term, but admit it is problematic:

The word "terrorist" itself can be a barrier rather than an aid to understanding. We should convey to our audience the full consequences of the act by describing what happened. We should use words which specifically describe the perpetrator such as "bomber," "attacker," "gunman," "kidnapper," "insurgent," and "militant." We should not adopt other people's language as our own; our responsibility is to remain objective and report in ways that enable our audiences to make their own assessments about who is doing what to whom.[112]

This approach has not changed significantly in principle in response to recent developments in terrorism or media technology.

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[112] Al Jazeera News. (2003). U.S. pulls out of Saudi Arabia. April 29. http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle east/298- 4547.stm

ABC News in America has a similar approach. International Managing Editor Jon Williams says their journalists should not use the word "terrorism" except when quoting other people:

Words matter. We would not have described [the 2016 London Russell Square stabbing] as a "potential terror incident." We would just describe it as a stabbing and have put it in the context of other incidents. Our modus operandi is to do what it says on the tin. We would wait to see how someone [in authority] characterized it. With the San Bernardino incident our assumption was that with the prevalence of mass shootings in America we should assume it's just a shooting. It began as a workplace shooting but came into the context of people who had been radicalized but it still requires someone to characterize it as "domestic" terror or "inspired by ISIS." [113]

As Sambrook points out, deciding whether to use the word "terror" is only part of the problem:

I think it's a bit of a cop out to simply say you won't use the word "terror" or "terrorism." There are some actions to which that term will apply. I think there is a neat way through this. Simply describe what has happened and report what people have said. Recent incidents have shown how many factors are potentially involved. Is the killer suffering from mental illness, or if he shouts "Alluha Akbar" does that make

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[113] http://spynewsagency.com/stabbing-at-londons-russell-square-boosts-police-presence/

it a Jihadist? In the end report what has happened and what people say and let the viewer draw their own conclusions [114]

Above all, the growth of terrorists ascribing a religious motivation to their actions has raised fresh dangers of associating neutral words such as Islamic or Muslim with terrorism. While the terrorist may make religious claims, there is no reason for journalists to treat that uncritically.[115]

4.11 Avoiding Harm: The News Media's Relationship to Terrorism

Terrorists are now media producers themselves. Anders Breivik was acutely conscious of the role the media would have in promoting his beliefs. He sent a 1,500-word manifesto to more than a thousand people just before his first bomb went off. ISIS has an extensive media production capacity, creating videos and articles that are distributed through highly-developed social media activities. They use the kidnapped British journalist John Cantlie as a subject of their videos and then as a presenter. Much of the material is English-language targeted at potential sympathizers or recruits online internationally. To tell the story of what the terrorist is thinking, saying, and doing it is often useful to use this material. But the danger is that even in a critical context this effectively relays and amplifies the terrorist's message. As Erica Chenoweth explains:

What's important is that the imitative effects of mass shootings and terror attacks may not be unrelated to one another. The blurry distinction between what constitutes mass

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[114] Saul, Ben. 2007. The Curious Element of Motive in Definitions of Terrorism: Essential Ingredientor Crimialising Thought? In Lynch, Andrew, MacDonald, Edwina, and Williams, George (Eds). *Law and Liberty in the War on Terror*. Sydney: The Federation Press.
[115] Elster, J. (2005). Suicide missions: motivations and beliefs. In: D. Gambetta (Ed.), Making sense of suicide missions (pp. 233–258). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

shootings versus acts of terror means that, functionally, those motivated to obtain notoriety or political power through graphic violence may not really care whether their competitors are "terrorists," "shooters" or something else.[116]

There is always a danger of media giving terrorists details about security operations that help them improve their work. This is particularly relevant in the midst of a terrorist operation. Live video or pictures of a scene may endanger security forces or hamper their work. It is essential that, when the public is at risk, the news media works closely with security officials.

There is also a wider problem that those authorities, especially politicians, frame their commentary on terror events to suit their own interests. Journalists have an obligation to report what powerful people say—but they do not have an obligation to replicate their perspective. As British journalist and former *London Times* Editor Simon Jenkins argues, politicians have their own agendas:

To the media, terrorism is meat and drink. To politicians, it is an opportunity to flex muscles, brandish guns, boast revenge. Talk of war adds ten points to an approval rating. It saved George Bush as it is now saving France's François Hollande. Counter-terror theory may advise caution and an emphasis on normality. Political necessity counsels the opposite; the trumpets and drums of battle. It requires the

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[116] Allan, S. and Matheson, D. (2004). *Online journalism in the information age. Knowledge, Work & Society*, 2(3), 73-94.

terrorist's deeds to be amplified, headlined, and exaggerated to justify a warlike response.[117]

The sheer volume of terror news may make further attacks more likely. Michael Jetter, a professor at the School of Economics and Finance at Universidad EAFIT in Medellín, Colombia argues that increased coverage of terror attacks correlates to an increase in their frequency. [118]

He also argues that terror tactics that have greater media impact, such as suicide bombings, could lead to their increased popularity. The French political philosopher and expert on the causes of terror Olivier Royargues that media coverage helps extremist organizations in recruiting and mobilizing terrorists. He says that the framing of terror events by politicians and the media "valorizes the up rootedness of uprooted people" and provides them with a sense of belonging and meaning.

Language is critical because the public make judgments about risk based on the terminology involved.[119] Just because something creates "terror" does not make it a "terrorist" event. This Daily Mail Online headline uses the word "terror'—but the sub-head makes it clear that it was not "terror-related':

At what point does a "hate crime" such as the Charleston church shooting become categorized as "terrorism"? Breivik had active links with extreme right-wing groups and used his actions to promote his anti-Islamic, anti-liberal ideology. His

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[117] Mason, C., 'Public–private health care delivery becoming the norm in Sweden' (2013) Canadian Medical Association Journal, 15 July, 179(2), pp. 129-131. At

[118] Rathbone, A., & Rowley, C. (2002). Editor's commentaries on September 11, 2001: terrorism. *Public Choice*, 112(3/4), 215–224.

[119] Andreu-Guzma´n, 2002. Terrorism and Human Rights. Geneva: International Commission of Jurists

convictions included "terrorism." However, in the media, he was most often referred to as a mass murderer or mass killer, not a terrorist. Likewise, Ali Sonboly, the 2016 Munich shooter was described by police as "inspired" by Breivik, but they said the incident was not "terror-related." Sonboly had been receiving psychiatric treatment, raising the definitional problem around terror and mental health. In considering the mix of motives, it does seem that mainstream media has a propensity to describe events as "terror" if they have some element of jihadist or Islamist ideological ingredient.[120]

Even if a recognized terrorist organization does claim responsibility, journalists may need to fine-tune the language. There was evidence that the 2016 Wurzburg train attacker was "inspired" by ISIS propaganda rather than controlled by them, yet ISIS still claimed it as part of their campaign in Europe.[121] The Ansbach bomber Mohammed Daleel had stronger links to ISIS including a propaganda video he made pledging allegiance to the ISIS leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi. His preparation for the bombing was more sophisticated and planned. Does that make him more of a terrorist? What significance should journalists have given to the fact that several of this summer's German attackers were asylum seekers or refugees? As soon as perpetrators are identified with a minority group, the danger is that community will be impugned in a way that does not happen when perpetrators are seen to be from the majority population. In a political environment where in many regions there are tensions over ethnic identity, immigration, and cultural values, it is even more

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[120] Schmid, P.A. (1989) "Terrorism and the Media: The Ethics of Publicity", Terrorism and political Violence, 1(4).
[121] http://www.foreign.senate.gov/imo/media/doc/062816_McGurk_Testimony.pdf.

important that the news media does not make unqualified connections between race, religion, and terror acts.[122]

4.12 Verification and Transparency

There are some obvious problems created by this new engagement from the audience on terror events. There is a great deal of misleading or false audience-created content, much of it highly reactive and subjective, and there is an increasing number of fake news sites that deliberately spread this content to attract traffic. Social networks are somewhat self-correcting and are moderated, but this can be delayed—by which time falsehoods or false impressions have spread, uncorrected.

A missing student Sunil Tripathi was named on Reddit in the wake of the Boston Marathon bombing in 2013, leading to a manhunt before police were able to rule him out. But in that four-hour period many journalists disseminated the rumor on their own social media accounts. They appeared to accept a lower standard of verification then they would have done for publication on their regular news channels or sites.[123]

The primary function of journalism is still to get facts right. The volume of social media content and the fact that some of it is inaccurate or misleading should not make professional journalists complacent.[124] News media content is now blended into the audience's news feeds and audiences often do not discriminate between "amateur" and "official" or journalistic content online. Research shows that on social media

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[122] Fighel, Yoni, and Shahar, Yael. 2002. The Al-Qaida-Hizballah Connection. Papers of the International Policy Institute on Counter-Terrorism
[123] Ricolfi, L. (2005). Palestinians, 1981–2003. In: D. Gambetta (Ed.), *Making sense of suicide missions* (pp. 77–129). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
[124] Kovach, Bill and Rosenstiel, Tom Elements of Journalism New York: Random House, p. 134.

people trust their peers as much as the news media (although that includes their peers sharing news media content).

In this context, it is even more important that the news media distinguish it by providing reliable information. Statistics show mainstream journalists are still trusted to varying degrees, depending to the medium, the user's age, and the perceived partisanship of the news brand. One of the key variables is their perception of the accuracy and impartiality of the journalism. Verification of facts and the correct expression of "what we know to be true" is under enormous pressure as breaking news accelerates.

As discussed in the next section, editorial guidelines at most major news organizations have since been revised to make it clear that the same standards must apply to gathering material from or posting material on social media.

 Better Terror Reporting

This chapter will identify how news organizations are best able to address the challenges set out in reporting on terrorism.

