Analysis of the Role of Media in Global Security

[1] **Justus Odongo Kiche,**   [2] **Dickson Wekesa Simiyu**
Ph.D Students Department of Security and Correction Science, School of Security,
Diplomacy and Peace Studies Kenyatta University
Email: [1] odongojustus25@gmail.com   [2] dicksonwekesa93@gmail.com

Abstract: *Media is the source of information for a society regarding any issue be it local, regional or global, people rely and even trust on what is presented to them by media. Therefore, it is an influential and instrumental tool with regards to building confidence or promoting mistrust among people on issues related to security both locally and internationally. This paper provides a critical analysis of the role of media in global security. It provides a review of the literature which describes positive and negative roles of the media in global security including provision of truthful information, de-escalation of conflict, communication among global leaders, and escalation of conflict, spreading of propaganda and exposure of state secrets respectively. It also analyzes the CNN and Al Jazeera Media Effect on international security.*

The paper evaluates the case studies of Pakistan and India, Arab Spring Animosities, Iraq War and September (9/11) Terrorist Attack in understanding the critical role of the media in global security. Previous attempts of controlling the media in global security through censorship and shutting down of media networks is also evaluated. The climate of securitization after 11 September 2001, monopolization of media ownership and judicial deference were identified as some of the challenges facing the media in global security. The paper concludes by suggesting that restricting access to media and other forms of media such as social media for terrorist groups may be a possible solution in terms of strengthening global security.

Key Words: *Media, Global Security, Terrorism.*

1. INTRODUCTION :

Media comprises the means by which a society receives and disseminates information. The traditional instruments of media include newspapers, magazines, radio and television. According to Jessica (2016), media may also be defined as the main means of mass communication consisting of television, radio, and newspapers; broadcasting, publishing and the internet. Media forms include print media, broadcast media and social media.

The journalist is a human being who studies other human creatures and reports about them hence the source of his information. The information is passed across a destination to achieve a goal. This information disseminated by the journalist could be harmful or useful depending on its contents. The continuous advancement in technology in the 21st century has facilitated and increased access to media such as television and radio, while the development of internet and mobile phone has allowed instant communication. Media has become the main source of information, often shaping the opinion of the public and playing a very crucial part of lives all around the world today (Anthony, 2013).

The media has also become an important tool of the statecraft in the modern era. It is the 'fourth estate' which helps the state to further its interests, objectives and goals. Since the dawn of information revolution and the use of media for 'attaining war objectives by other means,' media is an important element in opinion making/ building, creating heroes & villains, and creating monsters & enemies. The use of 'embedded journalists' during the Gulf War was to project the war at the global level. The instantaneous aspect of global media today can cause the public to be outraged at the government. This explains why some nations have decided to strictly supervise their media outlets to only publish news beneficial to the respective nation. Countries such as Russia and China tend to restrict their media broadcasts more than other states to maintain social orders (Nazir, 2008).

2. Roles of Media :

An ideal media should be impartial and free from the propaganda mechanisms. Media educates and keeps the public informed about the national and international political and other human realities taking place in everyday life. It should be able to highlight the trouble spots in the society and press the government and public to devise suitable mechanisms to eliminate those troubles. At the national level, the responsibility of media is to build a bridge between people and governments.

Media serves as a checkpoint by ensuring that the government is working within its mandate. However, due to globalization, the responsibilities of media have also widened. It has to play a role for preserving and pursuing the national interests of the state and highlighting its perspective along with the global issues. It has to examine the conduct of international relations and again to highlight the trouble spot at global level in lieu of global security (Nency, 2009).

According to Ikram (2007), a media anchor revealed to him that, "the role of press in democratic society is not to take national security consideration, it is not to implement national policy, it is not to be patriotic. It is to be aggressive, it is to be suspicious, it is to be skeptical, it is to be hostile to the government''. Media shapes the perceptions of leaders and people. These perceptions provide the basis upon which political actors formulate the policies, especially during the situations of crisis or political changes i.e. elections. However, media can never be independent: either it works under the government pressure imposed through laws or under the influence of financer, as it has become a moneymaking industry. The role of media is predominantly determined by its relationships with the state in the following three perspectives (Nazir, 2008: pp 2-3);

a) In the Authoritarian system; the government in power controls the media. The purpose of media is to support and advance the government policies and serve the state. The criticism on government machinery is prohibited.

b) In the Libertarian system; media is owned by whoever has economic means to do so. The three purposes of media here are: To inform, to discover truth and accountability of the government.

c) In the Social Responsibility system; media is controlled by anyone who wants to say something. This is the mature form. The major responsibility here is to inform, entertain, sell but also raise the conflict to the plane of discussion.

