MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF KENYAN SOMALIS

DIANA WANJIRU GITAU

K50/80661/2015

RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF MASTERS OF ARTS DEGREE IN COMMUNICATION STUDIES AT THE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM AND MASS COMMUNICATION, UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

NOVEMBER 2017

DECLARATION

I declare that this research project is my original work and has not been presented to any other institution for consideration of any certification.
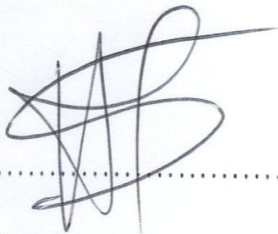
Signature.. Date...10.10.2017...

Diana Gitau
K50/80661/15

Supervisor

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

Signature.. Date...10.10.2017...

Dr. Elias Mokua
Lecturer
School of Journalism
University of Nairobi

DEDICATION

I hereby dedicate this project to my family and friends. God bless you for your support and prayers. I also dedicate this project to the late John Ng'ethe. Thank you for your friendship.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Ethnic identity: Ascriptive features unique to a group.

Xenophobia: Hatred towards a group of people considered alien due to various factors such as ethnicity, race, sexual orientation or religious beliefs.

Ethnic profiling: The process through which law enforcement officers and civilians view people as suspicious because of who they are, what they look like or where they pray as opposed to what they have done.

Overt Ethnic Profiling: Negative remarks made about an ethnic group receiving positive or continuous media coverage.

Inferential Ethnic Profiling: Negative ethnicity ideological statements made in naturalized representations of events by media.

ABSTRACT

This study examines media representation of Kenyan Somalis. It looks at the impact of media framing on the identity construction of Kenyan Somalis. It also examines the role of media in promoting (or not) xenophobia against the ethnic group. It further analyses the role of ideology in the representation of Kenyan Somalis. A qualitative content analysis of newspaper articles was conducted from two major dailies in Kenya; *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* from June 2012 to June 2015. In addition, documentaries, video clips, video blog (vlog) and a television (TV) talk show were analyzed. The findings of the study reveal that Kenyan media has been insensitive in the representation of Kenyan Somalis. In their reporting, media has used language that contributes to the identity crisis of Kenyan Somalis. In some instances, there was misrepresentation of events such as the xenophobic attacks against Somalis in Eastleigh which some journalists described as protests against Al-Shabaab sympathizers. Media has also inferentially ethnic profiled Kenyan Somalis as terrorists hence contributing to stereotypes about the group. Although overt ethnic profiling was minimal, media relied on conflict, ethnic, problem frames and ethnicized terrorism hence presenting a skewed reporting of Kenyan Somalis. The overt profiling of Kenyan Somalis included publishing of negative and fictitious statements about the group .The study recommends that there is need for training of journalists on ethnic representation. There is also need for laws and policies to guide media representation of ethnic groups.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Overview

This chapter looks the background of the study and statement of the problem. It presents the research objectives and questions, significance and justification of the study and also the scope and limitations of the research. It also gives a brief overview of the theoretical framework and research method used in the study.

1.1 Background

Ethnic identity is defined as ascriptive characteristics unique to a group (Lyon, 1997). This includes colour of skin, religion, language or culture that indicates the group's identical origin. There are different approaches to ethnicity (Isajiw, 1992). Primordial is one of the oldest approaches which posit that ethnicity is fixed because it is natural. This approach assumes that children inherit the ethnic identity of their parents which they later pass on to future generations. Another approach to ethnic identity is epiphenomenon which assumes that uneven economic structures in societies influence ethnicity. For example, in United States of America, the immigrants' identity occurred as a result of economic factors (Isajiw, 1992). Situational ethnic identity occurs as a result of prevailing circumstances. For instance, in Kenya, the Luo and the Suba ethnic groups have largely intermarried. As a result, the Subas have lost aspects of their identity by assimilating with the Luos such that the the two are considered as one ethnic group (Luo Abasuba) with similar cultures and even voting patterns (Makoloo, 2005). The subjectivism approach explains that ethnic identities occur when different groups perceive themselves as 'us' which is different from 'them' (Isajiw, 1992). Social institutions such as schools, religion and the media are the key influencers of subjective identity.

According to Hall (2005), the media shapes perceptions, attitudes and beliefs through representation of different ideologies. Media representation provides audiences with images that help them in understanding the world and their place in it. These media images have dissimilar interpretations to different audiences. Therefore, images depicted by media may be

understood in a variety of ways by the audiences. Hall (2005) explains that this is because deconstruction of meaning is influenced by audience conceptual maps.

Media representation of ethnic groups is therefore interpreted in a variety of ways. Hall (2005) explains that representation of ethnicities by media is not the same for all groups. He gives the example of ethnic minorities not receiving the same representation as the majorities. According to Hall (1997), ethnic majorities influence dominant ideologies hence their identity becomes accepted as natural or common sense. In this case, minorities are then represented as 'others'. This means that the majority ethnicities accept them as 'others' and furthermore, these minorities also start perceiving themselves in the same way. Therefore, as Hall illustrates, media representation not only affects how audience perceive different ethnic groups but it also influences how groups perceive their own identity.

Media representation of ethnicities takes various forms such as underrepresentation. There are instances whereby ethnic groups receive little or no representation in media such as in the example given by Hall of ethnic minorities. According to the Minority Rights Group International report (2006), there are ethnicities in Kenya that are on the verge of extinction such as the Yaaku. Nonetheless, this ethnic group remains unknown to most Kenyans (Makoloo, 2005). One of the ways that audiences learn about ethnic groups that they have never interacted with is through media. Unfortunately, most of the minority groups hardly receive any media coverage. Studies also illustrate that overrepresentation in media also has an effect on audience perceptions. A study carried out by the University of Michigan on overrepresentation of African Americans and Latinos as lawbreakers by the media illustrates how this reinforced negative stereotypes of the two ethnic groups (Linz et al., 2000). To find out whether the media reports were accurate, the researcher carried out inter-reality comparisons using statistics by the Federal Bureau of Investigations and established that the media portrayal was inaccurate. This meant that the two ethnic groups were overrepresented as law breakers but this was not based on reality (Linz et al., 2000).This overrepresentation is as a result of ethnic blame discourse which unfortunately reinforces stereotypes that are later naturalized hence accepted as reality.

Unfavourable media representation may result in negative perceptions about an ethnic group. For instance, a study carried out by The Opportunity Agenda in 2011 on the impact of media representation on the lives of black men discovered that African American men have continuously received negative representation by media as underachievers and criminals which in turn has affected how other ethnicities perceive them and how they also think of themselves. The issue of negative associations has also been a key feature in media representations whereby an ethnic group is portrayed by the media in relation with something negative. Another example of this is media portrayal of Arabs in America where they have been as have associated with terrorism (Cottle, 2000).This has negatively impacted audiences who treat the group with suspicion. On the other hand, positive media coverage of ethnic groups influences favourable perceptions. The use of stereotypes is another issue that comes up in media representation of ethnicity. For example, in Kenyan comedies, ethnic stereotypes are used in comedies. Hall (2005) describes stereotypes as an aspect of representation that shows attempt to fix the meaning of images.

1.1.2 Media representation of Ethnic Groups in Kenya

Media reports on ethnicity in Kenya have been under scrutiny especially after the post-election violence of 2007-2008. The role of the media in ethnic conflict has been extensively discussed. In executing its roles of being informative, educative and entertaining, media provides different coverage of ethnic groups. For example, *Standard Digital* published a feature on Kikuyus. Titled, *what you didn't know about the Kikuyus*, the article sought to create awareness about the ethnic group focusing on their historical and cultural practices (Mutunga, 2013). Similar informative reports have been published about other ethnicities. In 2016, *Standard Digital* also published an article explaining why the Luo ethnic group removes six lower teeth (Amimo, 2016). This article sought to create awareness about this cultural practice. Other reports have been published in relation to current events. In January 2017, Kenyan media was awash with reports concerning utterances allegedly made by Hon. Aden Duale concerning the Akamba ethnic group in Garissa. Similarly, on January 17, 2017, in their *Weekend Edition* segment, *KTN* news presented a feature concerning the Marakwet community and cattle rustling. They highlighted on traditional ceremonies carried out by the community to deal with the issue of cattle raiders. This illustrates that media coverage of ethnic groups can be diverse depending on

the intended purpose. In addition, there are different topics concerning ethnicities that media selects to cover based on what they deem as being newsworthy.

1.1.3 Media Representation of Kenyan Somalis

According to the national census carried out in 2009, Somali is the sixth most populous ethnic group in the country (Kenya National Bureau of Statistic [KNBS], 2009). Although an ethnic majority, Kenyan Somalis are a religious minority (Makoloo, 2005). Over the years, media coverage of this ethnic group has been diverse. There have been a number of articles on the group's culture, prominent individuals, ethnic and historical conflicts such as the Shifta Wars and Wagalla Massacre. There have also been a number of articles on xenophobia against the group especially following terrorist attacks in the country (Aketch, 2015). Minorities at Risk (MAR) (2006) indicates that conflict features strongly in discussions about the Kenyan Somali identity. This is because of the nature of conflicts that the group has been involved in since early 1960s during Shifta wars to the 1980s when the Bulla Kartasi and Wagalla massacres occurred. Since 2011, media spotlight has been on the group due to the war on terrorism (MAR, 2006).

In November 2012, there were various media reports of xenophobia attacks against Kenyan Somalis (Kerrow, 2012). During the period, it was reported that there was rising xenophobia against Somalis in Kenya. Other reports allege that police failed to intervene when attacks took place. In 2015, it was also alleged that the Kenyan government was encouraging xenophobia towards Kenyan Somalis through their counter-terrorism activities (Kerich, 2015). Article 10 of Kenya's Constitution indicates that national unity, justice for all and equity are some of Kenya's national values (The Constitution of Kenya, 2010). The same values are emphasized in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Part two and three of the National Cohesion and Integrity Act (NCIA) further highlights the country's commitment to fight ethnic discrimination (NHAC, 2008). Xenophobia against Kenyan Somalis represents a missed opportunity for Kenya to achieve national integration (Burbidge, 2015).

In Not Yet Kenyan, a documentary about Kenyan Somalis, the media was accused of not providing adequate coverage of conflicts affecting the ethnic group. Adow (2013) compares media reports of Shifta Wars and Wagalla Massacre with *Mau Mau* uprising. He raises concerns

about victims of the massacres being forgotten by media unlike the *Mau Mau* who continue to receive positive coverage. In the same documentary, former minister for Internal Security, Godfrey Gitahi Kariuki accuses journalists of exaggerating the number of fatalities in the Wagalla massacre. In particular, he describes Somalis journalists as being dishonest and misleading their ethnic group by giving false reports and sensationalizing the massacre (Adhow, 2013). Similar disagreements were reported concerning the media coverage of Somalis held at Kasarani stadium during a screening exercise in 2014. In an interview by *The Stream,* a television show on Aljazeera, Masoud Mwinyi, the former spokesman for Administration Police reports that there were three structured media visits organized by the government for journalists to visit Kasarani Stadium during the screening exercise. However, he accused the media of lying to the public and reporting that the stadium was a detention centre. According to Masoud, nobody was detained at the stadium and the screening exercise only took place during the day. He also accused media of exaggerations. In particular, he denied media reports about pregnant women being detained at the stadium. Instead, he alleged that there was only one pregnant woman who police found in the queues and rushed to the hospital. In the same documentary, Moses Kuria, alleges that media reports concerning ethnic profile and xenophobia against Kenyan Somalis are a distraction from real issues affecting the country such as terrorism. He terms the reports as 'mere sideshows'. Following xenophobia attacks in Eastleigh in 2012, the Muslim Human Rights Forum raised a concern about the reporting of the attacks. They alleged that media falsely described the incidents as riots and protests against Al-Shabaab sympathizers instead of xenophobia attacks against Somalis. This was in response to an article published in *The Daily Nation* on November 20, 2012 concerning riots in Eastleigh.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

In 2015, African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Conflicts published a report on the fear of the Somali identity in Kenya. The report indicates that the ethnic group has continued to be treated with suspicion since the Shifta Wars in 1963(Burbridge, 2015). In this report, Kenyan media is accused of using innuendos to link the ethnic group to crime and especially terrorism and banditry. In recent years, Kenyan Somalis have been victims of ethnic profiling and xenophobia following terrorist attacks in the country. This escalated with the war against terrorism through security operations such as Operation *Usalama* Watch in 2014. There have

been debates on whether or not media has escalated or de-escalated ethnic profiling, identity crisis and xenophobia against Kenyan Somalis. This is because media can enhance feelings of nationality and belonging. On the other hand, it can also promote alienation (Hall, 1997).

There are studies that have examined media representation of ethnicity in Kenya especially in relation to ethnic and political conflict. Following the 2007-2008 election violence, a number of studies were conducted on the role of the media in the conflict. However, there are few studies that have been conducted concerning media representation of specific ethnic groups. In addition, the role of media in ethnic identity construction has not been covered by many researches in Kenya. Media's role in xenophobia in Kenya is also another area with limited studies. Therefore, this study seeks to shed light into media representation of Kenyan Somalis. It examines how this ethnic group has been portrayed in print and broadcast media and investigates the effect of this representation in shaping audience perceptions.

It explores key questions on how the Kenyan Somalis are represented in media. For instance, are they overrepresented or underrepresented? Do media use negative or positive frames when reporting about the ethnic group? Do media understand the challenges that Kenyan Somalis face? Questions also arise on whether there is an overreliance on stereotypes in identity construction of Kenyan Somalis whereby media reverts to generalization to explain and interpret the group's actions or if there are realities that contribute to this reporting. Does media representation of Kenyan Somalis contribute to xenophobia against the group and to what extent? In addition, questions also arise on the role played by ideology in identity construction of this group and how media representation impacts on societal relations between Somalis and other ethnicities in Kenya.

Understanding the role played by media in representing ethnic groups is important due to the causal effects of representation. Media representation of ethnic groups and its role in identity construction is an area with limited study in the Kenyan context. These are some of the key issues that this research aims to address.

1.3 Research Objectives

The main objective of the study is to examine media representation of Kenyan Somalis.

The study's specific objectives are to:

i.   To examine the dominant terms used by the media in reporting about Kenyan Somalis.

ii.   To examine the impact of media framing on the ethnic identity construction of Kenyan Somalis.

iii.   To investigate the extent to which ideology impacts on the media representation of Kenyan Somalis.

iv.   To establish ways in which media promotes (or not) xenophobia against Kenyan Somalis.

1.4 Research Questions

To achieve the above objectives, the study seeks to answer these questions;

i.   Which are the dominant terms used by the media in reporting about Kenyan Somalis?

ii.   How does media framing of Kenyan Somalis impact on the ethnic identity construction of the group?

iii.   To what extent does ideology impact on the media representation of Kenyan Somalis?

iv.   To what extent do media promotes (or not) xenophobia against Kenyan Somalis?

1.5   Significance of the Study

This study will help in expanding the existing knowledge on media representation of ethnicity while enriching previous research on the matter with a focus not only on ethnic conflict but also identity construction. It will also help media and policy makers to understand critical issues in media representation of ethnic groups. The study will also help Kenyan Somalis to evaluate their role in media representation of their ethnic group. The findings will hopefully generate debate about the strategies used in war against terrorism and ethnic profiling of suspects.

1.6   Justification of the Study

Media reports indicate that there has been xenophobia towards Kenyan Somalis. The ethnic group has been a target of retaliatory attacks especially after incidents of terrorism. Ethnic profiling of Kenyan Somalis has reportedly been taking place since the 1960s during the *Shifta* Wars and has increased with the ongoing war against terrorism leading to issues such as identity crisis of Kenyan Somalis. With the fact that profiling has been going on for decades and has recently escalated to xenophobia, it is important to examine the role of media in the identity construction of Kenyan Somalis. It is equally important to investigate media's contribution in escalating or de-escalating xenophobic attitudes towards the ethnic group.

1.7 Scope and Limitations

Although Kenya is a multi-ethnic country with over forty ethnicities, this study focuses on only the Kenyan Somali ethnic group. The research includes analysis of two newspapers, *The Standard* and *The Daily Nation* and also videos produced between June 2012 and June 2015. This means that other newspapers in the country are not analyzed in this study. The newspapers analyzed were digital copies hence aspects such as placement and types of new stories were not analyzed. In addition, this work would have benefited from pictorial analysis. However, because of the risk of lengthening the study, this was omitted.

1.8   Theoretical Framework

Media culture theory was used for this study. According to Kellner (1995), media culture provides images and figures that audiences can identify with and hence emulate. Identity being fluid means that it can be easily changed through media culture. Based on this, the study investigates the media reports on Kenyan Somalis to identify key terms used in identifying Kenyan Somalis, dominant themes in the representation, framing and its effect on the ethnic identity construction of the group. Douglas Kellner conducted a series of studies to illustrate how the media influences audience's behaviours, values and beliefs. One of the studies that he carried out was on the popular film, Rambo, featuring American actor, Sylvester Stallone. The movie depicts the actor fighting social injustices. The white, male main actor is portrayed as being strong, masculine with the ability to fight America's enemies. This movie has had different

effects on audiences. For instance, a number of officers in the Salvadoran military started wearing the red bandanna popularly identified with Rambo. In the United States, a number of crimes including murders were alleged to have been inspired by the movie. There have also been a number of recreational facilities named Rambo. According to the study, the movie not only influenced audience behaviours, it also impacted on fashion, language and weaponry. Using this illustration, Kellner explains why media representation effects on audiences should not be ignored. Audiences react differently to media images depending on the meaning that they get from them. This is why Sylvester Stallone's portrayal as Rambo had a variety of impacts on different people.

Using Kellner's illustration of how Rambo influenced different audiences, media influences how audiences deconstruct meanings from media images and this has an impact on their behaviours and perceptions. Based on this theory, this study seeks investigates how media represents Kenyan Somalis and the effects of this representation.

1.9 Methodology

This is study used descriptive research design to investigate media representation of Kenyan Somalis. Data was analysed using qualitative content analysis. The sample frame includes *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers for the period starting from June 2012 to June 2015. Using criterion sampling, the researcher also collected samples of YouTube videos such as vlogs, documentaries and video clips in addition to the newspapers.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0   Introduction

This chapter reviews literature on media representation of ethnic groups by analyzing studies carried out in Kenya and as well as researches in other parts of the world. It also discusses the meaning of media representation and ethnic identity. Xenophobia is discussed in detail drawing comparisons between South Africa and Kenya. The chapter also reviews literature on media construction of identity and how this impacts on audience perceptions of different groups and also contributes to how the groups perceive themselves. It also discusses gaps in literature that can be addressed through the research.

The theoretical framework puts relevant theories into context using media representation theories to explain how media images affect the perceptions of audiences towards different groups. These theories will be used to discuss effects of media representation of ethnicity based on the Kenyan context and how this not only constructs identity but also impacts on societal relations.

2.1   Defining Media Representation

Ideology is defined as a shared set of meanings and values through which a society understands the world (Thirnham & Purvis, 2005). One way that these meanings and values are shared and embodied is through social institutions controlled by the powerful in the society (Thirnham & Purvis, 2005). This means that there are dominant ideologies that exist in society based on who has the power to control the social institutions that circulate meaning. The ideologies operate through representations which in turn give meaning to our experiences as individuals and help us establish our own identity (Thirnham & Purvis, 2005). Hall (2005) describes media representations as illusions whereby the media presents images and words which are supposed to depict reality but in real sense they portray an ideology by those in position to control media content. According to Stuart Hall, media representation has the power to produce representation that favour particular identities and distort others hence creating systems of inequality and power that reinforce negative portrayals of specific groups (Hall, 2005).

Studies also show that media representations affect how individuals perceive themselves. For instance, research carried in 2011 concerning media representation of black males in America established that a number of black men and boys in the country view themselves as being underachievers and unintelligent based on the dominant media stereotypes about the group (The Opportunity Agenda, 2011). The fact that media representations can influence how groups or individuals view themselves can be explained through the representation theory of social identity which was developed in 1979 by Henri Tafjel and John Turner. This theory posits that a person's identity is based on the social group that they belong to (Tafjel, 1982). This process of identity construction begins with categorization whereby individuals find a group where they belong such as blacks, Christians, homosexuals or Jews. After categorization, identification occurs whereby individuals adopt the behaviours of the group that they belong to by emulating them or acting based on assumption of how other members of their group act. Social comparisons then occur where members of the group compare themselves with other groups in order to find their place in society (Tafjel, 1982). This illustrates how media representations can influence how audiences perceive themselves and others and hence their place in the world.

Cultural Studies scholar, Hall (2005) defines media representations by examining the different roles that they play. The first one is to present images of groups that are unfamiliar to audiences (Thirnham & Purvis, 2005). For instance, most people have never been in contact with Eskimos but they are familiar with the group based on how it is represented in media. The second role that media representation plays is to classify these images hence enhance audiences' familiarity with them. Lastly, the representation becomes accepted as a norm. Stuart described this as the acknowledged order which means that media not only produces but it also constructs meaning (Hall, 2005).

Different audiences are able to interpret the meaning of media representations based on various factors such as age, gender, level of education, ethnicity and political ideologies (Kellner, 2001). Audience interpretation of media images can further be understood by considering why audiences use media (Kellner, 2001). For example, studies show that some female audiences watch soap operas as a form of escapism. Other audiences may be drawn to the shows because

they appear relatable. For instance, they depict gender roles such as women being domesticated and submissive. Female audiences may be appealed by this portrayal because they may perceive it as a depiction of reality. In sports, men may find escapism, a fantasy that helps them to feel like victors when their teams triumph. Watching sports has led to the formation of new communities and identities. For instance, in Kenya, football fans associate with the English Premier League (EPL). It is common to find groups formed due to their support of the same teams.

Hall (2005) further illustrates the process of media representation through his communication model of encoding and decoding. Encoding refers to the process through which the message is produced whereas decoding is the active role that audiences take when they extract meaning from the encoded messages (Hall, 1997). Hall introduces the aspect of circulation in this model whereby he describes the audiences as being both the source and receiver of messages. The messages produced are based on dominant ideologies. The same messages are then reproduced at the end whereby audiences decode the message based on personal beliefs and experiences (Hall, 2005). Hall further explains that sometimes audiences decode messages according to how they were encoded. This is usually influenced by hegemonic ideologies which are not challenged by the society. According to the scholar, in this case, audiences decode messages within the code which is anchored on the referenced code. However, this is not always the case, sometimes; audiences take a negotiated position whereby they fail to fully accept the meaning of the message as encoded. Other times, the audiences reject the ideology therefore taking the opposition position (Hall, 2005).

According to Hall (2005), media images represent group of people, situations and events. This means that they give meaning to what is portrayed and so audiences are able to arrive at this meaning based on their culture and their shared concepts. For example, audiences can understand media portrayal of a happy family because of having already internalized the concept. They are able to understand what an ideal family is and what happiness is and hence decipher images portrayed in the media. These meanings are usually learned based on the society that one lives in. In this case, Stuart Hall introduces the idea of conceptual maps which are present in all individuals and help in understanding of the world (Hall, 2005).

The way individuals express the meanings that they attach to images is through language and communication (Hall, 2005). The scholar further explains that meaning exists within discourse. This means that audiences are able to attach meaning to what they see based on the discourse. For example, an image of a crowd running in the streets chanting may be assumed to mean that a demonstration is taking place because of the setting. However, the same crowd, running and chanting within a football field may be assumed to mean that they are cheering perhaps after a successful game. This illustrates that context helps in attaching meaning to the events taking place. To communicate these meanings, language has to be present (Hall, 2005). According to Hall, language operates in representational systems hence making representation central to the process of meaning making (Hall, 1997).

Ferdinand De Saussure a scholar in linguistics further expounds on what Stuart introduces about language carrying meaning in representation (Hall, 1997). He explains the concept of the signifier and the signified as two elements of a sign which carries meaning. The signifier is the word or image that carries meaning and the signified is what correlates with the signifier based on the audience cultural codes. The link between the two is arbitrary and keeps changing according to the social context. Based on De Saussure's arguments, meaning is derived from social institutions and so it is ever changing. This means that messages that are encoded by media are not universally decoded in the same way.

Semiotic textual analysts consider how different linguistic and cultural symbols carry meaning. For instance, in grading academic papers, the symbol A is used as a mark of excellence denoting a student's ability to grasp issues and competently answer questions. On the other hand, the symbol E denotes failure. In his study of the 1980's Rambo film, Douglas Kellner illustrates how semiotic analysis can be used to understand the meaning of the film. In this case, the war film shows how America fights its enemies. The villains fit the description of the country's enemies in WWII. In addition, the movie shows Rambo emerging victorious hence using the storyline of good triumphing over evil. The presentation of Rambo as a god through the slow-motion close-ups can also be understood through semiotic analysis.

Hall (2005) further introduces the concept of signifying practices in representation which is the act of assigning meaning to something and then communicating this to an audience. Therefore, media is able to not only assign meaning but also to communicate these meanings to audiences. This brings up the issue of power. If media can communicate meaning to large audiences, then it is imperative to think about who holds the power to control media hence influence the circulated meaning. It is also important to consider exactly who the target audience is hence who the recipient of the communicated meaning is.

In studying media representation, it is also important to consider both what is present and what is not because both communicate a given meaning (Hall, 2005). For instance, an image of a Kenyan Somali on television will communicate in two ways. The first obvious communication is in relation to the news story. However, audience concept maps will also influence the second communication which may be absent in the news story.

2.1.1 Framing and Priming in Media Representation

One of the theories that illustrates how media representation works and hence explains the effects of media on audiences is the framing theory (Ardèvol-Abreu, 2015). This theory was developed by Ervin Goffman and it gives details on the two levels of social construction. Framing begins with journalists' perceptions of different news stories. Do they think that a particular story is important enough? What about the story is most important and what will attract public interest? In this case, framing involves the process of exclusion and inclusion to come up with the media content. The second level deals with how the audiences interpret the new stories based on the frames used by the media. Therefore, audiences rely on social cues from the media to interpret the happenings in their daily lives. These cues are presented in form of frames by the media.

All forms of communication usually operate within a given structure. Similarly, news stories operate within specific structures which entail use of interpretive frameworks to explain the what, who and where in relation to the story. In a way, media tries to attach meaning to the news stories and simplify them in an effort to attract and maintain the attention of audiences. To structure these stories, different frames are used hence focusing on different realities while

limiting others. This leads to the construction of dominant realities (Ardèvol-Abreu, 2015). Therefore, the process of framing begins with the selection of the new story and the angle of focus. It also involves emphasis of certain aspects of the news story .Exclusion of other aspects of the news story contributes to the final frame presented by the media to the audiences and emphasis is also applied to draw focus on particular issues (Weaver, 2006).

The frames through which media presents a given news story influences how the audience processes the information received and hence make meaning of the story (Ardèvol-Abreu, 2015). Unlike the agenda setting theory which is more focused on the newsworthiness, framing is more concerned with how the news is presented to the audiences (Scheufele, 1999). However, there are theorists who argue that framing is a level in agenda setting whereby agenda setting deals with objects but framing deals with the attributes of the objects (Ardèvol-Abreu, 2015). Therefore, media draw emphasis on an object hence influencing audience perception's about its salience. This is agenda setting. However, by drawing emphasis on certain attributes of these objects, the media then makes audiences perceive these attributes as being important. For instance, a terrorist attack may be the object. Media will highlight on this attack, giving it prominence in coverage hence making audiences perceive it as being important. However, they may focus more on aspects such as ethnicities of the terrorists hence making audience perceive this attribute as being more important (Scheufele, 2005).

Media framing like Douglas Kellner's theory on media culture illustrates the process through which the media is able to influence perceptions, values and behaviours of audiences. However, the theory goes further to explain why audiences focus on certain aspects of news reports as opposed to others.

Donald Kinder, Shanto Iyengar and Mark Peters developed the Priming theory in 1982. Like media culture, priming explains how audiences are affected by exposure to specific media coverage of events or people. By repeating coverage concerning a particular issue, the media makes the issue a public agenda and also influences how audiences perceive it (Scheufele, 2005). According to this theory, when media devotes a lot of time and space to news story, audiences will tend to accept this story as important and this will spark public discussions about

it. This shows how priming affects how an audience understands news stories. For instance, during the Olympics, most media interrupt their usual print and broadcast to focus on the games and in particular Kenya's participation. Extensive coverage and the Olympics making headlines across all media bring public focus on the sports. Audiences that are not fans of sports are likely to join in following the Olympics due to the coverage. This makes the games part of public agenda and hence sparks discussions about them. The audiences may not have been so keen on the Olympics if the media coverage was not there.

