Analyzing how Major Print Media Covered Terrorism in Uganda During the Year 2010

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Abstract: This study sought to find out how the media covered terrorism acts in Uganda during the year 2010. Whether the media coverage affected the image and operations of security agencies and what would be the best strategies for the media to adopt in covering terrorism acts in Uganda. It is also based on four main theories of Violence, Terrorism, Media and Framing in relation to security and terrorism. The study adopted content analysis and interviews as the main methods of collecting data. It started with library research where most of the relevant literature was obtained. It was followed by archival research at New Vision, Monitor and Red Pepper newspapers library at their headquarters in Kampala. All the newspapers of 2010 were perused and vital information compiled for the final report. Interview guides were also administered to key informants from the media and security personnel that provided crucial information. The findings indicate that disconnection between security agencies and the media is caused by the gaps which exist about knowledge of each other's roles and interests. The journalists have little knowledge about terrorism, their interests, operations and the close relationship between the media and terrorism. The study makes a number of recommendations that may be useful to all stakeholders in Uganda in the war against terrorism. Joint training, respect and following the ethical and code of conduct, timely and accurate sharing of information, enacting ring laws, and having respect to each other's roles and the existing laws.

Keywords: Print media, Terrorism, Uganda, Violence, Security

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1. Introduction

Since the end of the cold war, we have witnessed a dramatic development, often referred to as the CNN effects or twenty-four-hour news. We no longer have to wait for the news at specific time to get the latest on what is happening around the world. Since the introduction of internet, smart phones and others, mostly portable computers, the world has become a global village. While seated in his or her house or travelling, one can watch or listen to the news from any part of the world as it happens. These days, news can be passed on by any person at any time. Among the countless news reports, there will be terrorisms and some correspondents will appear live from the battlefield to report on conflict as it happens in any part of the world, sometimes with terrifying images of dead bodies and so forth. This explains the role of the media in situations of terrorism (Mulindwa, 2011).

Efforts to study how the media affects conflicts and peace started gathering momentum after the tragic Balkan and Rwanda bloodlettings of 1990s. Until then the world paid little attention to those famous calls of the UNESCO constitution to deal with political violence. "Since wars begin in the minds of men, it is in the minds of men that defenses of peace must be constructed" (University for peace report, April 2005).

The increasing globalization and the speed of technology, media innovations from the alphabet to the printing press, dairies to the rotary press, Radios to classical television, global television to internet and social media, smart phones and many more technologies which have both negative and positive effects on the public and terrorism. The war on terrorism has also changed in its social, economic shape from the classic 1st and 2nd world wars to ethnic, religious and internal conflicts and in its techniques that have become almost unimaginably sophisticated has also helped the terrorists to exploit such conflicts to advance their agenda (Alexis, 2003), the Rwandan media experience from the genocide.

Each major and minor acts of terrorism inevitably ends up in the news. It is nevertheless true that terrorism acts provide what the contemporary media crave most-drama, shock, tragedy and grief, the ideal that makes the ingredients of human- interest stories. As a result, terrorists get precisely what they need, massive publicity, the opportunity to display, their ability to strike against even the strongest nations and states. The media rewards in form of energizing their competition for audience size, circulation and importantly, advertising revenues. In this respect, the two sides enjoy a symbiotic relationship they feed on each other (Omanga, 2014).

The concept of terrorism is quite elusive and contested. The classification of an act as terrorism has been contested issue depending on the parties involved, also based on ideological standpoints, generally accepted definitions, though have described terrorism as the rejection of authority politically (or ideologically) motivated violence with the aim of achieving a demoralizing effect on publics and governments (Jones, 2011). Schmid (2007) observes that terrorism is a doctrine about the supposed effect of a fear-generating and forceful political violence on one hand, and a conspiratorial exercise of violence without legal or moral restraints.

The definition of terrorism has remained controversial because of different interest, perceptions and agendas. However, UN, defines terrorism as any act intended to cause death or serious bodily injury to civilians or to any person, or number of people, group of persons or cause any damage to public or private property, natural resources and environmental cultural heritage. (UN, 2001).

The OAU conversion accepted the UN definition on terrorism apart from "struggle against foreign occupation and aggression for liberation and self-determination shall not be considered as terrorist crimes" OAU Convention (July 01, 1999). Thus, there is no international accepted definition of terrorism.

Terrorism, according to this study, is the use of intentionally indiscriminate violence to create terror and fear to achieve a financial, political, religious, or ideological aim (Fortna, 2015).

Terrorism has often been used as a weapon by non-state actions like terrorist organizations, liberation movements and other clandestine organizations fighting for recognition and intending to advance sectorial or political and ideological agenda. States and other state backed actors, too, have engaged in direct terrorism or state-sponsored terrorism (Nyamuya, 2005). From the revolution movements to independence struggle organizations, and the neo-ideological Islamists movements dominating the world of global terrorism today. Different periods of history have experienced different forms of terrorism like State sponsored, dissent, left and right, Religious based, criminal terrorism separates terrorism, Pathological terrorism, Narco-terrorism, and issue-oriented terrorism in each period

whatever has been categorized as terrorism has often been contested (Gordon, 2007).

From 2000 to 2016, the world has experienced a terrifying, exponential increase in the Number of terrorist attacks. By 1998, the Global Terrorism Database (GTD, following LaFree and Dugan, 2007) lists 1,395 attacks, a figure that has since consistently increased, reaching an all-time high of 8,441 in the year 2012. The total number of casualties from terror attacks in those years has nearly tripled from 3,387 to 15,396.

This study analyzed the media reporting of terrorism, whether it should have an agenda, as the peace journalism option predicated, or their work and duty is to inform in an independent and accurate way regardless of the outcome and effects on the public. In addition to consider how influential the media can be in preventing conflicts, through the analysis of different experiences and examples. Informing well, with a balanced, accurate and independent approach with a close focus on victims and people sufferings is the best media can do to play a positive role in conflict situations. (Manoff, 1998).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Uganda has experienced a challenge of media reporting on terrorism, with some media houses shut down, individual reporters arrested, physical confrontations between security and journalists. Increase in number of cases in courts of law, by media houses accusing the government, journalists boycotting to cover activities of some government departments, basing on independence of press, freedom of speech and expression. Facts based on truth and rights to information. On the other hand, security based their argument on national security, jeopardizing investigations, or operations, promoting terrorism in the country. Both sides seem to have a point but require harmonization.