4.13 Reshaping the Newsroom

New skills are needed to understand user-generated imagery from social networks, terrorist propaganda on specialist websites (often not English language), government or security communications, expert and academic analysis/research blogs and

websites, local, specialist, international, and foreign language news media organizations, aggregators, bots and campaign groups.[125]

Yet a guiding philosophy through this complex network of information should be simple: Only report as facts what you know to be true. We can put aside philosophical debates over truth and focus on the journalistic process of identifying some kind of evidence-related process that gives us the best, most reliable account of who, what, where, when, and why.

The newsroom will always be core to this process: its resources, task management, technologies, skills, and infrastructure. Increasingly the larger broadcasters such as CNN and the BBC are the ones that have extensive online operations with the capacity to cope with the full range of sources and platforms.[126] Legacy news research project operations such as *The Guardian* and *The New York Times* have developed processes such as live blogs where they too are able to exploit and showcase a greater number of sources. At the same time, local news organizations have the advantage of intimately knowing their area, and are often able to keep ahead of their larger rivals as news breaks. Other specialist media, such as the nonprofit Conflict News Twitter account, act as aggregators, filtering information online.

Some news organizations such as *The Wall Street Journal* and the UK's ITN have outsourced some of their newsgathering to agencies such as Storyful, which have highly developed expertise in verifying imagery, video, messages, and other data

[125]Barker,R.T.,&Camarata,.R.(1998).TheRoleofCommunicationinCreatingandMaintainga LearningOrganization:Preconditions,Indicators,andDisciplinese.JournalofBusiness Communication,35(4),443V367

[126] Jensen J (1990). Redeeming Modernity: Kenyan Media Criticism as Social Criticism. Newbury Park, California Sage

from social networks. "Real-time information discovery company" Dataminr specializes in scouring Twitter and its analytics for breaking stories including the first news alert on the death of Osama bin Laden. Banjo has developed software that allows it to monitor geo-located social media activity globally and provide news alerts to its media partners, including American Sinclair Broadcast Group. These companies often have commercial as well as news media clients and they do not claim to be journalism agencies. But they are engines for online discovery that can spot stories before newsrooms.[127]

First Draft News is another coalition of organizations that provides verification insights, training, information, techniques, and research. There are also individual small-scale operations that focus on particular areas or issues, such as Bellingcat which its founder Elliot Higgins describes as "by and for citizen investigative journalists." It has developed sophisticated forensic data-analysis tools and techniques to provide deeper information in the wake of events. The European Journalism Centre (EJC) has produced a *Verification Handbook* that gives detailed guidance on how this can work in emergency situations such as terror attacks.[128]

Organizations such as First Draft and the EJC demonstrate the processes that journalists can adopt if they have the time and will to do so. The key is to have a set of guidelines related to breaking news and terror that can form the basis for newsroom culture, standards, and practice. Different news brands will make their own calculations about how to implement best practices universally across an organization.

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[127] Golder, Ben, and Williams, George. 2004. What is 'Terrorism'? Problems of Legal Definition.

[128] Schmid, P.A. (1989) "Terrorism and the Media: The Ethics of Publicity", Terrorism and political Violence, 1(4).

CNN and BuzzFeed use the internal messaging system Slack, for example, to ensure that all staff on all platforms is getting the same guidance as news breaks.[129]

4.13.1 Getting To the Truth

CNN took a serious reputational hit for its mistake in coverage of the Boston Marathon. Like almost all major news organizations, it has adopted a more effective way of reconciling the competing demands from audiences for instant news and verified information. It now has a more coordinated editorial management structure with digital platforms integrated with broadcast.

The business as well as the ethical case for journalism in a media environment so full of false, partial, or provisional information must be based on trust. Citizens now have social media feeds full of messages, often from peers not professionals that alert them to breaking terror news. When they click onto the mainstream news media material, they expect something more reliable. Journalists cannot police the internet for truth, but as well as getting their own facts right, journalists can also have a role helping to identify fake or mistaken information on social media. This kind of "myth-busting" helps arrests the spread of false information and can educate the audience in online verification.

"Publish and be damned" is not applicable in the terror context. Samantha Barry, CNN's Head of Social Media, said in an interview that they are aware of changing expectations of the audience, but they sometimes have to pause before publication to retain trust:

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[129] Avilés, J.A.G. & Carvajal, M. (2008) 'Integrated and Cross-Media Newsroom Convergence: Two Models of Multimedia News Production. The Cases of Novotécnica and La Verdad Multimedia in Spain', Convergence, 14(2): 221-239.

It is really important for CNN to be right not necessarily first. Audiences are more forgiving than other media people when it's a developing story. There was one example from the Dallas police shooting when police released a video of a suspect. We didn't put it out on digital and social because we saw questions about whether it was a suspect. The police then rowed back. We get pressure for example, from people tweeting at us when they see something on social media. This happened around the recent evacuation of JFK airport. But we only put out the story when we had something we were comfortable with what we knew for ourselves.[130]

Newsgathering from social media should abide by the same principles used for any other source. However, the BBC gives additional advice in its guidelines on gathering user-generated content around issues such as copyright, crediting producers, and treating the public with respect and sensitivity. Organizations such as First Draft News also have more detailed and the treatment of contributors.

4.13.2 Transparency in Breaking News

News organizations will make individual mistakes of fact, taste, or framing, but it is how you handle the development of breaking news overall that matters. News organizations are desperate for audience attention. Online analytics now provide instant, live statistics on page views, engagement, and traffic, as well as the usual broadcast audience levels and share. Competition is a vital motive for journalism, and especially during breaking news, it drives newsrooms to provide a rapid response as well as more considered context. So increasingly news organizations must develop a

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[130] Heikkilä, Heikki, and Risto Kunelius, 2002, 17 July, "Access, Dialogue, Deliberation: Experimenting with Three Concepts of Journalism Criticism," The International Media and Democracy Project, http://www.imdp.org/artman/publish/article_27.shtml (accessed 20 Feb. 2004).

credible grammar for provisional narratives. Donald Rumsfeld's famous aphorism is relevant here:

There are known knowns; there are things we know we know. We also know there are known unknowns; that is to say we know there are some things we do not know. But there are also unknown unknowns—the ones we don't know we don't know.

Mainly through social media, but sometimes through other news media sources, the audience is now often conscious of the basic facts and "known unknowns" as news breaks, whether via social or traditional media. As Sambrook points out, social media tells people instantly that something has happened, but it cannot always explain what it is:

You get a situation like in Bangkok in the year 2015 where we first know that something has happened because people start tweeting and then a bystander starts broadcasting pictures of the aftermath on live on Periscope [Twitter's live stream tool]. The guy doing it literally didn't know what he was showing and when he realized he was filming body parts he regretted it.[131]

As that amateur broadcast went out, viewers were able to comment and the man filming also responded, but while his actions gave the world images of this event, it could not give much insight.

This is now how news is made. There has been some kind of explosion. But we do not know what kind of explosion. One possibility at the front of people's minds,

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[131] Hiler, John, 2002a, 11 April, "Are Bloggers Journalists? On the Rise of Amateur Journalism and the Need for a Blogging Code of Ethics,"Microcontent News,

regardless of statistical probability, is terrorism. But journalism's key task is to find out what we don't know.

Journalists covering breaking terror news are adapting their language and being humbler in publicly sharing their ignorance as well as their knowledge—something once unimaginable to newsroom culture.[132] To say that something has not been confirmed is not adequate as a final narrative, but in the early stages of an incident it is as important to identify uncertain information. Authority is enhanced, not diminished, by making sources as clear and precise as possible. A general statement such as "reports on social media" is at the worse vague end of the spectrum, but if the platform and social media account is identified then that helps build a more nuanced picture. This is part of building much-needed media literacy in the audience. Detailed, continual transparency helps promote public understanding of the process of news as well as building trust in its outputs.

News organizations need to be aware that simply by reporting an emerging situation they are signaling that it is of potential significance. "We are getting reports" is not a phrase that should allow editors to suspend their usual judgment. That judgment, though, can now be more openly made.[133]

News media institutions have intellectual and professional capital. It is good to share the caveats and conditions that are applied in the newsroom on screen. With breaking news—especially on a topic so fraught with competing and complex definitions and

[132] Kahney, Leander, 2003, 17 May, "Citizen Reporters Make the News," Wired News, http://www.wired.com/news/culture/0,1284,58856,00.html (accessed 3 June 2004).
[133] Lasica, J.D., 2003a, 7 Aug. "Participatory Journalism Puts the Reader in the Driver's Seat," Online Journalism Review, http://www.ojr.org/ojr/workplace/1060218311.php (accessed 20 Feb. 2004).

perspectives as terror—authority is gained not by automatic certainty but by sharing the journey towards understanding.[134]

4.13.3 Using the Right Language

Journalists have to use shortcuts to compress complex realities into formats people can consume quickly. The formula of headlines, edited video, graphics and so on are part of the necessary process of simplification and communication under limited time and space. But with a complex subject like terror, precise language is vital, as Mary Hockaday, the BBC's controller of World Service English wrote to me in an email:

The recent rapid sequence of events does challenge us about language. Terrorist, the lone wolf, the mentally ill, the loner, ISIS directed, ISIS sympathizer, ISIS inspired…. News events rush past and headlines simplify… but it's really important we go on striving to be precise, recognize the complexity – of the people and indeed what the policy response needs to be. And use accurate, concrete language when we can rather than generalities.[135]

Language should be concrete and consistent. In Western media, critics say that with the post-9/11 rise in extreme violence that proclaims itself to have an Islamist motivation; there has been a tendency to reserve the term "terrorism" for only that category:

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[134] Meikle, Graham, 2002, Future Active: Media Activism and the Internet, New York: Routledge., 2003, "Indymedia and the New Net News," M/C Journal 6.2, http://journal.mediaculture.org.au/0304/02-feature.php (accessed 1 Oct. 2004).
[135] Hiler, John, 2002a, 11 April, "Are Bloggers Journalists? On the Rise of Amateur Journalism and the Need for a Blogging Code of Ethics," Microcontent News