Sultan (2003), notes that whenever the military and media meet during a conflict, clashes are expected. The media wants to tell the story and the military wants to win the war and keep casualties to a minimum. The media wants freedom, no censorship, total access and the capability to get to their audience quickly. Further, the media may fear that military might stifle news coverage for enhancing their public image or cover up their mistakes. The military on the other hand, wants control. The greatest fear of a military commander in a pre-invasion scenario is that something might leak out that would tip off the enemy.

3. Media Roles in the Context of Global Security :

Media is the key source of information and has become political, hence, it has a potential to influence the global structure and may bring a change in the structure. Although the role of media in international issues including security is positive, sometimes it is influenced and used by the major actors as a source of propaganda to promote their interests and bring desired changes in the prevailing system (Mugambi, 2020). Media roles in the context of global security can be conceptualized by examining the following global media outlets;

2.1. The CNN Effect

The Critical News Network (CNN) Effect was defined by Steven (1997: pp 4-6) as; ''a policy agenda-setting agent, an impediment to the achievement of desired policy goals, and an accelerant to policy decision-making." As an agenda setting agent, the news media have an important job in defining issues, primarily to help the public understand the newest array of priorities and alliances. In this context, the news coverage can be useful for justifying state actions by shaping what people around the world think of it. For instance, in 2003 the U.S. war against Iraq was defined as a war of liberation by the White House and produced a media campaign to support that idea. In this case, modern media acted as considerable allies in selling the war and sustaining public support for it.

When the media become an accelerant, they influence the strategies and behaviour of those in power by creating sense of urgency, increasing public awareness and anxiety, leading to pressure to "do something". But media coverage alone

does not guarantee a particular effect on foreign policy, regardless of how or whether the media may exert a direct effect on policy-making elites both at home and abroad. The media coverage does not guarantee a policy response. For example, despite the media coverage of Bosnian atrocities and the genocide in Rwanda, none of the major Western powers intervened for years.

As the third approach of the CNN effect, when the media act as an impediment actor, they help to spread multiple frames, bring third parties into conflict and help to shape public opinion which in turn affect policymakers' decisions on political conflicts. The opposition to government's foreign policy can be an outcome of the media coverage which is sourced by the domestic political division. In this circumstance, the media's power to distribute the reaction against official policy in public, pressure and interest groups can led the change of balance of power due to administration fail into control the process of the crises management (Wolfsfeld 2004:69).

2.2. Al-Jazeera Effect

Al-Jazeera is a media channel based in Qatar. Al Jazeera was founded by the emir of Qatar (1996) in order to spread uncensored and critical coverage of news in the Middle East with the slogan of 'the opinion and the other opinion'. It aimed to break the hegemony of the pro-western international news gathering of CNN and BBC World. By offering a counter-hegemonic resource and power, it claimed to provide a new perspective to the world reached beyond the lens of the West. In 2003 Al Jazeera became accessible through its website for English speakers in order to reach greater audience and greater influence (Zakaria, 2008).

Al Jazeera has played a major role providing a platform for discussing the problems of Arab societies and has trigged the demands of democratic change which means it has a power to impact policy and public opinion. Moreover (Filiz, 2016:56), it has challenged American perspectives and actions around the world with extensive local news networks as it was seen during the Iraq War. The non-Western journalists and networks brought the Iraqi perspective to the discussion; hereby the world simply could see what was going there from different viewpoints. Broadcasting the events internationally broke the monopoly of Western media on reporting and defining the war. In 2012 Al Jazeera America began to broadcast to American audiences in New York to secure access to cable and satellite distribution in the US.

Phillip (2008), observes that the channel has helped expand Qatar's cultural influence and develop its role in regional diplomacy. It has also played a key role during the uprising of the people of Tunisia and Egypt, demonstrating the new features of modern media and how they have an impact on international issues including security. It was one of the only media outlets capable of reporting directly from Tahrir Square in Cairo in 2011, and it thus played an important part in shaping the way the uprising was reported to people outside of Egypt. During the Tahrir Square uprising, in which the Egyptian government was being challenged by its population, Al-Jazeera was considered to be a threat thereby making the government to close down the offices of the network in Cairo.