The terrorist groups need the media of any type to promote their agenda and fulfill their goals like recognition by the local and international communities that they exist and have the capacity to strike. They also want to legitimize their existence and justify their cause of existence in the communities where they are operating from and get international attention and support. More to that terrorist need the media because of propaganda which keeps them in the news and put government side on pressure from the local communities who may keep on doubting whether the government has the capacity to protect them.

The goals of terrorists are solely for winning the attention of the masses. They do that through the media and they aim to publicize their political causes, inform both friends and foes about their motives and deeds and explain their rationale for resorting to violence (Nacos 2006). They aim at being considered as regular, accepted legitimate world leaders as the media gives them a similar status. That is to say, for terrorists, the media functions as a tool to shrink the power asymmetry between them and the entity they fight against in an actual and ideological warfare, creating

an atmosphere of fear and suspicion, legitimize their acts to reach greater audiences. Given these motives, terrorists arguably carry out their attacks rationally and strategically with full awareness of the influence of the media coverage on almost every segment of a society and government officials of almost all levels.

In 1976, Ugandans experienced an ordeal with foreign terrorists when Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) terrorists flew in with hostages aboard Air France 139 and held them for weeks at Entebbe international Airport. The hostages, mostly Israelis were rescued by Israel Defense Forces Commandos, rescued the hostages mostly the Israelites, in a dramatic, well-executed mission that showed much competence and served as a deterring mechanism to other terrorists' groups. However, after 34 years, foreign terrorists again entered Uganda, this time due to Uganda's role in Somalia and strike in the capital Kampala.

Uganda has been on terror alert for over ten years and even has been attacked and suffered from terror activities. Over 200 people died in twin bombing of Kyadondo rugby club in Nakawa and Ethiopian village situated in Kabalagala. On 11, July 2010, which was planned by the Al-Shabaab based in Somalia where at least 62 people died. then Lord's Resistance Army in Northern Uganda headed by Joseph Kony, allied democratic forces headed by Jamil Mukulu in democratic republic of Congo and many Ugandans have died because of these terrorist groups. https://en. Wikipedia. Org/ wiki/July 2010 Kampala.

These were the first terrorist attacks by the group outside Somalia, qualifying Al-Shabaab as a transnational threat in the region. Since 2007, Uganda has been leading the African Union Mission in Somalia (AMISOM) with the assistance of Burundi. Both countries contribute a contingent force of about 9,000 troops based in Mogadishu. As a result, Al-Shabaab has embarked on a provocative strategy of deterring countries involved in the efforts to pacify Somalia by targeting their cities to compel them to withdraw from Somalia.

The vulnerability of Uganda to terror attacks is very high based on the facts that, the presence of Ugandan forces in Somalia, high numbers of UN employed youth, radical ways of street protests by some opposition politician, the presence of street children in Kampala, who have started forming up known criminal groups with command structures (Kifesi) and other major towns in the country.

More so the influx of refugees from our neighboring countries which may attract terror groups from their former countries to come and attack them here or recruit from them, the uncontrolled transport industry here in the country, which has seen different factions crash over the control of transport industry in the country. These groups: are uncontrollable and work with impunity; examples are bodaboda groups and tax operators.

In a bid to counter these terror threats in the country, the government must involve all stakeholder in preventing and

dealing with terrorism and one of the major private actors is the media, which plays key roles of informing, educating and reporting acts of terrorism at every stage to members of the public locally and internationally. Media here means, media houses both electronic and print, individual reporters, journalists, boards and organization of journalists, internet users who can collect and pass the information to others, internet café owners, films and images, drummer and entertainment. Uganda Anti-terrorism act (2002).

Therefore, there is need for a comprehensive approach, based on research, to guide both the government and media to come up with policies to embrace cooperation and coordination of security agencies and the media on how to cover and report terrorism in Uganda. The paper analyzed how the media should cover terrorists' events without giving undue recognition, legitimacy and becoming a site of propaganda for terrorists in Uganda.s

1.3 Research Objectives

1. To examine how the media covered terrorism and terrorism activities in Uganda in 2010.
2. To analyze if the media affected the image and operations of security agencies during terrorism coverage in Uganda.
3. To identify the gaps, challenges in media coverage and security methods of operations in cases of terrorism acts and possible solutions with the view of improving the cooperation.

2. Literature Review

2.1 Media and terrorism

Hoffman (2003) states that terrorism is designed to purposely attract the attention and publicity it causes while communicating a message. Terrorists can only attain the highest potential of their actions and goals by spreading panic and outrage to achieve the fundamental political change they desire. The concept of terrorism is defined differently, but it has become one of the most precarious tragedies in the present day. Since terrorism is different from other forms of violence particularly in the choice of targets and modes of activity and the fact that there are diverse definitions of the phenomenon, the international community has not yet been able to agree on a general definition (Schmid, 2009).

Friedrich (2010) asserts that terrorists tend to perpetuate their heinous acts for different reasons, which may include, political, psychological, ideological or even religion-based reasons. The psychological approach focuses on attitudes, personalities, and beliefs of terrorists. It aims to explain the motivation behind terror attacks. The psychological approach also deals with characteristics of individual perpetrators of terror activities, with an emphasis on their profiles and methods of recruitment.

Religion as a cause of terrorism has however been dismissed in some quarters with some scholars arguing that it is an ideology which has been used to rally populations towards political violence much like communism and nationalism. Defining religious terrorism has therefore become complicated despite there being a lot of research on this topic (Wall, 2007).

The world has for a long time witnessed horrific and gross terror attacks, which have led to the loss of lives, property and instilled fear into millions of people. However, the way the media packages the news on terrorism is what determines the impact the terror attack has on the public. Former United Kingdom Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in a speech at the Annual Convention of the American Bar Association in 1985 claimed that media coverage provided oxygen for terrorism since by publicizing the terrorist's message of fear and demands, boosted the position taken by terrorists. The 9/11 attack of the World Trade Centre in New York City by terrorists is perhaps one of the major attacks in recent history. The Islamist terror group Al Qaeda that is believed to have been responsible for the killing of three thousand (3,000) people and many others injured in the single attack.

The initial images of the jets hitting the World Trade Centre, millions of viewers throughout the world witnessed it in different media channels. The videos were horrific as the world viewed major terror attack (Wall, 2007). The President of the ABC News David Westin ordered an immediate stop to the repeated airing of the WTC to protect the viewers.