We used to use terrorist to describe all kinds of people, from Irish Catholic republicans to American Jewish radicals. But since 9/11, we've been using it much more swiftly in reference to Islamists. (Adam Ragusea, Slate).[136]

Dylann Roof, the alleged perpetrator of the 2015 Charleston shooting of nine African American churchgoers was accused of a hate crime, not terrorism. Yet he had an ideological agenda and drew upon the ideas of white supremacist groups. Micah Johnson, who shot police officers in Dallas, appeared to have a strong political motive for his actions based on his anger at police shootings of black civilians.[137] The BBC's Director of Editorial Policy David Jordan warns against applying the term terrorist too widely:

The problem is with the word "terrorist" rather than "terrorism." When you apply it to an individual you must do it with care and caution. In the case of the Charleston shooter he appeared to have mental health issues and political motives but was not associated with a political group that had the declared aim of using extreme violence against innocent people to achieve a specified goal. As an international news organization we increasingly find governments around the world who want to apply the label "terrorist" to anyone who opposes them and so it is important not to use it without thinking.[138]

As terrorism becomes more diffuse and the association of a specific act with an organization becomes harder to ascertain it becomes even more important that news

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[136] Wieviorka, M. (1993) The Making of Terrorism. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
[137] Fox, Julia, Glory Koloen, and Volkan Sahin. (2007, Summer). "No Joke: A Comparison of Substance in The Daily Show with Jon Stewart and Broadcast Network Television Coverage of the 2004 Presidential Campaign." Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, vol. 51, no. 2.
[138] Ganor, Boaz (2005) The Counter-Terrorism Puzzle: A Guide for Decision Makers, brunswick: Transaction Publishers.

organizations compare and contrast the way they use words—not just *terrorism* itself but also the accompanying adjectives and the assumptions they carry.

Language matters especially when it turns to metaphor. Most famously, the use of the "war on terror" metaphor should act as a warning. Its widespread deployment following the cue from the George W. Bush administration declined as mainstream media understood that actual wars in Afghanistan and Iraq and against ISIS were not working militarily. As one of the UK's most senior judicial officials, the then Director of Public Prosecutions, Sir Ken Macdonald made clear just two years after the London Bombings, the military metaphor also boosts the terrorist's sense of power and ignores other policy options in countering their campaigns:

London is not a battlefield. Those innocents who were murdered on July 7 2005 were not victims of war. And the men who killed them were not, as in their vanity they claimed on their ludicrous videos, "soldiers." [...] We need to be very clear about this. On the streets of London, there is no such thing as a "war on terror," just as there can be no such things as "war on drugs." [...] The fight against terrorism on the streets of Britain is not a war. It is the prevention of crime, the enforcement of our laws and the winning of justice for those damaged by their infringement.[139]

Labels such as "lone wolf" or "evil" resonate but have little factual meaning. Apart from sensationalizing the perpetrator, they give the sense that the individual was operating in isolation. In fact, it is difficult to find any examples of terrorists not

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[139] Rumsfeld, D.H. (2006) "How to fight terrorism in the media", The Daily Star, http://www.dailystar.com

influenced to some degree by the messaging of terror groups even if their actions were not explicitly controlled or directed.

Likewise, the distinction between mental health and terror is rarely clearcut. On the one hand, the application of the label "mental illness" is a useful indicator if supported by some authoritative assessment that helps guide the audience. The London 2016 Russell Square stabber had been receiving treatment in a psychiatric hospital, for example. But it is arguable that anyone who believes in killing innocent people for an ideological cause has a dysfunctional psychology.[140] Mainstream news style guides do not refer to this dilemma specifically. Jordan says this is an area where guidance is still evolving:

The mental health issue regarding terror is a comparatively new problem and we are talking with other standards people to try to create guidelines. But by its nature it is complex. For example, just because someone once had treatment for a mental health problem does not mean that they are still "mentally ill. So as usual, we should avoid vague terms and only report facts.[16]

Language matters because it conditions the public acceptance, for example, of negotiations with extremist groups as political or military actors.

In the heat of reporting a breaking news incident such as the London Russell Square knife attack, we can see how the news media struggles to cope with these competing demands for categorization as "facts" are emerging. The attacker, Zakaria Bulhan, was arrested immediately after the incident occurred at around 10:30 p.m. on

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[140] Schmid, Alex (1989) 'Terrorism and the Media: The ethics of Publicity', Terrorism and Political Violence 1 (4): 539-565

Wednesday August 3, 2016. The story broke quickly, partly through eyewitness accounts on social media. The news media initially reporting it prominently as a "possible" terrorist attack, based on police statements. By 11am the following day, the police were effectively ruling out terror. A random stabbing with one fatality by a person with a mental health problem would have been a story in its own right, but not necessarily the lead on the BBC's flagship morning radio program *today* without the terror connotation.[141] The initial prominence of the story—and its later drop down the running order—is not necessarily a failure of journalism; it reflects the development of the story through time. At 5am as the *Today* program prepared to air, Assistant Commissioner Mark Rowley, from the Metropolitan Police, said:

This was a tragic incident resulting in the death of one woman and five others being injured. Early indications suggest that mental health was a factor in this horrific attack. However, we are keeping an open mind regarding the motive and terrorism remains one line of inquiry being explored.[142]

As the editor of the BBC's morning *Today* program, Jamie Angus, explains how they assessed a series of factors:

With the benefit of hindsight, we would not have given the story such prominence, but at the time it was right to treat it so seriously even though we did not have absolute confirmation that it was terrorism. When the story broke we got in extra people to prepare our morning report because the 1am statement by the police mentioned terror as a factor and they repeated that later. The genre of the attack was not clear,

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[141] Ganor, Boaz. 2005. The Counter-Terrorism Puzzle. A Guide for Decision Makers. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers

[142] Picard, Robert G.; Sheets, Rhonda S. (1987): Terrorism and the News Media: A Research Bibliography Part I. Political Communication, 4(1), 65-69.

but it often isn't a clear distinction between someone who is mentally ill or a Jihadist. Of course, radicalized people are often psychologically vulnerable anyway. The police had also mentioned that he was Norwegian with Somali heritage, which suggested they were considering a terror motive, too. We took our cue from the fact that such a senior officer was still mentioning the possibility of terrorism.[143]

Much of the pressure to publish live is driven by news breaking on social media first from "non-journalistic" sources. As one producer on a news channel says, the fear of missing out on a story surfacing on social media can lead to the temptation to cover it before significant details are confirmed:

I resisted "breaking" news of a shooting in a Spanish supermarket until we knew more. As it turned out, it was a domestic dispute. We didn't report it at all. But my boss on the day wanted to break it because people were mentioning it on social media and he felt it "might" be something else.[144]

But the news media is not a tracking system for online activity. Platforms such as Facebook are increasingly a source for news for the public and can provide a great source of facts and opinion but it is highly selective. All the newsrooms spoken to for this report insist that they apply the same editorial standards to social media as to any other source. As the CNN guidelines state:

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[143] "New Forms of Journalism: Weblogs, Community News, Self-Publishing and More," 2001, 27 Oct., Panel on 'Journalism's New Life Forms,' Second Annual Conference of the Online News Association, University of California, Berkeley.

[144] Epstein, Lee and Segal, Jeffrey A. (2000) 'Measuring issue salience', Kenyan Journal of Political Science 44 (1): 66-83

Citizen-generated reports are subject to the same strict review process that CNN applies to traditional reporting before they are included in CNN stories.[145]

4.13.4 Working with Social Media

The best news media encourages interaction and listens and responds. Alex Thomson, Chief Correspondent for the UK's Channel 4 News uses his Twitter feed to show and discuss his journalism as he gathers news. He posts smartphone footage and replies to comments. Other "traditional" international correspondents such as CNN's Christiane Amanpour have used Facebook Live video to provide a more interactive user experience. Journalists say that while much of the feedback can be bland or unhelpful, it can help give a sense of what the public misunderstands and so encourage journalists to address those gaps.

Correspondents such as the BBC's Matthew Price say even interacting with people who complain or are confused can be a useful way of understanding what people do *not* know. By correcting or responding to them you can help that individual but, of course, the message also goes out to the journalist's wider network:

Covering the refugee crisis live from the field in its early phase, I got many comments saying that these were not real refugees because they were almost all men. So they were "just" economic migrants. I reflected on that and asked the refugees where the women and children were. They pointed out that often the men go ahead to prepare the way for their families. So although the images were of men, many were in effect,

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[145] Anti-CNN (2008) "About us." Anti-CNN.com.

travelling ahead of their families. I then made sure to make that point on social media but also in my reporting.[146]

For Price, even a "mistaken" audience comment on social media can lead to better journalism.Sometimes the public knows more than the journalist about an aspect of a story. They might have eyewitness accounts, local knowledge, or specialist insights. Social media can provide perspectives and information not available through the usual channels or sources and it can provide them quickly. Tapping into the social media of groups traditionally marginalized by mainstream media helps the journalist and the public understand the context of the extremist individuals who might draw upon those cultures. This could be the online discourse of US "alt right" activists or the social media messaging of youths in Molenbeek, the Brussels district with a high Muslim population where ISIS had text messaged locals.[147] There is increasing evidence that those marginalized communities feel misrepresented by mainstream media. Paying attention to their online voice—albeit not always representative—can add to overall understanding for the journalist and audience.

Editors, too, should take the context of social media into account when making judgments around framing narratives. Just because posts on social media are often confused, misleading, or ill-informed does not mean they should be dismissed. This is especially true now that news coverage itself is subject to constant online critique. *The Guardian*'s social media editor, Martin Belam, said:

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[146] Meikle, Graham, 2002, Future Active: Media Activism and the Internet, New York: Routledge., 2003, "Indymedia and the New Net News," M/C Journal 6.2, http://journal.mediaculture.org.au/0304/02-feature.php (accessed 1 Oct. 2004).

[147] Rosen, Jay. (2006, 27 June). "The People Formerly Known as the Audience." PressThink: Ghost of Democracy in the Media Machine.

