

**PRINT MEDIA COVERAGE OF REFUGEE CRISIS IN KENYA: A CASE STUDY OF  
DAILY NATION AND STANDARD NEWSPAPERS' COVERAGE OF THE DADAAB  
REFUGEE REPATRIATION**

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**DECLARATION**

This project is my original work and has not been previously submitted to any other university or faculty for consideration of any certification.

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Signature..... Date .....

This proposal has been submitted for examination with my approval as University Supervisor.

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## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this project to my mother, Mrs. Hellen Birir.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS**

<b>UNHCR</b>	:	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
<b>UN</b>	:	United Nations
<b>NGO</b>	:	Non-governmental Organizations
<b>OCHA</b>	:	Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
<b>IFRC</b>	:	International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies
<b>IGAD</b>	:	Intergovernmental Authority on Development

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## ABSTRACT

This study sought to establish how the print media in Kenya covered the repatriation of refugees from Kenya's Dadaab refugee camp to Somalia. A mixed methods research approach was used in this study. The study's target population included all newspaper articles published by *Daily Nation* and *Standard* between May 2016 and May 2017. Drawing on the agenda-setting and priming, gate keeping and framing theories, a comprehensive analysis was carried out on the articles. The researcher used purposive sampling method to choose articles on Dadaab refugee repatriation. A total of 89 articles were found and were then subjected to a guiding schedule of questions in order to establish how the print media covered repatriation of refugees from Dadaab. The study's objectives included determining of the frequency of coverage of the refugee repatriation exercise, assessment of the priming of stories on the refugee repatriation exercise in Dadaab and the framing of the refugee repatriation exercise. This study's findings revealed that the newspapers allocated a higher percentage of space to news articles. In the *Daily Nation*, news articles made up 79% of the total articles on Dadaab repatriation between May 2016 and May 2017. In the *Standard* newspaper, news articles made up an equally high percentage of 71% as compared to opinions which made up 25% and editorials at 3%. The study also found that, in priming analysis, it was revealed that the *Standard* had a total of 28 articles on its inside pages and only 3 articles on its front pages. *Daily Nation* had a total of 56 articles on its inside pages, 2 on its front pages and none on the back pages. Lastly, humanitarian and security frames were the most popular frames in the newspapers' reporting of refugee repatriation for both newspapers. The study recommends that print media should frame articles on refugees as an international legal issue. Also, the media should increase the frequency of its coverage of issues relating to refugees and stateless people living within the borders of the country. And, the media should prime stories regarding refugees in general which is in line with its role as a public watchdog.



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# **CHAPTER ONE**

## **INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 Overview**

This chapter provides the background of the study, the problem statement, and scope and research objectives. It also provides the research questions, and the significance of the study. It also includes the rationale and limitations of the study.

### **1.2 Background information**

Definitely, repatriation is very important in the lives of refugees especially after the conflicts are resolved. Millions of refugees across the world have faced many human rights violations that force them to flee from their homes (OCHA, 2016) (IFRC, 2016). After the two World Wars, many European refugees were resettled in the West and this defused the issue of settlement. These days, however, repatriation is no longer an option but an alternative to the displacement of refugees. This then brings about certain questions: when should refugees go back to their countries of origin? What should they expect when they go back? Under what conditions should they go back? Who should ensure these conditions? For the last two decades or so, repatriation has presented itself as a multifaceted and challenging issue of NGOs and policy makers.

The UN acknowledges that repatriation of refugees is one of the most important parts of post-conflict management. Historically, very few scholars have looked into the issue of repatriation and how it meddles with international politics. Nonetheless, repatriation is now a significant tool to help reconcile refugees with their families as well as promote accountability. According to Barnes & Cawley (2016), it is the role of print media to provide useful and accurate information that deepens understanding of issues such as repatriation while seeking for a lasting solution. Vukasovich & Dejanovic-Vukasovich (2016) and Schäfer et al. (2016) have suggested that print

media has the responsibility to discover and communicate their findings to the general public regarding these issues (Dykstra, 2016; Gillespie et al., 2016).

The issue of repatriation has surfaced in Kenya given that the country hosts a number of refugees from neighboring countries (Chkam, 2016) Ursing & Desai, 2016). Of late, the Kenyan government has decided to close the Dadaab camp, which has the highest number of refugees in the country, fueled by the following two reasons: the Somali refugees are a security threat, and that the camp is a financial burden to the country (Crisp & Long. 2016). The way the *Daily Nation* and standard Newspapers' reported this repatriation has the capacity to shape the decision as well as get support from the Kenyan public to close down the camp. This is why the refugee repatriation is worth covering. On the one hand, the Kenyan government claims that terrorist cells are operating from the refugee camp. However, the repatriation decision seeks to send back the refugees to a country they fled due to war and which is still at war (Verwimp & Maystadt, 2015) and will therefore form another crisis in Somalia (Stanley, 2015).

This study sought to assess whether the two Kenyan newspapers carried out their mandate of providing useful and accurate information to Kenyans so as to understand the repatriation of refugees at Dadaab. Print media has the capacity to shape public opinion or public agenda because of the connection between newspapers and how they cover different refugee crises all over the world. People believe what they read in the newspapers as reality (Portin, 2015).

### **1.3 Problem statement**

Increasing numbers of refugees from warring countries has become a global problem among nations. The inadequate media coverage of refugee camp issues is the main reason why there is numerous confusions among various stakeholders such as the public, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHRC) and the Kenyan government. For instance, the Kenyan

government in the recent past has heightened its stance of closing the Dadaab camp that hosts the majority of Somali citizens. Security threats from and high cost of maintaining the camps are the main reasons for the need to return the refugees to their nations. However, this stance has put the Government in a difficult situation with the United Nations. According to UNHCR, maintaining that repatriation of Somali refugees does not meet international standards as envisaged in the 1951 Convention that states, “No Contracting State shall expel or return a refugee in any manner whatsoever to the frontiers of territories where his life or freedom would be threatened on account of his race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion” (Arenilla, 2015). Additionally, a number of human rights watch groups have accused the Kenyan government of not meeting international standards of repatriating refugees by forcing the refugees from their camp at Dadaab to go back to Somalia.

On its part, the Kenyan media has been accused of siding with the government in the reporting of the repatriation exercise (Oriare, Okello-Orlale & Ugangu, 2010). According to Oriare, Okello-Orlale and Ugangu (2010), media organizations put little premium on the area of investigative journalism. Equally, Kenyan journalists lack sufficient knowledge in peace journalism, and further lack training on an array of specializations that are considered critical in guaranteeing them the capacity to enlighten their audiences about issues such as repatriation (Mutambo, 2017) (Nganga, 2016).

With this in mind, it is imperative that the leading print media houses in Kenya should have taken the onus to forewarn the government of the underlying political implications if it continued with its plans to forcefully shut down the Dadaab Camp. Regionally, Kenya’s move to forcefully evict the Somali refugees would worsen even further an already deteriorated security situation in the horn of Africa. Furthermore, the print media must increase coverage on such issues such as

pending nationality issues that the government would face if it insisted with its plans. With the Dadaab Camp having hosted refugee families since 1992, there is no doubt that scores of children have been born in the camp for the last 25 years of its existence. The 1961 Convention on the reduction of statelessness compels the Kenyan government to grant these children with Kenyan citizenship (UNHCR, 2015). The media must therefore bring to light such recommendations to inform the government's decision, especially regarding the planned closure of the Camp. Finally, the media must also raise awareness on the potential diplomatic relations crisis that would follow the decision by the government to forcefully shut the Dadaab Camp. The highly powerful countries in the world with veto powers also shape the decisions of the UN. By Kenya renegeing on its mandate to uphold the 1951 Refugee Convention, the country is likely to be in the crosshairs of the global power brokers.

Despite the magnitude of the problem that might face the Country, there is limited literature covering the contribution of media houses on the impasse. This study therefore filled the literature gap through studying on the repatriation of refugees in the Dadaab Camp.

## **1.4 Research objectives**

### 1.4.1 Overall Objective

To establish how the two largest print media in Kenya (*Daily Nation* and *Standard Newspapers*) covered the repatriation of refugees from Dadaab camp back to Somalia.

### 1.4.2 Specific objectives

1. To determine the frequency of coverage of the refugee repatriation exercise by *Daily Nation* and *Standard Newspapers*.
2. To assess the priming of stories on the refugee repatriation exercise in Dadaab by *Daily Nation* and *Standard Newspapers*.

3. To determine the framing of the refugee repatriation exercise by *Daily Nation* and *Standard Newspapers*.

## **1.5 Research questions**

### 1.5.1 Overall research question

How did the two largest print media in Kenya (*Daily Nation* and *Standard Newspapers*) cover the repatriation of refugees from Dadaab camp back to Somalia?

### 1.5.2 Specific research questions

1. How frequently did *Daily Nation* and *Standard Newspapers* cover the refugee repatriation exercise?
2. How did *Daily Nation* and the *Standard Newspapers* prime stories on the refugee repatriation exercise in Dadaab?
3. How did *Daily Nation* and *Standard Newspapers* frame the refugee repatriation exercise in Dadaab?

## **1.6 Justification of the study**

The researcher chose this topic because it is significant to understand the rhetoric that surrounds the repatriation exercise. There are many refugees in Dadaab that face uncertainty and further human rights violations if they are forced to go back to their country. The repatriation process started in 2016 despite the fact that Somalia is still embroiled in a civil war (Jonsson, 2016). Therefore, this raised questions as to whether the refugees are voluntarily being taken to their home country or they are being forced. This research expressly identified the issue of the print media failing to cover certain frames about repatriation of refugees from Dadaab exhaustively. At some instances, the point of view of the mainstream media was in reporting what the government plans to do with the repatriation exercise, rather than looking at it from the

perspective of the refugee. Very few researchers have covered this topic. This is the gap that this research identified and consequently endeavored to fill. Following Echoing Ogenga's (2010) sentiments regarding Kenyan media being business-oriented to the extent of focusing mainly on what appeals to the targeted market, this research emphasized the need for media to focus on other frames while covering the repatriation especially from the perspective of the refugees.

### **1.7 Significance of the Study**

Print media has a huge role in determining the outcome of a refugee repatriation exercise other than simple documentation of the issue at hand. Newspapers are a critical source of trusted information in times when certain parts of the population, be it refugees, are suffering. During disasters, journalists are the ones tasked with providing the correct information about what is happening on the ground. It is acknowledged that only a few journalists cover refugee disasters full time, (Sammarco, 2016). Apparently, there is a mismatch between the resources needed to cover such news and the need to cover the news. This is why journalists and NGOs may differ on the trends of covering a refugee repatriation exercise. While the NGOs may want the coverage to bring in more donors, journalists cover a story because they are sent by their editors, which regard the disaster as news of the day or a trending topic.

However, there is limited knowledge on print media's coverage of refugee repatriation issues. Therefore, this study sought to fill this knowledge gap by examining how print media covered the Dadaab repatriation crisis. An understanding of this is critical in appreciating the role of the media in sustaining the environment. Most importantly, learning about the how the media covers this crisis will help inform future decisions on how to utilize print media in humanitarian advocacy..