Following the 9/11 attack, America reconsidered its position on broadcasting of footage from scenes of terror attacks. In the US for example, in the aftermath of the London train attacks, the government took the position that the attack was the work of external extremists who were waging a global war against UK happened to be the victim. British media on the other hand framed this as a homegrown problem thus dismissing it as that, which involved selected incidences. A handbook for journalist. A (2017), UNESCO publication. https://unes doc. UNESCO. Org/ images/0024/002470/247074E.pdf.

It should be noted that, terrorist have many goals, and gaining media coverage is simply a secondary goal and a steppingstone on the way to obtain their ultimate aim of the group. The only way to gain this is by becoming a player on the international stage by using terror to make an impression on the citizens of the globe. Despite having the ability to kill mass numbers of people at random and at will, the terrorist does not have the ability to transmit effectively the images of their destruction to a target population. It remains for the media to transmit objectively the terror of violence to the worldwide network. News media always acts as gatekeepers of information, they have the capacity to distill the message of the terrorist group and present it to the target population in the way that people will take notice and comprehend without causing unnecessary panic among the public (Schaffert, 1992).

2.2 Reporting terrorism

The influences of the media on public opinion impacts the actions from the government as well as terrorists' groups. From the perspective of the terrorists, the way media covers a story on their actions is a very important measuring yardstick for their act. Governments can also exploit the media to influence the opinion of the world towards a country that supports terror or terrorists. Attacks obtain more media coverage when people are harmed or killed, involve hijackings, have known perpetrators (Carpini, & Williams, 1987).

In the United States, there are similar factors that how the media covers terrorists' attacks (Chermak & Grunewald, 2006). In Africa, Issues such as the professional standards of journalists, their ethnicity, religious beliefs, political inclinations, age and experience, determine the selection of foreign news and how the news is covered. Many media experts in Nigeria agree that reporting terrorism presents several dilemmas to journalists, especially reporters whose most important objective is to divulge information not known to the public.

In countries that enjoy free press, terrorist groups usually compete for the attention of the media with many other topical issues on politics, sports, entertainment, economy and even other news from other terrorists' groups. That said it is possible that terrorist groups still get considerable media attention in comparison to those other groups though no conclusive study has been done to address this directly. Theory suggests that the coverage of terrorism could be more in comparison to other stories because it involves conflict and that it typically occurs unexpectedly, it targets important or prominent targets are noticed easily causing fear in audiences. These factors greatly increase the chances of any issue receiving massive media attention (Breckenridge & Zimbardo, 2007).

The media influence on both audience and policy makers; there is little information about the negative consequences the terrorist group's surfer because of the media that helps the policy makers to plan against the terrorists and the risks posed on the media by the terrorist. So, it not always the media and terrorist enjoy cordial relationship, we have witnessed journalists brutally murdered and others adducted during terrorism act (Eke. K & Alali., 1991).

2.3 How the Media should coordinate and report on matters of terrorism in Uganda

One of the most crucial roles of the mass media is to provide current news that affects the society current events in society and this is especially so for the news media those are responsible with relaying stories that affect the public. Indeed, the argument that the most important time for the

public to access information on their safety is when public safety is threatened is valid. (Schlesinger, et al, 2003). Nonetheless, the dilemmas on exactly how to report on terrorism issues for journalists who have the responsibility to enlighten the public on the happenings in an objective, fair and accurate manner is a reality. It is a predicament to journalists because a key objective of a terrorist act is to capitalize on publicity with the intention of creating negative psychological effects on the public. The role of the media in reporting terrorism comes into sharp focus as questions abound on whether the media unwittingly acts as an accomplice and if the media narrative and framing of terrorism related stories really fair and accurate. It is the responsibility of both the terrorist instigators and the governments seeking to fight terrorism will need media coverage to communicate their thoughts and explain their actions particularly for privately owned media. (Weismann, 2008). Moreover, it is not in the best interests of the media, civil society or policymakers to witness the erosion of constitutional freedom such as freedom of the press because of terrorism or counter-terrorism measures.

Diversity influences the attitude the media has towards different information. Notably, some media establishments like national broadcasting institutions, public television and radio stations, are mandated with special roles and responsibilities to inform the public about trends and events. Security agencies that are responsible for managing terrorism and counter terrorism have the need to avoid panic. Sometimes, these officials may withhold information or offer information in a very restrictive manner when approached by the media leading journalists to hunt for stories and rely on security leaks that may be false or inaccurate at best. (Amos, 2014). A crucial aspect of media coverage by journalists of terrorism and armed conflict stories is that their lives are at risk while on assignment. According to a report by Reporters without Borders, 53. Journalists were killed in the line of duty in 2004 while others were captured. In 2005, 107 journalists remained imprisoned sowing that indeed journalists often are victims of terrorism themselves. (Gariyo, 1993).

While professional journalistic ethics require that journalists practice fairness and accurately report the facts, it should be noted that, the press could provide a forum to seek alternatives to armed conflict through peaceful means in a society riddled with conflict. Such situations call for the media to report the news in a fashion that will generate peace centered public opinion. The media must deliver the news on the conflict in question from a historical and social perspective that will ultimately give a deep understanding of the issues at play. Under no circumstances should the media churn out our propaganda or partial information, as this would undermine attempts at peace building. Purposeful discussions on electronic media that offer insights from different angles and in depth as well as though provoking editorials and stories in the print media would go a long

way in situations of armed conflict and terrorism (Amos, 2014).

Although a lot has been written on how the media has and should cover terrorism, it is not yet clear how journalists can strike a balance between the competing interests, it is not yet clear where to draw a line between public interest and national security in Uganda. This, arising from the fact that journalists have been empowered by the constitution to apply their trade without fear, favor, ill-will or favoritism and issues to do with media freedom or freedom of the press have been addressed. Legislative and policy issues have been highlighted, including how the journalism profession should be conducted (Barry, 2006). From America, Asia, Europe to Africa, authors like Barry, (2006), Moeller, (2009), Nacos, (1994), Ankara, (2007, Laqueur, (1978) and Nacos, (2007), Althaus Scott. l and Tewksbury D, (2000), Bannelt. W Lance, (2003), Cook Fay, (1983) Omanga, (2014) and Jones, (2011). All these and others have published a lot on how the media has been covering various terrorist activities. It seems like terrorism is going to be around for a while as on the other hand the media is also growing in terms of sophistication. Thanks to technology, with just a click of a button, one can access information from any corner of the world through social media. Therefore, it is important for scholars, practitioners, experts and the public to devise ways that will ensure that the basic tenets of journalists are not sacrificed at the altar of national security. Media freedom are absolute, and thus used as a scapegoat to compromise the security of a nation. In the same vein, confidentiality and deliberate misinformation of the media by the government during security operations to restrict media freedom.