According to Scheufele (2005), there are two aspects of priming. These are recent and frequent. Audiences are likely to recall recent priming. This is because the information is still new and hence easy to remember. However, they will also recall frequent priming which are stored in the long-term memory due to frequent exposure. Audiences use schemas to recall information. The long-term memory holds the existing schemas. These schemas become activated when new information relating to them is introduced. This makes the schema active in the working memory which will influence how individuals make meaning of received information. Priming that is recent and frequent will make the schemas more accessible. Scheufele (2005) further explains that media can change audience's schemas through introduction of new information that is constantly presented. Relational cognitive links can also be changed using media frames. For instance; using the frames of terrorism, media can use exposure and repetition to change the audience schemas concerning the perpetrators of terrorist attacks.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

This study is based on Douglas Kellner's Media Culture Theory.

2.2.1 Media Culture

Media culture provides individuals with material that influence their identities such as what it means to be male or female, black or white, us versus them (Kellner, 2001). Media images shape audience views of the world and hence influence their values. In addition, power balance in society can be determined through media spectacle whereby it becomes easier to determine who has power and who doesn't. As explained by Douglas Kellner, media culture also explains that media helps audiences to decide how to think, act or even what to desire (Kellner, 2015).

16

Therefore, it is important to learn how to interpret the meanings of media representations. According to the scholar, media is also influential in teaching audiences how to react to different social groups.

Media culture is not a new phenomenon. It was extensively studied by scholars in the early 1940s. The culture industry as explained by the Frankfurt school of thought explains the commercialization of culture (Kellner, 2015). According to this perspective developed by scholars such as Theodore Adorno and Max Horkheimer, culture is mass produced. Therefore, it has similarities to products of mass production. This means that it undergoes massification, standardization and commodification. This perspective further explains how mass media culture is used to legitimize dominant ideologies of the capitalist societies making them the norm. According to the Frankfurt school of thought, mass media produces culture which is homogenous. Pseudo-individualism is used to make audiences feel like the products being advertised are aimed at satisfying individual desires. However, the products and messages are designed for mass consumption. Media culture became responsible for producing thoughts and behaviours that conform to social order (Kellner, 2015). However, the scholars insist that media culture has to be viewed in relation to the environment in which it is produced. In deconstructing meaning of what is depicted in media, it is important to consider aspects such as existing dominant ideologies in the society. Adorno emphasizes that there are layers of meaning to each media representation. He also introduces the aspect of pseudo-realism in media whereby stereotypes are used in television in a way that makes them seem like reality (Kellner, 2015).

Another group that has contributed to the study of media culture is the Birmingham University Centre for Cultural Studies which conducted studies to critically analyze cultural artefacts. The group, led by Stuart Hall, analyzed how different aspects of culture such as race, ethnicity and gender were represented in the media and the effects of these representations on different audiences. This study demonstrated how different cultures and identities emerged from exposure to media. It also influences how we perceive other social groups. According to Kellner (2011), media influences thoughts and behaviour of audiences. The main difference between the Birmingham school of thought and Frankfurt is that in this case, the consumers are

not passive. Meaning is decoded based on various aspects such as language. In addition, the scholars look at media culture from a different perspective of codes and signifiers that are socially constructed. The Brigham scholars illustrate how audiences become main-stream by adapting media culture. They adapt aspects such as popular fashion, behaviour and values. An example is given of Madonna whose fashion sense and lifestyle was able to influence diverse audiences including young girls, gays and lesbians. Madonna was able to do this is through production of music videos that her target audience could identify with. In this way, they conform to the dominant ideologies and establish their identities as members of specific social groups. However, Kellner explains that not every audience adopts popular media culture. There are others who decide to form their own identities and cultures devoid of media influence (Kellner, 2001). In addition, there are also audiences who form sub-cultures that go against the mainstream cultures.

According to Kellner (2015) economy, politics and society influence media culture. For instance, in considering the political economy of media culture, it is important to think about who owns the media and what their ideologies are. In this case, state owned media is likely to produce material that favours the government. For example in Kenya, state-owned media is unlikely to criticize Kenya's military presence in Somalia as compared to independent media stations. Douglas Kellner illustrated this in his study of American television broadcasts in the 1980s). Due to the ownership of the three main media networks by Capital Cities, CE and Tisch Financial Group, all groups associated with Reagan, the then president received considerable, favourable media coverage (Kellner, 2015.

Ideology plays a role in media culture and is a key factor in media representation. This is because social relations can be determined by dominant ideologies which separate the dominants from the subordinates and this is then reflected in media representations (Kellner, 2001). Dominant ideologies include ideals of upper class, gender roles and even race. For example, dominant ideologies of race are more likely to use stereotypes when describing people of colour especially in a society that is predominantly white. Dominant ideologies are usually represented in a way that normalizes them to make them seem acceptable. However, Kellner (2001) clarifies that media does not always produce content in support of dominant

ideologies. There are instances whereby media speaks against dominant systems and reflects social realities. According to Kellner (2011), media enterprises are also more likely to produce content that is more popular with audiences such as comedies, soap operas and sports. In doing this, they make sales and attract advertisers. This is another aspect of economy's influence of media culture.

Kellner (2001) further explains that despite the factors that control media representation hence meaning-making, audiences do not interpret the media messages in the same way. Interpretation is influenced by factors such as the society in which individuals exist, personal values and beliefs. In addition, media culture also illustrates that audiences are likely to react to media representations based on various needs met by media. For instance, sports such as car races may appeal to male audiences because of fantasy identification. The audience identifies with their teams and hence feel like they are part of the sport.

Douglas Kellner's Media Culture theory examines key aspects of media representation and its influences on audiences. I agree with Kellner that audience's behaviours, values and cultures can be influenced by the media. In Kenya, the issue of westernization has been discussed in depth especially about its influence on the youth. Influence of media can also be seen in the growing sports fanaticism especially for the English premier leagues where strong identities are formed due to support for given teams. Crime in Kenya has also been influenced by media. Gaza is one of the most notorious gangs in Kenya. Originally, Gaza is a Jamaican gang associated with dancehall artist, Adidja Palmer (Vybez Kartel). Nevertheless, I also think that there are sub-groups who are not influenced by media culture. In addition, audiences interpret the meanings of media texts and images differently due to various facts such as the societal influences. Media images are polysemous and therefore they contain different meanings.

2.2.1   Social Representation Theory in relation to Media Culture

Another media representation theory in support of Douglas Kellner's media culture theory is the social representation theory developed by Serge Moscovici (Howarth, 2011). Social representations are described as processes of collective meaning- making (Höijer, 2011). The theory explains how ideologies are developed and transformed to what would be perceived as

common sense by society. It explains that representation occurs through communication. In order to communicate the represented meaning, there has to be shared ideas, values and practices. One the key communicative genre through which meaning is communicated is media. Moscovici shares the same views as Douglas Kellner and Stuart Hall about meaning not being fixed.

Moscovici introduces the concepts of anchoring and objectification (Höijer, 2011). In anchoring, audiences attach meaning to the images that they encounter. It is through this process that the unfamiliar because familiar which then enforces the representation of these concepts. Communication makes them accepted realities. For instance, ethnic stereotypes are created through anchoring whereby an ethnic group is identified through specific characteristics. Once this representation is communicated, it becomes accepted within the group. It is through objectification that the domestication of the unfamiliar occurs hence making it an accepted reality (Höijer, 2011). The media hence plays a very important role in creating the meaning, disseminating it and even facilitating the debates through which these meanings are discussed.

Moscovici defines three different types of representations as hegemonic, polemic and emancipated (Höijer, 2011). Hegemonic ideologies are usually shared by most members of a society. Emancipated representations are shared by subgroups in a society. On the other hand, polemic representations result from conflicts and struggles within the society.

Other scholars who have further developed the theory of media representation are Melvin DeFleur and Timothy Flax through the meaning theory of media portrayal which further interrogates the aspect of media representations (DeFleur, 1989). According to these two scholars, media produces messages which are interpreted differently within the same context. The ability of individuals to interpret these messages is based on their cultural background. They will rely on their society, experiences and pre-existing knowledge to interpret the media messages. However, through media, they will also learn knew meanings (DeFleur, 1989). For example, an individual may identify a rose as flower but based on media, a rose may represent love and hence this changes the individual understanding of the meaning of a rose hence expanding it to not only represent a flower but also affection

I agree with the media representation theories concerning media's ability to shape perceptions through the construction of meaning. However, it is also true that media is not the only social institutions that shapes perceptions. Other such as institutions such as religion, family and schools also influence how audiences evaluate information that they receive. For instance, in 2003, Dan Brown published *The Da Vinci Code* which is a fictional story that challenges Christianity. The book was widely received with protests and criticisms by Christians. It would be wrong to assume that all readers had doubts about Christianity after reading this book. Some may have questioned their faith but others may have used the available schemas about their faith to reject the message in the book. This illustrates that media representations may be one of the factors that influence perceptions but it is not the only one.

2.3   A history of Ethnicity in Kenya

Kenya is a multiethnic country in East Africa which occupies 586, 646 square kilometres with over forty ethnic groups. Linguistically, the country is divided into three; Cushites, Nilotes and Bantus. Ethnic diversity in Kenya became more prominent during the colonial period (Weber, 2009). The British colonialists used the divide and rule approach of administration. They divided the local population into large ethnic groups to establish units that were homogenous linguistically and ethnically. For instance, the Meru ethnic group was created through the combination of Imenti, Igoji, Igembe, Muthambi, Tigania and Muitini. These groups were previously distinct in their culture and settlement (Weber, 2009). To ensure that the groups were separate, the colonialists settled between different ethnicities so as to prevent intermingling between groups. Furthermore, the *Kipande* system was introduced whereby all men were required to carry out an identification card which showed their ethnicity. The administrative approach was applied by colonialists to prevent the union of Kenyans which would have brought resistance to the colonial rule. In turn, this approach made ethnicity more prominent in the country due to the exclusivity.

Other factors that brought an emphasis to ethnic differentiation include geographical location (Althoff, 2013). Different groups benefitted from the coming of foreigners in Kenya. Some

benefitted due to their location such as those who were settled around the fertile lands around Mt. Kenya. Others near the Coast were able to trade due to their proximity to the sea while others found jobs working on the railways constructions due to their settlements near the railways (Althoff, 2013). These brought about inequities in terms of power and economy. In addition, further division resulted from how different groups reacted towards the British rule. There are groups that collaborated with the colonialists while others resisted the rule. The effect of the colonial rule on ethnicity in Kenya has had long-term effects. For instance, ethnic stereotypes such as Luos being well-educated and Kikuyus being too preoccupied with business came up after colonization and did not exist before introduction of both capitalists' economies and schools (Althoff, 2013).

In Kenya, ethnicity is mostly primordial based. The division and rule colonialist policy brought an emphasis to this through the categorization of groups based on their heritage (Althoff, 2013).

2.3.1 Defining Ethnic Identity in the Kenyan Context

Ethnicity is defined as a bond between members of a group which is based on sameness and also distinction from other groups which do not share these similarities (Lyon, 1997). Ethnicity is also based on social parameters such as culture, language, religion, economic and social characteristics. Geographical location may also influence ethnic identity. However, there are instances whereby groups assign themselves an ethnic identity (Nazroo, 2006). In other instances, other groups can also influence the ethnic identity of others. These external influences could be based on stereotypes surrounding the group (Lyon, 1997).For instance; in Kenya, *The Mount Kenya Mafia* is an ethnic label assigned to the ethnic groups living around the Mt. Kenya. The Mount Kenya part of the label is based on the geographical area where the group resides. Whereas the Mafia is a term used to indicate the group's aggressiveness in taking and keeping power. This term is assigned to the group by other ethnicities based on the political and historical context in the country (MacWilliam, 2012). Other social identities such as age, gender, educational background and social class can also have an impact on ethnic identity (Nazroo, 2006). For example, being a Kenyan Somali may mean different things to an older, illiterate man and represent something entirely different to a younger, educated woman of the same ethnic

group. This illustrates that ethnic identities are not fixed and can change depending on circumstances or particular individuals (Nazroo, 2006).

Ethnic Identity is not always based on social identities; however, there are instances whereby ethnicities arise due to primordial factors (Yieke, 2010). In this case, ethnic identities are based on natural factors such as biological and cultural heritage. A child born into the Luhya ethnic group automatically assumes this ethnic identity based on heritage hence its ethnic identity is primordial. The child then adapts the language, customs, values and beliefs that are part of the ethnic group. This view of ethnic identification is in connection with what the instrumentalists believe about ethnicity arising from social relations whereby a group is because of what it is not (Yieke, 2010). Other scholars have defined ethnicity using both parameters. Hall (2005) defines ethnicity as being constructed using biological, political and social structures. Therefore, it can be primordial or acquired and in some instances, it is both.

Ethnic identification therefore involves a process of individuals defining themselves as 'us' and therefore not the 'others' or 'them'. Case in point, in identifying as a Kamba, an individual also identifies as not being from other ethnic groups such as Luo or Kalenjin. In defining someone as being black that means they are not non-black. Therefore, this means that the process involves defining self in opposition to others (Nazroo, 2006). This illustrates why ethnic majorities and minorities exist because for an ethnic group to be considered as a majority there has to be a minority.

In other cases, new ethnic groups are formed by combining different groups in order to achieve a particular goal. For instance; Gikuyu, Akamba, Meru and Embu communities in Kenya have previously come together based on geographical, cultural and linguistic similarities to form the GEMA community hence coming up with a new identity for political reasons. The ethnic Somalis and Kenyan Somalis have also come together in the past in order to address issues that the groups face due to their ethnicity. Ethnic identification may also occur due to external forces around the group. For example, after the post-election violence of 2007, a new identity emerged of Internally Displaced Persons (IDPs) which consisted of different groups who had lost their homes in the violence hence were forced to relocate (Yieke, 2010).

One of the key parameters used in discussing ethnic discourse is ethno linguistic vitality which explains ethnic relations (Onyanga, 2008).Ethno linguistic is described as what makes different group distinct in a setting where there are many different groups (Ehala, 2010).This parameter describes ethnic relations in levels of demography, status and institutional support. Demography deals with numbers and in this case, the number of members of an ethnic group and their concentration in a given area. In Kenya where ethnicity and politics are interlinked, the majority ethnic groups have been at the forefront of power struggles. This explains why demography is important in this context.

Institutional support in relation to ethnic discourse describes the support that different ethnic groups receive from societal institution such as the media, government and religious sectors. Demography doesn't always dictate institutional support. In Kenya, power is one of the main factors that determine institutional support (Onyanga, 2008). For instance, the ethnic group from the president belongs to, is more likely to receive institutional support than any other group. In ethnic discourse, status is linked with social, historical, linguistic and economic prestige (Onyanga, 2008).

2.3.2 The Kenyan Somalis Ethnic Group

According to the Kenya Bureau of Statistics, Kenya had a population of 38,610, 097 in 2009 as revealed by the national census. Some of the majority ethnic groups include, the Kamba (3,893,157), Kikuyu (6,622,576), Luhya (5,338,666), Kisii(2,205,669), Luo(4,044,440) and Kalenjin(4,967,328). Konso (1,758), Galla (8,146), Waat (6,900) and Leysan (5,941) were the groups with the lowest population (KNBS, 2009).

At the time of the census, Somalis were the sixth most populous ethnic group in Kenya with a population of 2,385,572 which showed a 140% increase compared to the previous census which gave the number as 800,000 (KNBS, 2009). In Wajir County, the population of Kenyan Somalis as at 2009 was 661,941 which showed tremendous growth compared to their population in 1911 which was 23,000. The Kenyan Somalis consist of subgroups of Somalis, Ajuran, Degodia,

Gurreh, Hawiyah, Murile and Ogaden. The Ogadens are the majority whereas the Hawiyahs are the minorities.

According to a report published in 2006 by Minorities at Risk (MAR), the Somalis in Kenya mostly occupy the Northern-Eastern part of the country and Nairobi (MAR, 2006). However, this group is divided into two main categories. The first category consists of Somalis who were born in Kenya and are natural citizens by birth. The second category comprises of Somali refugees who fled Somalia in 1980s during the civil war. Whereas most of the Kenyan population is Christians, the Somalis are predominantly Muslims and makeup up 60% of the Islamic population in the country (MAR, 2006). Kenyan Somalis belong to the Sunni Sect of Islam which is the largest denomination of the religion. The main language of this ethnic group is Somali although different dialects and accents are used by the various sub-groups. This group has different cultural practices from most of the other ethnic groups in Kenya. Racially, they also have different features that are distinguishable from the majority of ethnicities in Kenya. In 1962, Somalis in Kenya lobbied for a separate racial identity. During the censor that year, they were recorded under Somalis and not Africans.

In discussing ethnic discourse in Kenya, ethnic conflict becomes a precursor (Onyanga, 2008). Different ethnic groups co-exist peacefully with a few conflicts although this changed after independence when groups started competing for power. There have also been conflicts arising from differences between ethnic groups in Kenya. The conflicts surrounding the Somali group started in the 1960's when a prominent Somali leader, Sayid Barre initiated a project of forming The Greater Somali. This region was to encompass areas predominantly occupied by Somalis such Ethiopia, Djibouti and the Northern part of Kenya. This secession conflict resulted in the *Shifta* wars which ended with thousands of fatalities. In 1980, another conflict arose whereby an estimated 3,000 people were massacred at Bulla Kartasi in connection with the search for Abdi Madobe (Burbidge, 2015). In 1984, over 5,000 Kenyan Somalis (mostly from the Degodia clan) were massacred in what was referred to as the Wagalla massacre (Ringquist, 2011). In 1989, another conflict arose after the ethnic group was accused of being poachers. This conflict and the fact that a number of refugees were coming into the country

from war-torn Somalia was covered by media hence brought national focus on the group (MAR, 2006).

The lobbying for the registration of Somalis as a separate race in 1962 and the Shifta Wars that lasted up to 1967 may have played a part in the identity construction of Kenyan Somalis. Adow (2014) explains that in both cases, the ethnic group alienated itself from the rest of Kenya. He speculates that this showed disloyalty and the same issues could be haunting the group to date. It is why the group is treated as suspicious and likely to collude with Kenya's enemies (Adow, 2014).

In 2006, in addition to the Kenyan Somalis, an estimated 500,000 Somali refugees were living in Kenya (MAR, 2006). However, due to shared similarities, the group has adopted one ethnic identity especially in fighting for their rights. For instance, in the 1990's, the group lodged complaints against the government's failure to protect them from bandits targeting the refugee camps.

Over the years, there have been a number of violent conflicts between Kenyan Somalis and other ethnic groups. In 1999, the group clashed with the Oromo over land (MAR, 2006). The two groups are pastoralists and state boundaries were their issue of contention. Another conflict that erupted around the same period was with the Borana. This conflict extended to include the Meru ethnic group. It was also about land and it resulted in over 100 fatalities (MAR, 2006). There have been inter-clan conflicts within the group. For instance in 2005, 18 were killed when the Murule and Gabre clans conflicted. In the same year, the Gabre clan had another clash with the Boranas that ended up with over 70 fatalities (MAR, 2006).

Institutional support such as media is one of the parameters of ethno-linguistic vitality. According to The Media Council of Kenya, there are 154 media enterprises in Kenya offering different services in print and broadcast. Most of the media stations use English and Kiswahili languages in their broadcasts. However, there are vernacular media stations that use local languages in their broadcasts (Powell, 2010).There a number of radio stations that broadcast in Somali such as Star FM. This Radio Station is owned by the Northern-Eastern Media

Enterprise (Somali Media Mapping, 2010). In November 2015, KBC launched *Iftiin FM*, another radio station that broadcasts in Somali. Other stations such as *Baliti Fm* and *Wajir Community Radio* also broadcast in a number of Cushitic languages including Somali. There are also a number of religious media in Kenya. Some of the stations that broadcast Islamic programmes include *IQRA FM* and *KAABA TV (*Powell, 2010).

2.4   Xenophobia

According to the Merriam Webster dictionary, xenophobia refers to fear or hatred towards people considered as foreign or strange. Xeno is a Greek work meaning stranger while phobia means fear. UNESCO organization further illustrates that xenophobia involves attitudes, behaviours and prejudice that vilifies people regarded to as being foreigners in terms of national identity, community or society. Xenophobia attitudes and attacks arise from the assumption that foreigners pose a risk to the citizens or that they deprive them of their rights to given public services.

Over the years, xenophobia has been experienced in different countries. For instance, in 2016, after the Brexit referendum, it was reported that there were increased numbers of xenophobia attacks in the United Kingdom especially against Muslims and Semites. One reason behind xenophobia is immigration. The emergence of global labour markets has led to the increase of immigration of labourers to foreign countries. However, there are instances whereby the receiving countries have rejected the immigrants perceiving them as competitors out to steal their jobs and deprive them of access to public services.

Xenophobia has many negative effects. It violates a number of human rights. In some cases, attacks have led to deaths, bodily harm and destruction of property. It also undermines peaceful co-existence between different groups and hence inhibits national cohesion.

2.4.1   Xenophobia Attacks: A Case Study of South Africa

Xenophobia has been reported in a number of countries. In Africa, South Africa has had repeated cases of reported xenophobia attacks especially against immigrants (Hussein & Kosaka, 2013). In 2007, Somalis at the Eastern Cape were the victims of riots and violent

attacks. The reason behind these attacks was an allegation that they were stealing jobs and trade from native South Africans. These attacks left over three dozen Somalis dead (Hussein & Kosaka, 2013). In the same year, Zimbabweans living in Zandspruit lost their homes in arson attacks. Xenophobia attacks in South Africa have continued occurring over the years with fresh attacks beginning in February 2017. The South African Police service has been blamed for not stopping the xenophobia attacks. It is alleged that in some cases, they have even joined the attackers. Studies show that the xenophobia attacks in South Africa have specifically targeted immigrants. However, they target black immigrants as opposed to white foreigners from other parts of the world like Europe.

The contribution of media to xenophobia in South Africa has been a subject of discussion. This is because it serves as a source of information on immigrants. According to a survey carried out by the University of Free State, most South Africans learn about immigrants from television, radio, interpersonal communication and newspapers (Hussein & Kosaka, 2013). This shows that the media has a role to play in educating audiences about immigrants and creating awareness to stop xenophobia. The South African media is predominantly owned by white citizens although a few black citizens started establishing media enterprises after apartheid. However, the research shows that black immigrants have been represented negatively in the media. In addition, crimes committed by white foreigners do not receive the same kind of coverage as those carried out by black foreigners. This underrepresentation is inaccurate because according to police reports, the white foreigners also commit the same kind of crimes (Hussein & Kosaka, 2013). Media has also been blamed for failing to report of xenophobia. According to a report by *Aljazeera* on March 2, 2017, xenophobia in South Africa is a daily occurrence. Unfortunately, it is not reported by media hence creating the impression that it is not really a serious issue (Misago, 2017).

In South Africa's xenophobia, crime is nationalized. Nigerians are known for drug-related crimes, diamond smuggling and passport racketeering is associated with Congolese, car thefts with Mozambicans and prostitution with Zimbabweans. Therefore, apart from economic reasons, crime is also another reason for xenophobia attacks in South Africa.

Xenophobia has various effects not only to the victims but also to the perpetrators and the nation. In South Africa, the victims of xenophobia were left living in fear and uncertainty (Hussein & Kosaka, 2013). Most of them decided to leave the country for fear of renewed attacks. This led to loss of businesses and revenue for the government. In addition, economic sectors such as tourism have been affected with black foreigners avoiding the country for fear of being attacked. The blame on foreigners for the increased crime rates in the country has also been counter-productive because the police are focusing on foreigners while ignoring the locals hence failing to effectively tackle the real issue. Xenophobia also leads to poor relations between nations. National cohesion within the country is also affected hence impairing development. South Africa has received a lot of negative international scrutiny especially concerning negative treatment of refugees (Hussein & Kosaka, 2013).

2.4.2   Xenophobia in Kenya

There have been media reports about xenophobia attacks against Somalis in Kenya. The targeted group compromises of both Kenyan Somalis and ethnic Somalis. Media reported about fears of xenophobia attacks against Somalis long before the actual attacks occurred. In 2011, *Irin News* published an article online which alleged that Kenyan Somalis and ethnic Somalis live in fear of xenophobia due to the increase of terror attacks in the country. The respondents explained that there is a general assumption that Al-Shabaab militia are Kenyan or ethnic Somalis but every time there is an attack, the Somali group ends up being under scrutiny (Wambua-Soi, 2012). The then Minister for Internal Security, Joshua Orwa Ojodeh, was reported to having described Al-Shabaab as a snake whose head is in Mogadishu and its tail in Eastleigh (Wambua-Soi, 2012). This goes to show that even the government associates Eastleigh, an area largely inhabited by Kenyan Somalis, as a territory for terrorist. According to the article published by *Irin News,* Kenyan Somalis were being treated with suspicion by citizens and security personnel.

The first spate of xenophobia attacks occurred in November 2012 in Eastleigh following a bus explosion. On November 19, 2012, *Standard Digital* published an article about xenophobic attacks in Eastleigh. The article describes how residents took to looting from shops owned by Somalis. They also attacked Somali residents causing them bodily harm. In the article, The

Muslims Human Rights Forum accused the media of failing to report on the xenophobic attacks against the Somali community. These attacks have similarities with the xenophobia attacks in South Africa where foreigners were accused of involving in criminal activities. In this case, the Kenyan Somalis community was under attack based on assumption that they support terrorism. On November 25, 2012, *Fair Planet*, an online news magazine reported that there is growing xenophobia against Somalis in Kenya. The article alleged that residents of Eastleigh were attacking business owners of Somali ethnicity because their enterprises had raised the cost of living in the area. In addition, there was an assumption that the businesses were being funded by piracy. The media was accused for allegedly fuelling the attacks in Eastleigh based on how they reported them with some of them terming the attacks as protests against Al-Shabaab sympathizers (Kerrow, 2012).

The government and media were accused of being responsible for xenophobia attacks against Kenyan Somalis (Kerrow, 2012). In an article in the *Standard Digital*, Billow Kerrow, Senator for Mandera County gives a breakdown of events that took place after specific terror attacks. For instance, after KDF soldiers were killed in Garissa town, security forces were deployed to the town where it is alleged that they use excessive force on civilians. The writer terms this as a xenophobic attack since it was only aimed at the Somali residents in the town. This attack left one civilian woman dead and more than ten civilians hospitalized. None of the injured civilians was charged with any crime.

The aftermath of xenophobia in Kenya are still being felt up-to-date. Like in South Africa, some of the Somali refugees have decided to leave the country for fear of being attacked or profiled as terror suspects by security forces. Human Rights Organizations have raised concerns about the encampment policy which required all refugees to move back to the camps. According to Human Rights First, an American NGO, xenophobic attacks against Kenyans of Somali ethnicity have increased due to the rise in terror attacks by Al-Shabaab. There have been extortions, arrests and harassment by security forces. A report published by Jesuit Refugee Service in 2013 also alleges that the attacks have been counter-productive in the fight against terrorism. This is because Somalis mistrust the government and non-Kenyan Somalis. In Eastleigh, information sharing between the two parties has reduced hence frustrating

government's efforts in fighting terrorism (JSR, 2013). There have been calls to the government to end xenophobia in order to win the war against terrorism. The media has also been asked to play its role in ending the xenophobia against Kenyan Somalis (Kerich, 2015). An example is given of the Garissa University attack whereby out of the four terrorists, only one was of Somali ethnicity. However, media reports focused on this one terrorist's ethnicity and not of the other three who were Kamba, Luhya and Kikuyu. The Mandera quarry attack was also allegedly carried out by three Somalis, a Kikuyu and a Luo. This shows that non-Kenyan Somalis are also part of the terrorist menace. However, security forces are focused on the Somalis. All these examples illustrate that the issue of xenophobia against Kenyan Somalis poses a real threat to the country's national cohesion. It also threatens the rights of this ethnic group. If not addressed, xenophobia in Kenya can escalate like in the case of South Africa.

2.5 Media Representation and Ethnic Identity Construction

The media plays various roles such as informing, educating and entertaining audiences. According the uses and gratification theory of mass communication, audiences actively seek out media that meets their specific needs (Katz & Blumer, 1974). This means that they can decide to read, listen or watch various media due to specific reasons such as the content, the presenters or simply the specific need that the media satisfies.

There have been a number of studies carried out concerning ethnicity and media representation especially in America. In a study titled *The Whites of their Eyes* carried out by Stuart Hall in 1995, the scholar explains that the media not only provide ideologies concerning identities such as race but it also provides a space where these ideologies are worked on and circulated. In this study, Hall discussed the concepts of overt and inferential racism. He explains how media may portray racism either openly where favorable coverage is given to people who share racist views. It may also be inferential whereby coverage relies on stereotypical racial views (Hall, 1997). For example, black actors play the role of servants, slaves or gangsters in movies. This may not be openly racist but it is inferential. Hall used this study to illustrate how ideologies are not based on individual thoughts or consciousness but they form the basis of individual intentions and statements (Hall, 1997). This is what helps individuals to make sense of the

world. These ideologies become internalized by individuals that they start thinking that they are the ones who came up with them. The media plays a role in developing, transforming and circulating these ideologies hence influencing the representation of different groups and the perception of audiences.