The findings of this study also inform humanitarian policy formulation processes and guidelines and helps policy makers come up with favorable policies and measures. The study also provides recommendations on how print media should cover issues related to repatriation.

As mentioned above, very few researchers have extensively focused on the reporting of refugee repatriation by media, more so print media. Also, very few have looked into the Dadaab issue. However, there is no denying the fact that the refugees lose a lot from the fact that they are confined in the camp and they will continue to suffer when they are repatriated back to their motherland (Sammarco, 2016). Therefore, this study was very significant as it shed light into the repatriation at Dadaab and how the two largest newspapers, *Daily Nation* and *Standard*, reported the exercise and shaped public opinion.

### **1.8 Scope and Limitation**

This was a one year study beginning May 2016 and ending May 2017. *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* Newspapers were selected because they have the largest possible circulation network in the country with the *daily nation* leading by approximately 184,000 newspapers sold per day while the Standard Newspaper follows with approximately 54,000 copies in a day. According to a survey done by Geopoll in 2016, the *Daily Nation* has the widest readership with an average readership of approximately 4,379,400 while Standard Newspaper follows closely with an average of 2,223,500 readers per day. The researcher focused on Newspapers published between May 2016 and May 2017. The units of analysis included newspaper stories that touch specifically on the topic of refugee repatriation. Within the research period, the researcher scrutinized the frequency with which the newspapers covered the story and the content of the story and analyzed its rhetoric and themes prevalent.

The limitations of the study were in terms of the methodology used and the scope. To begin with, Dadaab camp is just one of the camps that houses refugees in the country. The other big one is Kakuma. The real data on refugees is also disputed given the porous nature of the border between Kenya and Somalia that makes it possible for people to enter the country unmonitored. Therefore, there are many other unregistered refugees living in the country and in other towns and their plight was not covered by this research. Another limitation is that the research utilized only two newspapers yet there are others that could have covered the repatriation exercise. Although these are the two largest newspapers that cover a large area, people also read others such as the *Star* and *People Daily* Newspapers'. There is also the fact that many Kenyans nowadays rely on the Television and Social media for information about a range of topics. This has reduced the number of newspaper readers to a minimum.

## OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

**Print Media:** Advertising forms that utilize physically printed materials, for instance, newspapers and magazines.

**Refugee:** An individual who is outside his or her own country of origin, because of persecution due to his or her religion, race, nationality, or political opinion.

**Refugee crisis:** The movement of vast number of displaced individuals and families who may be immigrants or internally displaced persons (IDPs).

**Story:** A news article whether hard news or soft news

**Content analysis:** This is a research technique used to make replicable and valid inferences by interpreting and coding textual material. By systematically evaluating texts (e.g., documents, oral communication, and graphics), qualitative data can be converted into quantitative data.

**Priming:** This is the process in which the media attend to some issues and not others and thereby alter the standards by which people evaluate election candidates.

**Agenda building:** Agenda building refers to the process by which news organizations and journalists feature, emphasize, and/or select certain events, issues, or sources to cover over others.

**Framing:** This refers to when the media focuses attention on certain events and then places them within a field of meaning.

**Comparative analysis:** This is a research methodology in the social sciences that aims to make comparisons across different countries or cultures

**Discourse analysis:** This is the analysis of the written, vocal, or sign language use, or any significant semiotic event.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **2.1 Overview**

This chapter was divided into two sections: a review of literature and the theoretical framework. The role played by the media in provision of information to the populace is undisputed. The media is a powerful tool that can be used to inform citizens; however, this responsibility comes with some form of power that they can use to shape up opinions. The literature review section showed how the media can use framing theory, agenda setting, priming, gate keeping and agenda building to tell the audience what they can think about as well as how they can think about the issues. It is framing, gate keeping, agenda building and priming that have led to the development of two stereotypes regarding refugees: the refugees need for aid and the refugees as a problem to the host country.

#### **2.2 How the International Media Report Refugees' Repatriation**

Although a lot has been talked about refugee crises, the right of return or voluntary repatriation for refugees has not featured much in literature. The issue of repatriation became a significant topic during the Cold War when refugees were many across Europe. The media at the time was focused on bringing out the ethos of local integration and resettlement. Not many had envisioned repatriation outside Europe. As the Cold War fizzled away, the Western countries started to apply restrictive asylum laws and refugees started to prefer repatriation as an option. The media as well changed its tune in line with what the population or government felt. For this reason, it is thought that the international media apply framing, agenda priming, agenda building and gate keeping models to select the news on repatriation, shape how they can be told to the public, and therefore shape the opinions of the masses regarding such news. Sreberny-Mohammadi (1984)

states that factors such as the stakeholders, national interests, security concerns, and individual concerns have a huge say in shaping up the agenda of news such as repatriation.

Looking into how global media uses framing, agenda priming, agenda Building, and gate keeping to shape their news will shine a light into how the two Kenyan Newspapers (the Standard and Nation) also shaped the way they reported Dadaab repatriation. Much of the global literature on the way Western media shape news regarding refugees across the world reveal biasness especially towards Africa. On the one hand, Chouliaraki (2009) believes that transnational media houses have managed to make suffering remote on the basis of infotainment for the West and this leads to inequality. On the other hand, the media have produced some sense of moral accountability and therefore lead to action (Chouliaraki, 2009). This means that NGOs depend on the media to generate income and therefore raise the awareness of a crisis.

The general feeling is that international media companies are biased when it comes to reporting refugee repatriation (Hollar, 2009). They place much more emphasis on stories that affect the West more than those that affect other parts of the world. This shows that despite the media having the responsibility to change lives and perceptions, they still use framing, agenda priming, agenda building, and gate keeping, to determine the news that they think is important, thus shaping the way they want the audience to think about it. This is evident from the fact that the same newspapers have less reported on African issues such as Kenyan repatriation because they do not have such positive triggers like that witnessed in the West (Chouliaraki, 2009). The frequency of coverage of African repatriation stories such as the one in Dadaab is also wanting. While disasters affect the way prime time news can be covered for days, disasters in Africa are mentioned only as part of the news and do not come at the front pages. They can also be mentioned a few times in a week. Developing nations are off the West's radar and this is why

they get to be ignored despite the magnitude of the issue affecting them. The negative coverage of refugee repatriation in the developing world by Western newspapers also take other forms, for instance, bad governance, country stereotypes, corruption allegations, and other damaging connotations (Galtung & Ruge, 1965). Some conflicts such as the ones in South Sudan or Somalia are regarded as self-inflicted conflicts that do not require much coverage.

This is evident from the way the refugee crisis faced by Europe with the influx of immigrants from Syria and the Middle East (Polman, 2010). Europeans have shifted their attitudes regarding asylum and repatriation in the recent years because of economic factors and number of immigrants showing up at the borders. Thousands are being repatriated while the Western media supports this because of the stakeholders involved. The 2008 financial crisis caused many to lose jobs and this has led to new feelings of social and economic insecurity. Austerity measures have therefore led to a change in attitude regarding immigrants (Chouliaraki, 2009). Many feel that their countries should close borders to tame the migrant problem and this is because some newspapers have created the link between illegal refugees with criminal activities and terrorist organizations, which then personalizes the readership of newspapers. These gate keepers provide the necessary circumstances where the newspapers can further their negative connotations against the refugees. This forces Europeans to support repatriation exercises. Stories from Europe suggest that refugees from Muslim countries are members of terrorist organizations and may enter a country through these means and carry out attacks (Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996). The most negative was perhaps the UK because the right wing newspapers were very much hostile towards the refugees despite the *Daily Mirror* and the *Guardian* showing much more sympathy.

This literature review revealed a gap when it comes to reporting of refugee repatriation by the global media. There are disasters in parts of Africa that have led to the deaths of millions and

displacement of many more as internal refugees yet they have received so little attention from international media. The number of repatriated are not known and the plight of refugees in general is scanty. Researcher Hollar (2009) reveals that the Congo crisis between 1998 and 2007 had led to as many as 5.4 million deaths and displacement of many more yet it received minimal mentioning in American print due to the nature of the African conflict perhaps. This is because some of the refugee stories in Africa such as the ones in Somalia and South Sudan happen over a long period of time that they cease to be news once more. The number of repatriated is missing. According to Girardet (2006), the media can report on one refugee story at a go; therefore, when another story takes place somewhere else, journalists will move to the new sources of news. There is also inadequacy in depicting the issues or challenges that journalists have to endure while reporting on refugee repatriation.

It is clear there was a gap in research regarding media that covers refugee repatriation stories. There is also a trend that is witnessed in the way the Western media covered these stories. First, the stories have to affect the Western populace in a way (Chouliaraki, 2009). Second, the stories will be covered positively or negatively depending on many other factors including public policy and those affected (Denham, 2010). Despite the fact that the West has the capacity to offer assistance to disaster victims, Western media still depend on Agenda Priming, Agenda Building and Gate Keeping theories, which will be discussed in detail later on.

### **2.3 How African Media Reports on Refugee Repatriation Stories**

The coverage of refugee repatriation stories in Africa is wanting given that there are many other issues that plague the African continent. The coverage of these issues also varies depending on the region or country (Gerbner & Marvanyi, 1977). For instance, the coverage of the Somalia or South Sudan problems will receive more weight by newspapers in the East African region more

than newspapers in North Africa. Therefore, newspapers in Africa also utilize framing, gate keeping, agenda priming, and agenda building frameworks in selecting their news as well. Evidence shows that there is a tendency in Africa for governments and politicians to use the media in their favor as a way of communicating to the public (Macdonald, 2009). There are a number of conditions that ought to be fulfilled for a refugee repatriation story to be newsworthy in Africa.

First of all, the story has to be emotive and dramatic. The African refugee repatriation stories have to compete with other emergencies as well in other parts of the globe. Therefore, there is a tendency for African newspapers to focus on news in other parts of the world and this is due to the cyclical basis. Stakeholder commitment is also another aspect that affects news in Africa. Stakeholders in a refugee story include global and local NGOs, the state, donors, and rebel movements (Macdonald, 2009). Another trend is that the coverage of a story in Africa is linked to assistance allocation. For these reasons, donor assistance in places such as South Sudan and Somalia is very minimal despite the fact that many are suffering due to these crises (Ogenga, 2012). It is because there is minimal coverage from newspapers.

From an African perspective, Somalia repatriation news has been primed both from a positive and negative light. On the one hand, Somalia has been reported in a positive light given the recent positive political strides the country has made towards forming a government therefore repatriation is acknowledged. However, on the other hand, needs are the highest in the continent and the world over. Millions were displaced and required aid but it appears that both the global and African media have forgotten the country in terms of reporting (Gewald, 2004). This is so perhaps because of the reporting challenges and protection risks that dictates the Somali repatriation experience. NGOs working in the area face constant threats from Al Shabaab who



sometimes as well deliver aid to the population. Security in Somalia and the refugee crisis also show the risks that reporters have to endure so as to report such volatile situations.