And all the time you've got people @-messaging you that you are doing it wrong, or serving an agenda, or displaying bias. With one tweet about the Iranian background of one of the recent attackers, the replies criticized The Guardian for being racist to even mention it, and other people criticized The Guardian for trying to suppress information that he was an ISIS fighter.[148]

But these also raise valid points that can contribute to reflection in the newsroom about the framing of terror narratives.

4.13.5 Avoiding Harm, Relations with Authorities

Reporting on terror events must also be sensitive to security considerations. Journalists have a duty to report as fully as possible but in a terror-related scenario the news media has a responsibility to avoid causing harm. Journalists can legitimately not report facts if doing so would increase risks or hamper a security operation. This means responding to requests from the authorities to not report particular facts or not to show certain images. There should always be a due process within the news organization of making that decision. Ideally, the fact of any decision to restrict reporting should be reported.[149]

During the 2004 school siege in Beslan, Chechnya, the BBC decided to go on a time delay for its live feed because of the danger of showing graphic imagery of hostages including children. During the security operation following the 2015 attacks on the Charlie Hebdo offices in Paris and the siege of a supermarket where hostages had

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[148] Gans, Herbert J. (1980) Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek, and Time, New York: Vintage.
[149] Habermas, Jürgen. (2006). "Political Communication in Media Society: Does Democracy Still Enjoy an Epistemic Dimension? The Impact of Normative Theory on Empirical Research." Communication Theory, vol. 16, no. 4: pp. 411-26.

been taken, the French broadcast regulator issued a notice to domestic newsrooms asking them to show "discretion." Paris police on the scene told TV crews not to broadcast their officers in action. At the same time broadcasters were regulating themselves. Paris-based BFM TV chose not to broadcast the police rescue operation live. It also did not air an audio interview it recorded with the hostage-takers themselves until after the incident was over.[150] BFM TV journalist Ruth Elkrief said it was a series of decisions they had to make for themselves in the newsroom:

It's very difficult. We have to move fast. But are we undermining the investigation? Are we being manipulated? We're asking ourselves these questions constantly. We had several emergency meetings during the day to debate what to do. We're always checking ourselves.[151]

Transparency about making those judgments helps build the understanding and confidence of the audience. Clearly, journalists cannot give a running commentary on all their editorial decisions, but a similar approach could be adopted to that when embedded with the military during conflicts, as suggested in BBC guidelines:

We should normally say if our reports are censored or monitored or if we withhold information, and explain, wherever possible, the rules under which we are operating.[152]

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[150] Jenkins, Henry. (2006). Convergence Culture: Where Old and New Media Collide, New York: NYU Press.

[151] Callon, Michel (1987): Society in the making. Technology as a tool for sociological analysis (in: Bijker, Weibe E. – Hughes, Thomas P. – Pinch, Trevor /eds./ *The social construction of technological systems: New directions in the sociology and history of technology MIT Press*, Cambridge, Mass.)

[152] Cepulkauskaite, I. (2000) "The mass media and terrorism", Sociumas, Internet magazine, http://www.sociumas.

Journalists have a civic duty to cooperate in the interests of public safety, but this does not mean automatically complying with police or security requests. The seizing of the laptop of BBC journalist Secunder Kermani—who had made contacts with extremists—appeared to challenge in principle the idea that journalists can ever talk to terrorists or their associates.

These judgments are hard at a practical level with breaking news. Journalists now have access to real-time live video and images of alleged participants instantly uploaded on social media. The news media should not wait for guidance before assessing whether using material might cause harm. Showing the outside of a building where an incident is taking place might, for example, give the terrorist information about deployment of security forces. Clear lines of communication with the police are vital. As one senior broadcast journalist said, there can be a moment when the natural desire to cover a breaking story clashes with security imperatives:

During recent shootings in Munich, the local police tweeted several requests that everyone refrain from speculation, and also that people stopped showing live pictures of police positions. We were doing exactly that at the time, taking live agency feeds of heavily armed cops, and staying on air by saying things like "we shouldn't speculate but .[153]

For local media especially, the relationship with police can be mutually beneficial. During the Lindt Cafe siege, Channel Seven had remarkable access to police operations because they agreed to give them oversight of their picture feeds. The

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[153] Schmid, Alex (1989) 'Terrorism and the Media: The ethics of Publicity', Terrorism and Political Violence 1 (4): 539-565.

police were able to use the material to assess what was happening. The broadcasters in turn had to agree not to show sensitive images live, to have a time delay on their broadcast feed, and to keep some material back until the siege was over.[154]

4.13.6 Not Helping the Terrorist

There is also a long-term issue about how detailed media coverage might help terrorists improve their operational effectiveness. As Javier Delgado Rivera has written, thanks to news media reports, terrorists now know how the FBI tracked the network of the San Bernardino shooters with information from their damaged cell phones. They know that French police linked one of the Paris attackers to the Brussels attacks through parking tickets. Perhaps future terrorists will be more careful:

Detailed media reporting on police investigations can inadvertently help attackers avoid past miscalculations and refine their modus operandi. Journalists would argue that their job is to protect society's right to know. Yet in such exceptional circumstances, editors should ensure that the latest information they feed to their audience is useless to fundamentalists seeking to do harm.[155]

This is especially important as terrorists become increasingly self-radicalized and train themselves partly through the study of previous incidents. Overall, it would be impossible for the news media not to report any circumstantial detail that could help a future terrorist, but as with the reporting of suicide, where journalists refrain from

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[154] Spencer, Alexander (2006a) 'Questioning the Concept of "New Terrorism"', Peace Conflict and Development 8: 1-88.

[155] Schmid, P.A. (1989) "Terrorism and the Media: The Ethics of Publicity", Terrorism and political Violence, 1(4).

describing methods of self-killing, discretion around the depth of information on methods and countermeasures is possible.[156]

This is part of the bigger issue about proportionality around reporting on terror, according to University of Western Australia Professor Michael Jetter:

The purpose of not reporting suicides fully is to not encourage copycats. What German news research projects are doing is they're blowing it up so much that everybody who is seeking attention is really given the signal that, "I will be famous." That is very likely a reason why you see so many more of those things. It's a scary development and I do think they need to think about how they cover things.[157]

As we have seen there are many reasons that journalists might decide to withhold facts or material. This can vary due to the news brand's ethos and their audience culture. British broadcasters now rarely show ISIS propaganda videos, although there is no blanket ban. But when ISIS made a video of a four-year-old British child apparently blowing up a car with captives inside, the *Sun* news research project ran the image as its front page: "Junior Jihadi" and the *New York Post* even ran the story with a slide show of "terrorist photos that made us gag." The coverage was clearly hostile, but it was the kind of publicity ISIS sought.[158] A few months later ISIS released videos showing children executing prisoners. The BBC's Jordan said they

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[156] Nelson, P. S. & Scott, J. L. (1992) "Terrorism and the Media – an empirical analiysis", Defence Economics, 3(4), 1992

[157] Duffy, Helen. 2005. The 'War on Terror' and the Framework of International Law. Cambridge.

[158] Laquer, W. (1987) The Age of Terrorism, Boston: Little Brown. Nelson, P. S. & Scott, J. L. (1992) "Terrorism and the Media – an empirical analiysis", Defence Economics, 3(4), 1992.

chose not to show the images partly because of the issue of consent with a minor, but also because they did not want to help ISIS:

It was perfectly possible to tell that story without using the pictures. The danger is that by showing it there becomes a kind of diminishing return for the terrorist so the next time they have to create something even more outrageous. Arguably, if people had not published those images in the first instance then ISIS would not have made more. This is partly why we don't show propaganda videos unless there is a serious news reason to do so.[159]

The counter argument is that to understand the full horror of terrorism, it is vital to show what they do in full detail. Yet, in a world where just about everything is available online it is difficult to argue that the public is being denied information. In the end, it is a decision that should be thought through by the individual organizations in relation to specific events.

By reporting on a terror event, research suggests that we make another one more likely.[22] So it is important that the scale of reporting as well as its content is considered. The drama and danger combined with the ideological threat and human impact create a compelling narrative cocktail. For *The Guardian*, the 2015 Paris attacks saw more unique visits to its website than any event in its history bar one—the extraordinary story of Britain voting to leave the European Union. The increasing proximity of terror attacks to our everyday lives adds to their fascination and immediacy. The prominence given in terms of duration and visibility of reporting on

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[159] Laquer, W. (1987) The Age of Terrorism, Boston: Little Brown. Nelson, P. S. & Scott, J. L. (1992) "Terrorism and the Media – an empirical analiysis", Defence Economics, 3(4), 1992.

terrorism sends a strong signal to the audience. Judgment on this is not a science, but journalists need to consider external perspectives as well as the temptation of "going big" on a particular incident.

4.13.7 Geographical Bias

There was a lively debate in the wake of the Paris and Brussels attacks comparing the coverage of those incidents with similar incidents in places like Beirut and Ankara. [160]These events were reported in the Western media but not to the same extent. Journalists explained that many of the complaints on social media about this were inaccurate and suggested critics were trying to score political points and demonstrate their own ethical virtue. Journalists point out that even when reported, the coverage attracted far less interest from the public.[161] This is partly because overall audiences will always respond more to news that has relevance to their own lives and for a Western audience; the French and Belgian attacks were on people and a society that the majority population could identify with more readily. ABC's Jon Williams explains:

Our first responsibility is to the audience, and we have a US audience. For them a bomb in Paris is a bigger deal than Baghdad. They visit Paris, they know and care more about France. That's not to say we don't cover the Iraq incident but we will generally tell stories that connect with our audience. In the same way an earthquake in Italy is more important than the same deaths in Sumatra because these places speak to Americans in a way that others don't. It's different if you are a global

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[160] Berg. 2004. Terrorism: The New International Challenge (paper presented at the public workshop, How Should Fiji Respond to the Threat of Terrorism?, Citizens' Constitutional Forum and the Fiji Human Rights Commission, 17 July 2004, Suva, Fiji).
[161] Shirky, Clay, 2002a, 9 Sep. "Broadcast Institutions, Community Values," Clay Shirky's Writings about the Internet: Economics & Culture, Media & Community

broadcaster is like the BBC with a less defined idea of the audience—but our audience is in the USA.[162]

He also points out that the attacks in Europe this summer were significant because they represented a change in strategy by ISIS. They also raised fresh questions about community relations in those countries and the military/political strategy of governments in domestic and foreign policy areas.