Another study on media representation was carried out by an American Organization, The Opportunity Agenda who published a research paper in 2011 on *Media Representations and the Impact on the Lives of Black Boys and Men* (The Opportunity Agenda, 2011). The key findings of the study on how black males are represented in media include; there is underrepresentation of black men by the media, exaggerated negative associations, limited positive associations, 'problem' frame used to describe black men and missing stories. According to the study, the reasons as to why black males are represented in media this way include; producer's bias, incorrect assumptions about audiences, audience preferences, lack of input by black constituents and political motivations in traffic of stereotypes.

In the United Kingdom, Peter Braham carried out a study on *How the Media Reports Race* (Gurevitch et al., 2005). The researcher describes news as being presented in two main categories, that is, news as it is and news as the audience would like it to be. In this study, Peter Braham examines how race is presented in the media based on a research carried out concerning British Immigrants (Gurevitch et al., 2005). The researcher compared news in the editorial columns which he found out is usually fair and objective as compared to news in the main news column which mainly uses the angles of conflict and tension. In this study, the researcher found out that most of the British newspapers write for a white audience who are the majority in the country. There were papers such as the Yorkshire which has two editions for the black and white audiences although the two groups didn't know about the existence of the different publications because circulation is different in each community. The Blacks are portrayed differently in the two publications with the one intended for the White audiences relying on stereotypes and the one for the Black audience providing a more balanced coverage (Gurevitch et al., 2005).

In Kenya, there have been a number of studies carried out about media and ethnicity. Yieke et., al (2015) carried out an in depth study on Kenyan comedies and ethnic stereotypes. The study focused on The Churchill Comedy show where most comedies rely on ethnic stereotypes to tell jokes. They use accents associated with different ethnicities and also make fun of stereotypes about these groups. For example, the Kikuyus are portrayed as shrewd businessmen and thieves, the Luhya's are portrayed as not being smart, working at positions such as watchmen and being fond of dishes such as *Ugali* and Chicken. Yieke(2010) explains that the ethnic stereotypes do not just remain in the area of comedy but extend to the society and especially in politics. For example, the Kikuyu group portrayed as thieves will be described using this ethnic label especially when election votes are suspected to have been stolen. According to the study, although there is no proof that comic stereotyping is actually harmful, there are studies showing that ethnic stereotypes have negative effects. The scope of this study was limited to comedy. In addition, it did not consider the lack of representation of certain groups in Kenyan comedy. The ethnic groups commonly represented in local comedies include the majorities such as Kalenjin, Kamba, Kikuyu, Luhyas, Kisiis and Luos. There are groups such as Turkana, Pokot, Kuria, Gabra, Borana and Rendille which rarely if ever are represented in these comedies. What are the effects of not having these ethnic groups represented in the local comedy industry?

Studies in ethnicity and media representation in Kenya have mainly focused on ethnic or political conflicts. Kenyatta University published a study that they carried out on ethnicity and new media (Njoroge et., al, 2010). This study is focused on how ethnic animosity in Kenya increased with the introduction of new media in the country. It mainly focused on new media and ethnocentrism hence it was limited on the negative media representation of the different groups.

There are a number of similar studies carried out concerning ethnicity and press in Kenya but with a focus on conflict. In the Kenyan context, these studies are very important especially due the fact that the country has experienced ethnic conflicts in the past. These conflicts have been taking place for a long time especially in relation to politics. The 2007-2008 post-election violence was the extremity of these conflicts with one of the highest numbers of fatalities. The role of media in construction of ethnic conflict is definitely important. Equally vital is the role

of media representation in ethnic identity construction. This is why this study aims to determine how Kenyan Somalis are represented in the media and the effects of this representation.

2.6   Research Gap

Media framing and priming explain the process of production of media content and how this content affects different audiences. In framing, exclusion and inclusion is considered in analyzing the frames used by media. These two theories support the media culture theory in explaining the process through which the media influences audiences' beliefs, values and behaviours. This study aims to analyze media representation of Kenyan Somalis. In this case, it looks at both what is included in the media reports and also what is excluded and how this affects the perception of other groups towards the group. It also examines the effect that it has on the group's perceptions towards themselves.

As illustrated in this chapter, a number of studies have analyzed the issue of media and ethnicity in Kenya. However, the focus has been to understand ethnic and political conflicts resulting from media representation. This study takes a different approach and analyzes the media representation of the Kenyan Somali ethnic group with an interest in understanding issues of dominant ideologies, ethnic identity construction and xenophobia.

2.7 Summary

Chapter 2 of this study examines previous studies carried out in the areas of media representation and ethnicity. In carrying out this literature review, the researcher has been able to analyze various published works on the media representation of ethnicity. The chapter also discussed studies carried out in this area and also analyzed the theoretical framework used for this study. It also examined the areas covered in these studies, the methodology used, evidence and claims made. Through this analysis, gaps have been identified which this research aims to fill.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.0 Overview

This chapter gives details on methods used to collect and analyze data for this study. It covers the research design and approach, data collection, sampling procedures, data analysis, validity and reliability and ethical considerations.

3.1 Research Design

Research design is defined as a plan on how the research will be conducted (Kothari, 2004). It gives guidance on how, where and when data will be collected and analyzed. Descriptive research design was used in this study. This design helps in describing features of individuals, groups or phenomenon such as beliefs, values, practices and relationships (Kothari, 2004). In this study, the researcher sought to find out how Kenyan Somalis are represented in the media by analyzing newspapers and videos. The design also helps in establishing the occurrence of one phenomenon in relation to another; for example, the researcher tried to find out if there is a relation between xenophobia attacks and media representation of Kenyan Somalis. Ethnic identity construction of Kenyan Somalis in relation to media representation was also examined.

3.2 Research Approach

The study used qualitative research method .This method helps in analyzing the experiences of individuals in their uniqueness (Mason, 2002). Quinn (2002) explains that the method is used in researches that seek to understand aspects of society or participant's social life. This helps a researcher get fully immersed into the study and hence heightens understanding of different phenomena because it provides insight into the problem from the perspective of the population. Intangible features of society are also discovered through this qualitative method such as gender roles, ethnicity, social relationship, social norms and religion.

In this study, the researcher used qualitative content analysis to examine the media representation of Kenyan Somalis hence research instruments such as questionnaires and interviews were not used.

The researcher collected and analyzed videos and newspaper coverage concerning Kenyan Somalis. *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers published in the period between June 2012 and June 2015 formed basis for this study. Videos were collected from YouTube.

3.3   Research Method

The method of data collection and analysis used in this study borrows from the interpretive framework of Norman Fairclough.

To examine how Kenyan Somalis are represented in media, the researcher carried out a qualitative content analysis. This technique helps in the condensation of raw data into themes that allow the researcher to make inferences and interpretations (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009). Analysis of the texts in the two newspapers for the period between June 2012 and June 2015 was carried out as part of this process. Video analysis of documentaries, vblogs and short video clips about Kenyan Somalis were analyzed. This form of analysis can be described as one of the approaches to discourses analysis. Norman Fairclough describes it as textually oriented discourse analysis.

3.4   Sampling

3.4.1   Sampling Frame

The sampling frame in a population is defined as the unit that will make up the survey data (Kothari, 2004). It is from this unit that data will be derived from which inferences can be made about a larger population (Cox, 2011). This study used content analysis and the sampling frame included data from news reports in *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard* over a period of four years. Videos such as documentaries, vblogs and video clips about Kenyan Somalis were also analyzed.

According to a survey carried out by GeoPoll, *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard* are the most popular newspapers in Kenya. The survey conducted from January 13th to February 13th 2015 revealed that 4,379,400 copies of *The Daily Nation* and 2,223,500 copies of *The Standard* were sold during the month under review.

The newspapers that were analyzed for this study cover the period between June, 2012 and June, 2015. As established during the pretesting process for this study, during the period under review, there were increased media reports of Kenyan Somalis as a result of incidents such as of terrorist attacks that took place including, The Westgate Mall attack (2013), Garrissa University attack (2015), Mandera bus and quarry attacks (2014) and Mpeketoni attack (2014). Xenophobia attacks against Kenyan Somalis in Eastleigh Nairobi and Mandera were reported during the period with the first attacks being covered by the media in November 2012. In addition, the Operation Usalama Watch which Human Rights Organizations claimed used techniques to profile Somalis as terrorists was launched in April 2014. There were also two campaigns by Somalis. *The Kenya: I am not a terrorist* was a media campaign carried out by both Kenyan and ethnic Somalis in 2014. *The Walk of Hope* campaign was held in June 2015.Other key events that took place during the period include the screening of Somalis in the country and alleged extermination of terror suspects.

In addition to the newspapers, video analysis was carried out. The videos selected were documentaries, video clips and vblogs. They were sourced from YouTube, a video sharing site, and encompassed international and local media such as Aljazeera, KTN and Citizen. The videos helped in providing different perspectives to the issue. Documentaries usually contain experts' interviews such as security personnel, media experts, human rights and activists, political analysts. Apart from the experts, the videos also helped in providing the perspectives of Somali and non-Somali Kenyans concerning the research topic. The newspapers that were analyzed for this study cover a period of four years. However, the videos were able to provide information beyond the four years. This is because of the use of different narrative styles such as flashbacks, use of archival footage, foreshadowing, background stories and use of multiple narrators to provide different perspectives to the same issues.

3.4.2 Research Sample

To ensure that a relevant sample from the period under review was collected; criterion sampling was used to select newspapers between June 2012 and June 2015. This sampling technique allows researchers to purposefully select information-rich cases based on the research variables guided by a predetermined criterion (Patton, 1990). The number of newspapers published in the period under review was 2920. Instead of analyzing all newspapers, criterion sampling was used whereby the researcher used Kenyan Somali as the search term. Therefore any news articles published or videos that matched the search were analyzed. This sampling technique was used to ensure that data collected is relevant to the study (Palys, 2008). Based on variables being examined, a random selection of newspapers and videos could not have yielded results due to the sporadic representation of the ethnic group by the media.

3.4.3 Data needs, types and sources

The researcher collected and analyzed data from *The Standard* and *The Daily Nation* for the period between June 2012 and June 2015. Articles about Kenyan Somalis were collected for analysis. Therefore, the researcher looked for any newspapers within the stipulated timeframe that covered any events or news about this ethnic group. This was done by first carrying out an online search to find digital copies of the articles.

Kenyan Somalis was the search term for the videos and then filters were applied to ensure that the videos contain relevant information to the research problem. The videos were further analyzed to identify relevance to areas of interest to the research. The researcher pre-tested the process of sampling videos to be used in this study. The search term Kenyan Somali on YouTube yielded results of 114,000 videos. However, not all these videos are relevant to the study because the search term gave every video that contained the two words either used together or separately. Another filter was added to reduce this number to videos related to ethnic Somalis in Kenya. This reduced the number of videos to 7,500. The researcher used filters of relevance and number of views to reduce the total number of videos to 84. Out of 84 videos, 35 videos were selected based on relevance and length. Out of these 35, 11 are videos of between 21 and 120 minutes. The remaining 24 videos are shorter than 20 minutes. Using

criterion sampling, the researcher analyzed 5 videos; 2 documentaries, 1 television talk show and 2 video clips.

3.5   Research Time Frame

This research analyzed secondary data in form of newspaper articles and videos. *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard* were selected due to their wide reach and popularity in Kenya. The time frame selected for the sample was June 2012 to June 2015. This period was selected due to the increase of media coverage on Kenyan Somalis as established during the pretesting period. The coverage was due to various issues occurring in the country such as security operations following a number of terrorist attacks that occurred within the period. During this period, screening of Kenyan Somalis was reported with details of illegal imprisonment at Kasarani Stadium which was described as a concentration camp by different individuals in the media. Xenophobic attacks against Kenyan Somalis were also reported by the media during this period.

Video coverage of Kenyan Somalis was also examined. These videos included video clips, documentaries and vblogs. The videos helped in enriching the data collected from newspapers because they contained expert interviews, interviews from Kenyans of both Somali and non-Somali ethnicity and also helped in giving further details to the phenomenon through background information. The videos collected were produced during the period under investigation, June 2012 to 2015.

3.6   Data Collection

Data for this study was collected from newspapers, *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard* for the period between June 2012 and June 2015. Videos about Kenyan Somalis were also collected from YouTube.

After collecting the data, the researcher started the process of analysis by reading through all collected data and making notes on preliminary observations. This step helped in identifying data that is relevant to the study and separating it from that which is not. One of the multimodal

data analysis approaches includes use of video logs. In this case, the researcher made notes describing what is happening in the video. The logs gave details on participants, locations and time periods. Excerpts of speeches were also recorded in textual format for further analysis.

Multimodal transcription of the relevant data drawn from the video logs was carried out through use of narrations to provide descriptions of not only the speeches but also non-verbal communication such as gestures, body movements and images used in the videos. To represent these different modes, descriptive words were used. Images were described as they help in preserving original meaning especially where there is a risk of losing it during the transfer of modes in this case, visual to written (Jewitt, 2012). This was especially critical in transcription of non-verbal communication such as gestures and body movements. According to Jewitt(2012), images in the transcription of videos is important in order to preserve the natural data free from the researcher's interpretation. The images can be used alongside written descriptions. For example, when the participant in the video appeared emotionally distraught, the researcher used words to describe this so as to allow the reader of the transcripts to understand the situation described.

Further analysis was carried out to identify key themes. At this stage, the researcher used the study's key objectives on ideology, framing, use of key terms, xenophobia and audience perception. The themes were categorized and coded after which the coding scheme was pretested before being used to analyze the entire text. At this point, the researcher was able to make inferences based on the analysis.

3.7   Data Analysis

Mode is one of the key facets examined in textual analysis. Mode refers to the study of text presentation. In this case, the overall appearance of the texts such as use of different fonts, speech marks, writing conventions such as capitalization of words and even unconventional spellings was analyzed. Lexis analysis includes examining language aspects such as ambiguity, use of swears words, jargon, informal or formal language such as use of colloquial terms, repetition. Grammar is also a key aspect of textual analysis. In this case, the researcher examined syntax and morphology and checked items such as tenses, use of punctuation,

adverbs and adjectives. Discourse analysis involves studying the text in the context in which it was published. In this case, aspects such as source of texts, genre such as editorial, news item, function and linguistic register were considered. The target of the text is also critical when analyzing discourse.

This analysis process also involved consideration of the casual effects of texts. Fairclough (2003) explains that texts play different functions. For instance; they represent the world and its different aspects. Through texts, social relations between different parties can also be determined and participants' beliefs and attitudes can also be communicated. All these factors help in connecting written texts and the social contexts in which they are produced. According to Fairclough (2003), texts have different effects on audiences. For instance; they can help enhance knowledge about a particular issue. They may also impact on the reader's beliefs, values and attitudes. The scholar further explains that long-term exposure to specific texts can alter identities.

In analyzing texts, the process of making meaning has to be considered to understand the causal effect of the texts. This includes; the production of the text including the source, publication and placement of the texts. This stage seeks to understand the intention of the originator of the texts. For instance, if the news article is placed on the front page, this shows the importance that the journalist placed on the item. The text itself has to be analyzed to check issues such as dominant themes and linguistic forms. For this study, frames also have to be analyzed to help bring understanding of how the Kenyan Somalis are represented in the media.

The last step in the construction of meaning in texts includes the reception which involves the deconstruction of meaning. This seeks to explain how the audience receive and interpret the message in the texts. To understand the meaning communicated by the source and interpreted by the audience, it is important to factor in the explicit which is what is written and the implicit which denotes what is implied (Fairclough, 2003). The implicit nature of texts does not necessarily denote the intertexuality. When analyzing texts, the content is examined in relation to what has been said and also what has not been said. This is because there is usually a background to all texts. The texts may connect to other similar texts or social events that informed the production of the texts. In addition, there may be sub-texts within the main texts

which incorporate the use of direct and indirect speeches from other sources. Norman Fairclough describes this as voices whereby there are different voices including the author's that informs the production of a text and these voices also help determine how audiences interpret texts (Fairclough, 2003). The intertexuality and also the assumptions around texts help in understanding the process of constructing meaning.

In this study, textual analysis of the newspaper articles also involved checking the terms used in media's portrayal of Kenyan Somalis. This helped in establishing the main topics of the texts and also determination of associations. Negative or positive associations are a key component of media representation because of the influence that they have on audience perception. Fairclough (2003) explains that the process of analyzing texts has to be selective depending on the area of research. Based on this assumption, this study focused on textual features that helped in raising understanding of media's role in the ethnic construction of Kenyan Somalis.

When used alone, textual analysis may be inadequate due to the fact that there are a number of explicit and implicit issues communicated in texts (Fairclough, 2003). The process of deconstruction of media texts involves different characters such as the source and receiver. In this case, video analysis was conducted in an effort to understand the causal effects of the analyzed texts.

Qualitative audio-visual data analysis allows researchers to access data that provides an added advantage of multimodal information concerning the research problems and participants' social lives (Jewitt, 2012). One of the advantages of using existing videos in research is that a researcher can analyze the content objectively and independently from the person who collected the data (Chowdhury, 2014). This means that the two parties may have different interpretations of the collected data. For instance, the documentary on Kenyan Somalis, *Not Yet Kenyan* by *Aljazeera* correspondent, Mohammed Adow, allows the researcher not only to analyze the data collected by Adow but also study him as the presenter. As a Kenyan Somali journalist, he is an important part of the study. His body language when conducting different interviews, emotional reaction to data collected and even interpretation of data helps the researcher to independently analyze the video and gain a deeper understanding of the situations reported and also on how they were reported.

Video analysis also allows researchers to interact with natural data collected in different situations. For instance, in the documentary by *No Humanity Here*, footage is taken of the screening processes of Somalis at Kasarani Stadium in April, 2014. This data is described as natural because the participants go about their actions as they would if the cameras had been off. Although there is a risk of the occurrence of reactivity, natural data especially in news reports and documentaries help in providing an understanding of social situations by describing occurring events as they are. To analyze these videos, the selection process helped in identifying information relevant to this study (Unsworth, 2011).

3.8   Data Presentation

Data from video analysis is presented through the multimodal approach of layering textual design. This allowed the analysis and presentation of different modes used in the videos such as analysis of speech and descriptions of non-verbal communication observed from the participants in the videos. This design adapts the tabular format of presentation. Data collected from textual analysis of the news stories is presented in form of thematic narratives.

3.9   Reliability and Validity of Data

Reliability of research instruments indicates that they are expected to give data that is consistent (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009). The researcher went through the process of pre-testing this method of data collection and analysis to ensure that the results derived from this study are reliable.

One of the key aspects to consider in checking reliability is credibility. To ensure this, the researcher used triangulation by collecting raw data from different sources. Conformability was ensured so that the research findings can be checked for accuracy by other researchers. This was done by ensuring that the findings match the raw data.

Viability was ensured through the data collection method which used variables relevant to the study. The expertise of the supervisor helped in making certain that this was done.

3.10 Ethical Considerations

In conducting this research, ethical considerations were observed to maintain the integrity of the study. The researcher used videos sourced from the video-sharing site, YouTube. Videos from the internet were used because upload on public domains implies that consent is given. In addition, the researcher acknowledged all the sources. Sensitivity in the representation of Somalis and non-Kenyan Somalis was ensured in the course of this research.

Before embarking on the study, consent was sought from University administration. After the research proposal, a certificate of fieldwork (Appendix II) was presented to the researcher by the School of Journalism. After the research was conducted, the researcher presented the findings to the University's defense panel and made all the necessary corrections in consultation with the assigned supervisor and obtained a Certificate of Corrections (Appendix IV). Finally, in adhering to the University's code of quality, the researcher submitted the study for anti-plagiarism test and obtained an originality report (Appendix III).

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.0 Overview

In this chapter, the researcher presents the findings of the study from the newspaper articles and videos. The main objective of this study is to examine the media representation of Kenyan Somalis. The researcher begins by analyzing topics identified from the data. This is followed by discussions on different aspects of the representation including actors, news sources and media frames. The researcher then analyses the language used in the texts by discussing terms and metaphors used to describe Kenyan Somalis. Phrases and rhetoric identified in the collected data are also discussed. Presentation and interpretation of the findings is guided by the objectives of the study.

4.1   Presentation

The researcher used 'Kenyan Somali' as the search terms to identify newspaper articles and videos about the ethnic group. All articles and videos that mentioned Kenyan Somalis during the period under review were considered relevant to the study. 265 articles were collected from *Daily Nation* and *The Standard*. Out of these, 89 were selected for analysis. 2 documentaries, 1 television (TV) talk show and 2 video clips were also analyzed.

Articles that are repetitive were removed from the sample. For instance, in April 2014 there were numerous articles about Kenyan Somalis because of the security operation, *Usalama Watch*. The researcher analyzed the articles that provided new details apart from simply mentioning that Somalis were detained during the operation. In this case, point of saturation is used as a guideline for determining amount of data collected about a particular topic or event (Fusch & Ness, 2015).

Data analysis for this study borrowed from Norman Fairclough's interpretative works on discourse analysis. This involves the analysis of texts in the context in which they were published (Fairclough, 2003). The researcher began by analyzing the lexis to identify aspects of the language used. This helped in identifying phrases, metaphors and key terms used in the

representation of Kenyan Somalis in the media. Following Faiclough's framework of discourse analysis, the researcher also analyzed the context in which the texts were produced. This included analysis of sources of information, participants and intertextual analysis to identify events surrounding the production of the texts.

Using this framework, the following recurring themes were identified:

Identity Construction	xenophobia
Ethnic Profiling	Dominant ideologies and role of media in shaping perceptions about Kenyan Somalis

Figure 4.1.1: Thematic Clustering

4.2   Main Topics in Media Representation of Kenyan Somalis

Findings of this study reveal the following are the main topics covered about Kenyan Somalis during the period under review:

Period and Events	Topics
October, 2011: Kenya's military invasion of Somalia	Interior Security Minister press briefing Discussions about presence of Al-Shabaab in Kenya
November, 2012: Bus explosions in Eastleigh	Retaliatory Attacks against Kenyan Somalis Xenophobic attacks against Somalis in Eastleigh
May, 2013: Security Operations in Garrissa and Eastleigh and release of the Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Report	Ethnic profiling of Kenyan Somalis
September, 2013: Westgate Mall terrorist attack	Fear of retaliatory attacks against Kenyan Somalis
April and May, 2014: Operation Usalama Watch	Ethnic profiling of Kenyan Somalis by security officers and civilians
April, 2015: Garrissa University attack	Kenyan Somalis profiled as terrorists following the attack at Garissa University

Figure 4.2.1   Main Topics in media representation of Kenyan Somalis

Other recurring topics include; identity crisis of Kenyan Somalis, recent and historic conflicts such as Wagalla, Bagalla, Garrissa massacres and media's role in shaping perceptions about the ethnic group.

Findings of the study show that ethnic profiling is the most recurrent topic. It has been covered in various articles throughout the four year period under review. In some cases, it was discussed alongside other topics such as identity crisis. Profiling of Kenyan Somalis is also linked to xenophobia attacks against the group. In addition, media representation of the ethnic group was also discussed in relation to ethnic profiling.

4.3   Actors and News Sources in media representation of Kenyan Somalis

As discussed in chapter two of this study, ideology is a key aspect of media representation. This is because ideologies are produced, articulated and transformed by media (Hall, 1995). In his study, *The whites of their eyes*, Hall explains that ideological statements are made by individuals through which they formulate their intentions. Ideological statements made over a period of time become ingrained in the minds of audiences such that they become accepted as truth (Hall, 1995). Based on this assumption, it is through media that audiences learn about the Kenyan Somalis. The media constructs the identity of the group and tell audiences who they are. Different ideas about the ethnic group are also expressed and altered through media.

Furthermore, participants and actors in media help in giving the meaning to media images and hence influencing audience interpretations (Hall, 2005). In this study, analysis of the actors helps in understanding the different ideologies about Kenyan Somalis. This analysis also helps in determining the attitudes and beliefs and perceptions of different participants towards Kenyan Somalis. Analyzing actors in the coverage helps the researcher in connecting the texts with the social context in which they are produced (Fairclough, 2003).

4.3.1 Kenyan Somalis

Findings of the study show that Kenyan Somalis are key actors in media representation of the group. There were articles by Somalis addressing challenges such as ethnic profiling. For example, *The Daily Nation* (DN) published news stories which addressed a number of issues including xenophobia against Somalis and the group's identity crisis (Mohammed, 2014). Senator Billow Kerrow has also published new stories about the challenges faced by Kenyan Somalis including xenophobic attacks Eastleigh. He also criticized media for referring to victims of the attacks as Al-Shabaab sympathizers. He wrote an article for *The Standard* in

which addressed ethnic profiling of Kenyan Somalis (Kerrow, 2015). He argued against the stereotyping of Somalis as terrorists by giving examples of attacks committed by non-Somalis.

In *Not yet Kenyan*, Mohamed Adow, a Kenyan Somali journalist discusses what it means to be a Kenyan Somali. He interviews a number of Somalis about Wagalla, Garrisa and Bagalla massacres. He also interviewed former leaders of the Northern Frontier District who were involved in Shifta wars. He does this to understand the motivation behind the secession attempt from the point of view of the Somali participants.

Somali politicians also feature in the texts. DN published an article about Duale's complains about the harassment of his community, Somalis (Wanga & Hajir, 2015).In 2015, DN published an article about Aden Duale and Yussuf Hajji being the leaders spearheading the campaigns against clan violence(Gicobi, 2015). Senator Kerrow has written newspaper articles about ethnic profiling of Kenyan Somalis. In the documentary, *No Humanity Here*, he criticized the security operation, *Operation Usalama Watch* that led to the mass arrests of Kenyan Somalis. Similar views were shared by Farah Maalim, Former Deputy Speaker in The Stream.

Findings of the study show that articles and videos by Kenyan Somalis contained similar narratives. They focused on ethnic profiling and xenophobia against Kenyan Somalis. They also challenged dominant ideologies about Somalis such as; Somalis are either terrorists or Al-Shabaab sympathizers. Kerrow repeatedly emphasized that Somalis are discriminated against and profiled as terrorists yet none of them has been charged with terrorism. The information from the Kenyan Somalis is important because it helps in providing a positive representation of the ethnic group and also addresses the challenges that they face. It also challenges the stereotypes about Kenyan Somalis.

4.3.2 Non- Somali Kenyans

In Hall's study about racist ideologies and the media, he described overt racism as negative remarks made about a group receive positive or continuous media coverage (Bennett, 2011). The findings of this study reveal that there are a number of overt stereotyping statements made by non-Somalis concerning Somalis.   For instance, in October, 2011, *The Standard* and *The Daily Nation* published articles about utterances made by Security Minister Orwa Ojodeh about

the presence of Al-Shabaab in Eastleigh, an area dominantly occupied by Somalis. In November, 2012, Somalis in Eastleigh were attacked after bus explosions in the area (Angira, 2012). Non-Somalis meted their anger and punishment on residents of the ethnic group. Media covered the incidents with some reporting that the attackers targeted the community because they were Al-Shabaab sympathizers. In an article published by *The Standard* newspaper in November, 2012, Senator Billow linked the attacks to statements made by the minister accusing him of having stereotyped Somalis in Eastleigh as terrorists. Based on this argument, this shows the impact of the ideological statements by the minister.

Other statements made by non-Somali leaders include, former Minister of Internal Security, G.G Kariuki who was interviewed in the documentary, *Not Yet Kenyan* about the Wagalla Massacre. G.G accused Somali journalists of lying to their community by exaggerating the massacre. In January, 2015, DN published an article about former minister, Joseph Nkaissery's pledge to end Somali inter-clan violence in Mandera and Wajir. In the show, *The Stream*, legislator, Moses Kuria described discussions about ethnic profiling of Kenyan Somalis as distraction tactics. He made the following statements;

> "When terrorist attacks occur, it is business as usual. You will never hear of the likes of Farah Maalim. When a baby was shot, you didn't hear all these people. All of a sudden, it's about Somalis and Eastleigh. Don't Kenyans have the rights to live in peace? When attacks were happening, the likes of Faraah Maalim were not offering alternatives. Some of these leaders are actually the bigger terrorists…' Baddar, O. & Oke, F. (2014.)

Non- Kenyan Somalis especially through social media have also been key actors as sources of information about Kenyan Somalis. Some of the statements made by this group have been positive while others negative. On April 7, 2015, DN published an article about negative tweets about Somalis. One of them alleged that Garrisa University was attacked by Kenyan Somalis. Similarly, *The Stream* displayed negative and positive tweets made by non-Somalis concerning security operations in Eastleigh.

4.3.3 Human Rights Activists

Human Rights Activists are also participants in the texts analyzed in this study. In *No Humanity Here*, activist Al Amin Kimathi, talks about the injustices faced by Somalis during *Operation*

Usalama Watch. In *Not Yet Kenyan*, Hassan Adow discusses the impact of insecurity in Garrisa on Somali youths who struggle to get national identity cards unlike other Kenyans. On June 1, 2013, *The Standard* quoted Human Rights Watch on harassment of Kenyan Somalis during security operations in Eastleigh. It was also reported that Human Rights Watch Africa was quoted asking the government to protect Kenyan Somalis from retaliation attacks following the Westgate Mall attack (Muinde, 2013).