Clearly, there is a difference in the way Western media and African media cover refugee repatriation stories. According to Scheufele & Tewksbury (2007), media houses in the West have the necessary mechanisms and resources to cover these stories. Therefore, there are other factors that shape the way information is presented to the public. First, they have to conform to the Western ideals (Gewald, 2004). Second, they have to be sensitive in nature and short-term disasters. The way refugee repatriation stories are covered in the West also has to affect them so as to draw attention to donors. In Africa, nonetheless, not many journalists have the resources to cover stories across the continent; therefore, they have to be of great significance for them to be covered (Polman, 2010).

Notably as well, the relationship between media in Africa and the government is not straightforward. On the one hand, there are newspapers that may be regarded as government tools used by those in power for their own agendas. On the other hand, there are other newspapers that may be regarded as a threat to the government and this also affects the way information is presented to the public (Ogenga, 2012). In South Sudan for instance, newspapers have not been given full access to disaster areas because of political reasons. Some of the African disasters are manmade.

#### **2.4 How Kenyan Media Reports on Refugee Repatriation Stories**

The way print media covers refugee repatriation stories in Kenya conforms to the global theoretical models on Somali refugees as well. Journalists from the two media houses supported the government and the military by shaping public opinion regarding the refugee repatriation in Dadaab. To safeguard such national interests, journalists seemed to favor the repatriation of

Somalis in their coverage, for instance, given that the Kenyan Army is fighting in Somalia to ensure peace in the neighboring country (Hollar, 2009).

As well, these two newspapers shared the same sentiments stated by political leaders and the elite regarding the threat that the refugee camp has on the country's security. Nonetheless, Ogenga (2012) denotes that the Kenyan media and the whole world in general cover the Somali refugee problem in a wrong way. More often than not, the media chose to attach the Somali story to issues of terrorists, failed state, piracy, and civil war. This shows that the Somali narrative is predictable and will be covered from the aid agencies' point of view.

Though there is little research to show how priming of refugee news in Kenya takes place, Denham (2010) acknowledges that newspaper outputs are very complex. Newspapers are thought to have news forms, political positions or affiliations, and different structures that can produce possibilities of limitations that shape the stories on refugees (Denham, 2010). Within these different settings, priming has occasionally included different points of view while describing the need for Somali refugees to continue living in the camp. For most of the time, nonetheless, framing and priming of the news in Kenya has created binary positions where the refugee is considered as a bad individual who harbors terrorists at the camp, this in the wake of terror strikes in Kenya from the Al Shabaab. There is also the presentation of the refugee as a different person from the Kenyan reader. Therefore, it is the position of 'us' verses 'them' while writing about the news.

On frequency of the coverage of the Dadaab repatriation exercise, it is clear that there is a connection between political events, terrorist activities, and the frequency of refugee news coverage. It is important to note that the repatriation of refugees became an issue worthy of the front pages when attacks against innocent Kenyans had increased in Garissa as well as Nairobi

(Ogenga, 2012). The Kenyan government and political elites considered the need for flushing out terrorist cells in Dadaab by setting a deadline for their repatriation. It is at this time that a lot of media attention was focused on the repatriation exercise at Dadaab. Other times when the Somali refugees are being talked about is when there have been kidnappings in Kenya or Somalia by the Al Shabaab. In another context, Kenyan newspapers mention a bit of the Somali refugees' problem when they are talking about military operations in Somalia albeit minimally (Ogenga, 2012). Nonetheless, this research will shine more light on frequency of the repatriation exercise at Dadaab given that not many Kenyan researchers have dwelt on this topic.

Nonetheless, there is no denying the fact that Kenyan journalists encounter a number of issues in reporting of this story. First, transporting journalists to the ground in Garissa where the camp is located proves to be disastrous given the logistical and security challenges (Ogenga, 2012). Journalists have to be very careful when going to Dadaab and have to alert the security details. This then means that journalists have to depend on information from the security officials, government officials, and NGOs, which can be one-sided (Ogenga, 2012). Furthermore, it is noteworthy to point out that while media houses focus on having a humanistic angle while reporting news on refugees, there are very few journalists who have received the necessary training to cover refugee stories (Gerbner & Marvanyi, 1977). When reporters are not trained, it is highly likely that they will fail to take note of the differences between certain terms, for instance, the differences between the terms "migrants", "refugees", "asylum-seekers", and much more. Failing to prepare journalists is very consequential as it has already resulted in the image of refugees being reduced to them being considered as threats or victims (Gerbner & Marvanyi, 1977). On the one hand, they are considered as victims who require aid and all manner of assistance.

Arguably, Kenyan newspapers play the role of educators (social educators). It is important to note that newspapers go beyond mere reporting as they use different rhetoric, linguistic and visual styles, as well as presentations for specific topics and specific audience (Denham, 2010). This way, the news that they write to the audience becomes meaningful. Research shows that news coverage sometimes choose to focus on the opinion of the public to certain topics and in doing this, change the cognitions available for the audience when they form judgments especially those that have to do with politics. This works under the assumption that because many Kenyans do not necessarily engage in politics in a direct manner, they are likely to form attitudes that correspond to what they receive from the news regarding the politics of the day. Consequently, when journalists emphasize particular issues, it will prime the public and make them focus on the topics based on what the news is telling them (Goffman, 1974). For instance, the audience's evaluation of the refugees is highly likely susceptible to the priming of newspaper coverage of refugee news. Models that denote mass opinion also back this claim; the negativity or positivity of certain news influences public opinion in a huge way. If the news is negative, then public opinion will be harsh and vice versa.

The news coverage of refugees by Kenyan newspapers, as mentioned before, conforms to international connotations regarding refugees. On the one hand, they are seen as victims and on the other as illegal aliens who can be dangerous. There are five common points of view associated with the priming of the refugee issue: conflict; morality; human interest; responsibility; and economic consequences (Shaw & McCombs, 1980). To begin with, the conflict point of view has often placed news either on the winning or losing side. In a news feature, winners and losers will be mentioned. In the human interest view, the emphasis has been placed on the emotional and personal aspect of the issue at hand. Therefore, journalists will most

likely speak about how an event is affecting the people, for instance, how the Somali refugees are affected by their status or repatriation. From the responsibility view, the journalists presents the problem in a way that focuses on the role of particular groups in solving problems, for instance, it is the work of the International community to solve the refugee problem or certain individuals (Gerbner & Marvanyi, 1977). The morality view, as expected, has a moral or religious angle to it. The economic consequences view outlines the economic impacts of the problem to an institution or country, for instance, the impact of the Somali refugees on Kenya.

All these views have an effect on the way the public perceives such problems. Therefore, priming of such news can define the problem, shape public opinion, and solve problems. It is the jurisdiction of the journalists to choose the view that they want to use (Chouliaraki, 2009). In the refugee context, for instance, the journalists choose the human interest view if they want to evoke empathy so that the refugees can be helped from their problems. Morality view has been missing in Kenyan media though, the most common is the economic consequences as the Kenyan government claims that the International community has forgotten the Somali problem and left Kenya to shoulder the burden of the hundreds of thousands Somali refugees streaming across the border. Some of the consequences also include the fact that terrorists hide in the camp and then attack innocent Kenyans. This view portrays the refugees as a problem that can be dealt with through repatriation.

Agenda priming in this case is the idea that there is a connection between the prominence that the global media places on issues and the significance that their audiences place on those issues. Priming as well assumes that the audience will form their attitudes about an item based on the most accessible news (Shaw & McCombs, 1980). This shows how the Kenyan media denies its audience access to certain refugee stories while focusing on others. By making certain news

more accessible or salient to the mind of the audience through agenda priming and gatekeeping, media gets to shape what the audience takes into consideration while making their judgments regarding issues through priming (Shaw & McCombs, 1980). Through framing, priming and gatekeeping, the journalists present information in a manner that is consistent with the existing schemas that the audience has. Notably, the political classes are amongst the main agenda building sources; however, these views can be challenged by journalists and NGOs working in refugee camps. While the media can promote human rights during refugee stories, they can as well incite prejudices especially amongst people they consider as outsiders by the audience.

Having said that, it is important to point how there is little research done on the topic of repatriation of refugees back to their home countries. In 2013, November, the Kenyan Government, Somali Government, and the UNHCR signed an agreement that would see Somali refugees return to their countries voluntarily. This was called the Tripartite Agreement that borrowed its framework from international law. A few thousands went back voluntarily (Ogenga, 2012). This slow pace was frustrating to the Kenyan government and a timeline was introduced for the camp to be closed. However, this brought about a high level of uncertainty for the refugees given that Somali was still not 100% safe and it was still poor with famine threatening its populace.

While the Kenyan newspapers covered the Dadaab repatriation issue in great detail, it is no longer news to date and the deadline has not been implemented (Gewald, 2004). There is minimal research that covered this process and the success or failure of the plan. Therefore, this research is very important as it will provide the necessary background to future researches on the topic of refugee repatriation. While response often takes years to mitigate the plight of the refugees, the news coverage often is short because media houses have other information to cover.

Also, the audience gets bored when news takes long and the emotive factor fades away (Gewald, 2004). This explains why the refugee repatriation is no longer news in the Kenyan media as people seem to have moved on with their lives.

Research shows that different media houses often emphasize different points of view regarding the Somali refugee repatriation issue. The most common ones include those of terrorism, piracy, refugee crises, civil war, and failed state (Gewald, 2004). They have consequently affected the way Kenyans understand Somalis and the problem that they encounter as refugees in the country. Stories that utilize the famine view are often told from independent journalists and aid agencies that work with the Somali refugees. For the most part, many media houses fail to send their own reporters to the ground in Dadaab because of security problems and transport logistics. Therefore, they often depend on aid agencies or other agendas to build their agendas (Gewald, 2004). Journalists who go to Dadaab to look for a story often depend on the aid agencies. This is why stories from Dadaab come out as one-sided and more often it is an appeal for donor aid.

By depending on the aid agencies such as the UNHCR to create their own stories, the views fail to depict the peace negotiations going on in Somalia or the local human interest in the Kenyan camp. This is a framework that is consistent with how the global media views Somalis as terrorists. This shows the close relationship between news and politics. Although a number of African journalists and media houses talk about the local peace deals, regional security initiatives by Kenya and IGAD, they still portray the view that Al-Shabaab are hiding at the camp. This is a view that offers little space to produce other narratives that would help the Somalis return to a peaceful Somalia. It is clear that priming and gatekeeping in the Somali case or refugee problem as a whole is attained partly through the use of certain vocabulary and labeling. When the journalists and media houses repetitively use specific terms such as “Al Shabaab” or

“Terrorists”, they build an agenda that may depict a negative cue regarding the whole issue of refugees (Polman, 2010). The media has often portrayed the Somali refugee crisis as the result of an internal and ethnic conflict. Readers of newspapers will see this and believe that the warring sides in Somalia are differentiated based on their ethnic identities.

## **2.5. Theoretical Framework**

This research utilized the following theories: Framing Theory, Agenda Priming, Agenda Building and Gate Keeping. Generally, mass communication is very significant because it gets to inform the citizenry readings events of the past and of the present. Through mass communication, messages regarding certain events can be shared to influence a huge audience. This way, media, in this case print media, controls the kind of information that the audience will get to hear. Media houses that own the newspapers use agenda setting and agenda building to control the information that the audience hears. These theories determine whether or not news can be read over the newspapers.