2.3. WikiLeaks

WikiLeaks was founded by Julian Assange in 2006 and functions as an international, nonprofit and multi-national media organization that analyzes and publicizes large datasets of "censored or otherwise restricted official materials involving war, spying and corruption." According to Jessica (2016), WikiLeaks has disclosed thousands of significant documents such as the documentation of equipment expenditures and holdings in the Afghanistan war. The site hopes to increase transparency on the planet by leaking secret files of governments and organizations. It has received numerous awards as well as praises for its bravery from countries such as Brazil, Ecuador, Venezuela and the United Nations. However, there has been controversy among this non-profit organization due to the possible harm it could deliver. The US has argued that the publications of secretive documents would lead to serious and severe consequences in diplomatic relationships, national security and international security. Countries such as Australia, China, France, Libya, Thailand condemns WikiLeaks and some censor it, as well.

The critical roles of media in global security are both positive and negative. Mugambi (2020), describes these roles as follows;

4. Positive media roles in Global Security :

4.1. Media acts as reporters of the truth

A key function of the media is to give the public the information necessary to make good decisions. The media can seek to confirm official accounts, reveal official deceit and correct errors of omission. For instance, when officials claimed that there was an oil spill eighteen times as large as the Exxon Valdez spill spreading off the coast of the Kuwait, one reporter hired a helicopter to look for the spill. She found no evidence of a spill of that magnitude, and revealed that the official claims were greatly exaggerated.

4.2. Dissemination of information

The military needs the media in order to inform the public about its role and maintain public support. While independent reporting is necessary to hold the military to account, the media are largely dependent on the military for information.

4.3. De-escalation of conflict

During armed conflict the media are essential for informing the public about military operations and actions. It is widely believed that media coverage of the international conflict played a key role in turning US public opinion against the war in Vietnam. Lack of popular support eventually forced the US to withdraw from that conflict by allowing the parties to publicly vent their emotions and positions through media.

4.4. Communication among global leaders

The media serves as a channel of communication among the leaders and between the leaders and their constituencies. Ted Turner of CNN recalled that when Philippine President Marcos wanted to appeal to key US legislators, he would ask CNN to broadcast his speech. CNN would alert the appropriate legislators and solicit their comments after the broadcast. Many security analysts have argued that Saddam Hussein's Gulf Crisis speeches and appearances were directed primarily towards developing a stronger Arab constituency.

5. Negative media roles in Global Security :

5.1. Escalation of conflict

The media can contribute to conflict escalation, either directly or indirectly. Experienced war reporters do observe that sometimes the very presence of cameras would prompt the sides to start shooting. Terrorist often rely on the media. Terrorist attacks may be calculated to draw media attention. In the absence of media coverage, many types of terrorism would be useless.

5.2. Spreading of Propaganda

The development of media has brought about new communication tools such as the internet and social sites like Facebook, Twitter and WhatsApp especially in developing countries. It has encouraged users to interact and not just passively watch or listen to news but exchange views and ideas. For instance, the Arab Spring animosities threatened global security in its Arab countries, which was escalated by the social media tool- Facebook and spread to other countries.

5.3. Cultural influence through the Media

The Qatari based channel Al-Jazeera demonstrates how much influence such a media tool can generate. The channel has helped expand Qatari's influence in the Arab World and also in Western countries. This has created rivalry between western channels and Middle East facilitating the development of fear thus leading to insecurities. It also played a big role in the Arab Upspring. Similarly, the channel France 24 was an initiative of the French government whose mission was to cover international current events from France's perspective and to convey French values throughout the world. This has brought about biasness in the international arena triggering insecurity.

5.4. Promotion of Hegemony

Media has been used as a tool for particular countries to extend its hegemony. For instance CNN channel of the USA. States have sought to extend their powers through these developments which in turn fuels tension. Non-state actors especially civil society and NGO's have also benefited from the developments of new media. They have made it easier

for these actors to communicate with the rest of the world and pass on their message, helping them acquire legitimacy with the public and further their cause.

5.5. Exposure of State Secrets

The recent phenomenon of WikiLeaks is viewed as dangerous and could have disastrous consequences on diplomatic relationships and global security. The organization has been blamed for causing the Tunisian revolution, massive cases of miscommunication, political instabilities and suspected to be encouraging the US to be more secretive.