4.3.4 Journalists

In his study, Stuart Hall refers to inferential racism in media as racist ideological statements made in naturalized representations of events (Hall, 1995). In this study, the framework has been borrowed to examine how journalists report about Somalis. In some instances, journalists made statements that were overtly prejudiced and profiled Kenyan Somalis as terrorists. DN published an article in the paper which stated that all Somalis dream of blowing up people, buildings and slaughtering children (Mathiu, 2014).

In an article by the same paper concerning media misrepresentation of Kenyan Somalis, the writer explains that the negative stories portray Kenyan Somalis as terrorists. They also cast doubts into the Kenyan Somali's identity making them appear as aliens in the country (Mwaura, 2015).

In inferential profiling of Kenyan Somalis, a number of articles were published identifying terrorists by their ethnicity. A few examples include:

- The second person arrested at the university is a guard, Osman Ali Daqare, a Kenyan Somali…
- As the community has itself stated, its members, whether individually or collectively, are not accountable for terrorist attacks committed by ethnic Somalis.
- Two alleged attackers were named in court documents as 23-year-old Hassan Abdi Dhuhulow…. All were reportedly ethnic Somalis.

In inferential ideologies, Hall explains that whether factual or fictional, these assumptions construct meanings that the audiences deconstruct about the represented group (Hall, 1995). The same analysis can be made in this case where Somalis are repeatedly identified as attackers or suspects in terrorist attacks. This becomes a naturalized assumption accepted as reality.

The following statement was made in the documentary, *No Humanity Here*;

> '… people in Kenya have no grievances against the Somali. There's nothing they have done to them, absolutely nothing. But once they are incited and shown that these guys are the ones who are committing these crimes, these are your enemies... and that is what has happened now. People have been incited.' (Mukhtar, 2014)

However, not all statements made by non- Somali Kenyans are negative. Some highlight issues affecting the ethnic group. *The Standard* published an article about the ethnic profiling of Kenyan Somalis (Some, 2014). In the article, the writer addresses various issues such as ethnic profiling. He interviewed Somalis who shared their experiences and frustrations about the mistreatment that they receive .The writer also discusses successful Somalis such as politicians, Aden Duale and Yussf Haji who is also an award winning journalist. Positive representation by non-Kenyan Somalis helps in providing objective perspective of challenges faced by the group.

4.4 Types of frames used in media representation of Kenyan Somalis

4.4.1 Conflict Frame

Conflict frames illustrate ideological differences between individuals, groups or societies (Andrus, 2012). Constructive conflict news frames helps in bringing conflicts into focus and seeking resolutions (Reuben, 2009). However, destructive frames lead to escalation of conflicts. In this case, the conflict may end up having more participants and complains. More resources will also be required in resolving the conflict (Reuben, 2009).

Different texts used conflict frame to explain differences between Somalis and non- Kenyan Somalis. This was illustrated in reports about hostility and xenophobia towards the group. The terminologies used to describe the conflicts include; massacres, ethnic profiling, attacks against, targeting of, discrimination, incrimination of, marginalization and xenophobia. There are also articles that described different participants in the conflicts. For instance, DN published an article on the ethnic profiling of Kenyan Somalis (Gemson, 2013). The article described the conflict as an issue of the ethnic group against other ethnicities. The author further explains that the conflict used to be between the government and Somalis but it has now extended to civilians (Gemson, 2013).

The use of conflict frames differed in different texts. In some cases, the conflict was the main topic. For instance, in *Not Yet Kenyan*, the conflict frame is used in the entire documentary to illustrate challenges faced by non- Somalis from 1960 to 2013. The Somalis discussed their identity conflict and feelings about hostility against them.

Findings of this study show that most of the coverage about Kenyan Somali was in relation to terrorist attacks. Media reports about this ethnic group increased after terrorist attacks and security operations. In addition, past conflicts such as Wagalla, Bagalla and Garrissa massacres were recurring themes. In the documentary, *Not Yet Kenyan* by *Aljazeera*, challenges affecting Kenyan Somalis are related to past historical events to show that the community has been marginalized and profiled by the government for decades. DN published an article claiming that marginalization of Kenyan Somalis has been deliberate since 1960(Bakal, 2013). The article illustrated this using examples of shifta wars, Wagalla,Garrissa and Malkamari massacres.

Findings of the study also reveal that inter-clan conflicts among Kenyan Somalis are also recurring topics. DN published an article about clan conflicts causing insecurity in Northern Eastern. These conflicts are also discussed in the documentary, *Not Yet Kenyan*, where the journalist explains that the Wagalla Massacre was as a result of inter-clan conflicts in Wajir.

Constructive conflict frames have been used in the representation of Kenyan Somalis in an effort to raise awareness about the challenges of the community. In a previous study about the peace process in Northern Ireland, studies show that media played a key role in the resolving the conflict (Reuben, 2009). Constructive conflict frames were used to highlight the issue, encourage dialogue between participants and media also played a role in providing a platform where this dialogue could be held. Similarly, findings of this study show that a number of texts were produced with the aim of bringing awareness on the issue of ethnic profiling of Kenyan Somalis.

However, destructive conflict frames were also used in such a way that the ethnic group was linked to different issues such as clan conflicts and terrorism. It can be argued that this overrepresentation in relation to crime can lead to audiences associating the group as the source

of the issues. DN published an article explaining how Somalis have over the years been profiled as Shiftas, refugees, poachers and recently, as terrorists. In a different article by the same paper, the writer makes a statement about the former president Jomo Kenyatta perception of Somalis as follows:

> Kenyatta saw no difference between the Shifta and ordinary Kenyan Somalis – he was known to repeat the aphorism: "mtoto wa nyoka ni nyoka" • (a child of a snake is still a snake). Abubakar, H. (2014, June 23)

In a study about the representation of black males by the media, The Opportunity Agenda discovered that the negative portrayal of blacks in relation to criminality affected how audiences perceived the group (Delimpaltadaki & Bell, 2011). Negative associations usually lead to stereotypes. For instance, negative association with terrorism may lead to stereotypes about Kenyan Somalis being terrorists or bandits.

4.4.2 The Problem Frame

In a study by The Opportunity Agenda in 2011, the researchers discovered that most Americans think of black men as a problem. This is because black men are repeatedly represented by media in connection with problems such as criminal activities, broken families and poverty (Delimpaltadaki & Bell, 2011).

Similarly, findings of this study show that Kenyan Somalis are represented by media as a problem. Key topics identified in the representation of Kenyan Somalis are problem-related such as; xenophobia, ethnic profiling and identity crisis. It is likely that audiences start perceiving the group as a problem because that is what they constantly read or hear about them. In addition, the use of the problem frame is likely to overshadow other realities of the ethnic group (Delimpaltadaki & Bell, 2011). The effect that this has on audiences is that they end up thinking about the ethnic group only in relation to problems hence leading to stereotypes (Delimpaltadaki & Bell, 2011).

The overreliance on the problem frame also leads to missing stories about the group (Delimpaltadaki & Bell, 2011). According to the study carried out by The Opportunity Agenda, the problem frame dominantly used in representation of black males determines the

newsworthiness of a story. This meant that positive stories about black men were likely to be considered as being uninteresting. Similarly, limited positive of stories about Kenyan Somalis were found in the texts analyzed in this study.

4.4.3 Attribution of Responsibility Frame

Attribution of responsibility frames uses words or phrases to illustrate the liability of a person or thing (Andrus, 2012). This frame has been used to illustrate the responsibility of Kenyan Somalis in different situations. It has also been used to illustrate the responsibility of the government, non-Somali Kenyans and the media in incidents that have occurred to Kenyan Somalis such as ethnic profiling.

There were terms used in the texts assigning responsibility. For instance, in an article in the DN, Senator Kerrow complains about the media referring to victims of xenophobic attacks in Eastleigh as Al-Shabaab sympathizers (Kerrow, 2012). The use of the word sympathizer is used assign responsibility to the Kenyan Somali victims as supporters of terrorism. The word 'innocent' is used to describe Kenyan Somalis and shift the blame their attackers.

Responsibility frames have been used in a number of articles and videos in various ways. For example, in a number of articles, the Somali group has been accused of the terror attacks in Kenya. On the other hand, there are a number of articles and videos which argue that the group is not responsible for the terrorist attacks in the country. After the Garrissa University attack, there were articles arguing that Somalis should not all be blamed for the attack. The articles criticized collective punishment and statements that blamed the entire community for terrorism.

On the other hand, there were articles and videos that blamed the Kenyan Somalis for the hostility towards them. In one such article, the secession attempt, Shifta Wars and the community's application or Asian identity are blamed for the hostility and mistrust shown towards Kenyan Somalis. Kenyan Somalis are blamed for showing their disloyalty to the country. Therefore, it is assumed that they are responsible for xenophobic feelings towards them.

This was illustrated in *Not Yet Kenyan* as follows:

> 'As Somalis, we have also been guilty of tribal prejudice. During colonial era, we saw ourselves as being distinct from Kenyans of other tribes and sought to be recognized as Asians like Indians and Arabs rather that Africans.'   Adow, M. (2013, November 14).

Attribution of responsibility frames impacts the audiences in the same way as the problem frame. They begin to see the represented ethnic group as not only the problem but also the cause of the conflicts.

4.4.4   Consequences Frame

Consequence frames are also used in the representation of Kenyan Somalis. They focus on aftermath of different events such as terror attacks, security operations and other incidents. Xenophobia is a recurrent theme used in the consequence frame. For example, DN published an article which described xenophobic attacks against Kenyan Somalis in Eastleigh as retaliatory (Kegoro, 2012).In the documentary, *Not Yet Kenyan*, the frame is used to explain the fear of backlash by Somalis following Westgate mall attack.

Consequences news frame was also used in the analyzed video clip whereby Kenyan Somalis students in Eastleigh schools were reportedly affected by the terrorist stigma. The report explained that Somali students were absent from schools due to the security operations and some of them were being detained by police after *Operation Usalama Watch.*

Findings of this study reveal that the frame has been used to explain different issues such as xenophobia which is a consequence of ethnic profiling of Kenyan Somali as terrorists. Ethnic profiling is also discussed as a consequence of skewed media representation of the ethnic group. Identity crisis is indicated as a consequence of ethnic profiling. The frame helps to understand the themes and the root causes of different issues affecting Kenyan Somalis.

4.4.5 Human Interest Frame

In media, human interest frames are used in news stories to bring an element of humanity by focusing on the individuals or groups affected by a particular problem. This enhances the emotional element to the narrative (Andrus, 2012).

Findings of this study show that the human interest frame is used in the representation of Kenyan Somalis in order to highlight issues affecting the community such as ethnic profiling. The two documentaries, *No Humanity Here* and *Not Yet Kenyan* predominantly use this frame to tell the stories of Somalis who feel that they have been discriminated against and victimized by other ethnicities, media and the government. They tell the stories from the perspective of Kenyan Somalis. In *No Humanity Here*, the plight of Somalis being held at Kasarani Stadium was discussed. Women were interviewed about their suffering at the detention centre. Videos of detainees showing their national identity cards to the cameras illustrated the suffering and frustration of the ethnic group.

In *Not Yet Kenyan*, Somalis in Garissa, Wajir and Eastleigh were interviewed about their challenges. These included survivors of the massacres at Garissa, Bagalla and Wagalla. Victims of security operations such as the raids at Garrissa market spoke about their losses. The images shared depicted the frustration and suffering of the group and showed interviewees crying as they narrated their experiences.

There were a number of newspaper articles that also used the human interest frames. *The Standard* published an article titled; just learn to live with us (Mohammed, 2014). In the article, Kenyan Somalis were interviewed about their experiences with ethnic profiling. For instance, one of the interviewees shared an experience about an incident that occurred between him and a non-Somali hawker. He describes the incident as follows;

> "Kwenda huko, Al Shabaab wewe!" (Go away, you Al Shabaab)," the hawker, who sounded like a Tanzanian, had said. This is the worst stereotypical statement Kenyan Somalis have become accustomed to. Mohammed, O. (2014, May 23)

DN published an article about the ethnic profiling of Kenyan Somalis which detailed atrocities that have been committed against the ethnic group since the colonial period (Abubakar, 2014).

Due to the nature of topics covered using this frame, there was use of emotionally-charged words. The use of interviews and first person narratives by Kenyan Somalis heightened the impact of the stories. The use of this frame illustrates that media has played a role in helping to

highlight the plight of Kenyan Somalis. Through media, audiences get to learn about the challenges that the group faces and emphasize them.

4.4.6 Ethnic Frames

Ethnic frames are used by the media to draw focus on the ethnicity of the participants in a news story. In this study, the ethnic-related terms that were used include Kenyan Somali, ethnic Somali, Somali of Kenyan origin and Somalis. Ethnic frames give the audience the impression that that ethnicity of the participants is important in the narrative. For instance, in August and September, DN published articles that identified the terrorists in the Westgate Attack as ethnic Somalis.

In identifying the ethnicity of the terrorists, the journalist makes this an important aspect of the terrorists' identity. This frames draws focus not just on the news story but also on the fact that the suspects were ethnic Somalis. It gives readers the impression that this is important. Identification of criminal suspects in relation to their ethnicity is not a common occurrence. For instance, it would be unusual to see a newspaper article about a Kikuyu mugger or Kalenjin bank robber. However, Somali terrorist are terms repeatedly used by media as revealed in the findings of this study. The use of this frame also gives the impression that terrorism is an ethicized crime associated with Somalis.

The terms, Somali leaders or Somali MPs were also repeatedly used in the texts. DN published an article about a press briefing held by Kenyan Somali leaders about supporting Kenya's military invasion of Somalia (Makoha, 2014). The leaders urged officers to continue with security operations because there are terrorist cells within the community. The ethnicity of the speakers is important in this article perhaps to counter the stereotypes about Somalis supporting terrorism.

DN published an article in 2013 about the election of the Member of Parliament for Suna East Constituency. This article identified the legislator as a Kenyan Somali. It further stated that the constituency is cosmopolitan although Luos dominate the region. The identification of the MP's ethnicity shows that this aspect of his identity is what the journalist picked out as

important. The writer focused on the issue of ethnicity perhaps to highlight on the fact that the population mostly made up of Luos elected a Kenyan Somali MP.

4.5 Terms and Metaphors used by the Media to describe Kenyan Somalis

4.5.1 Ethnic Terms used to refer to Kenyan Somalis

Although the term Kenyan Somali or Somali Kenyans is predominantly used to refer to the ethnic group, there were other terms also used. In most cases, Kenyan Somalis were simply identified as Somalis. This general term encompassed all Somalis from Kenya and Somalia. In reporting about the *Operation Usalama Watch*, articles used the term Somalis when referring to the detainees although a few differentiated between the two groups of Somalis and explained that some were Kenyans and others refugees. Articles also referred to legislators of Kenyan Somali ethnicity as Somali MPs and Somali leaders. Somalis in Kenya is also another general term found in the data collected. It is used to refer to the entire Somali group consisting of Kenyans and non-Kenyans. Kenya's Somalis is also used in the same manner to refer to the group.

In other articles, geographical areas which are predominantly inhabited by Kenyan Somalis were used when referring to the ethnic group. There were article that made reference to 'Eastleigh residents' as victims of xenophobic attacks. The same article clarifies that only the residents of Somali ethnicity were attacked. In this case, to show the distinction, writers used 'Somali residents of Eastleigh'. There are also articles that referred to the ethnic group as 'Muslims of Somali origin' as a way of distinguishing them from the other Muslims.

Another reference to Kenyan Somalis identified from these findings of this study is 'Somali community' or 'Somali population'. Ethnic Somalis is another term frequently used. However, this term was used interchangeably by different speakers and writers to either refer to Kenyan Somalis or Somalis from Somalia. In other articles, writers used the terms 'Kenya's ethnic Somalis.'

Kenyan Somalis have also been referred to as a minority in some articles. While in others, they have been described as the politically marginalized community. Other articles referred to the group as Kenyans of Somali origin.

In explaining why Kenyan Somalis have been targets of xenophobia attacks, some articles described them as aliens. In an article published in DN, the writer explains that other Kenyans view the group as aliens who are a security liability and business rivals (Abubakhar, 2014). In referring to crimes committed by Somalis, some of the words used include; Somali gunmen, Somali terrorists, Somali bandits and Somali Shiftas. Other words unrelated to crime include; Somali businessmen, Somali men and women.

4.5.2 Metaphors Used to Refer to Kenyan Somalis

Snake: Some of the metaphors used to describe Kenyan Somalis include snake. A number of articles discussed the following statement made by a former minister who described Al-Shabaab as a snake with its head in Eastleigh and tail in Somalia (Gaitho, 2011).

Big Animal: Other articles reported on the same press conference using the words, big animal instead of snake (Opiyo& Githinji.2011).

Snake and big animal were metaphors used to justify the security operations in Eastleigh. However, the metaphors may have negative impact on audiences. This may explain the xenophobia attacks that occur in Eastleigh after terrorist attacks. Somalis have also been described as lame ducks outside their community because the rest of the country does not want them. According to Miriam Webster dictionary, snake is also an idiom used to describe people who are deceptive or treacherous. In this case, the utterances by the security minister can also be understood to mean that Somalis are treacherous.

Tilted playing field: Implied metaphors have also been used such tilted playing field which was used by DN to describe the lives of Somalis in comparison with other ethnicities in Kenya (Gemson, 2013). This metaphor illustrates the position of Kenyan Somalis in comparison with other ethnicities. The Somalis are disadvantaged and do not have equal opportunities with other Kenyans.

African Acacia: In a different article in *The Standard*, Somalis were described as the African Acacia. The author used this comparison to explain the hardiness of Somali businessmen. In another article, *The Standard* in May, 2015 used the statement; *every market place has a mad man.* This was used to illustrate that Somali terrorists do not represent the entire community.

The terms and metaphors discussed in this section are important in understanding the representation of Kenyan Somalis by the media and how audiences react to the reports. Negative labels such as Al-Shabaab Sympathizers may lead to stereotyping of the group. In addition, negative association to criminality also has an impact on how other Kenyans perceive the group. On the other hand, the use of the general term Somalis by media fails to differentiate between Kenyans and Somalia's citizens. This may be part of the reason why other ethnic groups in Kenyans fail to recognize Somalis of Kenyan citizens as part of the country. The term alien used to describe Kenyan Somalis also explains the xenophobia against the group whereby they are seen as strange, outcasts and hence not part of the Kenyan society.

4.5.3 Rhetoric's and language used in media coverage of Kenyan Somalis

Rhetoric is defined as an act where the speaker or writer tries to motivate, persuade or inform audiences about a given situation. *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard* published articles about statements made by a security minister describing Al-Shabaab as a snake with its tail in Somalia and head in Eastleigh.   In this case, the statements try to convince audiences to accept the security operations in Eastleigh. Non-Somalis may be persuaded to view the operation as necessary. This is because, to kill a snake, its head has to be first cut off. Therefore, to effectively fight Al-Shabaab, the government has to focus on Eastleigh before they even consider Somalia. In this statement, the minister throws suspicion to residents of Eastleigh who are mostly Somalis. His utterance clearly illustrate that they are responsible for the terror attacks in the country. Audiences reading his remark may also get the same impression which explains why residents of the area are attacked each time there is a terrorist attack.

DN published an article by one of its editors who claimed that every Somali dreams of blowing up Kenyans (Mathiu, 2014). In the same article, the writer used statements such as ''we are at war… Let's start shooting." He uses the word 'war' again saying that the Somali population

has declared war against Kenyans. The writer further states that this was not an issue that someone in the government could simply tackle. This article shares the same sentiments with Ojodeh's statements. The Somalis are once again pointed out as the perpetrators of terrorism.

On the other hand, there are articles that used rhetoric and language to sensitize audiences to change negative perceptions towards Kenyan Somalis. DN published an article about profiling of the ethnic group. In the article political leaders are accused of blaming Somalis for terrorist attacks in Kenya (Kerrow, 2015). The author of the article uses the words, 'ethnicizing terrorism'. He discusses a number of different ways that the ethnic group has been discriminated again such as the difficulties that they face in getting documents such as identity cards and passports. He also addressed previous massacres that led to the death of Somalis which he claimed that nobody has been held accountable for. He also discusses remarks made by politicians about the increase of Somali parliamentarians being seen as a security threat. The writer also discusses the report by the Public Service Commission about ethnic representation in parliament (Kerrow, 2013).

The writer takes a strong stand about ethnic profiling of Somalis. The article seeks to create awareness about the issue perhaps to evoke sympathies and understanding by non-Somalis. By using different examples of discrimination from the 1980s to 2015, the writer brings across the message that Kenyan Somalis have been suffering for too long.

In the two documentaries, *No Humanity Here* and *Not Yet Kenyan*, the journalists use the same language and rhetoric to bring focus to the plight of Kenyan Somalis. When talking about the discrimination against Kenyan Somalis, Adow in *Not yet Kenyan* terms it as typical. In his words, "*it is just typical of the way we are treated in country we call our own.*"

The terms, Concentration Camp was repeatedly used by leaders to describe Kasarani Stadium where the detainees were held during Operation Usalama Watch. In the documentary, *No Humanity Here*, Senator Kerrow describes Kenya as reminiscent of Nazi Germany whereby Jews were held in concentration camps for torture and extermination. Farah Maalim repeats the same statements comparing Kenyan Somalis to Jews during Hitler's rule. The two explain that

Kenyans need to realize how serious the situation is and understand the implication of the detentions.

The two documentaries use language and rhetoric to bring awareness to the issues that Kenyan Somalis face in Kenya. They both bring about the aspect of frustration and desperation by the group members who feel like nobody speaks for them. In terming the discrimination as 'typical', Adow brings about the meaning that the discrimination has been going on for long and that it is now accepted as a normal occurrence. This means that it now forms part of the dominant ideologies about Kenyan Somalis.

4.6   Types of Coverage that Kenyan Somalis received from Media

One of the objectives of this study was to find out the role of the media in shaping perceptions about Kenyan Somalis and in particular to establish whether the media promotes (or not) xenophobia against this group.

Having analyzed the actors, frames and language used in the representation of Kenyan Somalis, the researcher was able to make conclusions about media coverage of the group from June 2012 to June 2015.

4.6.1   Positive Representation about Kenyan Somalis

Findings of this study reveal that there have been a number of news stories against xenophobia. These articles seek to sensitize publics about the plight of Kenyan Somalis. Issues facing the ethnic group have also been discussed in detail by media. For instance, DN published an article about against blaming Kenyan Somalis for terrorism (Diriye, 2014). The Standard published another asking advocating for peaceful existence with Kenyan Somalis (Waitherero, 2014).

There were articles that covered other issues about Somalis without focusing on conflicts. For example, DN published an article about a young Kenyan Somali who had won the parliamentary seat in Migori (Musoba, 2013). In another article, The Standard on August 11th 2013 published an article on industrious Somalis. This article focused on Somali businesses and their successes. There was also an article concerning Somali culture and industriousness of the

ethnic group published by *The Standard* (Ombati, 2014). This article focused on the group's culture, businesses and their contribution to the growth of Eastleigh.

Findings of the study also illustrate that social media has also played a part helping spread messages of tolerance. There were different media campaigns against ethnic profiling of Kenyan Somalis. In the analyzed television show, *The Stream*, a number of tweets were shared to show public opinion about ethnic profiling of Kenyan Somalis.

Although media was criticized for ethnically profiling Kenyan Somalis and using stereotypes to describe them, this study reveals that majority of the texts focused on the challenges that the group faces. Somalis and non-Kenyan Somalis used different media to provide positive coverage of the group and raise awareness about issues that affect them. Findings of the study also show that Kenya Somalis have been at the forefront in raising awareness of their groups' issues through media. Somali leaders such as Billow Kerrow and Farah Maalim have actively used newspapers and documentaries to raise awareness of issues such as xenophobia and ethnic profiling.

4.6.2   Negative Representation by Media

However, findings of the study shows that the role of the media in shaping perceptions about Kenyan Somalis has also been extensively discussed especially by members of the ethnic group who feel that they have not been well represented. In one of the newspaper article, the writer blames the media and other Kenyans for showing intolerance towards Kenyan Somalis. Another reports on online campaigns carried out by Kenyan Somalis who feel that the media portrays the ethnic group negatively.

The data reveals that there is a belief that negative perceptions about Kenyan Somalis stem from the media. Media coverage of Kenyan Somalis has also been termed as being skewed whereby narratives of terrorism are recurrently used. The media is also blamed for using frames that identify Kenyan Somalis as perpetrators of terrorism whereby crimes committed by members of the ethnic group are linked to ethnicity. Terrorists of Somali ethnicity as not just identified by their names but also by their ethnic group.

The Standard newspaper published an article in which the media was accused of misrepresenting issues that affect Kenyan Somalis (Makokha, 2014). In the article, the media was accused of describing Somalis as Al-Shabaab sympathizers. This was in relation to xenophobic attacks in Eastleigh whereby Somalis were attacked by non-Somalis. The article accused the media of having a xenophobic attitude towards the ethnic group.

There are media reports that can be termed as fuelling negative perceptions. For instance' in one of the newspaper articles analyzed, Nation Media Group's Managing Editor, Mathiu Mutuma made statements that linked Kenyan Somalis to terrorism. The following was the opening paragraph of the article:

> 'It would appear that every little, two-bit Somali has a big dream – to blow us up, knock down our buildings and slaughter our children. They declared war on us and we thought it was a small matter that some guy in government was going to take care of. We were wrong.' Mathiu, M. (2014, March 23)

Another article by political analyst, Barrack Muluka stated that all terrorists are Somalis. The following is an extract from the article:

> 'It is true that not all Muslims are terrorists. Equally true is that not all Somalis are terrorists. But it is also true that all the terrorist attacks against our civilian populations have been Somali Muslims.' Muluka, B. (2014, April 12)

DN published an article which contained statements that profile Somalis as terrorists (Makoha, 2014). The article contained a number of stereotyping statements indicating that police trace all explosives to Somalis. It further blamed the government for allowing 'Al-shabaab relatives' to invest in the country. The author blames Somalis for failing to integrate with other Kenyans by converting to Christianity. He further described Islamic dressing as suspicious due to the fact that it covers the faces of women (Makoha, 2011).

The article further accused the ethnic group of refusing to integrate with other Kenyans or even converting to the religion of the majority, Christianity. The writer also accused them of refusing to learn Kenyan languages.

Social media has also played a key role in shaping perceptions about this ethnic group. Newspaper articles reported of tweets that profiled Kenyan Somalis hence enhancing the hatred towards them. For instance, one of the new stories quoted tweets that blamed Kenyan Somalis for the Garissa attacks. There were also tweets asking Kenyan Somalis and their leaders to stop the senseless killings in Northern Eastern. The newspapers also reported about social media hashtags such as *#EnemyWithin* that were used in ethnic profiling of Kenyan Somalis. This hashtag was used to popularize the notion that terrorism is committed by locals and not Al-Shabaab.

Based on the theoretical framework discussed in chapter two of this study, media plays a key role in shaping the perceptions of audiences. Therefore, one could conclude that the negative portrayal and use of stereotypes by media contributes to adverse perceptions about the Kenyan Somalis.

4.7   Conclusion

The study met its objectives to investigate the media representation of Kenyan Somalis and also find out whether or not the media promotes xenophobia against the group. It was also able to identify the frames, rhetoric, metaphors and language used in portraying the ethnic group. Identity construction of Kenyan Somalis was also investigated. Based on the findings of the study, the researcher concludes that media representation of Kenyan Somalis has been both negative and positive.

The skewed representation has contributed to stereotypes about the group. As discussed in this chapter, the negative media portrayal has been blamed for xenophobia attacks experienced in November, 2012 and June, 2014 and the general hostility of non- Somalis towards Somalis. However, media has also played a key role in sensitizing audiences about the challenges faced by Kenyan Somalis. There were a number of documentaries, newspaper articles and talk shows that were produced with the aim of discussing challenges such as ethnic profiling, xenophobia and identity crisis. In addition, media provided a platform for Kenyan Somalis to discuss these issues hence the ethnic group has been a key participant and source of news in their representation. Findings from the study also show that media has provided a platform for other

ethnic groups to discuss the challenges of Kenyan Somalis. However, findings of the study show that even with the positive coverage, media continues to use the frames of conflict and problems which also contributes to negative attitudes by the public.