### **2.5.1 Framing Theory**

First posited by Gregory Bateson in 1972, framing is one of the mass communication theories that denote how media can package information before presenting it to the masses. Herein, the media talks about certain topics and then places them in a certain context so as to insinuate certain interpretations from the audience (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). This means that the media chooses to selectively dictate how the audience views reality. To achieve this, journalists will pick on what they want to talk about and then disregard the rest. Amongst the chosen stories, journalists will decide the values, facts, and most importantly, the perspective to cover in the process. Journalists employ their interpretive frames shaped by social norms, journalistic routines, and political or ideological orientations (Littlejohn & Foss, 2010). Notably, there are a



number of assumptions associated with this theory. For instance, journalists while working in the field chose the topics that they want to present to the public and then present it in a certain way (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). In doing this, journalists determine the topics that the audiences will ponder about as well as the angle in which they will ponder about them. However, audiences also have the capacity to see information through their own frames, which may be the same as those of the media or contradict at certain times. Another assumption is that the building of frames happens over time and not instantly.

Therefore, framing theory was instrumental in answering the research questions as it shone a light on how the Dadaab issue presented to the Kenyan public (frame) by the two newspapers influenced how the audience processed the information. Therefore, the researcher utilized this theory to denote the frames that journalists used to structure and organize messages about repatriation of refugees at Dadaab. This is important because frames are believed to influence the way the audience perceive information. Therefore, frames are thought to tell the audience what they can think about and how they can think about it.

### **2.5.2 Agenda Setting and Priming**

Agenda setting influences the salience of topics and thus is relevant to this study. First coined by McCombs and Shaw, it states that the media sets the public agenda and in this influence what the audience can think about. This then builds into Agenda priming which was coined by Iyengar, Peters and Kinder and speaks about the impact of media on the decision making of the target audience, just like the agenda setting theory (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). Priming theory acknowledges that media houses have a way of influencing the mind of the audience through psychological means; therefore, the theory borrows from cognitive psychology and human memory in particular (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). From the onset, when the audience

receives some piece of information, the information is stored as a node in a network full of related information. Priming takes place when this node of network is activated. Therefore, the activation process guides the way the audience will understand, interpret or judge the information.

There are significant concepts that make up this theory. While agenda setting theory talks about the significance of news, priming theory talks about the psychological process that dictates how information gets to be stored in the audience's memory in form of nodes, how the media triggers these nodes, and how the information affects the person. Therefore, the first installation of new information is very important. The same information will act as reference to another piece of information (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). This way, the media impacts the way the audience judges, behaves or make decisions about an issue.

Agenda priming was significant to this research because it explained the way the media influences the way the audience makes decisions or reacts to certain issues. For instance, if the media takes the repatriation of refugees in Dadaab is an important issue the audience will also believe it is important especially if they are already familiar with it and had been covered by the media houses before. Furthermore, the headlines given by newspapers create a certain impression as filters because they are often made from prior information or experiences. As well, it showed how agenda setting has become a significant mediating factor in priming. It is imperative to understand how priming effects described above get to be mediated by factors such as certainty of the news, knowledge of the readers, and importance of the news. Therefore, this theory was an important addition to the overall framework utilized by the researcher in this project.

Agenda building refers to the process through which media houses or journalists select certain pertinent issues, and prefer to write about them more than other news items (Denham, 2010). It is important to think of events as isolated or individual occurrences (Denham, 2010). However, an issue can include many other related events under one topic, for instance, foreign policy, the environment, or the refugee problem. In view of this, agenda building as a theory provides answers to the question: who sets the public agenda, media agenda, and policy agenda? In the refugee problem in Dadaab, for instance, the government can attempt to build a policy agenda through media relation strategies. On their part, journalists may seek to create a policy or public agenda by conducting investigative reports (Denham, 2010). These examples bring out the differences between agenda setting and agenda building. On the one hand, agenda setting depicts the power that journalists have in setting policy or public agenda. On the other hand, agenda building depicts the reciprocal relationship between media and other societal groups in setting the policy and public agendas. Therefore, while agenda setting focuses only on the media as a powerful tool agenda building delves into other stakeholders in a news item.

### **2.5.3 Gate Keeping Theory**

Gate keeping theory is the process through which the media selects the information that ought to be broadcast depending on factors such as the content, type of events taking place or the nature of information. The media, therefore, acts as a gate through which certain information can be let in while others are shut out. It is important to note that there are millions of events that happen in each region on a daily basis, yet only a few make it to the news desk. The sifting of information is now called gate keeping (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009). Someone somewhere has to decide the information that can become news and this requires certain processes and decision-making skills. That someone is called the gatekeeper according to this theory. The gatekeeper is the individual

who holds significant information regarding an event and can pass it to someone else, for instance, a government official or a journalist. Notably though, a gatekeeper has the capacity to alter this information knowingly or unknowingly.

At first, the gatekeeper role was awarded to a journalist or chief editors. However, recent technological developments have awarded these roles to many other into new 'journalists'. This is evident in social media where government officials or news editors no longer have total control over how information can be spread from one person to another (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009). Therefore, there are people on Facebook, Twitter, and other social media platforms who have now become gatekeepers as well. As people interact in social media, they have the capacity to determine important news as they observe events in their social circles. In the end, it is possible to share more information given that there are multiple audiences in this century (Shoemaker & Vos, 2009). First proposed by Zadek Lewin, this theory will contribute to the direction of this study in as far as the theoretical framework is concerned.

This theory suited this topic because of its tenets. It explained how the editors at the chosen Newspaper outlets publish their stories and which policies or ethics of conduct they follow. It as well explained the way in which news gets to be sieved from the reporters up to the editors. The journalists and news editors working at the two newspapers are the gatekeepers who get to determine what information gets to their audiences across Kenya. This theory significantly served as the building block for other methodological approaches because it showed how decision making at the newspapers depends on many other factors such as the value of the news to be reported, input structure, or organizational routines. Therefore, it was an important framework to explain the kind of influences, motives, preferences, and values that newspaper editors employ while sifting the news they get at their desk for reporting.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **METHODOLOGY**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter discusses the methodology used in this study. It contains description of the research design, area of the study, the population, sampling methods, data collection tools and data analysis methods that were used. The chapter also has a section on ethical issues that were worth considering in the study.

#### **3.2 Research design**

Research design entails planned settings for data collection and analysis, combining relevance to purpose while employing economic procedure. This study adopted a triangulated research design exploring the use of descriptive, quantitative and qualitative survey study designs. Descriptive design was used to obtain word frequencies in coverage, articles, priming, use of photos, and framing.

#### **3.3 Research Approach**

This research is a mixed method approach. Quantitative design was used in setting up lists of groupings resulting from frequency list of words. It was also applied in controlling words distributions and their corresponding groupings over texts. The design transforms observed groups into quantitative data. Qualitative design was used to focus on the intentions of the media houses to cover the repatriation of refugees in Dadaab camp and the implications of such coverage.

#### **3.4 Population**

The population in this research referred to the set of units where the data were used for inferences (Efron & Ravid., 2013). These are the units for which the research results were

generalized from and they were defined clearly giving the temporal and geographic characteristics and the units to be studied. For this study, the target population comprised of the newspaper articles, editorials, news features, and special reports about the refugee repatriation at Dadaab.

The target population was made up of news articles and features from the two newspapers: *Daily Nation* and the *Standard*. According to (Nyabuga & Booker 2013), the largest newspaper by daily circulation is the *Daily Nation*, followed by the *Standard*. (Cherotich, 2015) states that the *Daily Nation* has the highest market share in the country at 40% as compared to the *Standard* which has a 20% market share. And as (Nyabuga & Booker 2013) writes, many Kenyans read newspapers quoting Ipsos-Synovate figures which showed that close to 3 million Kenyans read a newspaper every day even though they do not buy their own copies.

### ***3.5 Sampling Procedure***

Sampling involves the selection of units from the target population. The first selection procedure in this study was the selection of two major Kenyan newspapers. Both purposive sampling and the census sampling methods were used in this study. Purposive sampling method was used in choosing *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* Newspapers because they are the biggest and second biggest national newspapers respectively in terms of circulation and readership.

Once the two newspapers had been chosen, the researcher went through the newspapers page by page to identify all articles on the Dadaab repatriation exercise. The keywords used included “Refugee Repatriation”, “Dadaab Camp”, “Dadaab Dilemma”, “Refugee Returns”, “Kenya Refugee Operation”, “Voluntary Repatriation”, and “Refugee Program”. A total of 58 articles were found for the *Daily Nation* and 31 for the *Standard* in the period under review. Since

Census method requires the use of an entire sample, all the articles in the two newspapers in the period under review were used in this study.

### ***3.6 Data Collection Method***

A schedule guide (appendix I) containing questions was utilized as a data collection tool. The researcher put together a number of questions that guided the researcher in obtaining the answers to the research questions formulated in chapter one. Data obtained was then analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively using content analysis.

### ***3.7 Data Analysis and Presentation***

The researcher utilized content analysis and framing analysis in this section. Content analysis is a technique that objectively and systematically identifies certain characteristics of the news articles so as to make conclusions. Content analysis is a study technique widely used in the study of communication artifacts to quantify communication patterns. The analysis involves systematic observation of texts which were coded to show the presence of meaningful patterns (Krippendorff, 2004).

The content categories included:

- i. The frequency of the stories – how often were stories on this subject published
- ii. Type of article- To establish whether it is an editorial feature, news analysis or hard news.
- iii. Placement of stories – whether they are placed at the front of the pages, middle section or the back section.
- iv. Journalistic purpose of the stories – journalists can have different purposes, to inform, to warn, to elicit emotion, or call for action.

- v. Prominence of the characters within the stories – prominent characters such as government officials can attract more readership and help shape the way the stories are placed.
- vi. The subject of the stories – the subject of the stories can make the audience more aware of the issue being told by the reporter.
- vii. Editorial additives – the use of visual aids, pictures, graphs, tables, which can have a certain bearing on the stories

In using framing analysis, the researcher acknowledged that news media play an important role in framing issues of public policy alongside politicians and other interest groups such as the NGOs or security agencies (Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996). In view of this, the researcher took into consideration the fact that news discourse is a process shaped by three important players: journalists, sources, and the audience. Framing analysis was used to discern whether or not the frames employed contributed to gate keeping (Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996). Furthermore, it was used to examine the news on the repatriation of refugees in Dadaab with a primary focus on thematic, rhetorical, and script structures. In doing this, the researcher expected to analyze the repatriation of refugees in Dadaab news discourse process in its entirety.

Thereafter, the resultant data was then presented in frequency distribution format and graphical methods accordingly. A frequency distribution refers to the table that will show the values of variables and a summary of numerical or categorical data. Graphical forms included bar graphs, histograms, pie charts, and line graphs. Bar graphs presented information using rectangles that represent certain categories and they can be displayed vertically or horizontally (Coghlan & Brydon-Miller, 2014). The researcher was justified to present data in these formats because it is easier to compare different sets of data and present such information to an audience.



### **3.8 Validity and Reliability**

The researcher had taken steps to ensure external validity. Since researchers focus on smaller samples to conclude about the larger groups where the samples have come from, it brings about validity concerns. Consequently, research can only become externally valid if the results and interpretations/conclusions are accurate in exploring the larger population.