According to Brigitte. (Nacos, Columbia University, 2006), Terrorism a global challenge in the age of global communication and international media the messengers of hate and terror are no longer in impeded by national borders or regions, they can easily spread powerful words and images around the globe, and condition impressionable men and women to be recruited into terrorist cells and networks. International and domestic terrorists exploit the traditional and the new communication means to achieve a host of crucial objectives most of all the media dependent, dissemination of their propaganda of the deed among friends and foes. The architects of terrorism exploit the mass media including the internet for the benefit of their operational efficiency, information gathering, recruitment, fund raising and propaganda schemes.

Uganda has suffered terrorist threats and acts orchestrated both locally and internationally. The local groups include the Lord's resistance army and Allied democratic forces, while the international groups are Al Qaeda and al-Shabaab. The American embassy in Uganda was on the list of Ai- Qaeda's possible targets when the US embassies were simultaneously bombed in Kenya and Tanzania on August 7, 1998, and the July 11th 2010 two separate suicide bomb attacks in Kampala city where about 76

people died. Uganda has continued getting threats from those groups.

The fact that, Uganda is still deploying its forces in Somalia, under the African union to fight against the Al-Shabaab, makes the country vulnerable to terrorist attacks as a revenge. More so, the multiple attacks in our neighboring Kenya by the terrorists where over 370 people have been killed and 1075 others injured since 2011. Also make Uganda vulnerable because of the porous borders and high human mobility between the two sister countries which can help the terrorist to access Uganda.

Media framing and propaganda is important to both terrorists and security forces or government as it can motivate or demoralize security in its operations against terrorism. It can make terrorist gain support from the groups that are affected by framing like religious groups, ethnic or political organization.

The findings of this study will provide significant information to the police, Media practitioners and the government in general to come up with policies regarding the role of Media in terrorism case management.

The literature reviewed and assessed in this study shows that a number of different studies relating to the subject matter of the study have been done but there is a lack of empirical evidence for most areas. It is also apparent that most of those studies that are done, and at already the global scene and at the regional level and not the Ugandan.

As a result, the researcher contends that there is need to further research and document the finding for the use in policy formulation, academia and in practice. The study notes that there is still scant scholarly material on terrorism reporting and the media in Uganda.

2.4 Challenges in Media reporting of terrorism acts and possible solutions

Terrorist 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. Nevertheless, terrorism also relies on such publicity to disrupt society, provoke fear, and demonstrate power. This problematic relationship predates digital technology. In 1999, American historian (Lauqueur, 1999), wrote. Jenkins, (178), Juergensmeyer, (2003), Lauqueur, (1978), and Nacos, (2007), said that journalists are terrorists' best friends, because they are willing to give terrorist operations maximum exposure. 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. (Ankara, 2007). From the year 2000, this problem of terrorism reporting 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 hosts the first information 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 2016, when the White House 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 Althaus, (Scott $ Tewksbury, 2000).

The level of appreciation and adherence to the journalism professional codes and other in-house editorial guidelines is still low with the level of violations quite high. There are several factors that are attributed to this, ranging from the lack of the requisite skills and knowledge, lack of passion for the profession, poor pay, and outright impunity within the media fraternity.

Journalists face an increasing level of threats and risks to their lives and people in the process of doing their jobs. The number of journalists attacked and threatened with the sole purpose of dissuading them from reporting issues of public interest is on the increase. These threats and risks have a negative impact on the journalism practice since journalists and by extension, media houses desist from covering sensitive issues that may "offend" some of their stakeholders (Cook, 1983).

Media houses have not done much to cushion their employees through providing employee safety nets and investments such as continuous capacity building to enhance their capacity to report and investigate issues professionally and systematically.

Journalists still lack the requisite skills to effectively deal with these risks and threats, including the lack of understanding of the basic laws that govern the practice of journalism, and other skills like assessing their environment which leaves them vulnerable to abuse and attacks.

However, the challenges facing the media today are many and they stretch beyond individual journalists to groups and the media industry. The heavy commercialization of media houses, especially radios, has heavily affected the level of investments by media owners in the industry. Many media owners and managers have opted for freelance practitioners who give information on a piecemeal basis. The payment ranges from less than a dollar to a few dollars per story. These payments are not only meager, but also inconsistent, especially for up-country radio stations. This has consequently affected the

quality of the output by (Gariyo, the media constitutionalism and democracy in Uganda, Kampala Centre for basic research working paper No 32 of 1993).

According to Uganda communication commission report 2015, there is a perpetual shortage of well-trained media professionals, especially at upcountry-based radio & TV stations. Journalists often lack basic tools to use for work such as computers, voice recorders and cameras, on top of poor facilitation to move and gather the news.

It is estimated that we have about 54 television stations and over 230 radio station of which one (UBC) is state owned the rest are private and the majority based in Kampala you can imagine how information rich the last man on the remote area now adds internet and social media.

However, the definition of terrorism is still varying from one group to another because one's terrorist is another ones' freedom fighter. In addition to that, the preserve of up grading a group to terrorist is vested in US where all its enemies are conspired to be terrorists. Moreover, some states and other groups have committed similar crimes but have never been categorized among terrorists' groups; an example is Israel and Palestine (Badey, 1998).

It is important to both the media practitioners and those in authority to stick on the agreed principles and ethics while dealing with terrorism and the ground should be fair to all the prayers if they are to deny the terrorist opportunities. Other means of conflict resolutions should be encouraged to reduce the use of force against terrorist groups Tutu, (1994) & (Uwazie,(2000).

3. Methodology

3.1 Research design

The study used mixed research design but mainly content analysis and interviews of key informants from media and security agencies. The researcher used mixed research methods combining both content analysis and interviews. The following instruments were used for the study; data collection sheets and interview guide to key respondents to explore their perceptions surrounding the collection, interpretation and dissemination process of terrorism news content. For collection of secondary data, the researcher examined relevant articles from the library and internet in order to elicit information that is appropriate to the research questions.

3.2 Study area

The study was done in Kampala, the capital city of Uganda where the media houses are most concentrated with their headquarters. It is where the terrorism activities are most targeted and intercepted. Kampala has a high population, which was 1.507,080 people according to population and housing census report, 2014. It is the central business point in the country and it is where most of the government vital installations are found like parliament, state house, ministry offices, security agencies head offices, most of the institutions of higher learning and most embassy headquarters.