The recent American terror events were also qualitatively different. The San Bernardino attacks were by "home-grown" extremists radicalized by online jihadist propaganda. The Orlando nightclub shooting was claimed by ISIS as inspired by them, although it seems the perpetrator was also driven by homophobia. Likewise, the Dallas police shooting challenged the usual frame of "terror" but it clearly had ideological motives, was connected to extremist groups, and sought to spread fear.

Journalists should always be reflecting on their editorial judgments and the quality of their coverage. Reporting by Western media of the European and American attacks tended to focus more on the victims. It used more emotive, compassionate, and outraged language. It stressed the surprise of the attacks, while the incidents in Lebanon, for example, were in a violent region. More voices and detail from non-Western incidents would help redress the tonal balance, while more foregrounding of the connections with western politics would close the interest gap, too. These are perennial concerns regarding coverage of international stories but the paradox is that

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[162] Simon, Jeffrey (1987) 'Misperceiving the Terrorist Threat', RAND Publication Series, R-3423-RC (June), available at: www.rand.org/pubs/reports/2008/R3423.pdf [8.11.2011].

it is now much easier to cover distant events in the same way as "domestic" incidents. The extent of the discrepancy is a matter of editorial choice and effort.

4.14 Quality, Context, and Constructive Reporting

Under the pressure of limited time and resources the news media is still a powerful and efficient resource for reporting and understanding complicated and challenging incidents. As the UK Editor of BuzzFeed, Janine Gibson, points out, the large amount of information around these events can paradoxically make creating a clear narrative more difficult:

Perpetrators now leave a much wider information footprint. They leave records of their lives on social media or they make videos and write messages. Friends or witnesses provide a whole load more material to sift through. We just know more about everybody. So the picture we try to build is much more complex and hard to simplify into the usual clichés.[163]

The audience now expects analysis and context almost simultaneously with reporting of the facts. Social media means that there is an instant explosion of often-erroneous information that presents the journalist with an additional task, that Gibson says BuzzFeed has taken on, along with its breaking news and background coverage:

In a breaking crisis situation, we usually set up a thread for "myth-busting" that will point out fake images or correct false leads and give basic background information. People expect us to do that and they trust us to do it. We ask readers to send us things they find and we will check it out. It's a kind of media literacy and I think young

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[163] Weimann, Gabriel and Winn, Conrad (1994) The Theater of Terror. Mass Media and International Terrorism, New york: longman

people in particular feel pride in correcting mistakes seen on social or mainstream media.[164]

There are individual journalists such as Rukmini Callimachi of *The New York Times* who write compellingly, critically, and with a large reservoir of knowledge. Her lengthy piece based on an interview with a former ISIS member, for example, provided deep information on its organization, strategy, and training of recruits who then make up its diffuse international network. Research shows that this kind of narrative, using defectors, is effective in giving credible insights into terrorist motives.

Understanding the history helps understand the resultant terror attacks. The on ISIS's dealing in the oil market was an outstanding use of interactive graphics that showed how the terror organization was funding itself and its links with international markets. This kind of background reporting is an essential supplement to the reporting of terror events. As media researcher Arda Bilgen has written, this helps with the "desecuritization" of narratives. Instead of concentrating only on the incident, the victims, and the drama of the disruption of normal life, this kind of objective, fact-based, nonpartisan reporting helps differentiate the various terror types and provide much-needed clarity.[165]

Collectively, news teams now deploy new tools such as data visualization, video with text, and short-form explainers to enhance audience understanding across a wide

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[164] Picard, Robert G.; Sheets, Rhonda S. (1987): *Terrorism and the News Media: A Research Bibliography Part I. Political Communication,* 4(1), 65-69
[165] Tuman, J.S. (2003) Communicating Terror: The Rhetorical Dimensions of Terrorism. London: SAGE Publications.

range of platforms. These platforms, such as Snapchat, can also reach different demographics. "Digitally native" news organizations have been pioneers at finding new styles for gaining attention for these difficult topics. VICE documentaries on ISIS, for example, have gained remarkable access, and their style of less mediated, less formulaic reporting allows the audience a more direct insight into their subject.[166]

Journalism must be independent, critical, and realistic, but there is opportunity for narratives of resistance, solidarity, and compassion. This would also help a fearful or jaded public engage with the issues and generate a more positive discussion about resilience in the face of the threat and a better quality of debate around "solutions," according to Bilgen:

Implementing certain [editorial] policies that are different than the previous failed policies can facilitate the breaking of that cycle by forcing at least one side of the equation–the media–to act in a more responsible, more conscious, and more cooperative manner. Only then starving the terrorists of the oxygen of publicity on which they depend can become possible and more robust steps can be taken to win the ideological and actual battle against terrorism.[167]

Perhaps most urgently, it would arrest a tendency towards Islamophobia. This is a problem for society, not just the news media. As Mary Hockaday, the BBC's controller of World Service English, points out, this can be a question of responding to those who are themselves trying to create more constructive narratives around terror:

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[166] Arnison, Matthew, 2002, Nov., "Open Editing: A Crucial Part of Open Publishing," http://www.cat.org.au/maffew/cat/openedit.html (accessed 11 Dec. 2003).

[167] Bardoel, Jo, and Mark Deuze, 2001, Dec. "'Network Journalism': Converging Competencies of Old and New Media Professionals," Australian Journalism Review 23.3, pp. 91–103.

I thought it was very interesting that the Imams who attended the funeral in Rouen were quite clear they wanted to do it and needed to do it to "show" they are different. They fully understood image matters–and didn't complain about needing to attend to that. It's therefore really important that we the media report the voices who appeal to better nature, to peace, which show solidarity, and the people working hard and painstakingly at counter-radicalization. Not because I'm a softy, but because these things are also true and need to be said over and over again to counter the negative.[168]

One example of solutions-oriented journalism broadcast in the same week as the Brussels attacks was a short news film by the BBC that looked at Mechelen, another Belgian town with a high Muslim population, that seems to have avoided any significant radicalization through a policy of "zero tolerance" policing and outreach policies. It allowed the city mayor to explain his policies in detail and got high viewing figures.

Journalism around terror events also has a role in mediating the emotional impact for the audience. There is an element of useful ritual about the creation of instant shrines at the scene of incidents, the memorial services, and the expressions of condolence. Social media and platforms now play a part in that, with special hashtags or profile flags to show solidarity. By showing this process of grieving, the news media helps communities recover from the trauma.[169] By focusing on the victims rather than the

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[169] Nelson, P. S. & Scott, J. L. (1992) "Terrorism and the Media – an empirical analiysis", Defence Economics, 3(4), 1992.

perpetrators, journalists can bring humanity and dignity back into a narrative of destruction and fear. Samantha Barry of CNN explains:

Our audience tells us in a number of ways that they want us to focus on the victims. One of the most powerful pieces we did which achieved unprecedented levels of engagement across all platforms was when Anderson Cooper choked up reading the names of the Orlando victims. We try to be impersonal in how we report, but we are not robots. And the audience needs good news, too. Survivor stories are important as are those stories of personal courage such as the people who went back into the Bataclan nightclub to save their friends.[170]

Emotion used to be seen as an indulgence in hard news journalism, but when it comes to terrorism it is important to treat it as more than a commodity, especially with the advent of social media. Part of this is acknowledging the emotional impact of terrorist events on the journalist themselves.[29] Anderson Cooper's tears over the Orlando massacre run the risk of appearing too personally involved with the story. But it is possible to include feelings as part of storytelling without diluting factual and critical perspective. BuzzFeed's Gibson says news organizations should be able to operate in different modes without compromising overall integrity:

With these events we are operating in three dimensions at the same time. We are simultaneously doing the breaking news, the analysis, and we are also sending reporters without a specific deadline to go find out what is going on—not to talk to the police but to talk to people to get the emotion behind the story. To go to vigils to

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[170] Hiler, John, 2002a, 11 April, "Are Bloggers Journalists? On the Rise of Amateur Journalism and the Need for a Blogging Code of Ethics," Microcontent News,

talk to people to get their testimony but also to get the reasons why people were out and about in the wake of the event–seeing it from bottom up.[171]

Perhaps most important is to ensure that this is inclusive of the wider communities involved, be they the LBGT population of Florida or the Muslims of Europe. Humanizing terror's victims and their communities may be the best counter-extremist measure media can provide.

Journalism, Terror, and Digital Platforms

This chapter will examine the increasingly important role of platforms such as Facebook, Google, Apple, and Twitter in providing information, connecting to journalism, and framing narratives around terror news events.

4.14.1 The Power of the Platforms

The major platforms are now increasingly the way the Western public accesses news about terror. Twitter, Facebook, Google, and Apple provide the infrastructure for mainstream news media to disseminate their material. Sixty-two percent of Americans now say they get news via social media. Sixty-three percent of American Twitter and Facebook users say they get news from those platforms, with Twitter especially popular for breaking news (59 percent). Facebook also owns the hugely popular social messaging apps Instagram and WhatsApp. Snapchat is increasingly used by news brands like CNN and vice, who push content to users through Snapchat Discovery.

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[171] Laquer, W. (1987) The Age of Terrorism, Boston: Little Brown. Nelson, P. S. & Scott, J. L. (1992) "Terrorism and the Media – an empirical analiysis", Defence Economics, 3(4), 1992.