6. Critical Review of Media Roles in Global Conflict :

Media on one hand incites people towards violence and escalates conflict as shown by history. Hitler used the media to create hatred for Jews (Vladimir & Schirch, 2007). Joseph Goebbels, Hitler's Minister of Propaganda, masterminded the most effective effort of mass persuasion, heavily relying on propaganda messages in motion pictures and radio broadcasting. Aware of the importance of media, Goebbels controlled the press school for journalists and had a hold over radio broadcasting (Cole, 1998). He induced the industry to produce affordable radio sets, installed loudspeakers in public places and sent „radio wardens" to monitor the use of those radios (Jowett & O'Donnell, 1999). Between 1933 and 1942, the German radio audience increased from 4.5 to 16 million (Thomson, 1997). The Nazis mastered the use of slogans and bold-colored visuals, but most importantly perfected the use of town rallies arousing emotional frenzy and support for Hitler.

In the 1992-1995 Balkan conflict, electronic and print media helped promote ethnic conflict and hatred leading to violence. While the explicit broadcast of hate messages was rare, the cumulative impact of biased coverage fuelled the hatred over a long period of time (Buric, 2000; Sadkovich, 1998). Broadcasters polarized local communities to the point where violence became an acceptable tool for addressing grievances (Vladimir & Schirch, 2007). More than 150,000 were killed in the Bosnian civil war between Serbs, Bosnians and Croats. The Dayton Peace Agreement ended the violence in 1995 by instituting a provisional, internationally-run governing body in charge of peace implementation (the Office of the High Representative, OHR). One of OHR"s initial assessments of the Bosnian conflict was that all three sides in the conflict utilized radio and television broadcasting to further their conflict goals and demonize their opponents (Buric, 2000; Thompson, 1977).

The period prior to the outbreak of the war in Iraq saw the birth of two parallel yet antithetical regimes. Firstly, there was the regime founded by those states that held Iraq to be a rogue state in the process of developing weapons of mass destruction, supported against the war against it. Secondly, there was the regime formed by the elements opposed to the war, involving France, Germany and Russia. Both regimes exploited the global news media, as well as local and national media, in order to advance their cause and garner support (Whittaker, 2001).

In the United States of America (USA), the September attacks were a series of four coordinated terrorist attacks by Al-Qaeda, an Islamic terrorist group, targeting symbolic landmarks in the United States on the morning of Tuesday, September 11, 2001 (David, 2004). On the day of the attack, television programs, radio programs, newspapers, and other forms of media reported the attack nationally, accelerating one of the biggest panics in the world.

The UNODC (2015), highlighted the role of media in particular social media in terrorist groups as prominent in their recruitment strategies. Facebook and Twitter are both key platforms to gather supporters and recruit new members to acts of violence by propaganda because they are affordable and are reachable. By posting graphic videos of beheadings filmed by Islamic State on social media, the Islamic State could project fear globally. When the militants of the ISIS descended on the Iraqi city of Mosul in June 2014, they launched a Twitter hashtag campaign: *#AllEyesonIsis* and posted over 40,000 tweets a day.

The African continent has also experienced several political uprisings in Arab countries. Some of these uprisings are claimed to have been engineered and subsequently escalated by media. In Libyan civil war (Viggo, 2011), the shortcomings of the media in form of repeated errors and double standards escalated the conflict. The Libyan revolution was grouped together with those revolutions of the rest of the Arab world. What the media failed to point out was the contrast with the revolutions of Egypt and Tunisia. According to Viggo (2011), Muammar Qaddafi"s capture and subsequent killing on October 20, 2011, implied that the power of media in conflict cannot be assumed. The speed and technology with which images of the event were recorded on cell phones and transmitted around the world via social

media platforms, and widely disseminated even before Qaddafi‟s death was confirmed, immediately sparked international debate regarding the circumstances and legality of his killing.

During the 2010 general elections in Côte d‟Ivoire, the media landscape was rife with partisan polemic and misinformation from opposing sides and incitements to violence, while members of the media themselves were frequent targets of violence and intimidation (Media Foundation for West Africa, 2011). The post-election crisis that followed after the announcement of the presidential results, the print media and public television were used by both presidential candidates Laurent Gbagbo and Allassane Ouattara as a tool for propaganda and a means for mobilizing their electorate against their opponents (Electoral Reform International Services, 2011). The media occupied a central role in the post-election crisis which descended into civil war that saw the displacement of more than 1 million people and the effective termination of many government services in various parts of that country.