3.3 Target population

The research mainly used content analysis where five main national newspapers namely, New Vision, Daily Monitor 365, Red pepper 365, and Observer 108, then one in the local language, Bukede newspapers 365, for the year 2010 totaling up to 1,568 papers. And few key supportive information from journalists and security agencies, this is because they are aware of the topic under study, the challenges they face while reporting terrorism as well as opportunities that exist in the profession. The respondents made a target population of 18 people. The research drew samples from major media houses in Uganda and print Medias like vision group, Monitor publication and Red Pepper publications. Media bodies, associations, and individuals with media related expertise and experiences for their input were also selected. More samples were drawn from security agencies, NGOs telecom service providers, UCC, and specialists.

3.4 Sample size determination and methods

The study was mainly content analysis where over 186 papers from each category of newspaper like new vision, Monitor publication, Red paper and Bukede then over 86 newspapers totaling up to 840 were analyzed and a sample size of 18 key informants all determined using Morgan's table for research activities. (Krejcie, R & Morgan Darley, 1970). Stratified random sampling involves defining the population, sample size, identifying the subgroups, classifying the members and then randomly selecting the respondents using an appropriate number of individuals from each subgroup.

Table 1: showing the distribution of key people interviewed

S/N	CATEGORY	NO OF PEOPLE
1	News Editors (print media)	5
2	Police officers	5
3	CMI officers	2
4	Media bodies (leaders)	4
5	ICT officials	2
	TOTALS	**18**

3.5 Data collection instruments

The study used the following tools during the collection of the data. Data collection sheets, interview guide, documentary sources and then video tape recordings where possible. (Field, 2005). Mugenda and Mugenda, (1999), noted that questionnaires are popularly used because they reach many respondents within a short time and can be used to give a detailed answer to complex problems. Questionnaires are also cost effective, save time, offer ease in construction and administering, as well as minimizing bias.

Interviews were used to collect qualitative data. The respondents of the interviews were the media experts who were involved in media training, counter-terrorism policy formulation and implementation. Semi-structured interviews were preferred because of their flexibility to allow new questions to arise during the interviews, they are also appropriate in obtaining primary information from a limited set of experts in the study areas. (Stallings, 2003). The interviews provided deeper insights on the experiences of those affected.

3.6 Quality control measures

All data collection sheets and questions were similarly structured with simple and clear language to suit all the target groups. The questions were explained to the respondents and the researchers made sure all the responses given were explained and correctly recorded without leaving any answer out. A serial number was allocated to each questioner. Enough time was allowed to each respondent to respond to the given questions. The research instruments were tested for reliability and validity before the actual research. Confidentiality and privacy were ensured and maintained throughout the study.

3.7 Data analysis

The researcher used statistical package for social sciences (SPSS) to analyze data from the content analysis and semi-structured interviews. This involved mainly content analysis with a few data analyzed in terms of frequencies and percentages. The researchers used the frequency tables and graphs to summarize data.

4. Results and Discussion

4.1 The media coverage of terrorism in Uganda in the year 2010

According to some scholars, Jenkins, (1975), Juergensmeyer, (1992), Liqueur, (1978), & Nacos, (2007), terrorists participate in violent acts for the sole purpose of gaining media attention as a way of communicating with the audiences that would otherwise not have access to eventually enact desired changes in society.

The study used both data collection sheets and interview guide to gather information. The results from the interview revealed that the media cover terrorism like any other incident, tells the stories by showing pictures of the dead, killed by terrorists and sometimes the pictures are disturbing giving fear and panic to the public.

The study revealed that the media covers and passes information regarding terrorism like any other crime without putting into considerations, the interests of the state. And they end up promoting the cardinal objective of the terrorist, that is to instill fear among the public, gain international recognition and causing panic to the state and security personnel.

The media in their reporting does not consider the negative impact some stories and images cause to the family members, relatives and friends of the victims of terror attacks like shuttered human bodies, to continue appearing in the media, which sometimes cause permanent trauma and other psychological effects to those conceerned.

The study also found out that during media coverage, the media exposes the security gaps to the terrorist that is dangerous to the security of the country because the terrorist can use those gaps to attack again but on the other

hand the media also exposes the terrorists that is to the advantage of the security agencies in Uganda.

In most of these reports, the study disclosed that the media base their efforts in giving news as it happened and how fast it can reach the public. Without putting much emphasis on the duty to protect the public, which looks as if the media works for the terrorist and always have been the Centre of conflict between the media and security agencies in Uganda.

The media work together with the security agency in reporting terrorism in Uganda in the context of national security and safety of Ugandans by providing detailed information on the move and plans of terrorists so that the people take care to avoid being victims.

The study discovered that, the media played vital role during the 2010 terrorist attack on Uganda by providing sensitive information, which helped the security agencies to be on top of the situation. Some of the vital information was picked from the media and led to the arrest of those involved. It helped in mobilization of the public and information reached the relatives of the victims who came to give them assistance in different hospitals in Kampala and even in identifying the dead bodies by publishing their particulars.

It was noted that the media needs to work closely with security agencies for their safety and sharing of information before it is passed on to the public to counter the promotion of terrorist interests and safety of the public as we have found out that information works in favor of both the state and the terrorists in equal terms.

4.2 Ways in which media coverage would grant terrorist recognition and legitimacy

How information is given to the masses leaves an impression. The interview results indicated that usually, the media is quick to blame security and go on to show loopholes that expose the country to insecurity.

Terrorist always target publicity, the more stories people read about terrorism the more they get chances to sell their ideology. By publishing, every detail about the terrorist is actually advertising and promoting them that has caused many youths to admire the lump sum amount of money that the suicide bombers get. For example, in the July 2010, suspects were mostly youths.

The results from the interview concur with (Nelson, & Scott, 2002) who cited that no better agent shapes these perceptions of terrorism than the mass media. The role of media in global or national terrorism is as historical as terrorism is. To achieve their overall objectives (often physical and psychological damage), terrorist organizations have employed the use of media, either directly using their terror channels or indirectly by attacking vulnerable and publicity generating targets thereby attracting endless media coverage, which creates the desired awareness, fear and impact.

4.3 The Least professional standards the media can set for journalists such as qualification

Education level and Ethical Standard

The more exposed the journalist the better. Terrorism is so diverse and complex that need an educated person to understand it extensively and report justly. Ethical principles and standards are known for journalists as their professional code. The security agents should agree on the set standards for journalists. According to Amos (2014), professional journalistic ethics require that journalists practice fairness and accurately report the facts. It should be noted that the press could provide a forum to seek alternatives to armed conflict through peaceful means in a society riddled with conflict. Such situations call for the media to report the news in a fashion that will generate peace centered public opinion.