A pilot study was conducted to decide suitability of the instrument and the questions. Two newspapers from different print houses were randomly selected and their contents analyzed. These two print media were not involved in the actual survey. After the pilot study, content validity was used to assess the extent to which certain elements represented every area of research interest. Content validity gave the extent to which a given area of the objectives was represented by the data collected using the questionnaires. Necessary corrections were then done to the instrument before its administration.

Reliability is the consistency of a given measurement. In most cases it is measured, in questionnaire as data collection instrument, using test–retest reliability method (Mugenda, 2003). Consistent to the method employed in obtaining sample size, 4 newspapers from the two media houses were randomly selected from the target population to be used for the reliability test. This guaranteed that discrepancies emanating from the questionnaires were adjusted to ensure that right ascertainment of answers to the study questions would be adequately address study questions.

### **3.9 Ethical Considerations**

Various ethical issues were observed during the study. A certificate of field work (appendix 2), was obtained from the University in order to seek for permission from *Daily Nation* and *Standard* libraries.

The researcher then obtained permission to analyze newspaper articles from both the Nation Media Group and the Standard Group's library. Both the Nation and the Standard libraries are open to the public upon payment of a fee. The researcher paid the fee and requested permission and was allowed to collect data after explaining that it was in fulfillment of a masters study and explaining what the research was about.

Upon the completion of research, the researcher appeared before a panel and defended the project. The researcher was issued with a certificate of originality (appendix 3) and thereafter a certificate of corrections (appendix 4) after having implemented the corrections recommended by the defense panel.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

#### 4.1 Overview

This chapter discusses the findings of this study on how the two largest newspapers by readership in Kenya (the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard Newspapers*) covered the repatriation of refugees from Dadaab camp back to Somalia. The findings are classified into the following: the frequency of coverage of the refugee repatriation exercise, the framing and the priming of the stories. A total of 85 articles from the two dailies were analyzed in this study and all of them were stories that specifically touched on the repatriation of refugees from Dadaab Camp back to Somalia. As well, the articles were picked between 1<sup>st</sup> of May 2016 and 1<sup>st</sup> of May 2017. The researcher categorized the articles so as to analyze them accordingly. *Standard Newspaper* had 31 articles while *Daily Nation* had 58 articles.

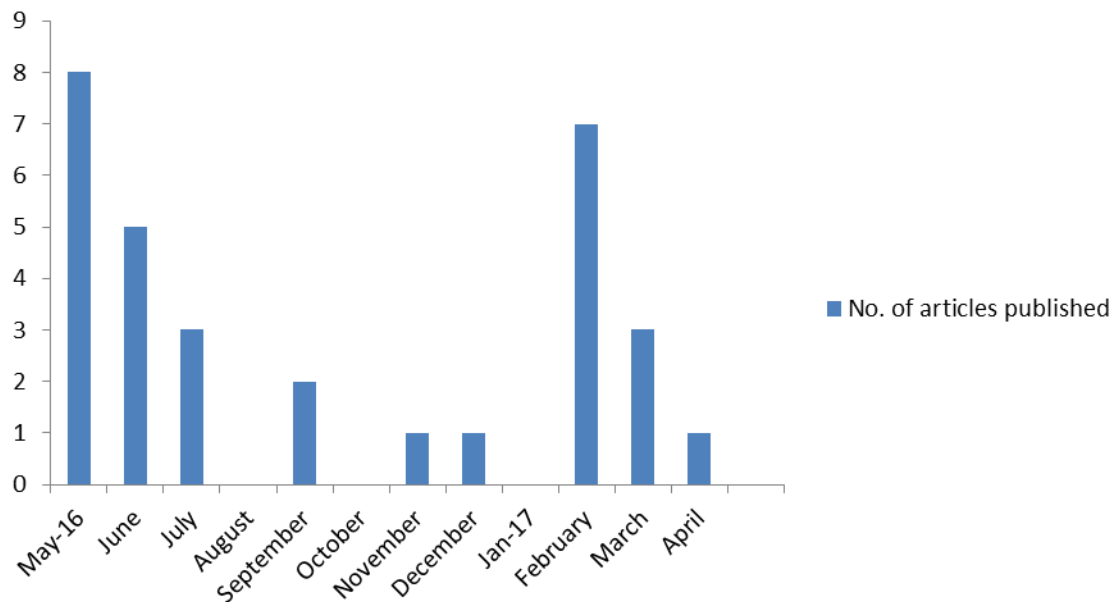
#### 4.2 Frequency of Coverage of the Repatriation Exercise

The frequency of coverage refers to the number of times that the topic of refugee repatriation in Dadaab has been covered by a newspaper in a month. This study sought to find out the frequency of coverage of the refugee repatriation exercise by the *Standard* and *Daily Nation* and the results are posted below. Another kind of frequency that the researcher took time to categorize was in terms of whether the articles were news, editorials, or opinions; they are categorized in a table as well.

##### 4.1.3 Frequency of coverage of the refugee repatriation exercise by *Standard* newspaper

The graph in *Figure 1* below shows the frequency of coverage of the refugee repatriation exercise by the *Standard* between 1<sup>st</sup> of May 2016 and 1<sup>st</sup> of May 2017.

Figure 4. 1: Frequency of articles on Dadaab repatriation published in the Standard



Source: Researcher 2017

The findings displayed in the table above refer to the first objective of the study which sought to find the frequency of coverage of the Dadaab repatriation by the *Standard* newspaper. The study showed that there were 8 articles published in the month of May 2016, 5 in June, and 3 in July the same year. There were zero articles published in August but 2 in the month of September. There was zero in October, 1 in November and 1 in December, 2016. Come January 2017, there were zero articles but 7 in February. Subsequently, there were 3 articles in March, 1 in April, and zero in May 2017. Throughout the twelve months, there is a discrepancy in the frequency of coverage of news regarding the repatriation exercise. The highest is in May 2016 with a total of 8 articles and the lowest is in August and October 2016 as well as January and May 2017.

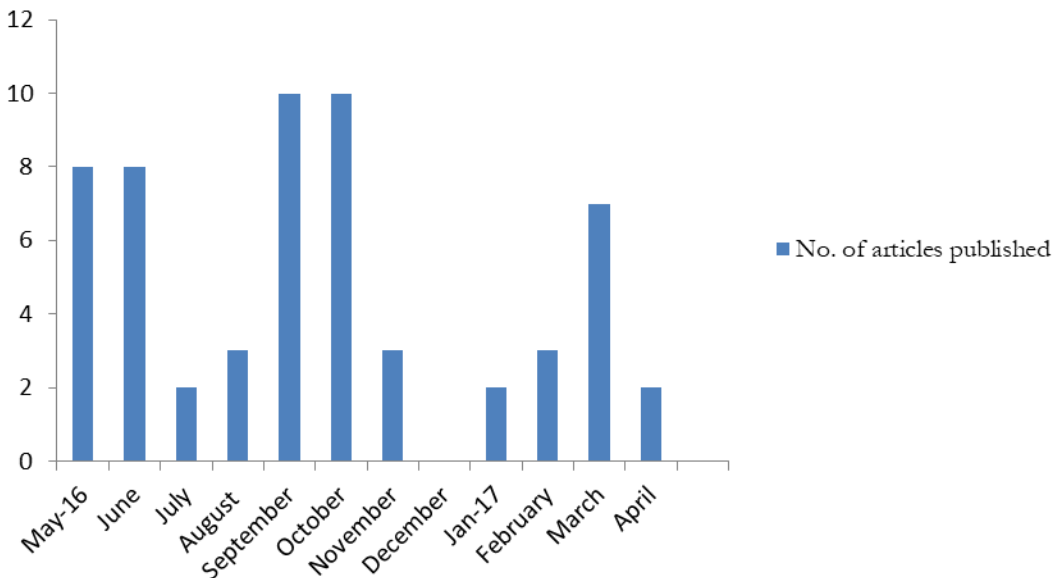
There are several explanations as to the variations in the frequency of coverage. During the months of May, June and July of the year 2016, the Kenyan government started the process of closing the refugee camp. Consequently, there were concerns regarding the fate of the refugees.

For instance, the NGOs were concerned about the readiness of the Somali refugees to go back to their homes. The Somali government also claimed that it was not yet ready to receive the refugees. Meanwhile, the government was determined to go ahead with the plans as it picked a team to facilitate the process. Therefore, the newspapers had to capture all these different rhetoric on the closure of the camp. The coverage also increased in both newspapers in February 2017 and this is why there are many articles on the repatriation exercise as the courts also accented to the decision by the executive to continue with the exercise. The issue, however, died down as the Kenyan elections approached toward May 2017 there was less coverage as the newspapers shifted focus on elections.

#### 4.1.4 Frequency of Coverage of Refugee Repatriation by *Daily Nation*

The graph in *Figure 2* below shows the frequency of coverage of the refugee repatriation exercise by The Nation between 1<sup>st</sup> of May 2016 and 1<sup>st</sup> of May 2017.

*Figure 4. 2: Frequency of articles published on Dadaab repatriation in the Daily Nation*



*Source: Researcher 2017*

The findings displayed in the figure above refer to the first objective of the study which sought to find the frequency of coverage of the Dadaab repatriation by the *Daily Nation*. Results here show that there were 8 articles in May 2016, 8 in June same year and two in July. There were 3 article in August, 10 in September, 10 in October and 3 in November. There were no more articles until January 2017 with only 2 article and 3 in February. In March, the Nation did 7 articles, 2 in April and zero in May 2017. Throughout the twelve months, there is also a discrepancy in the frequency of news reportage on the repatriation exercise by *Daily Nation*. The highest number of news articles published by *Daily Nation* was in September and October in 2016 while the lowest are in July and Dec 2016 as well as January, April and May 2017.

Just like in the case of *Standard* Newspaper, there are several explanations as to the variations in the frequency of coverage. During the months of May and June of the year 2016, the Kenyan government started the process of closing the refugee camp. Therefore, there was high number of concerns from stakeholders regarding the fate of the refugees. Consequently, the newspapers had to capture all these different rhetoric on the closure of the camp. All these concerns forced the Kenyan government to reconsider its position and thereafter postpone the closure by six months. Meanwhile there were thousands of refugees who voluntarily opted to go back home. There were also accusations that the Kenyan government and NGOs were forcing refugees to go back to Somalia. Therefore, *Daily Nation* articles covered these news items. The news died down before being picked up in February 2017 when the repatriation exercise was continued once more. The news coverage stopped as the Kenyan elections approached and the repatriation was no longer a hot issue of debate.

Between the two newspapers, it is clear that *Daily Nation* had more news articles on the repatriation of refugees compared to *Standard* newspaper. Nonetheless, the frequency of the

articles during different months shows that indeed there is a connection between political events, terrorist activities, and the frequency of refugee news coverage. The Kenyan government placed more emphasis on repatriating Somali refugees at a time when attacks against innocent Kenyans had increased in Garissa as well as Nairobi. The political elites considered the need for flushing out terrorist cells in Dadaab by setting a deadline for their repatriation. During this time, the newspapers informed the public as to why the Kenyan government wanted to repatriate the refugees. They relied on government as a source as well as the NGOs.