It was the contention of the study that overt ethnic profiling of Kenyan Somalis by media has been minimal. However, there has been inferential profiling by use of frames, rhetoric, metaphors and language that link Somalis to conflicts such terrorism and banditry. The findings of the study point to the fact that a number of Kenyan Somalis feel that media expresses xenophobic attitudes towards the group hence contributing to negative perceptions about them. Nonetheless, the study deducts that inferential profiling by media may not be deliberate but as a social construct of dominant ideologies about the Kenyan Somali ethnic group.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

5.1   Overview

This chapter presents the findings of this research. This study was carried out with the aim of examining the media representation of Kenyan Somalis. The research also sought to investigate the extent to which ideology impacts on the representation of Kenyan Somalis by media. Secondly, it sought to establish the language used in reporting about the ethnic group and also establish whether or not media promotes xenophobia against Kenyan Somalis. It also sought to examine the influence of media framing in the ethnic identity construction of Kenyan Somalis.

The chapter is organized in four sections. The first section presents a summary of the finding followed by discussions. The next section is conclusions, after which recommendations are made targeting the media, Media Council of Kenya, security forces and Kenyan Somalis. The chapter concludes by identifying areas for further studies. The study is based on media culture theory upon which the conclusions are made.

5.2   Summary of Findings

5.2.1   Press Briefings and Inferential Ethnic Profiling of Kenyan Somalis

The study found out that media reports from press briefings contained statements that can be construed as ethnic profiling. News sources such as government officials made controversial statements that sparked outrage especially from Kenyan Somalis. Media reports containing these statements may further influence negative perceptions about this ethnic group. Government officials are considered as reliable news sources and therefore can influence audiences into believing their statements and perceiving them as the dominant ideology.

5.2.2 The Role of Media in preventing xenophobia and ethnic profiling of Kenyan Somalis

The study found out that Kenyan Somalis have actively tried to change their portrayal in the media by presenting their side of the story. A number of Somalis have written articles about the issues that the community faces. The documentaries also show that the community has tried to

use the media to bring about a more balanced representation. However, despite the attempts at fighting the stereotypes and creating awareness, overreliance on problem and conflict frames still reinforce how audiences perceive the group. The missing stories about other aspects of the community's life limit the audience's view of Kenyan Somalis to conflict.

The study also found out that Kenyans of Somali and other ethnic groups have used the media to create awareness about the challenges faced by the community. The media has provided a platform for discussions concerning issues such as ethnic profiling. Nevertheless, the study found out that there are Kenyan Somalis who believe that they have been misrepresented by the media. They blame media for turning other ethnicities against them by profiling them as terrorists. Findings of the study show that there were instances where media used stereotypes and generalized Somalis as terrorists hence leading to complains about misrepresentation.

It is the contention of this study that media can do more to help stop xenophobia against Kenyan Somalis. This can be done by through objective and factual reporting of incidents relating to the ethnic group. Media can also create awareness about the Somali's Kenyan identity in order to foster acceptance. The study established that Kenyan Somalis are perceived as aliens and not citizens of this country. This can be changed through positive, balanced media representation of the group. The effect of the negative representation of Kenyan Somalis is that it may propagate ethnic stereotypes and negative attitudes towards the group. Media profiling of Somalis as terrorists may fuel xenophobia against the group. This may explain why other Kenyans attack the group following terrorist attacks in the country. The representation may also influence how the group feels about their own identity. Profiling by media may lead to feelings of alienation.

5.3   Discussions of Findings

Out of the findings of this study, the following are the thematic areas in the media representation of Kenyan Somalis:

5.3.1 Identity Construction

The study found out that a number of Kenyan Somalis struggle with their identity as Kenyans. A number of them feel like they have been treated unequally especially by the government and the media. The xenophobia attacks have further alienated them making them feel like they are outsiders in their own country. They complained about feeling like lesser Kenyans because they are from the Somali community. In a number of the newspaper article, the issue of identity crisis came up. There were also reports of Kenyan Somalis feeling that they are lesser citizens because other Kenyans do not trust them. In the war against terror, other Kenyans do not believe that they are with them. Instead, they are assumed to support the terrorists.

Kenyan Somalis have also reported that they feel unequal to other citizens because of their inability to enjoy their constitutional rights. They have expressed their frustrations of being unable to enjoy the same kind of freedom like other Kenyans. Findings of the study show that, a number of Kenyan Somalis mention that they are restricted from enjoying services available to other Kenyans such as the use of public transport where they are either prevented from boarding or if they board, other citizens alight. In one of the video clips, it was reported that in towns in Mombasa, landlords use the absence of Somalis in their apartments as a marketing strategy. In a discussing the issue, a news story on DN reported that about 25% of Kenyan Somalis do not have the right documentation to allow them to own property (Gemson, 2013). In a different article published by the paper on the same day, Somalis are described as lame ducks outside their community because the rest of the country does not want them. The article further explains that the group just wants to be treated as equal citizens.

The study also found that Kenyan Somalis struggle to get the national identity card. In the documentary, *No Humanity Here*, Senator Kerrow explains that 60% of Kenyan Somalis in Northern Eastern are unable to get identity cards due their ethnicity. One of the challenges that they face is providing documents that are required for the application process. Unlike other Kenyans who only need to provide copies of their parent's identity cards (ID), Kenyan Somalis have to provide ID copies for their parents, grandparents and leader of clan. They also need to provide proof of residency by getting a letter from the chief.

Findings of the study reveal that Kenyan Somalis have had challenges with their identity for decades. In the documentary, *Not yet Kenyan,* the journalist speculates that the identity crisis began in the 1960s referendum when Somalis submitted an application to the colonial government to be classified as Asians like Indians and Arabs and not Africans like other Kenyans. Around the same period, the community made an attempt at secession. *Daily Nation* in May, 2013 published another article concerning the referendum. The article also speculates that the referendum and secession attempt caused the mistreatment of the ethnic group. It further lists massacres such as Garissa, Wagalla and Malkamari in the 80s to show that the group has never been accepted. Findings from the study show that Somalis believe that they are being punished for mistakes made by the community in the past.

DN published an article about the identity crisis of Kenyan Somalis who have been seeking acceptance from other Kenyans for decades (Gemson, 2013). The article further states that Somalis are struggling to find their identity in a country that seems averse to almost everything related to the ethnic group. The article further reported on young Somalis who were arrested following terrorists attacks in Eastleigh. The young men were asked for their National Identity Card which they produced by still ended up in detention. The article quoted an interviewee speaking about his identity as follows:

> "When I'm arrested in connection with what criminal gangs have done, I feel that I am a lesser Kenyan because I am from the Somali community," he said. "I was born in this country and thought I was part of the Kenyan fabric, but, due to this ethnic targeting, I now feel like a lesser Kenyan."

This quote illustrates the identity crisis of Kenyan Somalis caused by ethnic profiling which is another recurrent theme identified in this study.

5.3.2   Ethnic Profiling

European Network against Racial Profiling(ENAR, 2009) defines ethnic profiling as the process through which law enforcement officers view people as suspicious because of who they are, what they look like or where they pray as opposed to what they have done. According to ENAR, one of the practices in ethnic profiling includes random checks and scrutiny of identification documents of only specific groups of people. Apart from the stops in the streets,

security raids on private property are another practice in ethnic profiling (ENAR, 2009). These raids may be specific to individuals or groups or residential areas. They may be based on actual evidence or suspicion arising from ethnic stereotypes. Other activities include raids of worship places, mass stops and searches, surveillance, arrests and deportation (ENAR, 2009).

Ethnic profiling of Kenyan Somalis was another dominant theme from the data collected. This study found out that there are a number of articles and reports showing that Somalis have been ethnically profiled by security officers, other citizens and the media. For example, on May 8, 2013, *Daily Nation* published an article on ethnic profiling of Kenyan Somalis. In the article, the writer used an example of the November, 2012 xenophobic attacks against Kenyan Somalis in Eastleigh to illustrate that the ethnic group has been profiled not only by security personnel by also civilians. The new story further details the raiding of homes of Kenyan Somalis where the occupants were asked to produce their identity cards but were still arrested despite proving their nationality as Kenyans. On November 12, 2012, *The Standard* also published an article in which the writer stated that Kenyan Somalis have been profiled as terrorist sympathizers, pirates and foreigners behind insecurity.

The article gives details of similar raids carried out in Garrissa where the police invaded homes in search of terrorists and their sympathizers. According to the article, only homes owned by Somalis were raided during the security operation. A number of Kenyan Somalis interviewed by the writer expressed their frustration and fears. One interviewee said that they feel like lesser Kenyans due to the ethnic targeting. The article further states that the profiling is not just limited to security operations. However, Kenyan Somalis have been unfairly treated by the government and they do not have equal access to employment, government services or education opportunities.

The Standard published an article by Billow Kerrow on *Operation Usalama Watch* which the writer termed as the Somali Gulag. The writer made claims that the president ordered ethnic profiling of Somalis in Eastleigh on the claims that they are responsible for the terror attacks in Kenya. He expressed fears of xenophobic attacks against the group in case of any other attacks in the country. The writer further criticized the media for an article published by a managing editor which referred to Kenyan Somalis as terrorists whose only dream is to blow up Kenyans.

71

The writer further said that the mass arrests and detentions of Kenyan Somalis at Kasarani was a clear indicator of ethnic profiling.

In a different article, *The Standard* published another article by Billow Kerrow which stated that a parliamentarian had complained about the increases of Somali politicians claiming that this posed a risk of a terrorist attack. The senator complained about this profiling stating that it put the lives of the Somali politicians in danger. In the article, he also went ahead to say that no Kenyan Somali had been charged for any terrorist attacks. Other legislators such as Ibrahim Saney and Aden Duale have been quoted in different articles accusing the government for profiling the Somali community as terrorists.

There are also politicians of non- Somali ethnicity who express similar thoughts about the ethnic profiling. On June 23, 2014, Anyang Nyong'o, was quoted in article in the DN saying that *Operation Usalama Watch* was ethnically profiling Kenyan Somalis. In the article, the politician accuses the government for targeting Kenyan Somalis in an effort to please the West and also destabilize their businesses. DN also published an article which explained that Somalis are continuously blamed for all security problems including banditry, piracy, terrorism and even poaching (Diriye, 2014).

Ethnic profiling of Kenyan Somalis deprives the group of their rights as citizens of the country. Findings of the study illustrate this is one of the main challenges that the ethnic group faces. The data also shows that the media has been accused of profiling Kenyan Somalis as terrorists and bandits hence leading to stereotypes about the group.

Out of these findings, another thematic area identified resulting from ethnic profiling is xenophobia against Kenyan Somalis.

5.3.3   Xenophobia

In a report by Human Rights First(HRF), xenophobia is described as hatred towards a group of people considered alien due to various factors such as ethnicity, race, sexual orientation or religious beliefs (HRF, 2011). According to the report, xenophobia can be expressed towards citizens or non-citizens of a country. Among citizens, it's likely to be expressed towards

national minorities (HRF, 2011). Xenophobia undermines the security of individuals and also violates their human rights. Individuals or groups that fear xenophobia are affected in such a way that they cannot even move freely or engage in activities that involve the rest of the society (HRF, 2011).

Xenophobia was another recurring theme identified from the collected data. There were expressions of fear that xenophobia would occur especially after terrorist attacks. Data shows that Kenyan Somalis have the fear of backlash every time a terrorist attack occurs. For example, On September 23, 2013, *Daily Nation* quoted the Director of Human Rights Watch Africa who reported that Kenya Somalis expressed fear that the Westgate Mall attack may result in violence against the ethnic group.

Findings of the study also reveal that their fears may be based on reality due to the reported security operations that take place each time there is an attack. Data collected from the newspapers and videos show that the fear of xenophobia escalated in 2014 with the *Operation Usalama Watch*. This is a security operation that led to the mass arrests of Somalis.

Findings from the study also illustrate that there have also been reported cases of xenophobia against Kenyan Somalis. Data collected from texts show that In November, 2012, there were attacks on Somalis following incidents of bus explosions. In the documentary, *Not Yet Kenyan*, media footage of the attack is shown whereby Somalis are chased down the streets and their houses are stoned by angry civilians before police take action.

Senator Kerrow wrote a news story in *The Standard* in which he accused the media and the government of being guilty of xenophobia against Kenyan Somalis (Kerrow, 2012). He claimed that the two parties had xenophobic attitude towards the ethnic group. This article was published a day after riots broke out in Eastleigh where Somalis were attacked following a bus explosion. In the article, it was reported that Kenyan Somalis were beaten and their houses were torched in Eastleigh.

In his article, Billow accused the media for misreporting the attacks. Instead of calling them xenophobia attacks, the media described them as protests against Kenyan Somalis. In addition,

he claimed that some newspapers also described them angry protests by locals while others depicted them as intercommunity violence. He felt that the media reported about it wrongly hence failing to bring the necessary attention to the xenophobia.

It was reported by DN that Kenyan Somalis had been attacked in Eastleigh (Ombati, 2012). In this article, the attacks were described as retaliatory attacks following bus explosions. It further explained that the attackers argued that the Somalis had the sympathies of the terrorists. They accused the group of not supporting other Kenyans in the fight against terrorism. It was further reported that Somalis in Eastleigh had been targeted by non-Somalis protesting against the explosions in the area (Ombati, 2012).

Xenophobia against Kenyan Somalis was also reported in June, 2014 after a bus explosion at the Gikomba market in Nairobi. DN published an article about how the police had to intervene and stop angry mobs from carrying out retaliation attacks in Eastleigh (Onyango, 2014).

As discussed in chapter two of this research, xenophobia against Kenyan Somalis has similarities to South Africa's case. In both countries, xenophobia is expressed towards groups that are considered alien. In South Africa, aliens are immigrants. However, findings from this study show that Kenyans consider Somalis as aliens and in most cases, do not differentiate them from Somalia's residents. In both countries, xenophobia has been linked to criminality. In Kenya, xenophobia attacks against Kenyan Somalis mostly occur as retaliation for terrorist attacks. In South Africa, different nationalities are profiled in relation to crime. For instance, Nigerians are profiled as drug dealers and this has been cited as part of the reason why South Africans are hostile towards them.

However, unlike South Africa where the immigrants are forced to leave the country, xenophobia poses challenges to Kenyan Somalis who are left feeling unwanted in their country. As discussed in Chapter one of this study, it also deprives them of their basic human rights and poses a challenge to Kenya's attempts at achieving national cohesion.

5.3.4 Causal Link between Media Representation and Public Perceptions about Kenyan Somalis

Out of the findings of this study, the researcher made the following conclusions about the link between media representation of Kenyan Somalis and audiences:

5.3.4.1 Impact on Other Ethnic Groups

Media representation of ethnicity influences how the ethnic group is perceived by audiences. Therefore, positive or negative portrayals may result in similar attitudes (Delimpaltadaki & Bell, 2011).

In the study carried out by The Opportunity Agenda about media representation of black men, it was established that the negative portrayals encouraged feelings of antagonism towards the group (Delimpaltadaki & Bell, 2011). The study illustrated that most American audiences developed negative feelings towards black men due to the negative portrayal of the group as criminals. Similarly, the negative association of Kenyan Somalis may have an impact on how audiences perceive the group. This portrayal may lead audiences to negatively associate the group with terrorism and hence this may explain why non-Somalis attack the group in retaliation whenever there are terror attacks.

The representation of Kenyan Somalis could also prevent other ethnicities from relating with them. In the study by The Opportunity Agenda, the researchers established that other Americans think of black men as group that they cannot identify with. Findings of this study show that the word alien has been used to describe Kenyan Somalis. In an article published *The Standard* on April 27, 2014, Kenyan Somalis who were interviewed complained about xenophobia attacks which make them feel like aliens in their own country. On April 23, 2014, *Daily Nation* published an article in which the same sentiment was again shared.

Another article published by DN on the misrepresentation of Kenyan Somalis linked negative stories about the group to the identity crisis (Ombati, 2012.

5.3.4.2   Impact on Kenyan Somalis

Daily Nation published an article in 2015 on media misrepresentation of Kenyan Somalis. The article explained that media reinforces negative stories about the ethnic group. The writer illustrates this by referring to media reports which profiled all Somalis as terrorists. As discussed in chapter four, there have also been other instances when media made stereotypical comments about the ethnic group.

The study carried out by The Opportunity Agenda illustrates how black men are affected by how the media represents them. Findings of the study illustrate how black men were affected by stereotypes which ended up having an impact on their performance especially in standard testing. Similarly, findings of this study show that Kenyan Somalis have been affected by media representation of their group.

In the documentary, *No Humanity Here*, one of the interviewees argues that civilians have turned against the Kenyan Somalis because they have been incited against them. The interviewee explains that the civilians have repeatedly been shown that Somalis are the villains, the enemies of Kenyans. This has led to the hostility being shown towards the group.

In an article published by DN, the writer explained how Kenyan Somalis are forced to keep fighting the stereotypes about the group (Kegoro, 2012). He explains that Kenyan Somalis have to keep fighting stereotypes and defend their loyalty to the country.

Apart from fighting the stereotypes, the group continuously struggles with acceptance. DN published an article about how Kenyan Somalis feel like lesser Kenyans due to ethnic profiling (Gemson, 2013). They feel like they don't belong in Kenya due to xenophobic attitudes by government, media and other citizens.

The same feelings of alienation also kept coming up alongside the issue of identity crisis. The group feels like they are poorly treated by other Kenyans. In the stories told by Kenyan Somalis, they do not enjoy the same rights as other ethnicities. A number of articles contained stories of Kenyan Somalis who struggle to get national Identity Cards. On the other hand, not

having the cards makes their lives difficult due to security stops where police ask for identification.

DN published an article on the effect that ethnic profiling of Kenyan Somalis has on members of the community (Mohammed, 2014). The writer explained how the group lives in fear of backlash especially whenever terror attacks occur in the country. Below is an excerpt from the article:

> *'It gets worse when there has been a terrorist attack in the country. Kenyan Somalis watch the scenes with horror, but at the same time fear the backlash from fellow citizens who discriminate against them in public places such as malls, and when they are seeking jobs or want to transact businesses. The biggest entity that discriminates against them and punishes them collectively is the government.'*
> Mohammed, O. (2014, May 3)

Ethnic profiling of Kenyan Somalis has also led to the abuse of the human rights. Findings of this study show that there has been destruction of property, physical harm during xenophobic attacks, harassment by government and other Kenyans, inability to access services and the psychological torture endured by the group members who feel unaccepted and mistreated in their own country.

5.4   Conclusion

From the findings of the study, the following conclusions were reached:

5.4.1 Inferential Ethnic Profiling of Kenyan Somalis

Although the media has made attempts to provide positive coverage of Kenyan Somalis, it has contributed to the inferential profiling of Kenyan Somalis. Overreliance of frames of conflict, problems and emphasis on ethnic identity crisis, imply that audiences will perceive Kenyan Somalis from this viewpoint. This means that there are missing stories in representation of Kenyan Somalis because other aspects of their lives and achievements may not be considered newsworthy. Framing is a key aspect in media representation. It helps in understanding the lens through which audiences view media images (Ardèvol-Abreu, 2015). Therefore, the frames used by media help in influencing how audiences perceive Kenyan Somalis.

5.4.2 Overt Ethnic Profiling of Kenyan Somalis

Kenyan media has shown overt ethnic profiling of Kenyan Somalis by publishing articles that contain stereotypes about the ethnic group. Press briefings that also contained negative statements about Somalis received extensive media coverage. In addition, there were articles published in the newspapers that openly profiled Kenyan Somalis as terrorists or Al-Shabaab sympathizers.

5.4.3   Media's Insensitivity in Representation of Kenyan Somalis

From the findings of this study, media has been insensitive in the identification of Kenyan Somalis. There has been use of general terms such as Somalis, failing to distinguish Kenyans from non-Kenyans. Ethnicizing of crimes in identifying criminals also leads to stereotyping of Kenyan Somalis. According to media culture theory advanced by Douglas Kellner, media provides audiences with different meanings hence shaping how they perceive the world and their place in it (Kellner, 2015). The scholar explains that media influences audiences' decisions on what to think, desire and how to act. It also teaches audiences how to react to different social groups. Therefore, the media plays a critical role in shaping the perceptions about Kenyan Somalis. As gatekeeper, editors have a key role in ensuring that this representation is fair and well-balanced and not skewed.

5.5   Recommendations

5.5.1   To Media

5.5.1.1 The researcher recommends that media should have policies on ethnic representation. These policies should provide guidelines on how ethnicity should be represented by media. In the absence of these guidelines, the media is likely to continue using of stereotypes and ethnic profiling as established in this study. Journalists should also be keen to avoid these stereotypes and avoid linking ethnic identity with particular crimes.

5.5.2   To The Media Council of Kenya

5.5.2.1 The Media Council of Kenya should also train journalists on reporting on ethnicity. Responsible journalism and adherence to ethical and professional principals should be

emphasized to ensure that ethnicity is reported in a manner that will not create negative perceptions or stereotypes about a group.

5.5.2.2 There should also be guidelines on the interactions between security forces, government and media. This will help in enhancing awareness of the impact that new sources have when they make press briefings. Training will also assist journalist know how to report controversial statements that could result to violence such as xenophobic attacks.

5.5.3 To Kenyan Somalis

5.5.3.1 The researcher recommends that Kenyan Somalis should embrace the use of media to provide alternative narratives and the missing stories about the community. This study established that the ethnic group has participated in the media mainly in response to issues of ethnic profiling and rebutting negative representations and stereotypes. Apart from these issues, other narratives about the Kenyan Somali's identity and culture can be incorporated in the media representation to help diversify the representation.

5.5.5   To Security Forces

5.5.4.1 Security forces should also deal with the issue of terrorism and identify the perpetrators instead of launching operations that may be perceived as targeting specific ethnic groups. This will help in reducing the stereotyping of Kenyan Somalis as terrorists.

5.6   Areas for Further Research

The researcher recommends further studies on audience perception and interpretation of the representation of Kenyan Somalis in comparison with other ethnicities in the country. For instance, it would be interesting to find out if there are other ethnicities that are represented with frames of conflict or profiled in relation to specific crimes or could this be unique to only Kenyan Somalis. Further studies will also help in analyzing media's role in ethnic identity construction of Kenyan Somalis. Identity crisis is one of the main thematic areas identified in this study. It would be critical to find out whether media promotes (or not) the challenges of the Kenyan identity among the Somali ethnic group.

REFERENCES

Abubakar, H. (2014, June 23). Kenya's Somalis: Caught Between Power and Profiling. Retrieved on September 30, 2017 from http://africanarguments.org/2014/06/23/kenyas-somalis-caught-between-power-and-profiling-by-hassan-m-abukar/

Adow, M. (2013, November 14). Not Yet Kenyan. Aljazeera.Retrieved from https://youtu.be/QeagOhyABXU

Aketch, A. (2015). *Kenya: Xenophobia and EthnoNationalism - Not - So- Strange Bedfellows*. Retrieved from All Africa News: http://allafrica.com/stories/201504270835.html

Althoff, L. (2013). Identities and the colonial past in Kenya and Tanzania. *BA Dissertation published as a CERS working paper on the MGR archive*. University of Leipzig, Institute of Ethnology.

Andrus, A. (2012). A Textual Analysis of Media Frames: The coverage of the shooting of Trayvon Martin. *Research Paper published by Department of Journalism and Media Studies.* University of South Florida, St. Petersburg.

Ardèvol-Abreu. (2015). Framing Theory in Communication Theory in Spain: Origin, development and current situation. *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social,* 432-450.

Baddar, O. & Oke, F. (2014.)The Stream. Aljazeera. Retrieved from https://youtu.be/LI-QrLUM1bs

Bakal, R. (2013, May 12). Kenyan Somalis should be treated like everyone else. Retrieved on September 30, 2017 from Nation Digital: http://www.nation.co.ke/oped/Letters/Kenyan-Somalis-should-be-treated-like-everyone-else/440806-1850208-ko8s2b/index.html

Bell, D. & Delimpaltadaki, J. (2011) Media Representations and Impact on Lives of Black Men and Boys, 1-47. New York: The Opportunity Agenda.

Benette, B. (2011).The Whites of their Eyes: Racist Ideologies in the media. *Journal of Gender, Race and Class in Media: A Critical Reader*, 81-84.

Blumer, J. &. (1974). The Uses of Mass Communication: *Current Perspectives on Gratification Research.* California: Sage Publications.

Brown, D. (2003). *The Da Vinci Code.* London: Anchor.

Burbidge, D. (2015). *The Kenyan State's Fear of Somali Identity*. Retrieved January 28, 2017, from The African Centre for Constructive Resolution of Disputes.

Chowdhury, A. (2014). Video Processing- An Overview. In Rama Chellappa and Sergios Theodoridis, *Academic Press Library in Signal Processing* (pp. 343-347). Amsterdam: Elsevier Ltd.

Cortle, S. (2000). *Ethnic minorities and the media: changing cultural boundaries.* Buckingham: Open University Press.

Cox, B. (2011). *Encyclopaedia of Survey Research Methods.* California. Sage Publications.

DeFleur, M. (1989). *Theories of Mass Communication (Chapter 3).* New York: Longman.

Domingo, M. (2011). Analyzing Layering in textual design: a multimodal design for examining cultural, linguistic and social migration in digital video. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 219-230.

Ehala, M. (2010). Ethno linguistic vitality and intergroup processes. *Multilingual Journal 29*, 203-221.

ENAR (2009).Ethnic Profiling. *Fact Sheet 40.*Brusells.

Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research.* London: Rutledge.

Fusch, P. & Ness, L. (2015). Are We There Yet? Data Saturation in Qualitative Research. The Qualitative Report, 20(9), 1408-1416.

Gacheru, M. (2016). Kenyan- Somalis air their views about culture and politics. Retrieved on September 30, 2017 from Daily Nation: http://www.nation.co.ke/lifestyle/zukqa/KenyanSomalis-air-their-views-on-culture-and-politics/498272-2972418-14o4rtgz/index.html

Gaitho, M. (2011, October, 11). If the head of the snake is right here in Eastleigh, why did we go to Somalia? Retrieved from Nation Digital: http://www.nation.co.ke/oped/blogs/446672-1261118-format-xhtml-12k5pav/index.html

Gemson, S. (2013, May 18). Ethnic Profiling and the case of Kenyan Somalis. Retrieved from Standard Digital: http://www.nation.co.ke/lifestyle/DN2/The-Outcasts/957860-1844688-12onfn0/index.html

Gicobi, M. (2015, January 28). Insecurity on Kenya Somali border. Retrieved on September 30,2017 from Nation Daily: http://www.nation.co.ke/news/insecurity-on-Kenya-Somali-border-Nkaissery/1056-2604896-tr1l9kz/index.html

Gurevitch, M., Bennet, T., Curran & Wollacot, J. (2005). *Culture, Society and the media.* London: Rutledge.

Hajir, A, & Mohammed, O. (2015, April 11). Duale in Tight Spot over Shabaab Attack and his 30 days list. Retreied from National Digital: http://www.nation.co.ke/news/politics/Duale-in-tight-spot-over-Shabaab-attack-and-his-30-day-list/1064-2682974-c0hmom/index.html

Hall, S. (2005). Media and Representation. *University of Westminster* (pp. 1-23). London: Media Education Foundation.

Hall, S. (1997). *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices.* California: Sage Publications Limited.

Höijer, B. (2011). Social Representations Theory: A New Theory in Media Research. *Nordicom Review Journal 32*, 3-16.

Howarth, C. (2011). Representations, identity and resistance in communication. In B. F. Derek Hook, *Communication, Culture and Social Change* (p. Chapter 7). London, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

HRF. (2013, February 8). *New Encampment Policy Fuels Xenophobia in Kenya*. Retrieved from Human Rights First: http://www.humanrightsfirst.org/2013/02/08/new-encampment-policy-fuels-xenophobia-in-kenya

Humez, G. D. (1995). Gender, Race and Glass in Media. In S. Hall, *The Whites of their eyes* (pp. Chapter 2:1-7). London: Sage Publications.

Jabril, S. (2012, November 25). *Somali Business Flourishes in Kenya but Xenophobia Threatens The Peace in Eastleigh*. Retrieved from Fair Planet: http://www.fairplanet.org/story/somali-business-flourishes-in-kenya-but-xenophobia-threatens-the-peace-in-eastleigh/

Jewitt, C. (2012, March). An Introduction to using video for research. *National Centre for Research Methods Working Paper*. Institute of Education, London.

Jesuit Refugee Service. (2013, May 9). *Kenya: Rising Xenophobia Affects Refugees in Nairobi*. Retrieved March 6, 2017, from Jesuit Refugee Service: http://en.jrs.net/campaign_detail?tn=project-20130509023342

Kellner, D. (2015, June 18). *Critical Perspectives on Television from the Frankfurt School to Postmodernism*. Retrieved March 6, 2017, from Heathwood Institute and Press: http://www.heathwoodpress.com/critical-perspectives-on-television-from-the-frankfurt-school-to-postmodernism/

Kellner, D. (1994). *Cultural Studies, Multiculturalism and Media Culture.* Texas: University of Texas.

Kellner, D. (2001). Media and Cultural Studies. Oxford: Blackwell.