4.4 Sensationalism

According to (Stephens, 2007), sensationalism is a type of editorial bias in mass media in which overhyped events and topics in news stories are made to present impressions on events, which may cause a manipulation to the truth of a story. Sensationalism may have reported about generally insignificant matters and events that do not influence overall society and bias presentations of newsworthy topics in a trivial manner, contrary to the standards of professional journalism.

Journalists worry that the web threatens the way they distribute their products, but they are slower to see how it threatens the product itself.
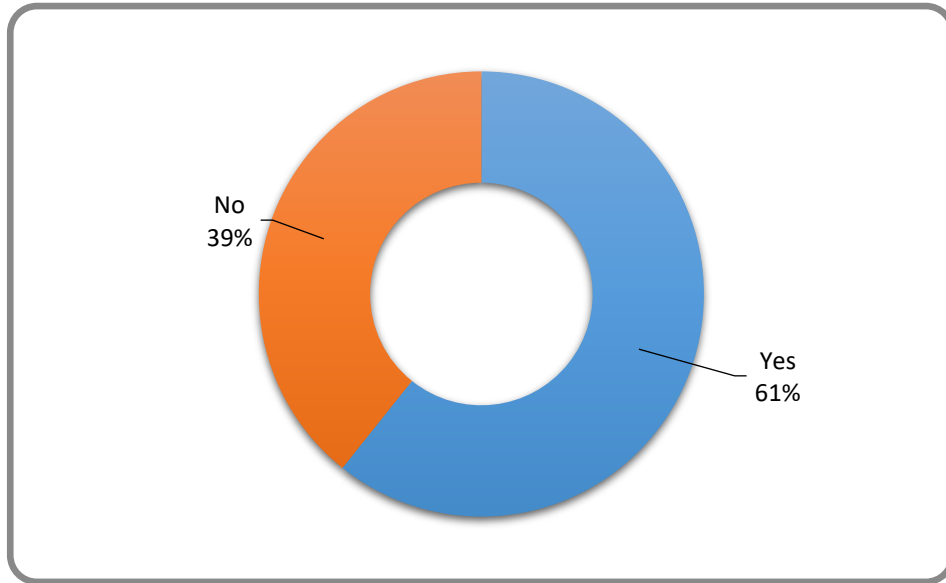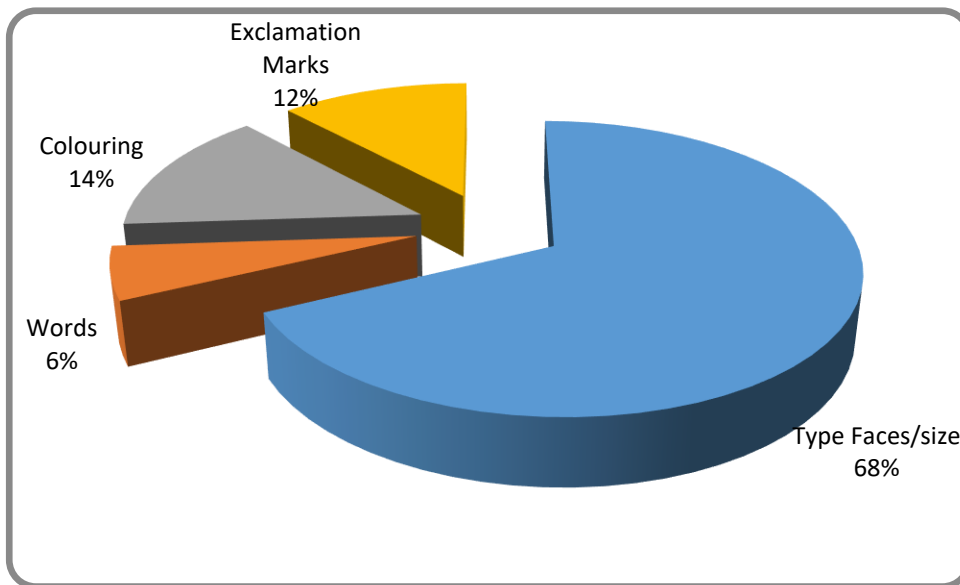
Figure 1: Use of sensationalism

The results obtained from the data collection sheet indicate that 60.7% of the stories printed about terrorism uses sensationalism and 39.3% were found to be normal without sensationalism. This means that some of the stories printed may cause panic and fear in the public about an event giving a wrong impression about the whole truth.

4.5 Forms of Sensationalism

The information collected shows the forms of sensationalism indicated in the figure below.

Figure 2: Forms of sensationalism

The results in Figure 2 indicate that typefaces/size 68% is the most used form of sensationalism in the print media, followed by coloring (14%), exclamation marks (12%) and use of words (6%) as the least used. This means that readers always get attracted to the headlines printed in big font size and coloring. Such capture the minds and leave impact on the reader even if the reader does not go to the details of the story.

4.6 Amount of Usage of forms of sensationalism

The table 2 below further shows the number of uses of the different forms of sensationalism as observed from the printed different stories.

Table 2: Amount of Usage of forms of sensationalism

Forms of sensationalism.	Frequency			Percentages			Validity	
	Pre-attack	During an attack	Post an attack	Pre-attack	During an attack	Post-an attack	Total	Cumulative %
Exclamation marks	01	08	04	0.3	2.6	1.3	**13**	**4.1**
Words	04	28	18	1.3	9.2	5.9	**50**	**15.8**
Coloring	02	19	18	0.7	6.3	5.9	**39**	**12.3**
Face type/ size	06	48	28	2.0	15.8	9.2	**82**	**25.9**
None	97	02	33	32.0	0.7	10.9	**132**	**41.8**
TOTAL	**110**	**105**	**101**	**34.8**	**33.2**	**32.0**	**316**	**100.0**

Source: Primary source, 2018.

The pre- attack in this sense means the period before the attack. Then during the attack means that period when the terrorist strike and it covers even the period of response and preliminary investigation at the crime scene until the scene is handed over back to the owners by the investigating team. The post attack means that period which follows the attack activities after the scene of crime have been handed over and any other subsequent reports on terrorism. The obtained information in table 2 shows that face type/size has a cumulative of (25.9%) and is the most used form of sensationalism in the print media, followed by words with (15.8%), coloring (12.3%) and exclamation marks (4.1%). This means that face type information attracts and makes more impact on the public. Therefore, it appears as if it is the truth and if a reader only stops at that he/she may not get the actual truth of the matter. The data was also analyzed basing on three main timings pre- attack was the media reporting on terrorism. Then during or immediately after an attack and lastly the

subsequent reporting post- attack. The findings reveal that before the attack very few media reported about terrorism and those who reported it was on attacks in the neighboring countries like Somalia and with little details as indicated by no category on the table with the list information on terrorism and it is represented by 34.8%. The finding indicates that sensationalism is common during the post attack period followed by the time of attacks as indicated in the table above clearly showing the type of sensationalism, the number of times it appeared and the percentages.