 A characteristic of the Ivorian civil war was a power-struggle between forces backing Gbagbo and Ouattara to control the media. In response to the pro-Gbagbo biases of the state-run Radio TélévisionIvoirienne (RTI), which was the most widely accessed source of news in the country, the Ouattara camp created Television Côte d'Ivoire (TCI) in early 2011 (Media Foundation for West Africa, 2011). Both television outlets incited violence against their opponents and attacked media outlets or journalists of their opponents. There is widespread consensus that certain media outlets played an important role in exacerbating the political, social and ethnic tensions in the country (Reporters without Borders, 2011).

In the Central African Republic, hate speech spread through the media was responsible for exacerbating a sectarian climate that resulted in the displacement of almost one million people and 75,000 refugees (MRG, 2013). In the midst of an otherwise non-sectarian conflict, hate speech urging revenge between Muslims and Christian anti-balaka groups in media and online platforms gained prominence and it became easier for members from both communities to regard the other group as collectively responsible for individual acts of violence. The impact of hatred spread through the media extended beyond discrimination to more visible extremes, as in the Democratic Republic of Congo where it drove the continuation of inter-ethnic conflicts. In 1994, the Rwandan Radio-Télévision Libre des Milles Collines played a crucial role in initiating the killing of more than a half a million people in less than one hundred days. The broadcast messages explicitly calling for the murder of the Tutsi population were believed to have contributed to the massacre (Metzl, 1997; Kirschke, 1996).

In Uganda, inadequate media coverage has been blamed for the conflict in Northern Uganda where for more than two decades, the war between Uganda Peoples' Defence Forces (UPDF) and Lord Resistance Army (LRA) parties (Okumu, 1997). This has made it difficult for the international community to intervene. Similarly, Somalia and Darfur conflicts were too under covered until recently when they hit the world headlines. In Kenya, the media played a negative role towards the cause and escalation of the 2007 election violence. During the 2007 general election coverage, media portrayed a volatile political environment marred with abhorrence, violence, and a stiff race between two protagonists through biased coverage. Furthermore, major media houses such as NTV and KTN predicted a flawed and highly manipulated election to favor the ruling party. Therefore, the perceived attempt to bungle the vote tallying exercise by ECK only served to confirm the prediction of the media (KNCHR, 2008b). This certainly contributed the PEV.

Some media houses, especially the FM radio stations, seemed to have encouraged hate speech that elicited ethnic hatred and animosity that burst into open postelection violence, (BBC, 2008). Among the stations that were most mentioned included Inooro FM, Kameme FM, Kass FM, and Lake Victoria FM (Abdi & Deane, 2008; KNCHR, 2008b). While mainstream media houses like KBC, Nation Media and Standard Group were much more cautious, FM radio stations especially those broadcasting in ethnic languages appeared to fuel ethnic hatred and animosity through the use of hate and unsavory language. For instance, KASS FM radio station broadcasting to Kalenjins in the former Rift Valley Province referred to their Kikuyu neighbours as „foreigners‟ (Mbeke, 2009; KNCHR, 2008b). KASS FM radio presenter Mr. Sang was later taken to the International Criminal Court (ICC) as one of the masterminds of the violence through his radio station.

Media on the other hand, has been used in several cases to promote peace and reconciliation. For example, in Northern Uganda, media has been used to create the common good for the people to promote peace (Struges, 2007). Mega FM has promoted peace in Northern Uganda with positive effects since 2002. Evidence also suggests that the station played a major part in encouraging LRA members to come out of the bush. Open Broadcast Network (OBN), a media network established in Bosnia two decades ago, is one of the most ambitious and earliest intentional media attempts to reduce violent conflict. To this day, it remains the only television network established to promote peace.

Equally, Radio Ndeke Luka (RNL), a radio station focusing on development and peace in the Central African Republic (CAR), was established by the United Nations Mission in the Central African Republic (MINURCA) and managed by Hirondelle Foundation to promote peace and reconciliation in CAR. Since its inception, the station has managed to contribute to peace-keeping as well as democratization and socioeconomic development. It has highlighted on issues relating to human rights and human rights abuses, the search for peace and initiatives in favor of peace. It has also promoted vocational training for journalists and technicians of Central African Republic resulting in the creation of a positive impact on local media (Betz, 2004).