Kellner, D. & Steven B. (2001). The Postmodern Adventure: Science, Technology and Cultural Studies at the Third Millennium. New York: Guilford Press.

Kerich, C. (2015, June 2). *End xenophobia to win war on terror*. Retrieved March 6, 2017, from The Star: http://www.the-star.co.ke/news/2015/06/02/end-xenophobia-to-win-war-on-terror_c1144256

Kerrow, B. (2012, November 25). *Government, media guilty of xenophobic attitude towards Somalis.* Retrieved March 4, 2017, from Standard Digital:
https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000071416/government-media-guilty-of-xenophobic-attitude-towards-somalis

Kerrow, B. (2015, May 3). Ethnic Profiling of Kenyan Somalis endangers this community. Retrieved September 30, 2017, from Standard Digital: https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000160834/ethnic-profiling-of-somalis-endangers-this-community

KNBS. (2009). *Census 2009 Summary: Ethnic Affiliations*. Retrieved January 22, 2016, from Kenya National Bureau of Statistics: http://www.knbs.or.ke/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=151:ethnic-affiliation&catid=112&Itemid=638

Kosaka, H. (2013). Xenophobia in South Africa: Reflections, Narratives and Recommendations. *South African Peace and Security Studies, Volume 2, Number 2*, 5-30.

Kothari, C. (2004). *Research Methodology: Methods and Techniques.* New Delhi: New Age International Publishers.

Larry, G. (1980). *Living with Television: The Dynamics of Cultivation Process.* Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Laswell, H. (1948). *The Structure and Function of Communication and Society: The Communication of Ideas.* New York: Institute for Religious and Social Studies.

Lyon, W. (1997). Defining Identity: Another Way of Being British. In T. M. Werbner, *The Politics of Multiculturalism in the new Europe: racism, identity and community* (p. Chapter 10:186). London: St. Martin's Press.

McWilliams, S. (2012). Identities of Impoverishment: Ethnicity, Tribalism and Violence in Kenya. *ARAS Vol 33, No. 1*, 105-131.

MAR. (2006, December 31). *Assessment for Somalis in Kenya*. Retrieved January 25, 2016, from Minorities at Risk: http://www.mar.umd.edu/assessment.asp?groupId=50106

Njoroge, M. (2010). *New Media in Kenya: Putting Ethnicity into Perspective.* Nairobi: Kenyatta University.

Mason, J. (2002). *Qualitative Researching.* London: Sage Publications.

Mathiu, M. (2014, March 20). Are we just going to sit around and wait to be blown to bits? Retrieved on September 30, 2017 from Nation Digital: http://www.nation.co.ke/oped/Opinion/Are-we-just-going-to-sit-around-and-wait-to-be-blown-to-bits/440808-2252048-7t44r5z/index.html

Mbisu, M. (2013). *Kenya: Rising Xenophobia affects refugees in Kenya.* Retrieved from Jesuit Refugee Service: http://en.jrs.net/campaign_detail?tn=project-20130509023342

Michael, G. (2005). *Culture, Society and the Media. (*2nd ed.). London: Methuen & Co. Ltd.

Misago, J. P. (2017). *Xenophobia Violence in Rainbow Nation.* Retrieved March 4, 2017, from Aljazeera: http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2017/03/xenophobic-violence-rainbow-nation-170301075103169.html

Mohammed O. (2014). *Prisoner of my identity. Retrieved on September 30, 2017 from* Daily Nation: http://www.nation.co.ke/lifestyle/DN2/Prisoner-of-my-identity/957860-2280268-14gu284/index.html

Muinde,J. (2013, September 23). Police Urged to protect Somalis against retaliation. Retrieved on September 30, 2017 from Nation Digital: http://www.nation.co.ke/news/Police-urged-to-protect-Somalis-against-retaliation/1056-2009388-lis2gm/index.html

Muktar, A. (2014, May 21). *No Humanity Here.* Retrieved from https://youtu.be/rUAtoUK3JUg

Mutunga, K. (2013). *What You Didn't Know about the Kikuyu Community.* Retrieved from Standard Digital: https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000098162/what-you-didn-t-know-about-the-kikuyu-community

Nazroo, J. (2017). *Societies, Health and Social Research in Multiethnic.* London: Rutledge.

No Humanity Here. (2015, February 26). InformAction.

Nyabuga, G. (2010). *Mediatising Politics and Democracy: The Role of Media in Kenya.* Nairobi: Media Focus on Africa Foundation.

Nyambura, I. (2015, April 6). *On Xenophobia, We are all strangers somewhere.* Retrieved from Kenya Monitor: http://www.monitor.co.ke/2015/04/28/xenophobia-strangers-somewhere/

Opiyo, P. & Githinji, P. (2011, October 11). Minister says Eastleigh the next target in hunt for Al Shabaab militants. Retrieved on September 30, 2017 from Standard Digital: https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/business/article/2000045206/minister-says-eastleigh-the-next-target-in-hunt-for-al-shabaab-militants

Onyanga, J. O. (2008). *Ethnic Discourse on Contentious Issues in the Kenyan Press.* CODERSIA.

Powell, R. (2010). *Kenya: Media and Telecoms Landscape Guide.* Nairobi: Infoasaid.

Palys, T. (2008). Purposive Sampling. In L. M. Given, *The Sage Encyclopaedia of Qualitative Research Methods* (pp. 697-8). Los Angeles: Sage Publications.

Patton, M. Q. (1990). *Qualitative Research Methods.* Beverly Hills, C.A: Sage.

Quinn, M. (2002). A Guide to Using Qualitative Research Methodology. Medicines' Sans Frontiers.

Ringquist, J. (2011). Bandit or Patriot: The Shifta War (1963-1968). *Baltic Security and Defence Review Volume 31*, 100-121.

Scheufele, B. (2005). Framing-Effects Approach: A Theoretical and Methodological Critique. *Communication 29*, 401-428.

Scheufele, D. A. (1999). Framing as a Theory of Media Effects. *Journal of Communication*, 103-122.

Some, K. (2014, April 27th) Somalis: Kenya is our home too and we are not a security threat. Retrieved from Standard Digital: https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000110311/somalis-kenya-is-our-home-too-and-we-are-not-a-security-threat

Somali Media Mapping. (2010). Retrieved January 26, 2017, from STAR FM: http://somali-media.so/star-fm-4/

Thornham, S. & Purvis, T. (2005). *Television Drama: Theories and Identities.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Tafjel, H. (1982). Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations. *Annual Reviews Psychology,* 33:1-39.

The Constitution of Kenya. (2010). National Council for Law Reporting.

The Opportunity Agenda (2011). *Media Representations and the Impact on Black Men and Boys.* New York: The Opportunity Agenda.

United Nations, General Assembly. (1948). Universal Declaration of Human Rights. *Article 1*. Paris: United Nations.

Unsworth, A. (2011). Analysis and comprehension of Multimodal Texts. *Australian Journal of Language and Literacy*, 61-80.

Weaver, D. (2006). Thoughts on Agenda Setting, Framing and Priming. *Journal of Communication ISSN 0021-9916*, 142-147.

Weber, A. (2009). *The Causes of Politicization: A Comparative Case Study of Kenya and Tanzania.* Zurich: Centre for Comparative and International Studies (ETH Zurich and University of Zurich).

Wright, C. (1960). Functional Analysis and Mass Communication. *Public Opinion Quarterly (24)*, 610-613.

Xenophobia (2011). In Merriam Webster. Retrieved May 9, 2017, from http://www.merriamwebster.com/dictionary/xenophobia.

Yieke, F. (2010). Ethnicity and Development in Kenya: Lessons from the 2007 General Election. *Kenya Studies Review: 3*.

Zaccheus, A. (2016, August 10). *Why the Kenya Luos remove six lower teeth*. Retrieved February 17, 2017, from Daily Nation: https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/lifestyle/article/2000211461/why-the-kenya-luos-removed-six-lower-teeth

Zhang, Y. (2009). Qualitative Analysis of Content. In B. Wildemuth, *Applications of Social Research Methods to Questions in Information and Library Science* (pp. 308-319). Westport: Libraries Unlimited.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Data Analysis: Newspaper Articles - *The Standard* and *Daily Nation*

	Title of Article	Analyzed Quote/ Phrase	Source
1	**If the head of the snake is right here in Eastleigh, why did we go to Somalia?**	'To kill a snake, goes the popular truism, you cut off its head. Perhaps, then, somebody should explain why Kenyan soldiers are pursuing Al-Shabaab militants deep inside Somalia instead of taking out the nexus right here at home. http://www.nation.co.ke/oped/blogs/446672-1261118-format-xhtml-12k5pav/index.html	**Daily Nation**: Article by Macharia Gaitho published on October 11, 2011
2	**Minister says Eastleigh the next target in hunt for Al Shabaab militants**	The war against the militant group is like fighting "a big animal with its main network in Kenya and only a fraction of it extending into Somalia". This is a big animal with its head in Eastleigh, Nairobi and the tail in Somalia," said Ojodeh, eliciting protests from MPs of Somali origin. Eastleigh is predominantly occupied by Somalis. 'Ikolomani MP Bony Khalwale called on the Government to ensure that Somalis without IDs were not unfairly targeted in the operation. Mr. Hussein had expressed discomfort with the requirement that passengers headed to northern Kenya produce their IDs or passports at the airport.' https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/business/article/2000045206/minister-says-eastleigh-the-next-target-in-hunt-for-al-shabaab-militants	**The Standard**: Article by Peter Opiyo and Patrick Githinji
3	**6 dead in Eastleigh Matatu explosion**	'Police and paramilitary personnel fired shots in the air to disperse rowdy groups who targeted civilians of Somali origin. The area is predominantly occupied by Somalis.' http://www.nation.co.ke/news/6-dead-in-Eastleigh-matatu-explosion/1056-1623298-qxurixz/index.html	**Daily Nation**: Article by Zadock Angira published on November 18th 2012
4	**Government, media guilty of xenophobic attitude towards Somalis**	'Certainly, the mayhem in Eastleigh was driven by xenophobia. Some media billed it as a "protest march by residents against Al Shabaab sympathisers" in Eastleigh and "angry youths protesting terror attacks". Some papers even wrote "deadly explosions have now angered locals who turned against the Somali community". Nairobi area police boss simply dismissed it as "thugs out to rob". NCIC Chief	The Standard: Article by Billow Kerrow published on November 12, 2012 https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/200007

		Mzalendo Kibunjia termed it was "rival gang" fighting inter-communal violence. 'But Eastleigh residents believe they are increasingly becoming victims of xenophobic attacks. I actually believe that certain elements in the Government and even the media are guilty of this xenophobic attitude. In recent years, Somalis have been profiled as terrorist sympathisers, foreigners behind insecurity and piracy money-launderers behind the property boom.	1416/government-media-guilty-of-xenophobic-attitude-towards-somalis
5	**Racist or xenophobic attacks should have no room in our brave new world**	Third, in the wake of the matatu explosion, there have been retaliatory attacks on members of the Somali community in Eastleigh. In the case of Eastleigh, the attackers seem to think that the terrorists have the sympathy of the Somali community who are, therefore, a legitimate target for retaliatory attacks.In short, some Kenyans are saying that Somalis are not with the rest of the country in the fight against terrorism on Kenyan soil. http://www.nation.co.ke/oped/Opinion/Racist-or-xenophobic-attacks-should-have-no-room/440808-1628728-g0wn18/index.html	Daily Nation: Article by George Kegoro published on November 25, 2012
6	**Ethnic profiling and the case of the Kenyan Somali**	"When I'm arrested in connection with what criminal gangs have done, I feel that I am a lesser Kenyan because I am from the Somali community," he said. "I was born in this country and thought I was part of the Kenyan fabric, but, due to this ethnic targeting, I now feel like a lesser Kenyan." "The government is working against us, trying to incriminate us on issues that are baseless. The Kenyan government is really targeting the Somali community," he says. "It has become an issue of 'Somalis against others'," says Sheikh. "It used to be Somalis against the government, now it's like the people and the government are hitting the Somalis."	Daily Nation: Sarah Christine-Gemson published on May 8th 2013 http://www.nation.co.ke/lifestyle/DN2/The-Outcasts/957860-1844688-12onfn0/index.html
7	**'It pains to be associated with terrorists'**	"Social networks are a protection for the Somali community, but, on the other hand, they are also drawbacks because, outside their social network, the Somalis are lame ducks," says Riva Jalipa of RCK. "Some of the challenges make me aspire to become a more responsible person, a leader, so I can come and address the Somali community's issues. So if I finish university, get a job, I can maybe get elected. We can transform the lives of Somalis in Kenya. My dreams in this country are very high," he hopes.	Daily Nation: May 8, 2013 http://www.nation.co.ke/lifestyle/DN2/It-pains-to-be-associated-with-terrorists/957860-1844692-9hkim4/index.html

8	**Kenyan Somalis should be treated like everyone else**	Since then it has never been easy — the shifta wars, and the Wagalla, Garissa and Malkamari massacres are cases in point. The marginalisation has been deliberate.Equality is a principle enshrined in our Constitution and Somalis forming the sixth largest tribe in Kenya should be treated the same way as anyone else. http://www.nation.co.ke/oped/Letters/Kenyan-Somalis-should-be-treated-like-everyone-else/440806-1850208-ko8s2b/index.html	Daily Nation: Article by Roble Bakal published on May 12, 2013
9	**Young MP-elect breaks the bonds of ethnicity**	Suna East constituency forms part of the larger Migori county and is one of the most cosmopolitan in the country. Its population of more than 100,000 is comprised of various ethnic groups, with the Luo dominanting, followed by the Kuria, Luhya, Kisii and Kenyan Somalis. http://www.nation.co.ke/news/politics/Young-MP-elect-breaks-the-bonds-of-ethnicity/1064-1728890-aafgj7z/index.html	Daily Nation: Article by Tom Musoba published on May 23, 2013
10	**Police have to own up whenever they blunder**	'The report by Human Rights Watch on abuses against refugees and Kenyan Somalis during a ten-week crackdown is cause for concern.' https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000084915/police-have-to-own-up-whenever-they-blunder	The Standard: Article published on June 1, 2013
11	**Police urged to protect Somalis against retaliation**	Human Rights Watch Africa director Mr. Daniel Bekele said members of Kenya's Somali communities and refugees-have expressed growing fear that the Westgate attack could prompt violence targeting them. http://www.nation.co.ke/news/Police-urged-to-protect-Somalis-against-retaliation/1056-2009388-lis2gm/index.html	Daily Nation: Article by Joel Muinde published on September 23, 2013
12	**Three Arrested over Eastleigh Blast**	'The Sunday explosions sparked protests in the area with some residents targeting the Somali community accusing them of harboring terrorists.'	The Standard: Cyrus Ombati published on November 22, 2012
13	**Wealth will come to Western Kenya when landlessness strikes the region**	'But the Somali businessman, hardy as the African acacia, is something else. When he arrives in a rural town, the first thing he does is to check whether there is a Kikuyu present. That is enough confirmation that he will thrive. And thrive Somalis do, trading in virtually every county in the land and spreading out across Africa, Middle East, Europe and the Americas — for trade.' https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000090688/wealth-will-come-to-western-kenya-when-	The Standard: August 11th 2013

		landlessness-strikes-the-region	
14	**Al Shabaab leader urges Somalis to battle old enemy Ethiopia**	'Somali gunmen tossed grenades into busy restaurants and executed well-heeled shoppers as punishment for Kenya's military involvement in Somalia. At least 67 people died.' https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000106623/al-shabaab-leader-urges-somalis-to-battle-old-enemy-ethiopia	The Standrad: Article by Reuters published on March 11th 2014
15	**Are we just going to sit around and wait to be blown to bits by terrorists?**	'It would appear that every little, two-bit Somali has a big dream – to blow us up, knock down our buildings and slaughter our children.They declared war on us and we thought it was a small matter that some guy in government was going to take care of. We were wrong.' 'We are at war. Let's start shooting.' http://www.nation.co.ke/oped/Opinion/Are-we-just-going-to-sit-around-and-wait-to-be-blown-to-bits/440808-2252048-7t44r5z/index.html	Daily Nation: Article by Mutuma Mathiu published on March 20th 2014
16	**Nairobi's Eastleigh estate is not all about Somalis but a melting pot of regional cultures**	'A walk on the streets of the commercial district and a chat with residents brings out this fact. To start with, due to their huge numbers, the Somali culture is conspicuous and dominates Eastleigh. To say that it has even obscured that of Kenyans is not far from the truth. Walking in the streets of the Eastleigh, one picks out the Somali culture from anywhere he glances. https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000107565/eastleigh-is-not-all-about-somalis	The Standard: Article by Xinhua published on March 22nd 2014
17	**It's unfair to blame Kenyan Somalis collectively for every act of terrorism**	Somalis in Kenya are these days holding their breath, lest they be caught in a xenophobic frenzy next time another terrorist comes calling. Eastleigh seems to be under curfew. Most people stay indoors after dark. Nobody is making any long-term investments. http://www.nation.co.ke/oped/Letters/-unfair-to-blame-Kenyan-Somalis-collectively/440806-2267368-7d4lkh/index.html	Daily Nation: Article by Abdullahi Diriye published on April 2, 2014
18	**Businesses suffer as crackdown continues**	'"It is very unfair to always say that people of a certain community are a security threat and blaming them for all the insecurity incidents. Why are Eastleigh residents taken to be guilty before being proven innocent instead of the other way around?" he wondered. https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000108874/businesses-suffer-as-crackdown-continues	The Standard: Article by Ally Jamah published on 8th April 2014
19	**Kikuyu or Somali, the script is the same**	Many Muslims, especially those of Somali origin feel targeted by the government, given the efforts to smoke out non-Kenyan Somalis living illegally in Eastleigh and other parts of the country.	Daily Nation: Muthoni Thangwa published on April 10,2014
20	**More Somalis deported in security swoop**	Of those screened, 48 were Kenyans, 42 from Somalia and 23 Ethiopians, police said. https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000109100/more-somalis-deported-in-security-swoop	The Standard: Article by Cyrus Ombati published on April 11th 2014
21	**POLITICALLY CORRECT:**	Arresting 657 Somalis in Eastleigh, holding them in cages at Kasarani Stadium, and taxing them for	Daily Nation: Article by

	Turning screws on Somalis will force them to reveal attacks	Somali have always wanted to leave Kenya and join the greater Somalia. Somalis have made scant effort to convert to the religion of the majority in Kenya. They have continued to wear their suspicious billowing robes and cover their women in inscrutable burqas. Any reasonable person must conclude that they must be hiding something under those loose fitting clothes. Many Somalis have made little effort to learn any other Kenyan language besides Kiswahili, marry into the other populations or assimilate. And they have not volunteered information to police about what Al-Shabaab are doing in Somalia, what they are planning in Kenya and when they expect to strike.	Kwamchetsi Makoha published on April 11, 2014 http://www.nation.co.ke/oped/Opinion/Turning-screws-on-Somalis-will-force-them-reveal-attacks--/440808-2276024-jqotdp/index.html
22	Kenyan Somalis are treated like second-class citizens	Kenya and Kenyan Somalis, for the first time since 1963, need to negotiate on the way forward. And President Uhuru must provide leadership to the process. The mass arrest of Somalis in Nairobi in the past two weeks and the inhumane and degrading camp they are being held in shouldn't be blamed on the Interior Minister Joseph ole Lenku and Police Inspector-General David Kimaiyo. Kenyan Somalis at times naively buy into this national delusion until they are violently awakened to the reality by events like the current exercise, and then put in their rightful place. Fifty years of abuse and neglect is too long to endure. But it is not that Kenyan Somalis don't want to be part of Kenya. It is Kenya that does not want Somalis in Kenya.	Daily Nation: Article by Ahmednassir Abdilahi published on April 12, 2014 http://www.nation.co.ke/oped/Opinion/Kenyan-Somalis-treated-like-second-class-citizens-/440808-2277348-pj74alz/index.html
23	Mr President, you are on the right path on terror war ignore detractors	'It is true that not all Muslims are terrorists. Equally true is that not all Somalis are terrorists. But it is also true that all the terrorist attacks against our civilian populations have been Somali Muslims.' 'Those crying foul must know that there is no middle ground in the war against terrorism. You are either with Kenya or with the terrorists. https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000109205/mr-president-you-are-on-the-right-path-on-terror-war-ignore-detractors	The Standard: Article by Barrack Muluka published on April 12th 2014
24	We must address psychosocial causes of radicalisation to fight terrorism	She said that if women had more say in Somali society, there would be no conflict and no Al-Shabaab in Somalia because women are in effect "clanless" and generally not part of polarised clan-based politics. This makes them natural peacemakers. http://www.nation.co.ke/oped/Opinion/440808-2683606-k29f0f/index.html	Daily Nation: Article by Rasnah Warah published on April 12, 2014
25	Is Operation Usalama Watch a Somali Gulag?	'God forbid, should any other explosion occur tomorrow, ordinary Kenyans may turn on the Somalis! I am not an alarmist but many prominent Kenyans are already forming that unfortunate	The Standard: Article by Billow Kerrow

| | | impression'.

The social media is awash with similar mindsets that blame Somalis for all the terrorist actions, notwithstanding the painful reality that more Somalis have died in these attacks than any other community.'

'Today, thousands of Somalis are held in similar detention camps at various police stations and Kasarani stadium in Nairobi undergoing profiling. The script is the same; the actors are different. The British Gulag policy that incarcerated Kikuyu's is now the government's prescription for Somalis. ' | published on April 13, 2014 https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000109277/is-operation-usalama-watch-a-somali-gulag |
|---|---|---|---|
| 26 | **'I feel like a dreadlocked Kikuyu youth in post-Mungiki Murang'a'** | Soon this degenerated into an us-against-them derby, and I, Osman Mohammed Osman, became guilty by birth, blameworthy, censurable and untrustworthy for having the 'wrong' ethnic identity. But why me? Why us? What have I done to be lumped together with the swash-bucklers who shot a bullet into the head of a toddler?

I know I am right, that I have a right to be called a Kenyan, to be identified with my nation rather than the shape of my nose and the language I speak.I get a bit uncomfortable when you give me that weird look on the streets, because what you are doing is telling me that I am guilty until proven innocent, that I am a prisoner of your misjudgment in my own home.

'My name, the shape of my forehead, or the texture of my hair have nothing to do with the loonies shedding innocent blood in the name of religion.' 'So, can Osman, a Somali, feel safe in the company of Oluoch, a Luo? Can Kilonzo, a Kamba, embrace Patel, his Indian friend?' | Daily Nation: Article by Osman Mohammed Osman published on April 15, 2014 http://www.nation.co.ke/lifestyle/DN2/Prisoner-of-my-identity/957860-2280268-14gu284/index.html |
| 27 | **Over 200 arrested in police swoop at Nairobi's South C estate** | 'The officers demanded identification documents from both pedestrians and motorists. There are a big number of residents of Somali and Indian origin in South C.

https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000109468/over-200-arrested-in-south-c-police-swoop | The Standard: Article by Charles Ombati published on April 15, 2014 |
| 28 | **Somalis are certainly not second class citizens** | In a recent newspaper article, Mr Abdullahi accused the government of treating Kenyan Somalis "like second class citizens".

No other government has appointed more Kenyan Somalis to key positions than the current one. We have Kenyan Somalis heading the key Cabinet dockets of Foreign Affairs, Industrialisation, and as principal secretaries in several ministries, not to mention heading powerful constitutional bodies or holding strategic positions in State House.
 http://www.nation.co.ke/oped/Opinion/Somalis-certainly-not-second-class-citizens--/440808-2289330-63k3mkz/index.html | Daily Nation: Article by Mwenda Njoka published on April 22, 2014 |

29	**Somalis: Kenya is our home too and we are not a security threat**	' Even after fifty years of independence, the identity question and place of Somalis is something that people are still coming to terms with, a question that is yet to be fully settled. Yet this is ironic because for the first time in decades, Kenyan Somalis have every reason to feel part of Kenya. The new county government has brough resources closer to the people…; 'What worried Gulied more than the profiling done by security agencies against Kenyan Somalis is the profiling that takes place in the streets by ordinary citizens. For example, some people call us tax evaders, thieves, pirates, to explain why Somalis appear to be thriving in business…' Mr Guleid said that while ordinary citizens have been much tolerant and accepting Kenyan Somalis, the Government has been unnecessarily harsh. He said his association is now engaging elders from other communities to address the cause of whatever grievances they might hold against the Somali businessmen wherever they operate. "We have to combat this monster now or suffer bitter consequences later," he said.	The Standard: Article by Kipchumba Some published on April 27th 2014 https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000110311/somalis-kenya-is-our-home-too-and-we-are-not-a-security-threat
30	**Somalia diplomat arrested during swoop**	'For the past weeks Kenya police have arrested nearly 4,000 Somalis during a widespread police swoop.	The Standard: Article by Cyrus Ombati published on April 28, 2014
31	**Adopt truth team report and effect proposals to win war on terrorism**	'These Kenyans are specifically reacting to security responses that are seen to target Somalis and Muslims. This plays directly into Al-Shabaab's tactical approach to divide Kenyans along ethnic and religious lines.	Daily Nation: Article published on May 1, 2014
32	Few arrivals at Dadaab show the poor results of Usalama Watch	'In the course of the activities being conducted under Usalama Watch, it seems that no ethnic Somali has been spared. Somalians, Kenyan nationals and journalists were all harassed. Al-Jazeera's correspondent Malkhadir Muhumed, a Kenyan ethnic Somali was arrested and held incommunicado for 3 days and subjected to humiliating searches. His "crime" was entering a detention camp with a video camera. His equipment was only returned to him with the video deleted. It is hard not to believe so many reports of human rights abuses all of which share a singular consistent theme of targeted, ethnic profiling'	Daily Nation: Article by Betty Waitherero published on May 3, 2014 http://www.nation.co.ke/oped/blogs/dot9/waitherero/2274550-2302308-6psi3u/index.html
33	**Muslim elite should stop giving Shabaab political cover for attacks**	The mass targeting of ethnic Somalis is wrong, daft and counter-productive. Arrests should be based on meaningful intelligence and should be targeted.Somalis are the biggest victims of Al-Shabaab. The fact that no meaningful insurgency arises once the Shabaab are chased out of areas they occupy shows how shallow their support base is. In covering some of the activities in the war in the south of Somalia, I noted that some of the finest	Daily Nation: Article by Muriithi Mutigi published on May 3, 2014

		soldiers on the Kenyan side – men who helped save lives by bringing a nuanced understanding of the ground to war planners – were Kenyans of Somali origin. http://www.nation.co.ke/oped/Opinion/stop-giving-Shabaab-political-cover-for-attacks-/440808-2302592-9jt7gvz/index.html	
34	**Usalama Watch a mask for forcible displacement**	A critical and objective appraisal of Usalama Watch shows that it was designed and executed for the single purpose of addressing and arresting what security organs see as a demographic explosion of the Somali population in the last 15 years the last national census showed a dramatic increase in the Somali population. http://www.nation.co.ke/oped/Opinion/Usalama-Watch-a-mask-for-forcible-displacement/440808-2302976-dmf0kwz/index.html	Daily Nation: Article by Ahmednassir Abdillahi on May 3, 2014
35	**'Just learn to live with us peacefully'**	'It gets worse when there has been a terrorist attack in the country. Kenyan Somalis watch the scenes with horror, but at the same time fear the backlash from fellow citizens who discriminate against them in public places such as malls, and when they are seeking jobs or want to transact businesses. The biggest entity that discriminates against them and punishes them collectively is the government.' '"Kwenda huko, Al Shabaab wewe!" (Go away, you Al Shabaab)," the hawker, who sounded like a Tanzanian, had said. This is the worst stereotypical statement Kenyan Somalis have become accustomed to. Hudheifa had had enough and he was not going to let this man get off lightly as he had done in previous incidents.'	The Standard: Article by Mohammed Osman Mohammed published on May 3rd 2014 Read more at: https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/lifestyle/article/2000160799/just-learn-to-live-with-us-peacefully
36	**We need a new approach in terror investigation**	'Furthermore, concentration of security raids in Eastleigh and parts of Mombasa also lends credence to the perception that the operation is discriminatory and targets particular communities and religion. This gives rise to further perception that the operation is driven by little more than ethnic and religious profiling.' https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/2000119707/we-need-a-new-approach-in-terror-investigation	The Standard: Article published by Peter Aling'o on May 11th 2014
37	**HRW asks Kenya to stop security operation**	"Kenyan authorities should immediately end ongoing harassment, arbitrary detentions, forced relocations to refugee camps and summary deportations in a round-up operation that has affected both foreigners and Kenyan citizens.'	Daily Nation: May 13, 2014 by Daily Reporter
38	**Yesterday it was Asians, today it is Somalis, tomorrow it could be you**	Today it is the Somalis. Yesterday it was the Mungiki. The day before, it was Kenyan Asians. "I watch this inane swoop of alleged illegal immigrants and victimisation of Somalis in the name of quashing terrorism, and it chills me to the core. It is illegal. It is unconstitutional… It could be us. It has been us before."	Daily Nation: Article by Rasna Warah published on May 11, 2014