Platforms also aggregate news stories through Apple News, Google News, and Twitter Moments. They make deals with news organizations to feature journalism, further shaping the dissemination and consumption of news. They are also starting to provide new production tools for journalists such as livestreaming on Facebook and YouTube or through apps such as Twitter's Periscope. Journalists have lost control over the dissemination of their work. This is a crucial challenge for the news media overall, but the issue is especially acute when it comes to reporting on terror.[172]

The platforms provide an unprecedented resource for the public to upload, access, and share information and commentary around terror events. This is a huge opportunity for journalists to connect with a wider public. But key questions are also raised: Are social media platforms now becoming journalists and publishers by default, if not by design? How should news organizations respond to the increasing influence of platforms around terror events? Facebook is becoming dominant in the mediation of information for the public, which raises all sorts of concerns about monetization, influence, and control over how narratives around terrorist incidents are shaped.

As *Guardian* Editor Katharine Viner points out, we live in a world of information abundance, a world where "truth" is often harder to establish than before, partly because of social media:

Now, we are caught in a series of confusing battles between opposing forces: between truth and falsehood, fact and rumor, kindness and cruelty; between the few and the many, the connected and the alienated; between the open platform of the web as its

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[172] Goetz, Thomas, 2003, Nov., "Open Source Everywhere," Wired 11.11, http://www.wired.com/wired/archive/11.11/opensource_pr.html (accessed 1 Oct. 2004)

architects envisioned it and the gated enclosures of Facebook and other social networks; between an informed public and a misguided mob.[173]

It is in the public interest for these platforms to give people the best of news coverage at critical periods. But will that happen?

Facebook's role in the dissemination of news is concerning because it is not an open and accountable organization. Recently, a Facebook moderator removed a story by Norwegian newsresearch project *Aftenposten* that featured the famous "napalm girl" image of a girl running from an attack during the Vietnam War. It was removed because the image violated the platform's Community Standards on showing naked children. When Facebook deleted the image, *Aftenposten*'s editor accused Facebook's Mark Zuckerberg of "an abuse of power":

I am upset, disappointed – well, in fact even afraid – of what you are about to do to a mainstay of our democratic society.

However, initially, even when the historic context of the image was pointed out along with its importance to the news story, Facebook stood by its stance:

While we recognize that this photo is iconic, it's difficult to create a distinction between allowing a photograph of a nude child in one instance and not others.[174]

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[173] Papacharissi, Zizi and de Fatima Oliveira, Maria (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.
[174] Schmid, Alex (1989) 'Terrorism and the Media: The ethics of Publicity', Terrorism and Political Violence 1 (4): 539-565.

Following a global outcry—including thousands of people posting the image on Facebook—they backed down and said they would review their policy and consult with publishers.

This case was more than a one-off failure of judgment by Facebook. It is a symptom of a systematic, structural problem. CEO Mark Zuckerberg insists that Facebook is "a tech company, not a media company….we build the tools, we do not produce any content." Yet Facebook aggregates news, and its algorithms and moderation teams influence what news appears in people's streams. It recently reviewed its procedures in response to fears that human editors on the trending team might have a "liberal" bias. An internal inquiry did not find evidence of bias, but it did make clear that both algorithms and human curators are making judgments in a similar way to how a news organization filters information. Other platforms that curate news content, such as YouTube, face similar issues.[175] They may not call themselves news or media companies, but they are editors of journalism.

This is a pressing policy problem, and the platforms are eager to engage in a dialogue. Tackling this is critical to them partly because it might drag them into regulatory oversight that will limit their control over their own platforms. However, there is a fundamental clash of interests between the publishers and platforms, which makes it hard to establish such policies. News is a good way of getting people to come to their platform, but it is a relatively minor part of their business (more so for Twitter than Facebook). How the platforms deal with this in regard to terrorism is an extreme case

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[175] Gillmor, Dan, 2003a, "Foreword," in Shane Bowman, and Chris Willis, We Media: How Audiences Are Shaping the Future of News and Information, Reston, Va.: The Media Center at the Kenyan Press Institute, http://www.hypergene.net/wemedia/download/we_media.pdf (accessed 21 May 2004).

of a wider problem, but it brings the issues into sharp focus and reminds us of what is at stake.

4.14.2 The Platforms and Breaking News

When two men murdered off-duty British soldier Lee Rigby in Woolwich, London, in 2013, it was a precursor of the attacks of summer 2016 in America and Europe. The attackers used the incident to promote their extremist Islamist ideologies. It provoked a limited anti-Muslim backlash, such as an attack on a mosque, two potential copycat incidents, and at least one white supremacist "revenge" attack. The British government responded by setting up an anti-extremist task force.

As Rigby was being attacked in the street, bystanders were tweeting about it. One person recorded a video of one of the attackers—with blood still on his hands— talking about why he had carried out the killing. Aresearch project by Britain's Economics and Social Research Council that looked at the Woolwich incident concludes that social media is the place where this kind of news breaks with important implications for "first responders." The report also says social media is now a key driver of public understanding. This has implications for the authorities, the study states, but also for the platforms, who must consider their role in mediating the public reaction to avoid negative outcomes in terms of both further incidents and community relations.[176]

For mainstream media, this was a test case of how to handle user-generated content in a breaking terror news situation. As *The Sun* Managing Editor Richard Caseby said:

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[176] Hiler, John, 2002a, 11 April, "Are Bloggers Journalists? On the Rise of Amateur Journalism and the Need for a Blogging Code of Ethics," Microcontent News,

This was very graphic and disturbing content. Would it only serve as propaganda fueling further outrages? These are difficult moral dilemmas played out against tight deadlines, intense competition, and a desire to be respectful to the dead and their loved ones.

The video first appeared on YouTube in full. News channels such as Sky carried the footage of Michael Adabalajo wielding a machete and ranting at onlookers. ITN obtained exclusive rights to run it on the early evening bulletin, just hours after the incident and before 9 p.m., known in the UK as the "watershed," after which broadcasters are permitted to air adult content. Those reports, unlike the YouTube footage circulated on social media, were edited and contextualized, and warnings were given. But there were still more than 700 complaints from the public about the various broadcasts, including on radio. [177]The UK's broadcasting regulator Ofcom cleared the broadcasters and said their use of the material was justified, although it did have concerns about "health warnings" and published repeated guidelines.[31]

For the platforms, it brought up two issues. Firstly, it was through the platforms that the news broke, raising questions about their responsibility for content uploaded to their networks. Second, the incident raised a problem about the platforms' reporting of users who post inflammatory material. This second issue emerged during the trial of the second attacker, Michael Adebowale. Adebowale had posted plans for violence on Facebook, and its automated monitoring system had closed some of his accounts.

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[177] Fox, Julia, Glory Koloen, and Volkan Sahin. (2007, Summer). "No Joke: A Comparison of Substance in The Daily Show with Jon Stewart and Broadcast Network Television Coverage of the 2004 Presidential Campaign." Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media, vol. 51, no. 2.

This information was not forwarded to the security services. Facebook was accused of irresponsibility, including by the then UK Prime Minister David Cameron:

If companies know that terrorist acts are being plotted, they have a moral responsibility to act. I cannot think of any reason why they would not tell the authorities.[178]

Facebook's standard response is that it does not comment on individual accounts but that it does act to remove content that could support terrorism. Like all platforms, it argues that it cannot compromise the privacy of its users.

The three main platforms—Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube—all have broadly similar approaches to dealing with content curation during a terror event. All have codes that make it clear they do not accept content that promotes terrorism, celebrates extreme violence, or promotes hate speech. Twitter's stance is typical:

We are horrified by the atrocities perpetrated by extremist groups. We condemn the use of Twitter to promote terrorism and the Twitter Rules make it clear that this type of behavior, or any violent threat, is not permitted on our service.[179]

Twitter has taken down over 125,000 accounts since 2015, mainly connected to ISIS. It has increased its moderation teams and use of automated technology such as spam-fighting bots to improve its monitoring. It collaborates with intelligence agencies and has begun a proactive program of outreach to organizations such as the Institute for Strategic Dialogue to support online counter-extremist activities.

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[178] Norris, Pippa, Kern, Montague and Just, Marion (eds.) (2003) Framing Terrorism. The News Media, the Government and the Public, london: Routledge.
[179] Wieviorka, M. (1993) The Making of Terrorism. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

As Twitter has stated, these platforms are in a different situation to news organizations. They are open platforms dealing with a vast amount of content that can only be filtered post-publication. They are still developing the systems to manage the problem:

There is no "magic algorithm" for identifying terrorist content on the internet, so global online platforms are forced to make challenging judgment calls based on very limited information and guidance. In spite of these challenges, we will continue to aggressively enforce our Rules in this area, and engage with authorities and other relevant organizations to find solutions to this critical issue and promote powerful counter-speech narratives.[180]

Google says the public assumes there is a technical fix, but in practice the volume and diversity of material (40 hours of video are uploaded every minute to YouTube) make it impossible to automate a perfect system of instant policing of content.[181] Artificial intelligence and machine learning can augment systems of community alerts. But even if a piece of content is noted, a value judgment has to be made about its status and what action to take. Should the material be removed, or a warning added?