Social media could also be a powerful tool, focusing worldwide attention on armed conflict and international humanitarian law (IHL). Due to its scale and the ability to easily and exponentially reproduce information, it is useful for quickly and efficiently publicizing events and information which can be used to generate public interest, to bolster advocacy campaigns, and to educate about the law (Koni, 2012).

7. The Balance in Media Reporting :

Lack of information can, at any stage of a conflict, make people desperate, restless and easy to manipulate. The ability to make informed decisions strengthens societies and fosters economic growth, democratic structures and the positive outlook on the future. For this very reason, the United Nations Millennium Declaration stressed the need "to ensure the freedom of the media to perform their essential role and the right of the public to have access to information" (United Nations Millennium Declaration, 2000).

In media reporting, it can be problematic to find a balance between preventing harm caused by speech and protecting individual expression. Being able to find this balance however is important especially in conflict situations. Responsible journalism does not just re-publish press releases but is truly concerned with a truthful, balanced and fair account of events. In order to achieve this journalists have to stay clear of judgmental representations and describe reality without embellishment (Koven, 2004). If democracy is to work properly, society needs access to news and information; analysis of the status quo, debate, practical information and exchange as well as entertainment are needed and provided by the media. The definition of conflict and defining conflict areas is not easy and no two places are alike. Journalists need to know what they can expect on sight in order to define the objectives of their reporting (Global Media Forum, 2009).

Internal conflicts do not occur spontaneously but tend to have a history. Local media usually have a deeper understanding of the existing political structures, the participants of the conflict as well as the changes preceding the outbreak of violence. The media can therefore not only influence society before the conflict by recognizing and properly addressing the issue but also afterwards. Unlike international media covering conflicts, local media are a recognized part of society with the ability to accelerate and magnify fears or reduce them. The media have the power to diffuse tensions before they even reach a critical point and keep a critical eye on government, opposition and society (Westphal, 2004). By supplying credible information and reaching a large audience, the media help in managing conflicts and promote societal development.

In case of a crisis or a conflict, the international media can attract worldwide attention. The mass media is a pervasive part of daily life especially in industrialized countries and thus able to shine a light on conflicts anywhere in the world. Since most armed conflicts these days have governmental and not territorial reasons; the parties are often concerned with making sure that the majority of people are on "their" side, which bears a lot of potential for misrepresenting facts and trying to seize control over the distribution of information (United Nations Office for West Africa, 2005). For this very reason the intervention of unbiased and free global media is important not only for the world public but also for the people directly affected. Possible solutions to prevent further escalation of the conflict can employ different strategies such as;

- ➢ Conflict-sensitive and peace journalism;
- ➢ Peace-promoting entertainment media;
- ➢ Media regulation to prevent incitement of violence, and
- ➢ Peace-promoting citizen media

The media therefore, can be a good tool in a healthy and functioning environment but more is needed than ethical and responsible reporting to ensure lasting peace and safety.

8. Challenges Facing the Media in Global Security :

According to Caparini (2004), the media community has encountered various obstacles and challenges in reporting on the security sector and performing their watchdog function both locally and globally. Governments may restrict access to information or seek to co-opt journalists such as the post-Westgate scenario in Kenya where Kenya National Television (KTN) journalists were issued an arrest warrant for interference. Reliance on and privileging of official statements, and a lack of expertise on security issues, can undermine the media's ability to act as a watchdog. A number of trends threaten to hinder the media's ability to act as a watchdog of the security sector. These include:

a) The climate of securitization after 11 September 2001 – an emphasis on government secrecy, restrictions on information available to the public and ostracism of critical journalists have had a significant impact on the media;
b) The 'dumbing-down' of news – an increasing trend towards entertainment news and a decline in serious public affairs journalism impose serious constraints on reporting of complex security-related issues;
c) The monopolization of media ownership – the increasing ownership of the media by conglomerates reduces the spectrum of perspectives published and undermines independent and critical journalism;
d) Reliance on official sources - the quest for objectivity can lead to reliance on official government sources, making it more difficult to present alternative perspectives; and
e) Judicial deference – in states where judicial deference is common, courts are likely to side with the government on issues pitting claims of national security against press freedom.