39	**When you meet the next Somali or Muslim, hug him; he's also a victim**	I was horrified to learn that Somalis are now increasingly afraid for their safety in some parts of the country. They fear that if attacks continue, then other Kenyans might turn against them. http://www.nation.co.ke/oped/Opinion/440808-2323732-ibc0ab/index.html	Article by Mutuma Mathiu published on May 22, 2015
40	**Uhuru wants cameras everywhere? Sounds like America to me**	Because of the bomb threats and terrorist scares we have been having lately, several Kenyan Somalis have been rounded up and have been detained. It's happening to other people as well: Ethiopians and Ugandans; but mostly, Somalis. We all know that it's happening. We all know it continues to happen. Those of us who live in areas where Somalis frequent have heard the tales of midnight abductions and bribes to keep old folk out of prison.	Daily Nation: Article by Abigail Arunga published on June 6, 2014
41	**Let's cut to the chase; there is nusu mkate politics in the dialogue talk**	'In Garissa, Cord will dwell on the police operation in Eastleigh and the security roundups. Speakers will bemoan the Kasarani holding center for refugees, which Somali leaders have hyped as a "concentration camp". http://www.nation.co.ke/oped/Opinion/Lets-cut-to-the-chase-there-is-nusu-mkate-/440808-2340792-dmhkx3z/index.html	Daily Nation: Article by Gitau Warigi published on June 7, 2014
42	**Eastleigh traders relocate with billions in crackdown aftermath**	"Property has been stolen, lives have been shattered and families scattered. Children have been removed from schools. People have run away to start lives elsewhere. But the government has not found what it was looking for," he said. http://www.nation.co.ke/news/Eastleigh-traders-relocate-with-billions-in-crackdown-aftermath/1056-2349118-1jtkp7z/index.html	Daily Nation: Article by Justus Wanga published on June 14, 2014
43	**Mpeketoni attack: Death toll rises to 48**	'"There were around 50 attackers, heavily armed in three vehicles, and they were flying the Shabaab flag. They were shouting in Somali and shouting *Allahu Akbar* ('God is Greatest')," he said.' '"The attackers came in around 9pm. I heard them shouting in Somali as they fired around. I lost two of my brothers, and I escaped. I ran and locked up myself in a house," he told *AFP*.'	Daily Nation: Article by AFP published on June 16, 2014
44	**Resign, Kenyans in Diaspora tell Interior Security CS Joseph ole Lenku**	"The recent assassinations of several Islamist clerics, who many Kenyans believe were killed by secret government hit squads, and government roundups of ethnic Somalis have heightened mistrust and anger among Kenya's sizable Muslim population. http://www.nation.co.ke/news/diaspora/Mpeketoni-attack-Lenku-security-corruption-terrorism/2107720-2351240-jw1omr/index.html	Daily Nation: Article by BMJ Muriithi published on June 17, 2014

45	**Finally, our politics gave Al-Shabaab a gift they have been seeking all along**	There were reports of police stopping angry traders from marching on Eastleigh, the Somali-dominated business suburb. This action was driven by the perception that the terrorists were Somalis and Muslims, so they needed to be given a taste of their own medicine. In time, we might think back to that point and see it as the turning point. What the terrorists needed was to set Kenyan against Kenyan.' http://www.nation.co.ke/oped/Opinion/our-politics-gave-Al-Shabaab-a-gift/440808-2353384-qej8uuz/index.html	Daily Nation: Article by Charles Onyango- Obbo published by Daily Nation on June 18, 2014
46	**Families torn apart in the name of security**	Despite their marginalisation, many Somalis have played an important part in Kenya's economic and cultural life, running businesses and boosting the economy. This contribution is now under attack.' http://www.nation.co.ke/oped/Opinion/Families-torn-apart-in-the-name-of-security-/440808-2354708-eh6uoe/index.html	Daily Nation: Article by NMG published on June 19, 2014
47	**Careless statements from our leaders will only fuel tension in the country**	'Ethnic profiling, ethnic hatred, community punishment, hate speech and incitement must be condemned whether propagated against the Somali, Luo, Arabs, Kikuyu, Kalenjin or Kisii. There should be only one standard, and it speaks volumes that Kenyatta came out on this only when he felt that his community was being targeted. Rather than reduce ethnic tensions, this approach only fans the flames.' http://www.nation.co.ke/oped/Opinion/Careless-statements-from-our-leaders/440808-2356000-xiu9biz/index.html	Daily Nation: Article by Maina Kiai published on June 20, 2014
48	**Kenya's Somalis: Caught Between Power and Profiling**	The Somali factor in Kenyan politics is paradoxical. On the one hand, Somali Kenyans have been gaining increasing power in politics and business, but they have also become victims of periodic profiling and mistrust.' Kenyatta saw no difference between the Shifta and ordinary Kenyan Somalis – he was known to repeat the aphorism: "mtoto wa nyoka ni nyoka" • (a child of a snake is still a snake). Kenyatta came up with his own solution to the problem when he told them plainly: "Pack up and go, but leave us the land." The Somalis understandably shunned this directive and stayed.' 'Somali Kenyans exist in a precarious position. As a group they are prominently represented in politics and business, but they have also become a football, frequently kicked by the country's president, his deputy, and the security establishment. Some Kenyans still view Somalis as aliens who are business rivals and a security liability. The dragnet is creating a climate of fear in the Somali community but we do not know yet whether this is a long-term trend or a consequence of the enduring success of Al Shabaab in Somalia and increasingly Kenya'	Daily Nation: Article by Hassan M. Abubakar published on June 23, 2014 http://africanarguments.org/2014/06/23/kenyas-somalis-caught-between-power-and-profiling-by-hassan-m-abukar/

49	**Abandoned KDF war boys return to unleash terror**	'"The Government of Kenya appears determined to send 2,000-4,000 newly- trained recruits to Somalia. Recent discussions indicate that many, if not most, of these recruits are in fact Kenyans of Somali origin from the Mandera region._x000D_ The recruits were all Kenyan Somalis from Garissa, Liboi, Dadaab and the recruiting officer in Garissa was Hassan Barre Dualle._x000D_ http://www.nation.co.ke/news/Abandoned-KDF-war-boys-return-to-unleash-terror/1056-2365486-12bwiv6z/index.html	Daily Nation: Article by NMG published on June 28, 2014
50	**Protest politics in Kenya aiding Al-Shabaab to rebound**	The intense politicization of the crackdown from May 31 has driven a sharp wedge between Kenya's ethnic Somalis and the government, creating a new support-base for Al-Shabaab's radical agenda._x000D_ http://www.nation.co.ke/oped/Opinion/Al-Shabaab-Terrorism-East-Africa-Amisom/440808-2365426-ie5w4gz/index.html	Daily Nation: Article by Peter Kagwanja published on June 28, 2014
51	**Politicians should not be allowed to make statements in places of worship**	'In 2011, Mr. Raila Odinga told the Africa Report that the Kenyan government could not account for at least 400 ethnic Somali counter-insurgents it had been training since 2009 in preparation for the country's invasion of Somalia.'_x000D_ http://www.nation.co.ke/oped/Opinion/Politicians-Religious-Leaders-Churches-Lamu-Attacks/440808-2382552-o03nqqz/index.html	Daily Nation: Article by Rasna Warah published on July 14, 2015
52	**Jubilee's strategy to neutralise Cord's grievance politics**	'A popular theme is the call for the exit of the Kenya Defence Forces from Somalia, itself intended to win support from Kenya's ethnic Somalis and, by extension, the larger Muslim community. Cord's Uhuru Park resolution demanded the immediate withdrawal of the KDF troops from Somalia, which the Government has dismissed. This has forced Cord to change tack.'_x000D_ http://www.nation.co.ke/oped/Opinion/Jubilees-strategy-to-neutralise-Cord-s-grievance-politics/440808-2390340-wqqy1fz/index.html	Article by Peter Kagwanja published on July 19, 2014
53	**Westgate attackers stole identities, witness**	Like the attackers, the four on trial are all ethnic Somalis, but it is unclear whether they are Somali or Kenyan citizens._x000D_ http://www.nation.co.ke/news/Westgate-attackers-stole-identities-witness/1056-2409326-hmw945z/index.html	Article by AFP published on August 5, 2014
	Kenya Westgate massacre: developments one year on	'Two alleged attackers were named in court documents as 23-year-old Hassan Abdi Dhuhulow, who had spent time in Norway, and Mohammed Abdinur Said._x000D_ All were reportedly ethnic Somalis.	Daily Nation: Article by Jeff Angote on September 17, 2014

54	**Disobeying court orders and other acts of impunity a worrying trend**	'In 1964-5, at the start of an insurgency for secession by Kenyan Somalis who wanted to be part of Somalia as decided in a referendum held just before independence, President Jomo Kenyatta unconstitutionally invoked a state of emergency on the Northern Frontier District (NFD).' http://www.nation.co.ke/oped/Opinion/Disobeying-court-orders-and-other-acts-of-impunity-is-worrying/440808-2459300-ui9uu4z/index.html	Daily Nation: Article by NMG published on October 19, 2014
55	**The Westgate attack was terrible and evil, but did any good come from it?**	'Now, when it comes to counting people – especially Somalis and Asians – Kenya becomes a little like Nigeria. The 2009 census told us that there were 38.6 million Kenyans then. There was chaos over the number of Kenyan Somalis, and the figures that were given were withdrawn after an outcry that they were "too high" http://www.nation.co.ke/oped/Opinion/-Westgate-attack-was-terrible-and-evil/440808-2464348-m1gjhez/index.html	Daily Nation: Article by Charles Onyango-Obbo
56	**Short-sighted Kenyan politicians are playing into the hands of terrorists**	'On the contrary, ethnic Somalis living in Kenya are now even less likely to cooperate with security organs to locate or identify terrorists.' http://www.nation.co.ke/oped/Opinion/440808-2500238-jd773j/index.html	Daily Nation: Article by Rasna Warah published on October 6, 2014
57	**War on terrorism breeds extremism, says Institute for Security Studies report**	"Mass arrests without being taken to court and killings will deteriorate the situation. All the actions will have long-term consequences. It will have a ripple effect, starting with the person (victim), to the friends and finally the community." http://www.nation.co.ke/news/Al-Shabaab-Terrorism-Radicalisation/1056-2487748-kfde72z/index.html	Daily Nation: Article by Fred Mukinda published on October 14, 2014
58	**Joe Khamisi: Autobiography of a free slave descendant**	'So, there are thousands of Somalis who can't get an identity card or passport because they can't prove that they are autochthonous Kenyans; some Nubians are still told to go back to Sudan when looking for national documents.' http://www.nation.co.ke/lifestyle/lifestyle/Joe-Khamisi-Autobiography-of-a-free-slave-descendant/1214-2523538-wec7cv/index.html	Daily Nation: Article by Tom Odhiambo published on November 16, 2014
59	**Ethiopian model is not the silver bullet for dealing with Shabaab, but it offers lessons**	'Few understand that no community has suffered more from the crisis in Somalia than Kenyan Somalis, whose environment in regions hosting refugees has been degraded, whose water pans have fallen hundreds of metres deeper and whose security environment has severely worsened.' http://www.nation.co.ke/oped/Opinion/Ethiopian-model-is-not-the-silver-bullet-/440808-2539812-1x3fh2/index.html	Daily Nation: Article by Muriithi Mutiga published on November 29, 2014
60	**Is the lack of a security strategy a ploy to benefit certain business interests?**	'This happened in Pokot, where houses were burnt and looted by security forces, and in Eastleigh, during Operation Usalama Watch, when ethnic Somalis were rounded up and detained, and then had to bribe their way out of detention centres.' http://www.nation.co.ke/oped/Opinion/-benefit-certain-business-interests/440808-2540548-	Daily Nation: Article by Rasna Warah published on November 30th 2014

		i1w20uz/index.html	
61	**Group mounts pressure on President Kenyatta over insecurity**	"This divisive approach to the war against terror has turned out to be counterproductive. We saw how the Somalis were profiled after the attacks in Eastleigh. Such incidents make it difficult for the average Kenyan not to see the war against terror as a war against the Somali or Muslim community in the country," he said. http://www.nation.co.ke/news/1056-2540472-lt42t5z/index.html	Daily Nation: Article by Ngare Kariuki published on November 30th 2014
62	**Look no further, the jihadi enemy is here with us**	'Kenyan Somalis are also opposed to the KDF presence in Somalia for a very different reason which they can't state openly. They feel ashamed when their kinsmen in Somalia are under the military boot of non-Cushitic nywele ngumu soldiers from Kenya.' http://www.nation.co.ke/oped/Opinion/jihadi-enemy-is-here-with-us-/440808-2547550-493uth/index.html	Daily Nation: Article by Gitau Warigi published on December 6, 2016
63	**What's better than strong anti-terrorism laws? A smart strategy**	'President Kenyatta, addressing the nation surrounded by Kenyan-Somalis and respected Muslim clerics, would offer a powerful and credible antidote to the false and poisonous allegation that the anti-terrorism operation is a war against Muslims in the country.' http://www.nation.co.ke/news/A-smart-strategy-is-better-than-strong-anti-terrorism-laws/1056-2555456-87bnlr/index.html	Daily Nation: Article by Daniel Kalinaki published on December 19, 2014
64	**Kainuk sits on wealth that only time can unravel**	'There are few hotels run by Kenyan Somalis, which offer tasty meals at pocket-friendly prices. Kainuk bridge, which stretches 30m on Turkwel River, was built 30 years ago and is the entry point into the county. It is a link between other towns such as Kitale, Lodwar, Lokichogio and Juba in South Sudan.' http://www.nation.co.ke/news/Kainuk-sits-on-wealth-that-only-time-can-unravel/1056-2584018-moah34z/index.html	Daily Nation: Article by NMG published on January 9, 2015
65	**Interior CS Nkaissery pledges to end insecurity in counties on Kenya**	'Clanism was singled out as one of the causes of insecurity in the region.Last year, several people were killed and others displaced in inter-clan conflict between the Degodia and Garre communities in Wajir and Mandera counties.' "(National Assembly Majority Leader) Adan Duale and (Senator) Yusuf Haji will spearhead the anti-clanism campaign," said Ms Juma and added that the negative perception of Kenyan Somalis would also be addressed.' **http://www.nation.co.ke/news/insecurity-on-Kenya-Somali-border-Nkaissery/1056-2604896-tr1l9kz/index.html**	**Daily Nation: Article by Maryanne Gicobi published on January 28, 2015**

66	**Gangs minting millions in Dadaab IDs scandal**	'Millions of shillings exchange hands between Kenyan Somalis seeking national identity cards and registration officials in the northeast of Kenya, a task force was told Wednesday.' 'Because of the harsh conditions of the drought, the Kenyan Somalis flocked to the refugee camps in Dadaab to register themselves so that they could get food rations.' http://www.nation.co.ke/counties/garissa/Dadaab-IDs-scandal-mint-millions/3444784-2621594-157jr0x/index.html	Daily Nation: Article by AbdiMalik Hajir published on February 12th 2015
67	**Media misrepresentation of Muslims and Islam: Who takes the blame?**	'The study identifies narratives reinforced by the media. These include: "All Muslims are potential terrorists", "Islam preaches and supports violent radicalisation and extremism", and "People of Somali origin are potential terrorists". Negative stories essentially reproduce the notion that Muslims and Somalis are alien and are responsible for terrorist activities. Negative articles also omit certain relevant details, which should contextualize the story, thus giving an out-of-context account with negative connotations."'	Daily Nation: Article by Peter Mwaura published on February 19, 2015 http://www.nation.co.ke/oped/Opinion/440808-2629174-jxo8sf/index.html
68	**Spare a Thought for Kenyan Somalis**	'All will disembark from the vehicle "kipande mkononi". I guess the wallet has made this experience a little pleasant and less demeaning. On the other trips, the chances that the officers will pick on a Kenyan of Somali origin and ask for his documents are quite high. And to rub it in, others who look more Kenyan that the Somalis will be left out.'	The Standard: Article by Mohammed Guleid published on February 23, 2015
70	**An historic mission to stem Al-Shabaab's barbarism**	'As a result, the Somali militants are playing a high-stakes ideological game. They portray most of their recent attacks as a "clash of faiths" between Christianity and Islam. Al-Shabaab is using the divisive ideology of "nativism," a pseudo-racist and "us-versus-them" idiom, to win the hearts and minds of Kenyan Somalis ("the natives") and to fuel their hostility against non-Muslim Kenyans ("settlers").' http://www.nation.co.ke/oped/Opinion/An-historic-mission-to-stem-AlShabaabs-barbarism-/440808-2676218-93fk1bz/index.htm	Daily Nation: April 4, 2015. Article by Peter Kagwanja
71	**Monster who led Shabaab mass killers is unmasked**	'The second person arrested at the university is a guard, Osman Ali Daqare, a Kenyan Somali, suspected to having facilitated the attackers during the dawn attack. The suspect, according to Mr Njoka, had materials with Jihadi tutorials.' http://www.nation.co.ke/news/Monster-who-led-Shabaab-mass-killers-is-unmasked-/1056-2677056-30dw45z/index.html	Daily Nation: Article by Nation Media Group published on April 5, 2015
72	**Garissa could have been avoided if we had learned from past attacks**	Last year it randomly rounded up and detained thousands of ethnic Somalis in Eastleigh.' 'If Kenya is to win the war against Al-Shabaab, it must be seen as a trustworthy, protective force, not one that unleashes terror on people who are already traumatised. It must also recruit more Somali-speaking officers in its security and intelligence-gathering networks.'	Daily Nation: Article by Rasna Warah published on April 5, 2015 http://www.nation.co.ke/oped/Opinion/Garissa-could-have-been-

			avoided/440808-2676900-35499qz/index.html
73	**Politicians behind attack, says Ahmednasir Abdullahi**	'"The attack in Garissa is obviously the work of Kenyan Somalis. Let us not blame Somalia's Al-Shabaab. This is local," he tweeted. "Let us be truthful to ourselves. Kenyan Somalis and their leaders must stop the senseless killings in northern Kenya. Full stop," he said in another tweet.' http://www.nation.co.ke/news/Ahmednasir-Abdullahi-Garissa-Attack/1056-2678916-mb4anxz/index.html	Article by Nation Reporter published on April 7, 2015
74	**Governors want counties involved in State security**	'Mr Ruto also said the terrorists who killed Garissa University students should not make non-Somalis stereotype the Somali community as terrorists, since only specific individuals were criminals.' http://www.nation.co.ke/counties/State-security-governors-role/1107872-2677824-5koowyz/index.html	Daily Nation: Article by Nation Correspondent published on April 7, 2015
75	**How Kenya brought the Al-Shabaab cancer home**	'Details of how Kenya inserted itself into the messy theatre of Somalia through the training of young ethnic Kenyan Somalis against the advice of allies such as the US are revealed in great detail in leaked American embassy cables reviewed by the Sunday Nation.' http://www.nation.co.ke/news/politics/How-Kenya-brought-the-Al-Shabaab-cancer-home/1064-2682978-122qotxz/index.html	Article by Sunday Nation Reporter published on April 11, 2015
76	**Duale in tight spot over Shabaab attack and his 30-day list**	'When he later protested against harassment of members of his Somali tribe, Mr Duale was accused by the political class of being sympathetic to Somali members of the Al-Shabaab. At the Eastleigh rally, Mr Duale threatened to withdraw support for the Jubilee government over what he termed arbitrary arrests of "my people."' http://www.nation.co.ke/news/politics/Duale-in-tight-spot-over-Shabaab-attack-and-his-30-day-list/1064-2682974-c0hmom/index.html	Daily Nation: Article y Abdimalik Hajir and Justus Wanga published on April 11th 2015
77	**If the enemy is within our borders, Kenya Somalis must lead the battle**	Kenyan Somalis of every hue, irrespective of what they think of Al-Shabaab, have been strongly advocating the pullout of the troops. Online chatter among ordinary Somalis, which is very dismissive of the soldiers, is that they are in Somalia only to earn fat allowances. http://www.nation.co.ke/oped/Opinion/Kenya-Somalis-must-lead-the-battle/440808-2682782-15r6d2rz/index.html	Daily Nation: Article by Gitau Warigi published on April 11th 2015
78	**We shall never win war on terrorism if we do not confront the real issues**	'There is proof that the terrorists who have killed Kenyans are citizens of this country. Kenyan Somalis have been the main target of recruitment for terrorist groups.'	Daily Nation: Article published by Mahdi Abdi on April 12, 2015

79	**Address historical injustices to win this war**	'The answer can be found in the history of the relationship of the Somali community, from which Abdullahi hailed, and the Kenyan authorities. After the end of the Shifta war, it became government policy to subject Kenyan Somalis to extra scrutiny. Take for example Operation Usalama Watch in 2014, during which thousands of Kenyan Somalis and Somali refugees were rounded up and detained.It must address historical injustices and take steps to ensure that every Kenyan feels that he or she is indeed Kenyan. http://www.nation.co.ke/oped/Opinion/Kenya-Somalis-Historical-Injustices-Radicalisation/440808-2692884-pkgqax/index.html	Daily Nation: Article by Jeff Angote published on April 21, 2015
80	**Anatomy of xenophobia: we all have our 'outsiders', even here in Kenya**	'A Somali living in Japan recently wrote to me, asking why Kenyans are so horrified by the xenophobia displayed by South Africans when they themselves exhibit the same attitudes towards certain ethnic communities, such as the Somalis.' 'Nubians, Somalis, Turkanas, Asians, Giriamas, and others lower down on the citizenship ladder are the eternal outsiders in Kenyan society, where tribe and ethnicity determine one's destiny.'	Daily Nation: Article by Rasna Warah published on April 26th 2015
81	**Somalia border wall will be culturally disruptive**	'Ultimately, Kenyan Somalis will be affected and since our Constitution is so big on public consultation, I hope some arm of government is taking the trouble to do cultural impact assessments to help give these Kenyans already leading a very difficult life some choices and options when that wall finally goes up.'	Daily Nation: Article by Muthoni Thangwa published on April 29th 2015
82	**Why the Kenya-Somalia border wall is a bad idea**	'Indeed, heavy-handed crackdowns, which have included raids on mosques, the screening of ethnic Somalis, and closure of a number of Muslim human rights organisations, will likely further alienate those who might have provided intelligence and simultaneously strengthen historical narratives of exclusion, marginalisation and discrimination.' 'It will likely further alienate Kenya Somalis and foster a sense of difference and competition along the border area. Finally, it is danger of becoming a symbol of governance by directives and of the securitisation of peace and development. For all of these reasons the wall is a bad idea, and I look forward to the day that it can be brought down.' http://www.nation.co.ke/oped/Opinion/Why-the-Kenya-Somalia-border-wall-is-a-bad-idea/440808-2703636-12glu63/index.html	Daily Nation: Article by Gabrielle Lynch published on May 1st 2015
83	**Ethnic profiling of Somalis endangers this community**	'In Kenya, some political leaders are stoking fire by ethicizing terrorism, a situation that may ultimately lead to xenophobic attacks, and the government seemingly tolerates it. A month after the Garissa attack, the Government is yet to give identity of the other three terrorists, all presumed to be non-Somali Kenyans. Calling them terrorists will likely breed xenophobic attacks. Let's stop it.'	The Standard: Article by Billow Kerrow published on May 3, 2015 https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/article/200016

84	**Terrorists can only be defeated through united action**	'A new approach is necessary. Placing ethnic Kenyan Somalis, including the formation of specialized anti-Shabaab squads, at the heart of the strategy will help to tackle this menace.'	Daily Nation: Article by Abdiwahid Biriq published on May 30, 2015
85	**The girls who join IS aren't terrorists; they're confused, hormonal teenagers**	In Kenya, Al-Shabaab claims it is defending historically marginalised Muslim and Somali communities. Ironically, its attacks on Lamu, Garissa, and Mandera have further marginalized the very communities it claims to be protecting.	Daily Nation: Article by Rasna Warah published on May 31, 2015
86	**Nurture Somali trust and use it to defeat Al-Shabaab, says Wajir North MP**	Mr Saney said local residents feel unfairly targeted in the current war against the terrorist group. He claimed that apart from being left to their fate, those who have offered vital tip-offs to the police have been betrayed by the government.' http://www.nation.co.ke/counties/wajir/Nurture-Somali-trust/3444790-2735180-qdevobz/index.html	Daily Nation: Article by Kevin Odit published on May 31, 2015
87	**#DigitalSpeak: Kenya's war on terror explained using hashtags**	'Profiling of ethnic Somalis increased #EnemyWithin. An anti-terrorism operation was conducted. Over 1000 Kenyans of Somali heritage, including elderly women and children were detained #KasaraniConcentrationCamp. Human rights activists screamed violations. Despite this, the security situation continued to deteriorate and the tourists flew right past the country to Tanzania #TravelAlert.' https://www.sde.co.ke/article/2000164157/digitalspeak-kenyas-war-on-terror-explained-using-hashtags?pageNo=2	Standard Digital Edition: Article by Oyunga Pala published on June 1, 2015
88	**War against corruption does not give Uhuru licence to ignore Constitution**	While the motivation may have been honorable in terms of protecting Kenyans, the end effect of this was the creation of an Imperial Presidency that almost destroyed Kenya, and vicious repression, stigmatization and repression of Kenyan Somalis that has continued since then.'	Daily Nation: Article by Paul Ogemba published on June 5, 2015
89	**A nation in mourning amidst an endless war**	'As this war rages on, a new virulent propaganda on criminal culpability of Somalis and Muslims is furiously being manufactured by those who have failed foremost in vanquishing al-Shabaab, and securing the country. Pro-Government politicians, some of whom are Somalis, have been too willing to pass the buck from those who declared the war to those who the war was waged to salvage from Shabaab tyranny. http://www.nation.co.ke/oped/Opinion/A-nation-in-mourning-amidst-an-endless-war/440808-2742838-rfacqrz/index.html	Daily Nation: Article by Nation Media Group Published on June 6, 2015

Appendix 1:1 Coding and Thematic Clustering of Data Collected from the Newspapers

Themes Used	xenophobia	Dominant Ideologies and Perceptions about Kenyan Somalis	Identity Construction	Ethnic Profiling	The Role of Media in shaping perceptions about Kenyan Somalis
Article 1	'Police and paramilitary personnel fired shots in the air to disperse rowdy groups who targeted civilians of Somali origin.			Somalis have been profiled as terrorist sympathizers, foreigners behind insecurity and piracy money-launderers behind the property boom.	Some papers even wrote "deadly explosions have now angered locals who turned against the Somali community". Nairobi area police boss simply dismissed it as "thugs out to rob".
Article 2	'Certainly, the mayhem in Eastleigh was driven by xenophobia. But Eastleigh residents believe they are increasingly becoming victims of xenophobic attacks. …….. certain elements in the Government and even the media are guilty of this xenophobic attitude.'	To the best of my knowledge, no Somali has been charged and convicted in relation to any of these attacks.			Regrettably, the Government, the media and some Kenyans think they are the bad guys.' Some media billed it as a "protest march by residents against Al Shabaab sympathisers" in Eastleigh and "angry youths protesting terror attacks".
Article		Minister Orwa Ojodeh told			

3		Parliament … the war against the militant group is like fighting "a big animal with its main network in Kenya and only a fraction of it extending into Somalia".			
Article 4	….. retaliatory attacks on members of the Somali community in Eastleigh. ……… it is equally wrong to target Somalis in Eastleigh for the matatu explosion. … the protection of minorities from xenophobic targeting needs to be curbed through law enforcement…	As the community has itself stated, its members, whether individually or collectively, are not accountable for terrorist attacks committed by ethnic Somalis. … The Somali community, as a visible minority, has the collective burden of fighting stereotypes about the level of their commitment to Kenyan citizenship, which this violence appears to be questioning…			
Article 6	…fingers were pointed to the predominant Somali community that has colonized the area. … Three factors linked the arrestees: they were young, they happened to be in two neighbouring buildings at the time of the raid, and they were of Somali descent… "It has become an issue of 'Somalis against others'," says Sheikh. "It used to be Somalis against the government, now it's like the people and the government are hitting the Somalis."	… Targeting them simply because … I feel that I am a lesser Kenyan because I am from the Somali community… The list of Kenyan-Somalis grievances range from the benign to the illegal and unconstitutional "About 25 per cent of Somalis born here, born even in Nairobi, don't have documentation," he says. "They can't own a car, they can't own anything."	… It is difficult to prove whether this sentiment is grounded more in perception or reality, but the fact remains that it is a feeling shared by many in the Kenyan-Somali community… … Fuelling an identity crisis among Kenyan-Somalis... … The Refugee Consortium of Kenya (RCK), a non-governmental association which provides legal support to asylum seekers and refugees, has also noticed intensification in the animosity between the Kenyan-Somali	identity and acceptance in a community Somalis' struggle for acceptance lesser Kenyan identity crisis among Kenyan-Somalis	

105

	… Kenyan government is really targeting the Somali community		population and the rest of the country…		
Article 7	"Social networks are a protection for the Somali community, but, on the other hand, they are also drawbacks because, outside their social network, the Somalis are lame ducks," says Riva Jalipa of RCK.	…Kenyan-Somalis to settle and confront issues when they arise. Modern trends have allowed the Somalis to build communities, such as Eastleigh, which provide a certain degree of protection and economic opportunities… "Somalis laughed when people called them Shiftas, refugees, and poachers. Now they laugh when people call them terrorists and Al-Shabaab sympathisers. But how do they feel inside?"	Ultimately, what Kenyan-Somalis hope for is recognition as equal citizens. '. "We ask the government that we should not live as second-class citizens since the Constitution brings about equality.'		
Article 8			…the identity crisis facing the Kenyan Somali must have touched many people like me who are silently suffering…		
Article 9		… a Kenyan Somali … becomes the first MP for the new cosmopolitan Suna East constituency carved out of Migori.			
Article 10			'The report by Human Rights Watch on abuses against Kenyan Somalis during a ten-week crackdown is cause for concern.'		
Article 11	…protect Kenya's Somali communities … from retaliation following the Westgate shopping mall attack. … Members of Kenya's	'The report by Human Rights Watch on abuses against refugees and Kenyan Somalis during a ten-week crackdown is cause for concern.'			