This puts the platforms in a bind. YouTube, for instance, wants to hang onto its status as a safe harbor for material that might not be published elsewhere. When video was uploaded of the results of alleged chemical weapons attacks on rebels in Syria, judgment about their graphic nature and impact. Much of the material was uploaded by combatants, but YouTube had to make judgments about how authentic or

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[180] Tuman, J.S. (2003) Communicating Terror: The Rhetorical Dimensions of Terrorism. London: SAGE Publications
[181] D. Gillmor (2006), p. 14.

propagandistic it was. YouTube says it generally makes such judgments case by case; in this instance, many mainstream news organizations were then able to use that material from YouTube in their own reporting.[182]

4.14.3 Live streaming

This problem of balancing protection of the audience, security considerations, and social responsibility with privacy and free speech becomes with the arrival of new tools such as live video streaming from Facebook Live, Twitter Periscope, YouTube, and even Snapchat and Instagram.[183] This affords ordinary citizens the opportunity of broadcasting live. Many people welcome it as an example of the opening up of media. But what happens when a terrorist like Larossi Aballa uses Facebook Live to broadcast himself after murdering a French policeman and his wife, holding their 3-year-old child hostage, broadcasting threats, and promoting ISIS? The Rigby killers relied on witnesses to broadcast them after the incident, but Aballa was live and in control of his own feed. That material was reused by news media but edited and contextualized.[184]

There is a case for allowing virtually unfettered access that gives citizens a direct and immediate, unfiltered voice. Diamond Reynolds filmed the shooting of her boyfriend Philando Castile by a police officer in St. Paul, Minnesota, live on Facebook. The video was watched by millions, shared across social media as well as re-broadcast on

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[182] Walter Laqueur. "The New Terrorism: Fanaticism and the Arms of Mass

[183] Kurtulus, Ersun (2011) 'The "New Terrorism" and its Critics', Studies in Conflict and Terrorism 34(6): 501-511.

[184] S. Lacy et al., "Citizen Journalism Web Sites Complement Newspapers', Newspaper Research Journal, Vol.31, No. 2, Spring 2010, pp. 34–46; M. Deuze, 'Th e Future of Citizen Journalism", in S. Allan and E. Th orson (2009), pp. 255–264

news channels and websites. It attracted attention partly because it was the latest in a series of incidents where African Americans were subject to alleged police brutality. In this case, Facebook Live made a systematic injustice visible through the rapid reach of the platforms. Local police contested her version of events, but the live broadcast and the rapid spread of the video meant her narrative had a powerful impact on public perception. It was contextualized to varying degrees when re-used by news organizations, but the narrative was driven to a large extent by Reynolds and her supporters.[185]

News organizations need to consider how to report these broadcasts and what to do with the material. Research shows varying approaches to dealing with this kind of graphic footage, even when not related to terrorism. Should news organizations include direct access to live video as part of their coverage, as they might from an affiliate or a video news agency? In principle, they all resist becoming an unedited, unfiltered platform for live video broadcasts by anyone, with no editorial control.

Emily Bell, Director of the Tow Center for Digital Journalism at Columbia's Journalism School, points out that this reflects a difference between news organizations and the digital platforms:

When asking news journalists and executives "if you could develop something which let anyone live stream video onto your platform or website, would you?" the answer after some thought was nearly always "no." For many publishers the risk of even leaving unmoderated comments on a website was great enough, the idea of the world

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[185]Off Th eBus was an experiment by Huffi ngton Post founder Arianna Huffi ngton and journalism professor Jay Rosen during the 2008 U.S. presidential campaign, where citizen journalists followed the Democratic candidate's campaign across the country

self-reporting under your brand remains anathema. And the platform companies are

beginning to understand why.[186]

Media organizations have to negotiate with the platforms about how to inhabit the same space when these dilemmas arise. Sometimes, they have to act unilaterally. For example, CNN has turned off auto play for video on its own Facebook pages around some terror events and routinely puts up warning slates for potentially disturbing content.[187]

4.14.4 How the Platforms Handle Risk and Responsibility

The platforms are acting to protect users from harmful content, as well as to comply with security considerations. Facebook, for example, deactivated of Korryn Gaines (who was later shot and killed) during a standoff with police. A mainstream media organization might well have complied with a similar request. However, it raised questions as to why that particular action was taken, but not others. The perceived inconsistency of the platforms' policies comes from a lack of clarity and transparency. Twitter has removed ISIS-related material, but it does not always do the same for homophobic or racist tweets. In the wake of the Dallas shooting of police officers, there was a spate of extremist messaging that Twitter struggled to moderate. The company accepts it has a problem:

We know many people believe we have not done enough to curb this type of behavior

on Twitter. We agree. We are continuing to invest heavily in improving our tools and

enforcement systems to better allow us to identify and take faster action on abuse as

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[186] S. Bowman, C. Willis (2003), p. 9, available at http:// www.hypergene.net/wemedia/ (accessed 24 September 2010)
[187] Helen Boaden, BBC Head of News, quoted in S.Allan and E. Th orsen (2009), p. 4.

it's happening and prevent repeat offenders. We have been in the process of reviewing our hateful conduct policy to prohibit additional types of abusive behavior and allow more types of reporting.[188]

These platforms insist they are not publishers, let alone journalistic organizations. Their business is built upon providing an easy-access, open channel for the public to communicate. The terms and conditions of use, however, allow them to remove content, including shutting off live video.[189] This is now done according to a set of criteria that are enforced through a combination of automated systems that identify key words, flagging of offensive content by users, and decisions by platform employees to remove or block the content or to put up a warning. This sort of post-publication filtering is not the same process as a journalist selecting material pre-publication.

However, it is editing. It involves making calculations of harm and judgments about taste. Monika Bickert, Facebook's head of policy, has said the platform does not leave this decision to algorithms. Instead, decisions are made on the basis of what is uploaded and how it is shared.[190] Someone condemning a video of hate speech might not, for example, have his or her account suspended, but someone sharing the same video in a way that incites further hatred might:

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[188] M. Wall, "Th e Taming of the Warblogs: Citizen Journalism and the War in Iraq", in S. Allan and E. Th orson (2009), p. 34.

[189] Citizen journalism has also been very successful at the hyperlocal level. See J. Schaff er, Citizen media: fad or the future of news? Th e rise and prospects of hyperlocal journalism, J-Lab, 2007, available at http://www.kcnn.org/research/citizen_media_report/ (accessed 4 November 2010).

[190] S. Ackerman, "Mexico's Top Narco-Blogger Comes Forward", Wired, available at http://www.wired.com/dangerroom/2010/09/mexicos-topnarco-blogger-comes-forward/ (accessed 28 April 2011).

Was it somebody who was explicitly condemning violence or raising awareness? Or was it somebody who was celebrating violence or not making clear their intention or mocking a victim of violence?

The obvious, critical difference with a news organization is that platforms do not have control over the content creators as they create and publish material.

Because of their much wider structural role, platforms have agreed to co-operate more extensively with the authorities on counterterrorism than news organizations and journalists often do. In the UK, there is the formal D Notice process that allows authorities to make one-off arrangements with news organizations to delay publication of security-sensitive material. When *The Guardian* was preparing publication of the Snowden revelations, its Editor Alan Rusbridger had conversations with British intelligence.[191] However, the relationship between the authorities and the news media is always ad hoc and built on the idea of journalistic independence, even hostility. *The Guardian* ended up with British intelligence officers coming into its newsrooms to destroy hard-drives that carried the classified information. Technology companies have also resisted attempts to allow the authorities more access to their data and to preserve the privacy of their users. But the Snowden revelations suggest that intelligence agencies have been successfully targeting online communications covertly.

4.14.5 Shaping the Narrative: Filter Bubbles and Polarization

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[191] Current TV was founded in 2005 by former U.S. Vice President Al Gore and former politician and attorney Joel Hyatt, as the result of disenchantment with U.S. news networks. Available through cable in the U.S., the UK, Ireland and Italy, current.tv has led the way in creating a model of interactive viewer created content (VC2) and has won several awards, including an Emmy for Best Interactive Television Service in 2007

It is important for journalists to understand how platforms shape the framing of issues and the public's response. Posting on social media has a performative element; people say things because they are feeling emotional or signaling a point of view. Especially during the coverage of terror events, the reaction of the online public will be instinctive, and not necessarily representative. That does not mean it should not be noted and taken into account. But the danger of narratives built on social media content or that use social media as a proxy for what people are saying is that it privileges a highly selective sample.

Currently, the platforms' algorithms are tuned to bring personalized content that heightens engagement. The danger of this approach is that it clearly shapes the distribution of content to what people like, and users may be more likely to see political content they agree with rather than a broad spectrum of opinions. This is particularly relevant to terror events because evidence shows the online happens with divisive issues around ideology and race. Research on online echo chambers has mixed results. But it does suggest that the polarization is partially reinforced by social media, particularly by certain platforms such as Twitter.[192]

Sometimes this has a positive motivation. After the Paris attacks, Facebook encouraged people to add the French flag to their profiles to demonstrate solidarity with the people of France. That immediately raised the question of whether it would do the same for every country that suffered a terrorist incident. Facebook would prefer this to be done by algorithms that are more powerful, faster, and cheaper than humans. Indeed, it has reportedly shifted further away from human curation on

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[192] See D. Gillmor (2006), pp. 1–4 for examples in the U.S.; also L. Salter, "Issues for Citizen Journalism", in S. Allan and E. Th orson (2009), p. 178

its trending online news streams, partly because of allegations of a liberal human bias. Algorithms are ultimately programmed by humans, but the main work of selection and personalized dissemination of content will be done automatically. This is of particular concern when the subject is political. [193]

4.15 Guarding Journalism

In dark times people need light and journalism at its best can provide it. Stories told with style and attachment to the values of press freedom help people better understand the complex world in which we live. With this in mind journalists' unions and associations have launched the Ethical Journalism Initiative, a global campaign to help journalists to reconnect to their mission. In the face of deepening global crisis — economic downturn, terrorism and conflict, climate change, poverty and disease — there is an even greater need for journalism to break down walls of prejudice, ignorance and powerlessness and for media to be the watchdog of government. That is not so easy in the age of the Internet, when there is no such concept as only local news. At the click of a mouse, the parochial becomes global and people in their hundreds of millions are connected at their computers or through their telephones, in ways which were unthinkable even a few years ago. [194]

Even though people should be able to enjoy easy access to reports that provide meaning to the events shaping their lives, much of the technology and innovation creaks under the weight of trivial, mischievous, and intrusive content. At the same

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[193] One of the most effi cient uses of crowdsourcing has occurred in the United Kingdom since July 2009, when the Guardian asked readers to look closely at their Member of Parliament's expenses and help verify the facts in 458,832 offi cial documents indicating misuse of expenses claims; as of 2 November 2010, 27,249 readers have reviewed 221,850 documents at a cost of around GBP 50 for the newspaper.