9. CONCLUSION :

Media coverage does not only influence the perceptions of millions of readers, viewers, listeners and internet users, but also determine to a crucial degree weather and to what extent conflict actors recognize the array of constructive options available for resolving their differences. Through their work, the media can strengthen dialogue processes by introducing and anchoring important issues in national and global discourses. Restricting access to media and other forms of media such as social media for terrorist groups may be a possible solution in terms of strengthening international security. This can be through censorship of biased media outlets and enactment of strict laws to govern media reporting. However, it is important to consider human rights, especially the freedom of expression and that of media when implementing the laws.

REFERENCES :

1. Abdi, F., & Deane, S. (2008). *History and Sociology of Genocide: Analysis and Case Studies.* New Heaven: Yale University Press.
2. Andrew, P. (2006), *Conflict and the Role of the Media* (n.d.): Available at; http://www.mediasupport.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/ims-voices-of-war-2006.pdf
3. Anthony, D. (2013). *The Role of the Media in National Security in Nigeria* 1960-1999, Arabian Journal of Business and Management Review (OMAN Chapter) Vol. 2, No.12. Available at; https://www.arabianjbmr.com/pdfs/OM_VOL_2_(12)/6.pdf
4. Betz, M. (2004). Radio as a Peace Builder - A case Study of Radio Okapi in the Democratic Republic of Congo. *The Great Lakers Research Journal , Vol 1*.
5. Buric, A. (2000). Media, War and peace in Bosnia. In E. David (Ed.), *Regional Media in Conflict* (p. pp 64). London: Institute for War and Peace Reporting.
6. Caparini, M. (Ed.) (2004). *'Media in Security and Governance*: The Role of the News Media in Security', Nomos / Bonn International Center for Conversion (BICC) / Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF). Available at; https://www.bicc.de/publications/publicationpage/publication/media-in-security-and-governance-the-role-of-the-news-media-in-security-oversight-and-accountability
7. Catherine, O.(2011) "*New Study Quantifies Use of Social Media in Arab Spring."* UW Today. Available at; http://www.washington.edu/news/2011/09/12/new-study- quantifies-use-of-social media-in-arab-spring/ >
8. Christopher, Y. (1991), "*The Role of Media in International Conflict,"* Canadian Institute for Peace and Security, Working Paper no. 38. Available at; http://www.ssrnetwork.net/document_library/detail/3966/media-in-security-and-governance-the-role-of-the-news-media-in-security
9. David, C. (2004). "*The four waves of modern terrorism."* In Attacking terrorism: elements of a grand strategy, Audrey Kurth Cronin, James M. Ludes, eds. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown

UniversityPress.Availableat;https://www.researchgate.net/publication/286896869_The_four_waves_of_modern_terror_International_dimensions_and_consequences/citation/download