4.7 Category of Sensationalism

The observation made on the category of sensationalism indicates three classes that is political, social and economic. The findings are presented in table 3 below.

Table 3: Category of sensationalism

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent
Valid	Political	87	27.5	**27.5**
	Social	20	6.3	**6.3**
	Economical	90	28.5	**28.5**
	None	119	37.7	**37.7**
	Total	**316**	**100.0**	**100.0**

Source: primary data, 2018

The outcome in Table 3 revealed that the most common categories of sensationalism as being economical (28.5%), political (27.5%) and social category (6.3%). This means that sensationalism is always posed on important issues that affect every society. This is because these issues drive society daily and the minds of the people need to be prepared.
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To capture such attention, the stories are always produced strategically covering the papers full page (37.0%), half page (7.9%), quarter page (14.6%) and few appear less than quarter page (2.8%) and none 37.7 respectively (See table 4).

Table 4: Length of Sensational stories

Length of sensationalism	Frequency			Percentages %			Validity	
	Pre-attack	During attack	Post-attack	Pre-attack	During attack	Post-attack	Total	Cumulative %
Full page	01	72	44	0.3	22.8	13.9	**117**	**37.0**
Half page	01	09	15	0.3	0.3	4.7	**25**	**7.9**
Quarter page	03	17	26	0.9	5.4	8.2	**46**	**14.6**
Less than quarter	05	01	03	1.6	0.3	0.9	**09**	**2.8**
None	79	04	36	25.0	1.3	11.4	**119**	**37.7**
Total	**89**	**103**	**124**	**28.2**	**32.6**	**39.2**	**316**	**100.0**

Source: Primary data, 2018

4.8 Portrayal and Appreciation of Government Action in Crisis

In many cases stories printed are against, pro or neutral position on the government. The figure below reveals more
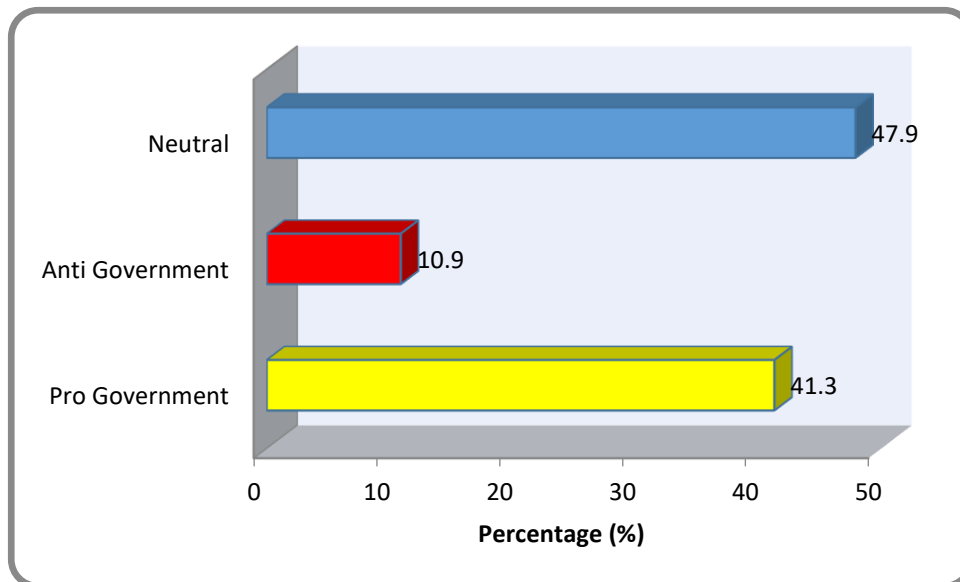
Figure 3: Portrayal and Appreciation of Government Action in Crisis

The results in figure 3 reveal that majority of the stories printed were neutral (47.9%), 41.3% were pro-government and only 10.9% were anti -government. This means that in many cases the stories printed are aimed at just informing the public about the political, economic and social issues of the country.

4.9 Objectivity, Balance and Fairness

The study also sought to find out whether the nature of news story were in terms of objective, balanced and fair and results are presented in table 5.

Table 5: Nature of News Story in terms of Objectivity, Balance and Fairness

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
	Respects OBF	203	64.2	64.2	**64.2**
Valid	Does not Respect OBF	113	35.6	35.6	**35.6**
	Total	**316**	**100.0**	**100.0**	**100.0**

Source: Primary data, 2018

The findings in table 5 show that majority (64.2%) of the News stories printed respected the objectivity, balance and fairness while only 35.6% of the stories printed about terrorism do not respect Objectivity, Balance and Fairness. This means that the contents of the stories printed about terrorism are balanced attempting to present all sides of the story striving for accuracy and truth in reporting.

This section discusses the finding of the research question two as stated below from the findings of key informants who were contacted during the data collection and they include editors from New Vision paper, Monitor newspaper, Red pepper and Observer newspaper. The other categories were security personnel, Human Rights Commission, media groups and the information collected from the reviewed papers.

It is possible that sometimes the media coordinate and report cases of terrorism without conflicting with the security agencies. The study sought the responses using interview to establish whether security agency should intervene when reporting terrorism activities in Uganda and the results given below.

The Security agencies always blame the media and stop them from accessing information on terrorism and in many cases, journalists have been wounded in search for such information in Uganda. There is no trust between the media and security agencies.

It's very important to control media reports on terrorism because terrorism is always about threats and incidents which throw the public into panic and yet sometimes the media house just want to sell their products like the newspapers so that the reap huge profits.

Security agencies should intervene when reporting terrorism activities to the public because they should recognize that the intended objectives of the terrorist are not granted. This is because the terrorist wants to always destroy the peace of others to gain what they want. Therefore, it calls for vigilance from the security agencies.

5.0 Media and security work to protect the public from being incited

The central aim of terrorism is not the violent acts but rather the dissemination of terror and uncertainty among the population as well as the spread of their message through the media coverage which the media and security agencies should always bear in mind during terrorism coverage.