The following table shows frequency of the articles according to the publications or type of article.

*Table 4. 1: Frequency of articles on Dadaab repatriation categorized according to type in both Daily Nation and Standard*

<b>Type of article</b>	<b>Standard</b>	<b>Nation</b>
News	22 (71%)	46 (79.3%)
Opinion	8 (25.8%)	10 (17.2%)
Editorial	1 (3.2%)	2 (3.5%)
<b>Total</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>58</b>

*Source: Researcher 2017*

The findings displayed in the table above refer to the first objective of the study which sought to find the frequency of coverage of the Dadaab repatriation by both *Standard* and *Daily Nation*. When classifying the papers according to the type of article published, the *Standard* had 71% of the total as news items, 25.8% as opinions, and 3.2% as editorials. On its part, the *Nation* had 79.3% of the articles as news items, 17.2% as opinions, and 3.5% as editorials. Therefore, the study has established that the two newspapers allocated more space to cater for news articles than opinions and editorials. The news was a quick reaction to what was happening in Dadaab

and in Nairobi where the national government is situated. The opinions of readers and that of editors, however, were not given much space. This shows that the newspapers also ignored expert opinions or editorials, yet they may be very significant to the topic. When a newspaper does not make an effort to editorialize on an issue, then it may not make it to the public conversation circles. It is imperative to point out that the editorials and opinions are not the same as news. The work of an editorial is to give an informed perspective on news that has been reported already by a media house. News, however, are true accounts of events and do not have opinions. Reporters may have opinions but they should not write about them because they will be in conflict with what they are supposed to do, which is give news. Opinions about a certain events, in this case Dadaab repatriation exercise, belong to columnists and contributors and not to those of the *Daily Nation* and *Standard*.

According to the above findings, therefore, it is evident that there isn't adequate coverage of refugee repatriation by the print media in Kenya. When a newspaper with the highest readership has only 58 articles in a whole year on an issue as important as refugee repatriation, then it means that there isn't adequacy of coverage. These findings confirm the problem of this study which was to study the coverage of refugee repatriation in Kenya's Dadaab.

#### **4.2. Priming of the Stories on the Refugee Repatriation**

Through priming, the media provides a frame of reference through coverage of particular news items, making audience not only to think but to judge the merits of the issue at hand. (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987). Through repeatedly covering the repatriation exercise, the two newspapers shaped the deliberations audience made on the issue and allowed the issues to dominate in the public. (Mogambi & Nyakeri, 2015). Therefore; in order to find out how the print media primed refugee repatriation exercise, this study categorized articles according to length, page placement and use

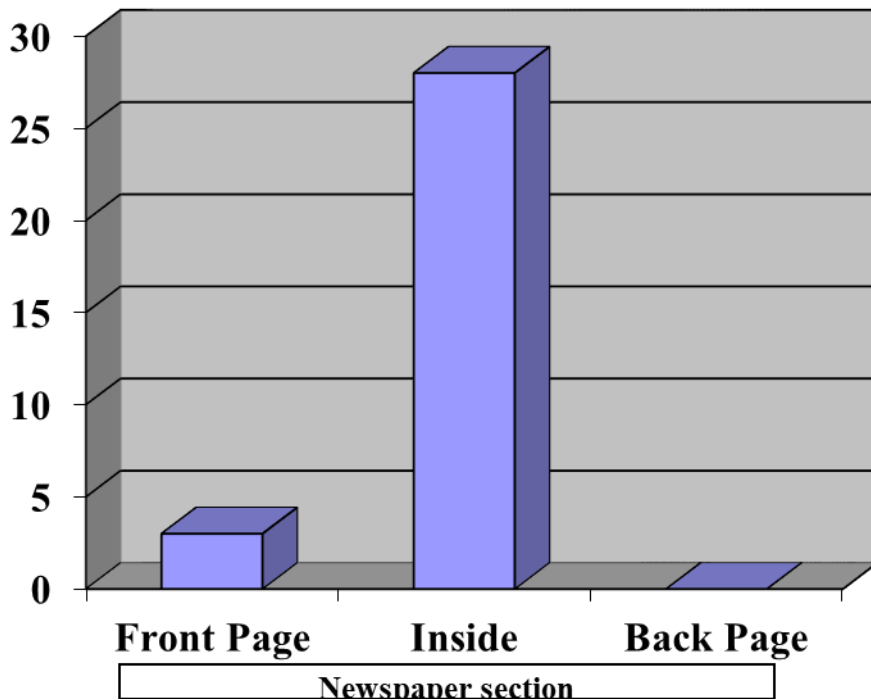


of pictures and infographics. This served to show how best the articles stood to have an impact on the audience depending on the placement, the length and the use of pictures to accompany the article.

#### 4.2.1. Priming of Refugee Repatriation Articles by *Standard* Newspaper

The figure 3 below shows how articles on refugee repatriation were primed by the *Standard* between May 2016 and May 2017.

Figure 4. 3: How articles on Dadaab repatriation were primed by the *Standard* newspaper



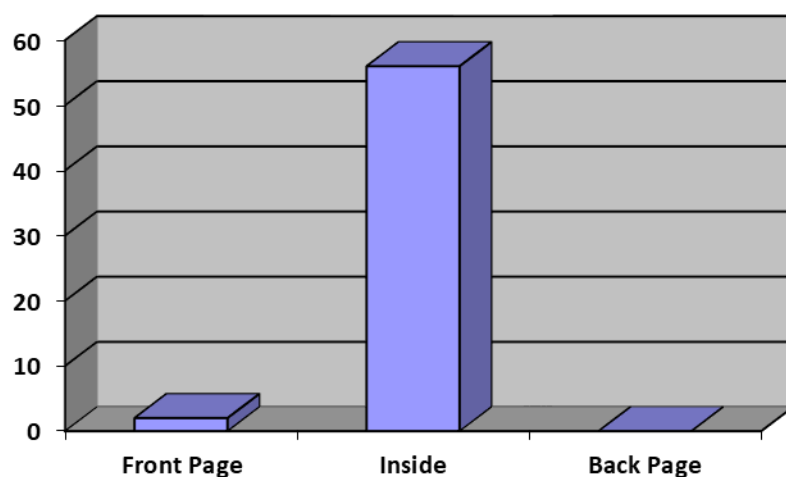
Source: Researcher 2017

The figure above shows that the *Standard* newspaper placed three articles on the front pages as compared to 28 articles that it placed on the inside pages. It also placed none of the articles of refugee repatriation on the back page. However, *Standard* publishes its sports news on the back page therefore no other article is placed there. Still, the percentage of the articles placed on the front page is very minimal as compared to those on the inside pages.

#### 4.2.2. Priming of Refugee Repatriation Articles by *Daily Nation*

Figure 4 below shows how articles on refugee repatriation were primed by *Daily Nation* between May 2016 and May 2017.

Figure 4. 4: How articles on Dadaab repatriation were primed by the *Daily Nation* newspaper



Source: Researcher 2017

The figure above shows that *Daily Nation* placed only two articles on refugee repatriation on its front page between May 2016 and May 2017. It also shows that it placed a further 56 articles on the inside section.

Table 4. 2: How the *Daily Nation* and *Standard* primed articles on Dadaab repatriation

Priming	Standard	Nation
Front Page	3 (9.7%)	2 (3.4%)
Inside	28 (90.3%)	56 (96.6%)
Back page	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>58</b>

Source: Researcher 2017

From the table above, 9.7% of the total articles by *Standard* newspaper on the repatriation exercise were placed on the front page, 90.3% on the inside, and none on the back pages. As for *Daily Nation*, 3.4% of the total articles on repatriation were on the front pages, and 96.6% on the middle pages. Those that were placed on the front pages were mostly when government officials called for the closure of the camp because of attacks by the Al-Shabaab; therefore, journalists considered them an important topic. For the most part, however, the stories on repatriation were in the middle pages. A big percentage of articles were published on the inside where they are most likely to be missed by the reader. The findings confirm a trend of less priming of refugee repatriation by the two newspapers reviewed.

Figure 4. 5: Length of Dadaab repatriation articles in the Daily Nation

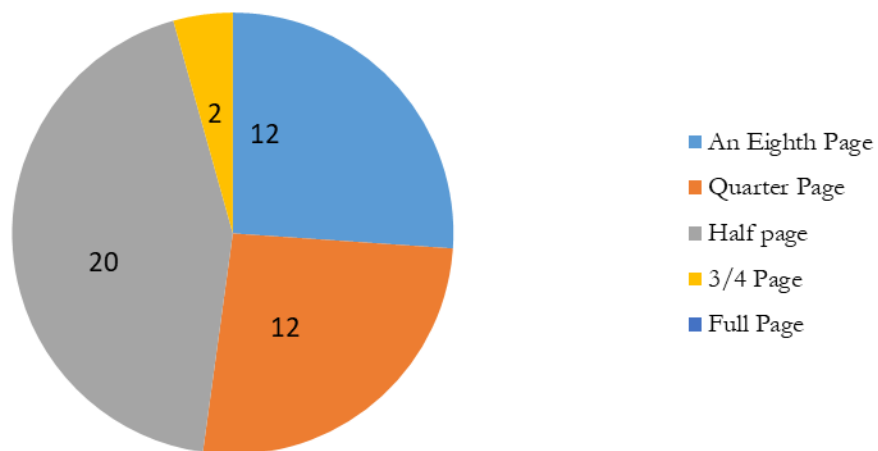


Figure 4.5 shows the length of the articles in *Daily Nation*. The researcher categorized the articles according to their length i.e. whether they covered an eighth of the paper, a quarter page, half a page,  $\frac{3}{4}$  page or full page. The study found that of the 58 articles none was full page, two covered three quarters of a page, twenty covered half a page, and there were twelve articles each

covering quarter of a page and another twelve of the articles covered an eighth of the newspaper's space.

This shows therefore that *Daily Nation* newspaper gave considerable coverage to refugee repatriation issue. This is due to the fact that nearly half of the articles were spread over half a page of the newspaper. However, the fact that very few of the articles were published on the front page shows that not enough coverage was given by the *Daily Nation* newspaper to refugee repatriation issue.