10. Deutsche,W. (2008) *Media in Peace building and Conflict Prevention*. Global Media Reporting p.59-61
11. Dijk, V. (1997). The Tamil Panic in the Press. In *News Analysis: Case Studies of International and National News in the Press* (pp. 215-254). Erlbaum, New Jersey: Hillsdale.
12. Electoral Reform International Services. (2011). *Broadcasting a peaceful future.* London: 6 Chancel Street Press.
13. Filiz, C. (2016), *The Role of the Media in International Relations*: From the CNN Effect to the Al –Jazeere Effect. Journal of International Relations and Foreign Policy. Vol 4. Available at; http://jirfp.com/journals/jirfp/Vol_4_No_2_December_2016/3.pdf
14. Ikram, S. (2007), *'The Role and Conduct of Media in Accountability'*, Paper presented at the International Conference on the occasion of International Anti-Corruption Day, organized by the National Accountability Bureau (NAB) of Pakistan, Rawalpindi. Available at; www.nab.gov.pk
15. Jessica, W. (2016), *The Role of Media in the Context of International Security.*" (n.d.): Research Reports. DCMUN. Available at; https://uofahsmun.files.wordpress.com/2012/06/dcmun.pdf>
16. Kirschke, L. (1996). *Broadcasting genocide; censorship, propaganda, & state-sponsored violence in Rwanda 1990-1994.* London: SAGE.
17. Khalid, N. and Mark, R. (2004), *'Pakistan Drives of Change Synthesis and Policy Implications'* Department of International Development Fund, UK. Available at; http://www.gsdrc.org/docs/open/doc35.pdf
18. KNCHR. (2008). *Ballots to Bullets: Organized Political Violence and Kenya's Crisis of Governance.* Kenya National Commission of Human Right. Nairobi: HRW.
19. KNCHR. (2008b). *On the Brink of the Precipice: A Human Rights Account of the Kenya's Post Election Violence.* Kenya National Commission of Human Right. Nairobi: HRW.
20. Koni, D. (2012). *African media and conflict.* Retrieved Jan 18, 2013, from http://www.c-r.org/occ_papers/af_media/
21. Media Foundation for West Africa. (2011, April 18). *Ban on international media lifted by Ouattara government.* Retrieved March 18, 2013, from International Freedom of Expression Exchange: http://www.ifex.org/
22. Metzl, J. (1997). Information intervention: When switching channels isn"t enough. *US Foreign Affairs , 76* (6), pp. 17-20.
23. Mugambi, M. (2020). *Evaluating the Negative Role of the Media in International Security*. Journal of International Relations and Foreign Policy December 2016, Vol. 4, No. 2, Available at; https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/evaluating-role-media-international-security-vincent-muchangi
24. MFAF . (2009, April). Media Focus on Africa Foundation Centre for Independent Research (CIR). *National Integration and Cohesion Report.*
25. Morgenthau, H., & Thompson, K. (1985). *Politics among nations.* New York: McGraw
26. MRG. (2013). *Annual survey: Hate crime towards minorities and indigenous peoples in Africa.* Minority Rights Group International . London: Commercial Street Press.
27. Nazir H. (2008), "*The Role of Media in National Security:* A Case Study of 1998 Nuclear Explosions by Pakistan", SASSI Research Report, vol.13, no. 20, (UK: SASSI, 2008), Available at; https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/128264/Report-20.pdf
28. Okumu, R. R. (1997). *The Effect of war and government policies in Northern Uganda from 1986.* UNDP. Gulu: (Unpublished Report).
29. Philip, S. (2008), *The Al Jazeera Effect – How the New Global Media are Reshaping World Politics*, Washington, Potomac Books. Available at; https://www.amazon.com/Al-Jazeera-Effect-Reshaping-Politics/dp/1597972002
30. Price, M., & Thomson, S. (2002). *An Operational Framework for Media and Peacebuilding.* Retrieved March 12, 2013, from IMPACS: www.impacs.org
31. Reporters Without Borders. (2011). *Call to Avoid Media Vengeance by Civil War Victors*. Retrieved from http://www.rwb.org
32. Sultan, M. (2003), *'Media Imperialism'*, The Defence Journal, Available at;. https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/128264/Report-20.pdf
33. Steven, L. (1997), *Clarifying the CNN Effect:* An Examination of Media Effects According to Type of Military Intervention. Available at; https://shorensteincenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/03/r18_livingston.pdf
34. Thompson, M. (1977). *Forging war: the media in Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina.* U.K: University of Luton Press.

35. UNDP. (2008). The Mass Media and 2007 General Election in Kenya. *September issue*. Nairobi, Kenya: UNDP.
36. United Nations.(2015), "*The Use of Internet by Terrorist Groups*." Available at;https://www.unodc.org/documents/frontpage/Use_of_Internet_for_Terrorist_Purposes.pdf
37. United Nations Office for West Africa (2005) UNOWA *Workshop on Reporting for Peace*. p.3-5
38. Viggo, M. (2011). *Forging Peace: Intervention, Human Rights and the Management of Media Space.* (P. M. Taylor, Ed.) Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
39. Vladimir, B., & Schirch, L. (2007). Why and when to use media for conflict prevention and peace building. *European Centre for Conflict Prevention* (Issue No. 6).
40. Westphal, F. (2004) *The Right Information at the Right Time.* URL:http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0013/001389/138983e.pdf page 27-29
41. Wolfsfeld, G. (2004), *Media and the Path to Peace*, Cambridge University Press. Available at; https://www.cambridge.org/core/books/media-and-the-path-to peace/61EDC9DF5610B3403041C8CAC428659A
42. Whittaker, D. (2001). *The Terrorism Reader*. London: Routledge. Available at; https://www.unodc.org/documents/e4j/18-04932_CT_Mod_01_ebook_FINALpdf.pdf