In security settings, it is important that both the media and security agencies work together. The study explored ways on how this can be done for the good of the people.

Findings revealed that coordination and transparency, are still lacking from both journalists and security agencies on terrorism activities. And this always creates conflict between the media and security agencies.

More so, there is lack of respect and struggle for superiority by both sides, which affects the operations and image of security agencies and the media in fighting terrorism by monitoring the contents of stories to protect the public from the impact of wrong media reporting.

The lack of counter narratives to remove content, breakdown, and encryption where security authorities need access is also another area which is still causing clashes between media and security agencies in Uganda.

5.1 Did media coverage and reporting affect the image and operations of security forces in Uganda?

The study sought responses from the respondents to establish whether the media coverage and reporting can affect the image and operations of security forces in Uganda. The results are discussed below. Yes, if they are biased and not knowledgeable and careless about facts and figures.

Yes, uncontrolled reporting of terrorism can easily blow the situation out of proportion especially sending the public into fear and panicking.

Yes, some weaknesses of the security can be disclosed to the terrorist groups and terror scene of crimes should be treated with utmost care.

This section discusses possible remedies which can be adopted during the coverage of terrorism acts in Uganda.

Ways in which media report terrorism without terrorist attaining their potential actions and goals. Modern news media are seen as the principal conduit of information about terrorism violent acts which plays a vital role in the terrorism calculus. Without the media's coverage, the terrorist acts of violence and its impact is a waste and remains narrowly confined to the victims and immediate audience rather than reaching the wider targeted audience by the terrorist (Hoffman, 2006).

However, there is no evidence that the portrayal of terrorism in the media leads to the public sympathy towards the perpetrators in Uganda, instead it increases public support towards the fight against terrorism.

The study found out that, publishing terrorist acts in Uganda helped the government and other concerned organs to come up with policies which help in the development of the country like enhancement of ICT and regional cooperation.

The findings obtained revealed that media should closely work with the security especially official and gear towards bringing peace in any society.

The media should check their facts before and report responsibly without underreporting the attacks. This will help give clear views of what to plan to execute by the security agencies to avert such activities.

The media must have an assurance in reporting that the situation and terrorism is manageable to keep the public calm as security agencies carryout their operations.

The media must bring out collective effort so that even the reader feel that he can also contribute in one way or the other to fight terrorism.

6.1 The best strategies for media to adopt while covering terrorism in Uganda

The results obtained reveal the best strategies to be adopted by the media as joint regular trainings of both journalists and security agencies in terrorism activities. This will make both the media and the security agencies move on the same page in the fight against terrorism because they are symbiosis in character. (Wilkinson, 2002).

Security agencies and intelligence should give awareness to media industry on what terrorism is on press briefing, radio talk show and joint workshops where possible.

Criminalizing those who will go against the norms and ethics of both security agencies and the media fraternity.

To remove and deny any unprofessional people from media practitioner and encourage them to go for further studies and enhance their capabilities in line with terrorism coverage.

Journalist can benchmark in countries with more experienced journalists outside Uganda, to learn from them their best practices in terrorism coverage.

Security agencies should always be positive to journalist and treat them as allies which will bridge the gap between media practitioners and security operatives in Uganda.

6.2 Challenges media experience in reporting terrorism

The media have always experienced several challenges in reporting terrorism. The study results indicate the major challenges:

1. The wrong perception that media is always negative on security issues and denying them information.
2. Not enough protection for journalists. The journalists are not always protected to carry out their mission well.
3. The security agencies sometimes refuse to give out information to the media or delay that leaves the media with no option apart from reporting in the way that makes news for them without caring about its negative consequences on security and the public.
4. Competition among the media houses for breaking news always with the sole aim of capturing the attention of a big section of the audience that is seen in terms of economics though advertising opportunities by the rich international and local companies in Uganda.
5. The study discovered that unlike other professionals who have strong unifying associations like lawyers, teachers, medical practitioners, accountants and many others, the journalists have a very weak national association that cannot enforce professionalism amongst its members. This challenge has led to the infiltration of the profession by nonprofessionals who are doing the work without qualifications.
6. The presence of internet everywhere by the help of smart phones and other smaller portable computers in the hands of majority of the members of the public has made almost everyone a journalist because information can run more than bush fire through social media platforms.
7. The study found out that there is a knowledge gap in both journalists and security personals about how terrorist work, their primary objectives of causing fear among the members of the public, international recognition, causing panic by the state and security of that particular country and to prove a point that they can cause chaos.
8. Lack of ICT capacity in both human and nonhuman resource to deal with such information before reaching the public like capacity in monitoring, blocking and recalling of such information at the source.

5. Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1 Conclusion

The study sought to find out how the media covered terrorism acts in Uganda during the year 2010, whether the media coverage affects the image and operations of security agencies in Uganda and the best strategies for the media to adopt in covering terrorism acts in Uganda. The researcher mainly used the content analysis and interview strategies in collecting the relevant information for the study.

Terrorism is a tricky battle to fight and needs all the soberness and cooperation of both the media and security agencies to combat it.   It must be noted that while reporting on terrorism the cardinal role of the media and security agencies should be to protect the citizens from the devastating effects of terrorisst and denying them from achieving their objectives.

Media practitioners must avoid speculations and finger pointing in the immediate confusion following an attack when nothing is known, yet the demand for information is perhaps the strongest of all.   Terrorism and violent extremism are likely problem that will be with us for some time, yet we can work together to reduce the explosive rhetoric over blown coverage and stigmatization of minority groups.

5.2 Recommendations

The study makes the following recommendations:

1. There should be joint training sessions organized by NGOs which combines both security agencies and journalists and their editors to acquaint themselves with the interests of the terrorists, their missions, the close relationship between terrorist and journalists and for both security agencies and journalist to appreciate each other's roles in the fight against terrorism.
2. To emphasis on the ethical, and code of conduct by both security operatives and journalists while carrying out their duties.
3. To ensure timely and accurate sharing of information between security agencies and the media through their public relations officers or focal persons to avoid contradictions and miss-reporting which gives the terrorist an advantage.
4. The parliament should legislate and enact laws to guide the training and operations of the media in the country.
5. All stakeholders should follow the existing laws and whoever goes against it should face punishment accordingly regardless of the category he/she belongs.
6. The government should always engage the media and utilize it in the fight against terrorism other than blaming them over promoting terrorisms in the country.
7. The government and its departments should develop the capacities in countering any information in the media that the government feels it is wrong using the same media in a professional way without coursing a conflict with the media houses or individual journalists in the country.

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