[194] A. Bruns, Produsage: Towards a Broader Framework for User-Led Content Creation, presented at the Creativity & Cognition Conference, Washington, D.C., 2007.

time, media are in tumult. Converging technologies have changed the way journalists work and previously profitable market models no longer deliver rich returns. Employers are cutting back on costs, creating precarious workplaces where high standards of journalism are increasingly difficult to achieve. This puts pressure on notions of media attachment to ethical principles. In some parts of the world media markets are expanding as globalization and increasing literacy provide new audiences, but these positive trends are offset by corporate or political influences that undermine journalism and create an ethical vacuum with poor standards of accountability.

Not surprisingly, journalists are organizing to defend their rights and to distance themselves from banal, superficial and cynical media. They stand up for the virtues of journalism based upon social responsibility and values. Journalism poses unique ethical challenges. Every journalist is individually responsible for maintaining standards in his or her own work. But media are collective endeavours where each journalist's work is processed and channeled into a product, whose shape is usually directed by private proprietors or governmental management boards. There is intrinsic tension between the principles of ethical journalism and the demands of profit hungry businesses and pressure from non-journalistic managers or owners. Collective codes of practice and collective means of monitoring them are essential. Unions of journalists are ideally placed to lead a process of drawing up, negotiating and upholding codes of ethical conduct. [195]The Ethical Journalism Initiative challenges particular threats such as those posed by a resurgence of racism or cultural or religious conflict. It is a call for renewal of value-based journalism across the entire media field and comes with a simple message: journalism is not propaganda and

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[195] S. Bowman, C. Willis, We Media, Reston, VA: Th e Media Center at Th e Kenyan Press Institute, 2003, p. 9, available at http://www.hypergene. net/wemedia/ (accessed 24 September 2010).

media products are not just economic, they add value to democracy and to the quality of people's lives. There is also a compelling business case for ethical journalism. Quality journalism builds trust, and trust in journalism is a brand that helps to win market share and commitment from the audience. Ethical journalism is right, not just because it acts in the public interest, but also because it is the way to build a long-term future for media. This book provides a detailed background to the origins of the Ethical Journalism Initiative and explores the ethical traditions that underpin the work of journalists and media today. [196]

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[196] J. Rosen, Th e People Formerly Known as the Audience, PressTh ink, http://archive.pressthink.org/2006/06/27/ppl_frmr.html (accessed 4 November 2010).

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of findings on the need of responsive citizen journalism in Kenya.

5.2 Discussion

Citizen journalism plays a major role in Kenya. The polarization of opinion around terror is also potentially worrisome.

One of the great advantages of the internet was the possibility of connecting to a greater range of sources and perspectives, but the algorithms of search and social counter this. This raises serious questions about the public formation of opinion around terror events, whether minority views will be excluded and a diverse debate on terrorism homogenized. Part of the role of a healthy news media is to provide that wider and deeper perspective and to include challenging as well as reassuring views. The platform algorithms seem to militate against that.

The platforms are in a difficult place in terms of the competing pressures of corporate self-interest, the demands of their consumers for open access, the public interest involved in supporting good journalism, and fostering secure and cohesive societies. They are relatively young organizations that have grown quickly, and are still accreting institutional knowledge on these issues.

The platforms have accepted they have a public policy role in combatting terrorism. Facebook now has a head of policy for counter-terrorism. They have gone further than most Western news media in allowing themselves to be co-opted into counter-

terrorism initiatives. Yet any intervention raises questions. For example, Facebook offered free advertising for accounts that post anti-extremist content. But which ones and how far should it go? The platforms all say this is a developing area, and they are still consulting to see what is most effective and most consistent with the goal of being politically neutral. Platforms like Google argue they are only part of an existing conversation with governments and international bodies. They point out it is not for them to push a counter-narrative as it probably would not be credible or authentic. Instead they see their job as enabling the capacity of others.

The platforms do provide an opportunity for building social solidarity in the wake of these incidents far beyond the ability of news media. In the wake of the Lee Rigby killing, there was widespread reaction on social media expressing shock and disgust at the attacks including from many Muslims. There were also positive social media initiatives that sought to pay respect to the victim. But some reaction was incendiary and anti-Islamic. Some people faced charges for inciting racial hatred on social media. At the height of the European attacks in July 2016, one study recorded 7,000 Islamophobic tweets daily in English, compared to 2,500 in April. More could be done to police these conversations, but as we have seen, there is a limit at the moment to its efficacy. As Martin Innes, the author of a report on social media and terror, warns, this is still a nascent science:

Traditional "big data" science statistical methods can be misleading in terms of how and why events are unfolding after major terrorist incidents, due to the complex conflict and information dynamics. Theory-driven methods of data analysis need to be urgently developed to realize the potential of social media analytics.

British MPs recently criticized the platforms for not doing enough to counter ISIS. The then-Chairman of the Commons Home Affairs Select Committee, Keith Vaz said:

They must accept that the hundreds of millions in revenues generated from billions of people using their products needs to be accompanied by a greater sense of responsibility and ownership for the impact that extremist material on their sites is having.

However, the platforms say they are already doing much to remove incendiary content. As the radicalization expert Peter Neumann, from London's Kings College, has pointed out, media is only a part of the extremist strategy:

The vast majority of ISIS recruits that have gone to Syria from Britain and other European countries have been recruited via peer-to-peer interaction, not through the internet alone. Blaming Facebook, Google, or Twitter for this phenomenon is quite simplistic, and I'd even say misleading.

The platforms (and the news media) cannot police these networks alone. There is also a responsibility for the authorities to monitor and engage with social media and to actively counter bad information and to provide reliable, real-time streams of information. Ultimately, the price of open access and exchange on these platforms might be an element of negative and harmful material.

However, just because these issues are complex does not mean platforms cannot adapt their policies and practices. It might be a virtual switch put in place to delay live feeds that contain violence. More "honest-broker" agencies such as Storyful or First Draft

might emerge to act as specialist filters around terror events. One suggestion has been platforms like Facebook should hire teams of fact-checkers. Another is they should hire senior journalists to act as editors.

Of course, those last suggestions would make those self-declared tech companies more like news media. But we now inhabit what Andrew Chadwick[32] calls a "hybrid media" environment where distinctions are blurred. News organizations have had to change to adapt to social networks, and platforms too must continue to develop the way they behave in the face of breaking news. Companies such as Facebook and Google are already reaching out to journalists and publishers to find ways of working that combine their strengths. Twitter and Facebook, for example, have created a coalition organized by verification agency First Draft with 20 news media organizations to find new ways to filter out fake news. Platforms and the news media both have much to gain in terms of trust by taking the initiative instead of waiting for angry governments to impose solutions that hurt creativity and freedom in the name of security. One only has to glance at more repressive regimes around the world to see the price paid for democracy when reactionary governments restrict any form of media in the name of public safety.

5.3 Conclusion

From the findings the study concluded that more Conclusion

This research project has set out a range of problems in reporting on terrorism that are practical, political, ethical, and structural. This is an evolving issue as both the nature of terrorism and media environment continue to change. This research project has also

highlighted good practice and innovation that suggests progress is not just possible, but is already happening. Yet we need a process of self-critical debate both within newsrooms and between the news media and other people involved in these narratives.

The practical problem is of improving accuracy and providing better-informed context. It is particularly difficult with limited resources and rapidly multiplying sources and platforms. The same technologies that give journalists the power to report quicker and more extensively also speed up the news cycle and fill the public sphere with confusing, false, and complex information. Yet verification can be improved by adopting better techniques and insisting on standards across all platforms and under all circumstances. Greater transparency is a key attitudinal change that will help improve the search for truth and build trust.

The political problems are harder to solve. Journalists must understand the way they frame these stories has an impact on individuals, communities, and public policy. The fact news media gives publicity to the terrorist is a problem that cannot be completely resolved. But journalism can be created in ways that reduce the propaganda effect for either the terrorist or the panicked politician. By showing more empathy for the people involved and including more constructive narratives of resilience and understanding, the news media can at least counter the sense of fear and hopelessness terror news can induce.

The technology companies that provide platforms for the public and journalists to discuss and debate terrorism must do much more to improve how they filter and distribute information. There must be a more productive dialogue between the

platforms and the news media about how their relationship can work better for the public good. Promoting more "good" journalism would be a start. In the same way the news media has to accept a wider responsibility for effects of reporting on terror, the digital giants must also recognize they are not just data or tech companies. They are part of the creation of narratives and formation of public opinion.

5.4 Recommendation

The study recommends that more It is important we get this right. Trust in American media has plummeted to new lows. At a time when journalism is facing an economic crisis, we must rebuild the public's confidence. Consumers have so many alternatives to mainstream news media and so many distractions from journalism overall, we need to prove our worth. Terrorism is a key testing ground. Improving coverage of terrorism is important because violent extremism is a significant issue and symptomatic of wider problems around the world. The case for more intelligent, informed, and socially responsible reporting of terror is not just a moral plea. It is a chance to show journalism remains a vital part of modern society.

5.5 Suggestion for further research

Urgent research is need on companies such as Facebook and Google are already reaching out to journalists and publishers to find ways of working that combine their strengths. Twitter and Facebook, for example, have created a coalition organized by verification agency First Draft with 20 news media organizations to find new ways to filter out fake news. Platforms and the news media both have much to gain in terms of trust by taking the initiative instead of waiting for angry governments to impose

solutions that hurt creativity and freedom in the name of security. One only has to glance at more repressive regimes around the world to see the price paid for democracy when reactionary governments restrict any form of media in the name of public safety.

APPENDICES

Appendix I: Interview Guide

1. What is the overview of the impact of social media on dissemination of information

2. How was the Garissa Terrorist attack as a case study on the effects of citizen journalism on terrorism reporting

3. Demonstrate the gap in regulation on the dissemination of information in the public domain.

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