Figure 4. 6: Length of Dadaab repatriation articles in the Standard

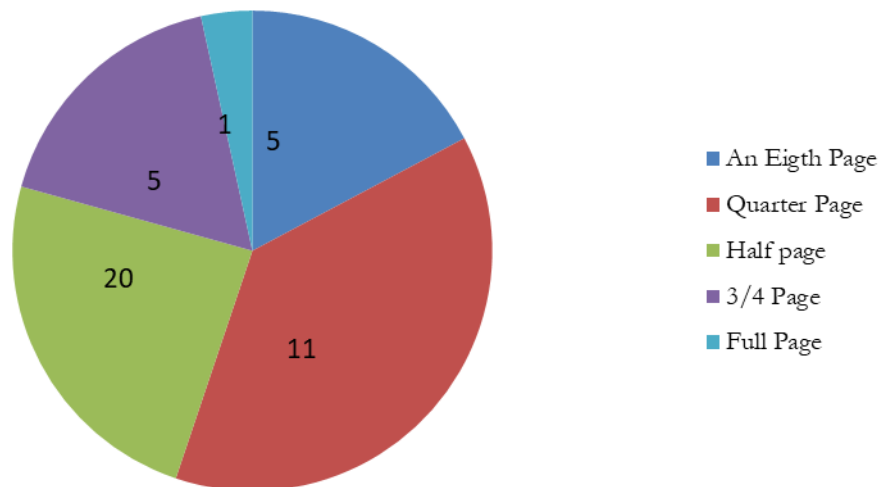
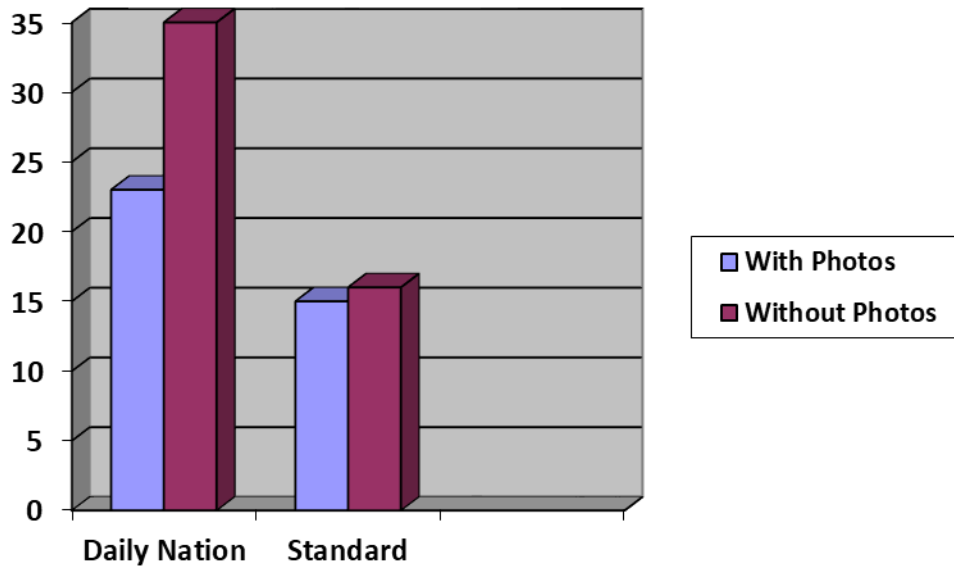


Figure 4.6 shows the length of the articles on repatriation of refugees from Dadaab published between May 2016 and May 2017 in *Standard* newspaper. The study found that of the 31 articles on refugee repatriation, only one article covered a full page whereas five articles were  $\frac{3}{4}$  page long. Articles that were half a page long were 20 and those that were quarter page long were 11 articles. 5 articles published by the *Standard* covered and  $\frac{1}{8}^{\text{th}}$  of a page.

This shows therefore, that *Standard* newspaper as well gave considerable coverage to refugee repatriation issue. This is due to the fact that nearly half of the articles were spread over half a

page of the newspaper. However, the fact that very few of the articles were published on the front page shows that not enough coverage was given by the *Standard* newspaper to refugee repatriation issue.

Figure 4. 7: Photos in Dadaab repatriation articles in the *Daily Nation* & the *Standard*



Source: Researcher 2017

The figure above shows the number of articles on refugee repatriation in Dadaab between May 2016 and May 2017 which had photos and those that didn't. *Daily Nation* had 23 articles with photos of the 58 articles that were published in the period under review. The other 35 articles did not have photos accompanying them.

The figure also shows that of *Standard* newspaper's 31 articles, 15 had photos while 16 of them did not have photos accompanying that.

Scheufele & Tewksbury (2007) explain more on priming and its effects. According to them, priming is a concept that assumes the audience don't normally weigh all the angles of an event before they make a judgment or decision. They often rely on what can be termed as mental

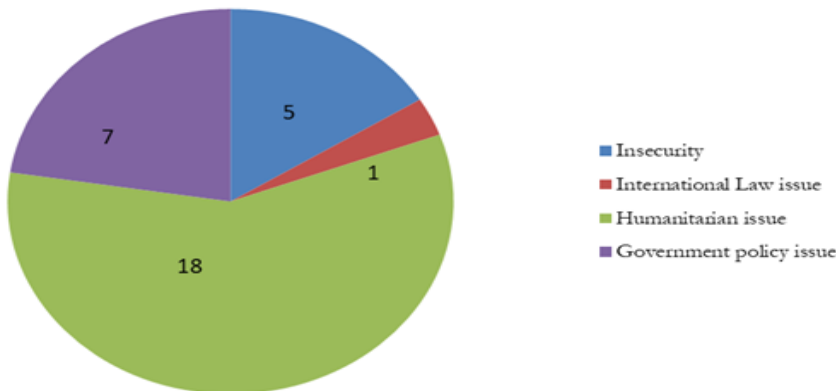
shortcuts so as to make up their minds. They apply information that they can access very fast in their memory network, which should already be full of concepts and ideas that they have had at one point in time, for instance, they had already read newspapers in the past on the same idea. Therefore, when a headline ‘screams’ something that triggers a node in their memory network, the whole schema is activated and they make a decision there and then. In this case, the *Standard* and *Daily Nation* did not prime their stories by placing most in the middle pages where readers will know that they are important news. Many readers acknowledge that only news with screaming headlines on the front page are prime and important stories. Most of the stories were also shorter.

### 4.3. Print Media Framing of Dadaab Refugee Repatriation

Framing by the media refers to how they shape information into recognizable news forms and narrative structures (Wisniew, 2017). This is whereby the media focuses its attention on particular events and then go ahead to place them in a field of meaning. This study relied on four particular frames that the media focused more on in reporting refugee repatriation in Dadaab. These frames include insecurity, international law, humanitarian issue, and government policy.

#### 4.3.1. Framing of Refugee Repatriation by *Standard*

Figure 4. 8: Framing of Refugee Repatriation by the *Standard* Newspaper

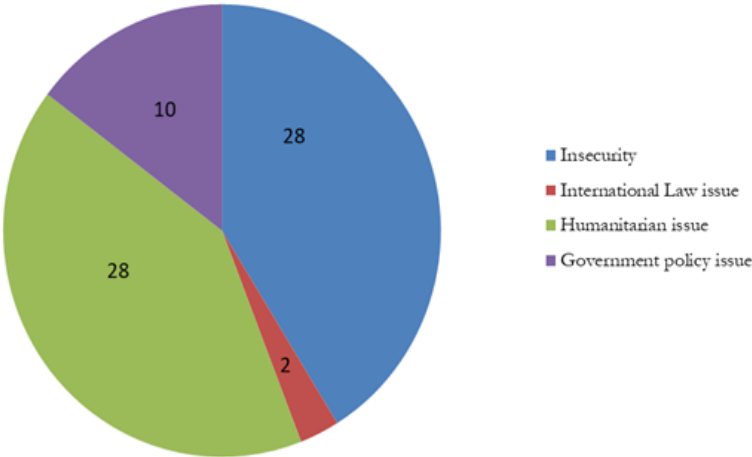


Source: Researcher 2017

As shown in figure 5, eighteen stories had been framed as a humanitarian issue as compared to 7 framed as government policy and 1 of international law. The government policy and insecurity frames included situations where journalists reported on government officials demanding that the refugees should leave camp by the deadline set. In some articles, there was evidence of humanitarian reporting on the Dadaab repatriation. Human Rights organizations called for more time and not to force Somalis to go back to their country. In international legal frame, there was only 1 article calling for refugees to be protected as espoused in international laws. From the results above, it is evident that the international law frame was not adequately covered as it should have.

**4.3.2. Framing of Refugee Repatriation by Daily Nation**

*Figure 4. 9: Framing of refugee repatriation by the Daily Nation*



*Source: Researcher 2017*

In figure 6 above, the *Daily Nation* framed 10 articles as government policy, 28 as insecurity, 28 as humanitarian issue, and only 2 as international law. Just like in *The Standard*, the research

expressly identifies a bias toward framing refugee repatriation mostly as insecurity and a humanitarian issue.

In general, this study found that the print media in Kenya framed refugee repatriation as an insecurity issue, a breach of international law for refugees, a humanitarian issue and government policy frames whereby issues like environmental degradation and financial strain were the key sub-frames. This study found that the two newspapers reporting of repatriation differed from each other. What was constant however was the fact that both newspapers framed majority of its repatriation articles as humanitarian issues.

This study found that the print media framed refugee repatriation issue mostly as humanitarian and insecurity and less as an international legal issue or government policy issue. Such framing also feeds into the general problem of coverage of repatriation issue as inadequate. In the literature review, it was found that globally the issue of refugee repatriation leads to a humanitarian crisis with many refugees dying due to various factors including insecurity. This study found that a high percentage of the articles published by the two newspapers reviewed were framed as humanitarian issues, which is what was found by the researcher during literature review.

As Scheufele & Tewksbury (2007) further explain, the basis of framing is that media houses, in this case Nation Media Group and The *Standard*, choose to focus their lenses on specific events and then situate them in a specific field of meaning. In such a structured meaning, the audience will now choose how they want to process the information; they can either act upon it or choose to ignore it. The research established from the data that The *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* dailies chose to focus on the refugee problem by using humanitarian frame. Therefore, they presented to their audiences the story about Dadaab repatriation as a humanitarian issue, and this



is the message that the audience got; that the refugees still need more time at the camp because Somalia was not yet safe. There was no need to force the Somalis to go back but only voluntarily.

#### **4.4 Prominence of Characters in Articles Published**

The prominence of the stories and characters involved all depended on the angle of the story. The most prominent personalities speaking on behalf of the Kenyan government included the late Interior Cabinet Secretary Joseph Nkaiserry, former Minister Foreign Affairs Raphael Tuju, and the then Foreign Cabinet Secretary Amina Mohammed. The Deputy President, Mr. William Ruto also spoke on behalf of the government. Examples of these headlines that were common include: *Ruto tells leaders the decision by govt to shut down refugee camp is final, It is now official, the refugees are on their way home.*

On the International community, not much was reported about except statements by the US government as well as the G7. The USA through her ambassador Robert Godec stated that, *no refugee will be sent home by force.* The headline about the G7 stated that, “G7 to increase technical and financial support to refugee host countries”. In line with the international community, only one prominent character appeared to be fighting for the plight of the Somali refugees: *Nobel Peace Laureate Malala Yousafzai spends 19<sup>th</sup> birthday at Dadaab Camp.* Her story was repeated three times across the two Dailies.

With regards to humanitarian organizations, the stories seemed to favor the Kenyan government. Some of the headlines were as follows, *The UN backs Kenya’s bid to close camp, The UN eyes 50,000 returning Somalis, UN agency denies Kenya is forcing Somalis from Dadaab, and Camp closure must be humane.* Other opinion leaders who sided with the government decision are personalities like Makau Mutua who lend their voice in the opinion columns. *Closing refugee*

*camp right call*, and *Yes we have a stake in Somalis future* stood out. Some refugees stated that they were happy to go home while others regretted going back to Somalia. Some of the prominent stories captured included the following: *I was betrayed* and the character lamenting was Madino Dhurow. *More refugees opt for return home*, *Where will we go and what will we do once in Somalia*, *Ex-Somalia refugees regret coming home*, and *Refugees worry about leaving business behind*. Editorials included headlines such as *Why Dadaab remains a headache, tough nut to crack*, *unending riddle, why camp wont just close yet*, *Treat refugees fairly*, *Chief reap big in camp closure*.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.1 Overview

This chapter includes a summary of the findings from the study, the conclusions, and recommendations from the researcher. Furthermore, areas that need research in relations to the findings and conclusions are given.

#### 5.2 Summary of the Findings

The main aim of this study was to establish how the two largest print media in Kenya ( *Daily Nation* and *Standard* Newspapers) covered the repatriation of refugees from Dadaab camp back to Somalia. The following three objectives were set out: to establish the frequency of coverage of the refugee repatriation exercise by *Daily Nation* and *Standard* Newspaper; to evaluate the priming of stories on the refugee repatriation exercise in Dadaab by *Daily Nation* and *Standard* Newspapers, and to determine the framing of the refugee repatriation exercise by *Daily Nation* and *Standard* Newspapers.

##### 5.2.1 Frequency of Coverage of Refugee Repatriation Exercise

The first objective of this study was to establish frequency of coverage of the refugee repatriation exercise by *Daily Nation* and *Standard* Newspaper. The researcher established that the frequency of the newspaper articles varied across the twelve months that data was collected. For *Standard*, there were as many as 8 articles in the month of May 2016 while certain months lacked a single article (August and October 2016 as well as January and May 2017). The highest number of news articles published by *Daily Nation* was in September and October in 2016 while the lowest are in July and December 2016 as well as January, April and May 2017.

The reason to this was that newspaper coverage depended on political events and terrorist activities. The Kenyan government and politicians increased their rhetoric just after terrorists did attack civilians in parts of North Eastern and the capital city of Nairobi. This was why the political elites considered the need for flushing out terrorist cells in Dadaab by setting a deadline for their repatriation. At the same time, the two newspapers studied here reiterated the government's stance and informed the public as to why the Kenyan government wanted to repatriate the refugees. Therefore, both *Daily Nation* and *Standard* newspapers relied on government as a source as well as the NGOs. They no longer covered the issue when the government focused on other things.

The researcher also classified the articles according to types of article. *Standard* had 71% of the total as news items, 25.8% as opinions, and 3.2% as editorials while *Daily Nation* had 79.3% of the articles as news items, 17.2% as opinions, and 3.5% as editorials. The researcher deduced that the two newspapers allocated more space for news articles than opinions and editorials as a quick reaction to what was happening in Dadaab and in Nairobi where the national government is situated.

### **5.2.2 Priming of Articles on the Refugee Repatriation Exercise**

The second objective was to evaluate the priming of refugee repatriation exercise by *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* newspaper. The researcher used the placement of articles, length of articles and the use of photos to determine this.

On the issue of placement, the researcher did this by categorizing articles which were placed either in front, inside or on the back page. The study found that most articles were placed on the inside with a few on the front page and on the back page.

On the length of articles, this study found that the majority of the articles published by the two newspapers on refugee repatriation were less than half a page in length. This shows that the newspapers did not attach enough importance to the issues of refugee repatriation by giving it more space and publishing longer pieces.

The study also found that more than half of the articles published by the two newspapers on refugee repatriation did not have accompanying photos. *Daily Nation* had fewer articles accompanied by photos whereas *Standard* had slightly more given the ratio despite having fewer articles as compared to *Daily Nation*.

### **5.2.3 Framing of the Stories**

The third objective was to determine the framing of refugee repatriation exercise by *Daily Nation* and *Standard* newspapers. Using four main frames, the researcher found that humanitarian and security frames were the most popular frames when reporting on refugee repatriation for both newspapers under study.

From the results, the researcher established that journalist reinforced the government rhetoric on the need to evacuate the camp due to the security concerns. However, they failed to cover certain frames about repatriation of refugees from Dadaab, in this case, the International Law frame. Journalists deliberately picked on the frames that they wanted to talk about and then disregarded the rest. Amongst the chosen stories, journalists decided the values, facts, and most importantly, the frames to cover in the process.

By doing this, journalists employed their interpretive frames shaped by social norms, journalistic routines, and political or ideological orientations. This is where there is some discrepancy between *Daily Nation* and *Standard* especially when *Daily Nation* newspaper had more security frames than the *Standard*. In general, however, this study found that the print media in Kenya

framed refugee repatriation as a security issue, a humanitarian issue, and government policy whereby issues like environmental degradation and financial strain were the key sub-issues.

### **5.3 Conclusion**

This research study achieved its main objective, which was to establish how the two largest print media in Kenya (*Daily Nation* and *Standard Newspapers*) covered the repatriation of refugees from Dadaab camp to Somalia. Kenya found itself at crossroads when Al Shabab terrorists started bombing Nairobi the Capital City and parts of North Eastern especially Garissa and Mandera. According to government sources, there were terrorist cells in Dadaab refugee camp, which houses hundreds of thousands of Somali refugees. The feeling was that the refugees knew the terrorists but failed to report them to the authorities thereby there was no other option but to start the repatriation exercise.

However, only a few thousands of refugees were ready to go back but a majority feared the insecurity in Somalia. Very few researchers have delved into this topic to see how the media plays a part in informing the public about issues that are of national interest thus the importance of this research. The two newspapers have the largest circulation in Kenya therefore they have the capacity to shape public opinion or public agenda because of the connection between newspapers and how they cover different refugee crises all over the world.

This study found the number of articles published by both *Daily Nation* and *Standard* in the period under review to be 89 articles in total. The study found this coverage not to be adequate with regards to number of articles published vis-à-vis the issue at hand i.e. refugee repatriation which is a weighty issue locally and globally. To this end, this study concluded that there wasn't adequate coverage with regards to the frequency on the refugee repatriation issue. (Brosius & Kepplinger, 1990) state that agenda-setting is the dynamic process in which changes in media

coverage lead to or cause subsequent changes in problem awareness of issue. This means that the more frequency given to an issue by the media, the more relevance it creates in the mind of the reader.

Furthermore, coverage of the two newspapers reviewed was heavy on news articles and light on opinions and editorials. Opinions and editorials are important in a newspaper in passing weighty issues to the readers but the two newspapers did not utilize this in this instance.

This study found articles on refugee repatriation in both publications were mainly published on the inside pages which means that they were not primed. Over 90% of the articles in both publications were placed on the inside pages making it difficult for majority of the readers to find them and assign requisite importance to them.

A high percentage of the articles on refugee repatriation published by the two newspapers under review, were framed mainly as humanitarian issue or insecurity. These were a reflection of government and humanitarian organization's rhetoric and agenda. What lacked was the journalistic professional investigations and inquiry to put the government in check through questioning of the repatriation plan especially since Kenya is a signatory to the 1951 convention of refugees and stateless persons and is bound to treat them humanely. If well applied in this case, framing would have ensured better coverage of the international law frame. As posited by (Van Gorp, 2007) , framing has in recent years taken over from agenda-setting and cultivation theory as the most commonly applied with a view of influencing what the reader thinks about.

#### **5.4 Recommendations**

This study makes a few recommendations with regard to what the Kenyan print media ought to do regarding the coverage of not only refugee repatriation but also refugee welfare in Kenya.

This study recommends that the Kenyan print media should frame articles on refugees as an international law issue. Kenya is a signatory to the 1951 refugee convention which obligates it to protect refugees and stateless people within its borders. Therefore, it is imperative that upon the government's plan to repatriate such persons, the media should frame its articles adequately as violations of international law.

This study also recommends that the media should increase the frequency of its coverage of issues relating to refugees and stateless people living within the borders of the country. This is because this study found the frequency of the articles of refugee repatriation to be low given the length of the period under review. More articles on refugee repatriation would give credence to the issue at hand to the readers.

This study recommends that the Kenyan print media prime stories regarding refugees in general which is in line with its mandate as a public watchdog. This is because this study found that very few articles on refugee repatriation were placed in prime spots like the front page, first inner pages or the back page by the two newspapers studied. This means therefore that in order to increase the reach of articles regarding refugees, they need to be better primed.

This study lastly, recommends that Kenya print media increases coverage especially on the editorials and opinion pieces. The editorials and opinion pieces have weight in conveying messages to the readers and with enough of these in the newspapers; the issue of refugee repatriation will achieve wider readership and appreciation.

### **5.5 Value of this Study**

This study is of value to researchers within communication and media discipline and social science research as a whole as it shines light on the work of the media in the important realm of refugee welfare. It furnishes researchers and academics alike with knowledge on the issue of



coverage of refugee repatriation. It then leaves them to take it further from there and inquire on why there isn't enough media coverage of refugee repatriation in Kenya despite there being considerable media freedom in the country to allow for investigative and independent media reportage on the issue.

This study challenges professional journalists to delve deeper into the reportage and coverage of the issue of refugee repatriation with a view to giving it more frequency, questioning the merits of the government's plan vis-a-vis the international conventions and treaties that govern the treatment of refugees by host countries.

### **5.6 Suggestions for Further Research**

Further research should be done on the reasons behind inadequate coverage of refugee repatriation. This area is important especially given the findings of this research and the recommendations therewith. It will be interesting to find out what it is that makes journalists not give enough coverage to the issue and why aren't publishers giving more space to issues of refugees.

Further research should also be conducted on the coverage given to the war on terrorist group Al Shabaab in Somalia and the implications of such coverage if any to the war itself. The study will seek to establish whether the coverage is adequate and whether it is a success or whether it is counterproductive on the war. Such a study will be relevant and is related to this particular study because majority of the refugees in Kenya who were targeted for repatriation were Somalis who fled their country on the account of the the Al Shabaab terror group.

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## APPENDICES

### *Appendix 1: Guiding schedule*

- How many times was the Dadaab refugee repatriation issues reported over the course of the twelve months under review?
  - (i) *Daily Nation*
  - (ii) *Standard*
- What percentage of the total number of articles on the Dadaab refugee repatriation was placed at the front page?
  - (i) *Daily Nation*
  - (ii) *Standard*
- What was the percentage of the articles on the Dadaab refugee repatriation placed at the back page?
  - (i) *Daily Nation*
  - (ii) *Standard*
- What was the percentage of the articles on the Dadaab refugee repatriation placed on the inside pages?
  - (i) *Daily Nation*
  - (ii) *Standard*
- What percentage of the articles on the Dadaab refugee repatriation was framed as human rights articles?
  - (i) *Daily Nation*
  - (ii) *Standard*
- What percentage of the articles on the Dadaab refugee repatriation was framed as international Law issues?
  - (i) *Daily Nation*
  - (ii) *Standard*
- What percentage of the articles on the Dadaab refugee repatriation was framed as insecurity issues?
  - (i) *Daily Nation*
  - (ii) *Standard*
- What percentage of the articles on the Dadaab refugee repatriation was framed as government policy?
  - (i) *Daily Nation*
  - (ii) *Standard*

### *Appendix 2*



*Appendix 3*

*Appendix 4*