	Somali communities and refugees-have expressed growing fear that the Westgate attack could prompt violence targeting them…			
Article 12	'The Sunday explosions sparked protests in the area with some residents targeting the Somali community accusing them of harboring terrorists.'			
Article 13		And thrive Somalis do, trading in virtually every county in the land and spreading out across Africa, Middle East, Europe and the Americas — for trade.'		
Article 14		"Somalis, your religion has been attacked, your land divided, your resources looted directly and indirectly through the puppet government - our victory lies in Jihad (holy war)," Godane said in a recorded message, pointing to the historic rivalry between mainly Christian Ethiopia and Muslim Somalia		'Somali gunmen tossed grenades into busy restaurants and executed well-heeled shoppers as punishment for Kenya's military involvement in Somalia. At least 67 people died.'
Article 15		'It would appear that every little, two-bit Somali has a big dream – to blow us up, knock down our buildings and slaughter our children."		'It would appear that every little, two-bit Somali has a big dream – to blow us up, knock down our buildings and slaughter our

				children."
Article 16		…To start with, due to their huge numbers, the Somali culture is conspicuous and dominates Eastleigh. '.Somalis are very good at haggling for prices and never want a customer to leave their shop without buying anything. And as expected, Somali food dominates the menu in most hotels in Eastleigh.		
Article 17	Every new security problem is blamed on Somalis: banditry, poaching, piracy and now terrorism. Somalis in Kenya are these days holding their breath, lest they be caught in a xenophobic frenzy next time another terrorist comes calling.	Somalis in Kenya tried separatism for a while but it didn't work; it made more sense to have access to infrastructure and fertile land than to be confined to a desert. Once the separatism was over, Somalis became a scapegoat for all kinds of ills resulting in the Garissa, Wagalla and Malka Mari massacres.		
Article 18				'"It is very unfair to always say that people of a certain community are a security threat and blaming them for all the insecurity incidents.	
Article 19	Many Muslims, especially those of Somali origin feel targeted by the government, given the efforts to smoke out non-Kenyan Somalis living				

	illegally in Eastleigh and other parts of the country.			
Article 20			Of those screened, 48 were Kenyans, 42 from Somalia and 23 Ethiopians, police said.	
Article 21		Still, the government has allowed these relatives of al-Shabaab to invest in the country, constructing tall buildings, trading and practising their religion oblivious of the poor pay the police receive. The time to atone for their stinginess is now. Recall that since 1962, Somali have always wanted to leave Kenya and join the greater Somalia.		
Article 22		There is a great urgency for President Uhuru Kenyatta to call for a national convention to determine once and for all the fate of Kenyan Somalis in Kenya. Are Kenyan Somalis Shiftas who should move with their camels to Somalia? Or should Kenyan Somalis be confined to what was once called the Northern Frontier Districts (NFD)? .	Are Kenyan Somalis genuine and bonafide citizens? Somalis in Kenya seem to be, in law and in fact, second-class citizens The reason is simple. Because this country has failed to address the Somali question in Kenya, and why Somalis voted to secede and fought to secede in 1960s, the same remains unresolved despite the collective national pretence that all Kenyans are equal.	The mass arrest of Somalis in Nairobi in the past two weeks and the inhumane and degrading camp they are being held in shouldn't be blamed on the Interior Minister Joseph ole Lenku and Police Inspector-General David Kimaiyo. From 1963 to date, Somalis in Kenya have been subjected to one form or another of indiscriminate gross human rights abuse.	
Article		'It is true that not all Muslims are		'It is true that not all

23		terrorists. Equally true is that not all Somalis are terrorists. But it is also true that all the terrorist attacks against our civilian populations have been Somali Muslims.' 'When the Government acts, therefore, where is it supposed to begin, if not in the intersection of the Islamic, Somali population in Eastleigh?			Muslims are terrorists. Equally true is that not all Somalis are terrorists. But it is also true that all the terrorist attacks against our civilian populations have been Somali Muslims.' Extract from an article by political analyst, Barrack Muluka
Article 24		'Some believe that politically excluded clans in Jubaland, who oppose interim president Ahmed Madobe, an Ogaden who is allied to the Kenyan Somali political elite and who is the comrade-in-arms of the Kenyan forces in southern Somalia, are joining Al-Shabaab in, as one Somali put it, "an asymmetric warfare that remains the only option for ignored voices".			
Article 25	Last month's explosion in Eastleigh that triggered the profiling was blamed on the community, even though no evidence has been adduced in this regard. The community has been stigmatised and portrayed as "terrorists" by the xenophobic narrative of the State, and other Kenyans psyched against them.' 'God forbid, should any other	The British Gulag policy that incarcerated Kikuyu's is now the government's prescription for Somalis 'To most Somalis, the police action in Eastleigh aims to disenfranchise the community economically by disabling its main business hub. Blaming the Somali community collectively is wrong and will create more resentment towards the State and radicalise its youth.		the government ordered the most dreadful exercise of ethnic profiling of the Somali community in Eastleigh on grounds that they were responsible for the spate of attacks in Nairobi	The social media is awash with similar mindsets that blame Somalis for all the terrorist actions, notwithstanding the painful reality that more Somalis have died in these attacks than any other community.

	explosion occur tomorrow, ordinary Kenyans may turn on the Somalis! I am not an alarmist but many prominent Kenyans are already forming that unfortunate impression'.			
Article 26		…forget all that 'Kenyan-Somali' nonsense bandied around of late — and if there is anyone whose heart beats for the good of this nation, that person is me. But why me? Why us? What have I done to be lumped together with the swash-bucklers who shot a bullet into the head of a toddler?	Yet, deep inside, I know I am right, that I have a right to be called a Kenyan, to be identified with my nation rather than the shape of my nose and the language I speak.	You are a Somali, she said, and that makes you suspect'.
Article 27		Granted, there may be some historical injustices that were committed by past governments against Kenyan Somalis.	However, Mr Abdullahi's argument that the current government has systematically marginalised Kenyan Somalis is far from true.	
Article 28	'The same feelings are probably in the hearts and minds of nearly three million Somalis in Kenya, even as Somali leaders fear for what they see as xenophobic feelings by non-Kenyan Somalis.' But there is a worrying intolerance against Kenyan Somalis from the streets and even in the media.' he said.	'Nairobi lawyer AhmedNassir Abdullahi blamed the government for sowing the seeds of anti-Somali through its fight against the militant group'. 'A Small group has been instrumental in selling the message that all Somalis are the cause of all security problems and more so in this country…' A good number of Somalis are today in positions of influence in Government and the corporate	For Gulied who also Chairs the Easleigh Business Association, the crackdown has had him interrogating his identity as a Kenyan Somali.' 'I am a Kenyan through and through. I was born here and do not know anywhere else to call home. But when things like this happen, they make me feel like an alien. Does Kenya want us? Doe Kenya appreciates us? He said.	

	'What worried Gulied more than the profiling done by security agencies against Kenyan Somalis is the profiling that takes place in the streets by ordinary citizens? For example, some people call us tax evaders, thieves, pirates, to explain why Somalis appear to be thriving in business…' Yet it is these kind of exclusionary tendencies that Dr Joy Kiiru, a lecturer of economics at the University of Nairobi, argues could be perpetuating the xenophobic sentiment against Somalis. "You can see the levels of intolerance from ordinary Kenyans seeping through in the messages left in social media and other forums. That is dangerous," he said.	sector. Garissa Township MP Aden Duale is the Leader of Majority in the National Assembly. There are three Somali Cabinet Secretaries, making it the third most dominant community in the Executive after the Kikuyu and the Kalenjin, from which the President and his deputy come from respectively. Somali candidates have often been preferred as compromise due to their perceived neutrality. But for a long time now, the words "shifta" and now "al-Shabab" have been routinely used stereotypically by most Kenyans to connote the otherness of the Somali people		
Article 19	'These Kenyans are specifically reacting to security responses that are seen to target Somalis and Muslims. This plays directly into Al-Shabaab's tactical approach to divide Kenyans along ethnic and religious lines.'			
Article 20		'In the course of the activities being conducted under Usalama Watch, it seems that no ethnic Somali has been		

		spared. Somalians, Kenyan nationals and journalists were all harassed.			
Article 21	The mass targeting of ethnic Somalis is wrong, daft and counter-productive. Arrests should be based on meaningful intelligence and should be targeted.				
Article 22			'Mohamed Amin, a Kenyan who was born in Nairobi and has never been to Somalia and has no relatives there but is still treated as a Somali who migrated to Kenya.		
Article 23	'The same feelings are probably in the hearts and minds of nearly three million Somalis in Kenya, even as Somali leaders fear for what they see as xenophobic feelings by non-Kenyan Somalis.' Yet it is these kind of exclusionary tendencies that Dr Joy Kiiru, a lecturer of economics at the University of Nairobi, argues could be perpetuating the xenophobic sentiment against Somalis.	He added: "They are easily demonised as a threat to Kenyan identity and stability, and perceived to have business practices that are discreet and exclusionary," he said. Indeed, the origin of Somalis' wealth has been a source of much speculation with the dominant street narrative being that it was acquired through illegal activities. For a long time, there was belief that Somali businesses have grown tremendously by evading taxes or through proceeds from piracy activities.	'I am a Kenyan through and through. I was born here and do not know anywhere else to call home. But when things like this happen, they make me feel like an alien. Does Kenya want us? Doe Kenya appreciates us? He said.	'What worried Gulied more than the profiling done by security agencies against Kenyan Somalis is the profiling that takes place in the streets by ordinary citizens. For example, some people call us tax evaders, thieves, pirates, to explain why Somalis appear to be thriving in business…'	'The trend has been security forces against us, but we have had ordinary wananchi on our side. But there is a worrying intolerance against Kenyan Somalis from the streets and even in the media.' he said.
Article 24	'It gets worse when there has been a terrorist attack in the country. Kenyan Somalis watch the scenes with horror, but at the same time fear the backlash from fellow citizens	Innocent Somalis, who mean well for this country cannot run their errands and earn their livelihoods peacefully because they are condemned collectively with the Al Shabaab whenever their is a terror		The mass targeting of ethnic Somalis is wrong, daft and counter-productive. Arrests should be based on meaningful intelligence	'Her main worry is that many Kenyans who wish to spread hate speech have taken advantage of social media space in trying

113

	who discriminate against them in public places such as malls, and when they are seeking jobs or want to transact businesses. The biggest entity that discriminates against them and punishes them collectively is the government.'	attack		and should be targeted. But for Hudheifa and his friends, that incident just added salt to a big wound in the psyche of Kenyan Somalis who suffer social discrimination on a daily basis.' '"Kwenda huko, Al Shabaab wewe!" (Go away, you Al Shabaab)," the hawker, who sounded like a Tanzanian, had said. This is the worst stereotypical statement Kenyan Somalis have become accustomed to	to convince Kenyans that all Somalis should be rounded up and taken back to Somalia. "Online hate-speech should be curbed so that we do not become statistics of xenophobic attacks," Amina says.' 'She has been involved in an online campaign which seeks to make people understand Kenyan Somalis and blames the media for portraying her community negatively.'
Article 24				'Furthermore, concentration of security raids in Eastleigh and parts of Mombasa also lends credence to the perception that the operation is discriminatory and targets particular communities and religion. This gives rise to further perception that the operation is driven	

			by little more than ethnic and religious profiling.'	
Article 25	Somalis on social media are saying that since the bus explosions in Mombasa and Nairobi last week, it has become difficult for them to take public transport. One ethnic Somali woman was thrown out of a matatu and asked to prove her "innocence". Other Somalis have been forced to take taxis because buses and matatus are not allowing Somalis to travel in them.			
Article 26	I was horrified to learn that Somalis are now increasingly afraid for their safety in some parts of the country. They fear that if attacks continue, then other Kenyans might turn against them.	Chances are that the next Somali you meet has absolutely nothing to do with Al Shabaab and is as much in danger of being blown up in a grenade attack as you are.		Therefore, if you have profiled him or her, then he or she is a victim twice over. This is not only unfair and unjust, it is also an unhelpful reaction based on blind fear.	
Article 27		'In Garissa, Cord will dwell on the police operation in Eastleigh and the security roundups. Speakers will bemoan the Kasarani holding centre for refugees, which Somali leaders have hyped as a "concentration camp".		Mr Ahmed, who ran for the Nairobi deputy governor's seat in the last election, argued that the way the operation, thought to be targeting Somalis, was conducted was against the Constitution and human rights.	
Article 28		There were reports of police stopping angry traders from			

		marching on Eastleigh, the Somali-dominated business suburb. This action was driven by the perception that the terrorists were Somalis and Muslims, so they needed to be given a taste of their own medicine.			
Article 29			'Despite their marginalisation, many Somalis have played an important part in Kenya's economic and cultural life, running businesses and boosting the economy. This contribution is now under attack.'		
Article 30				'Ethnic profiling, ethnic hatred, community punishment, hate speech and incitement must be condemned whether propagated against the Somali, Luo, Arabs, Kikuyu, Kalenjin or Kisii. There should be only one standard, and it speaks volumes that Kenyatta came out on this only when he felt that his community was being targeted. Rather than reduce ethnic tensions, this approach only fans the flames.'	
Article 31		'Somali Kenyans exist in a precarious position. As a group they are prominently represented in politics and business, but they have	'In 1989, two years before the onslaught of Somali refugees in Kenya, the Kenyan government singled out	Kenyatta saw no difference between the Shifta and ordinary Kenyan Somalis – he	

		also become a football, frequently kicked by the country's president, his deputy, and the security establishment. Some Kenyans still view Somalis as aliens who are business rivals and a security liability. The dragnet is creating a climate of fear in the Somali community but we do not know yet whether this is a long-term trend or a consequence of the enduring success of Al Shabaab in Somalia and increasingly Kenya'	Somali Kenyans to carry a pink ID card in addition to the identity document issued to all Kenyan citizens. This pink card, which highlighted the government's discriminatory stance toward Somalis, was declared unconstitutional in 2003, but, even so, Somalis still remain the target of harassment and extortion. In Eastleigh, police officers, whether assigned there or not, routinely make money by stopping and harassing Somalis, legal or illegal. Somalis in Nairobi call themselves "Human ATMs." •	was known to repeat the aphorism: "mtoto wa nyoka ni nyoka" • 'Is the increasing prominence of Somalis in politics and business the reason law enforcement is profiling and targeting them? Anyang' Nyong'o, suggested that the security crackdown was a case of ethnic profiling with the goal of wining back the trust of the West and flushing successful Somali businesses out of the country.'	
Article 32		"Those who undertook the recruitment exercise were retired Kenyan Somali army officers. They were recruited as Kenyan soldiers and were to be paid an allowance or salary of 1,000 US dollars and ferried by army and NYS vehicles to a common assembly point at a place called Shabaa from where they were transported to Manyani training camp on September 06, 2009 by NYS vehicles. While in transit, all their belongings, including IDs and phones, were taken away," says the report.'		
Article		'Two alleged attackers were named		

33		in court documents as 23-year-old Hassan Abdi Dhuhulow, who had spent time in Norway, and Mohammed Abdinur Said. All were reportedly ethnic Somalis.'			
Article 34		The 2009 census told us that there were 38.6 million Kenyans then. There was chaos over the number of Kenyan Somalis, and the figures that were given were withdrawn after an outcry that they were "too high".		'On the contrary, ethnic Somalis living in Kenya are now even less likely to cooperate with security organs to locate or identify terrorists.'	'In interviews in Kenyan and international media, people spoke of how they are still terrified to go to malls. Those whose dear ones died spoke as if they had just been killed that morning; and some let drop about their suspicion of Muslims and Somalis.'
Article 35			'So, there are thousands of Somalis who can't get an identity card or passport because they can't prove that they are autochthonous Kenyans; some Nubians are still told to go back to Sudan when looking for national documents.'		
Article 36		'Few understand that no community has suffered more from the crisis in Somalia than Kenyan Somalis, whose environment in regions hosting refugees has been degraded, whose water pans have fallen hundreds of metres deeper and whose security environment has severely worsened.'			

Article 37				We saw how the Somalis were profiled after the attacks in Eastleigh. Such incidents make it difficult for the average Kenyan not to see the war against terror as a war against the Somali or Muslim community in the country," he said.	
Article 37		'Kenyan Somalis are also opposed to the KDF presence in Somalia for a very different reason which they can't state openly. They feel ashamed when their kinsmen in Somalia are under the military boot of non-Cushitic nywele ngumu soldiers from Kenya.'			
Article 37			'Millions of shillings exchange hands between Kenyan Somalis seeking national identity cards and registration officials in the northeast of Kenya, a task force was told Wednesday.'		
Article 38					The study identifies narratives reinforced by the media. "People of Somali origin are potential terrorists".' "'Negative stories essentially reproduce the notion that Muslims and Somalis are alien and are

					responsible for terrorist activities. Negative articles also omit certain relevant details, which should contextualise the story, thus giving an out-of-context account with negative connotations."'
Article 39			On the other trips, the chances that the officers will pick on a Kenyan of Somali origin and ask for his documents are quite high. And to rub it in, others who look more Kenyan that the Somalis will be left out.' 'In other words, the way of life of a Kenyan Somali works against him. Not to say that there have been cases of abuse. Rather that the measures have been unfair even to those who rightfully deserve an ID.'		
Article 40		After the Garissa massacre, Kenyan ethnic Somalis in North Eastern region donated blood to help the injured survivors. Here lies the enduring lesson of the massacre: More than ever before, Kenyan Somalis have a historic mission to protect Kenya's civilisation against Al-Shabaab's barbarism.'			
Article 41		'The second person arrested at the university is a guard, Osman Ali Daqare, a Kenyan Somali, suspected			

		to having facilitated the attackers during the dawn attack. The suspect, according to Mr Njoka, had materials with Jihadi tutorials.'		
Article 42		'If Kenya is to win the war against Al-Shabaab, it must be seen as a trustworthy, protective force, not one that unleashes terror on people who are already traumatised. It must also recruit more Somali-speaking officers in its security and intelligence-gathering networks.'		
Article 43				"The attack in Garissa is obviously the work of Kenyan Somalis. Let us not blame Somalia's Al-Shabaab. This is local," he tweeted. "Let us be truthful to ourselves. Kenyan Somalis and their leaders must stop the senseless killings in northern Kenya. Full stop," he said in another tweet.'
Article 44			'Mr Ruto also said the terrorists who killed Garissa University students should not make non-Somalis stereotype the Somali community as terrorists, since only specific individuals were	

				criminals.'	
Article 45		'Al-Shabaab started recruiting Kenyans of Somali origin especially from Isiolo, Nairobi, Mombasa and the larger North Eastern Province into its ranks. Kenya decided to act.'			
Article 46		'"There was no ethnic cleansing here. When I was elected MP, Christians were being killed, and the aim was to create conflict between Muslims and Christians. In Somalia, they are killing Muslim Somalis. I want to ask our people not to fall into the trap," he said.'		'When he later protested against harassment of members of his Somali tribe, Mr Duale was accused by the political class of being sympathetic to Somali members of the Al-Shabaab.	
Article 47		'There were two crucial points made by Northeastern leaders during their press briefing on Monday. One was their unequivocal, if belated, concurrence that KDF must remain in Somalia. Kenyan Somalis of every hue, irrespective of what they think of Al-Shabaab, have been strongly advocating the pullout of the troops.'			
Article 48				There is proof that the terrorists who have killed Kenyans are citizens of this country. Kenyan Somalis have been the main target of recruitment for terrorist groups.'	
			After the end of the Shifta war, it became government policy to subject Kenyan Somalis to extra scrutiny.	'The reaction of the national security apparatus does not improve the situation	

			A Kenyan Somali would be required to present a long list of documents, including a school leaving certificate, a plot allotment letter, a birth certificate, a letter from the area chief, parents' ID and screening cards, and go before a vetting committee before he was given a national identity card.	because, rather than deal with the terrorist threat, it tends to victimise the whole community, making the youths prime candidates for Al-Shabaab recruiters.	
Article 49	why Kenyans are so horrified by the xenophobia displayed by South Africans when they themselves exhibit the same attitudes towards certain ethnic communities, such as the Somalis.'		Nubians, Somalis, Turkanas, Asians, Giriamas, and others lower down on the citizenship ladder are the eternal outsiders in Kenyan society, where tribe and ethnicity determine one's destiny.'		
Article 50				'It will likely further alienate Kenya Somalis and foster a sense of difference and competition along the border area. Finally, it is danger of becoming a symbol of governance by directives and of the securitisation of peace and development. For all of these reasons the wall is a bad idea, and I look forward to the day that it can be brought down.'	
Article 55		In the aftermath of the Garissa University College attack, the Government shut down all Somali		'In Kenya, some political leaders are stoking fire by	

123

		money transfers indiscriminately. Kenya Revenue Authority officials too raided several key legitimate multinational Somali businesses as part of the official harassment. Last year, the Public Service Commission published the ethnic representation in public service. Somalis had the highest deficit in proportion to their population, among all the 42 tribes in Kenya. It had 1,752 employees out of the 236,000 in public service. As the sixth largest tribe in Kenya, they ought to have had over 15,000 according to the report. But courtesy of the official discrimination and years of emergency rule in the region, Somalis lost out. Somalis, being Cushites, are the earliest inhabitants in this country. They are not anybody's guests and will go will go nowhere. Calling them terrorists will likely breed xenophobic attacks. Let's stop it.'		ethnicising terrorism, a situation that may ultimately lead to xenophobic attacks, and the government seemingly tolerates it. A month after the Garissa attack, the Government is yet to give identity of the other three terrorists, all presumed to be non-Somali Kenyans. 'In the Mandera massacres, the two masterminds of the attacks arraigned in court were non-Somali Kenyans. But some leaders have solely blamed the Somali community for the attacks in the country.	
Article 56		'IS and Al-Shabaab use online propaganda to gain recruits. Theirs is primarily a psychological war. IS exploits Muslim and Arab grievances, such as the senseless Iraq war and the Isreali-Palestinian conflict, to wage its propaganda. In Kenya, Al-Shabaab claims it is defending historically marginalised Muslim and Somali communities.			
Article 57					'Profiling of ethnic Somalis increased

				#EnemyWithin.
Article 58				Online, the Jubilee regime's massive social media army has churned hashtag after hashtag blaming the whole Muslim community. Each attack and each death come with a heightened demand for Muslims and Somalis to take responsibility.'

Appendix 1.3 - Data Collection and Transcription- Videos

Title of Article	Analyzed Quote/ Phrase	Source
1. Nairobi's Eastleigh Schools and Ethnic Somalis hit hard by terrors stigma	Interview 1: Fred Owuor, Principal Eastleigh High School Kenyan Somali students affected by security operations in Eastleigh. Most still held at Kasarani stadium hence missing reopening of school Image: empty school desks to illustrate missing students Interview 2: Head teacher explains that the school is also facing stigma of being one of the institutions in Eastleigh listed as grounds for radicalization Head teacher admits that radicalization is a real threat especially since Eastleigh High is a day school. They have had a number of meetings to address the issue.	Video Clip from KTN News Reporter: Habiba Ali Date: May 8, 2014 Duration: 2:35 minutes Source: YouTube Location: Eastleigh Boys High School, Nairobi County
	Mohamoud Mohammed, form four student narrates his ordeal. He was stopped by police officers asking for his national identity card. He is underage and doesn't not have an ID but police still took him to Pangani for further questions Image: Student talking while surrounded by fellow students of Somali ethnicity	
	Mohammed Abdulahi, worried parent: Children not in school for fear of arrest during the police operations Abdi Hasan, parent- students cannot go to school when their parents are still being held at Kasarani stadium	
	Narrator explains that a number of students didn't report back on the opening day and their whereabouts are still unknown Head teacher calls on police to release detained students.	Location 2: Maina Wanjigi Secondary school at Eastleigh, Nairobi County
	Clip ends with narrator explaining that the schools are affected due to their location in Eastleigh which is where the Operation Usalama Watch is taking place She explains that the students just want to have their lives get back to normal as life was before the security operations in Eastleigh Image: News reporter surrounded by students of different ethnicities. One is taking a cup of tea which the reporter uses to explain the normalcy that the students miss/.	

Somalis in Kenya Face Xenophobia Original Title of news report: Ethnic Attacks in Kenya	Clip starts with an image of Somali business men in a cloth store talking and laughing before reporter introduces 20 year old, Yusuf Abdi, a business man. The narrator explains how his business has been greatly affected by security operations in Eastleigh In the clip, narrator explains that there are 2.3 million Kenyan Somalis and 1 million Somali refugees living in the country Reporter states that ethnic Somalis have faced marginalization and persecution since independence in the hands of different governments She further explains that Kenya's military presence in Somali have further fuelled the negative perceptions against Kenyan Somalis are fears are rife that it could lead to xenophobia Image: Police screening of Somalis. Image shows police checking ideas and inspecting vehicles. Police in anti-riot gear are shown walking along the streets	Video Clip from Press TV Reporter: Alifya Noorani Date: November 14, 2011 Duration: 2:50 Location: Eastleigh, Nairobi County. In the clip, its referred to by its nickname, 'Little Mogadishu'
	The reporter explains that every time there is a security problem in Kenya that is linked to Somali, Somalis in Kenya bear the brunt of security operations. Second interview: Salah Sheikh, Political Analyst. He explains that the security officers should have a dialogue with Kenyan Somalis so that the security of the Somalis and the rest of Kenya is in the hands of the community and the government- verbatim	
	Still of the image of Dr. Mzalendo Kibunja, NCIC with the following wording, 'this hate propaganda is made through social media, broadcast and sms text messages and could lead to xenophobia.'	
Shocking tales profiling cases in Mombasa Original Title of News Clip: Being Somali….	The report begins with the presenter posing a question to viewers, what you do if you entered a matatu and all other passengers alight? He explains that this is something that Kenyan Somalis deal with everyday He also explains that landlords in Mombasa have been using the absence of Kenyan Somalis in their flats as a selling point Image: Bus after explosion- caption: Kenyan Somalis victims of terror war Image of twin bus explosion in Eastleigh and matatu operators screening passengers as they board a matatu	Video Clip from KTN Reporter: Rita Tinina May 8,2014 YouTube

	First interview: Adan Mohammed- He explains how he boarded a matatu to kileleshwa at Odeon Cinema. All 7 passengers inside the matatu who were non-Somalis immediately alighted. He explains how frustrated and hurt he was. He also alighted the matatu and took a matatu to work although he wonders if that will be a sustainable option since taxis are costly. Adan explains that he has been using the same matatus for the past one and a half years Reporter explains that Adan was the winner of the Uongozi Maaendeleo award in Mandera and has worked in Nairobi and Mombasa for years. He is currently the general advisor of Kenyan Northern Pastoralists Agency.	
	A screenshot is shown of the following advert which reads in part, Today in Nyali: Unique 3 bedroom new apartment near beaches ' homecare holdings- Kshs. 35,000 ………….very spacious with separate dining area, no Somalis in the flat….	
	Reporter explains that as the war against terror continues, Adan and others like him(Kenyan Somalis) hope that they will stop being the silent victims whose only crime is how they look	
Kenya Somalis in racial profiling	WUA Weather Center in Kenya, the blogger is presenting the clip as a weather forecast. He starts saying that there is a 75% chance of high and random victimization of Somali Kenyans. The victimization is as a result of ' hot air' emanating from the parliament where the MPs are doing their best to appear like they are fighting terrorism by condoning the arrest of thousands of their own citizens. Newspaper image 'Daily News' is shown with the headline 'KENYA POLICE ARREST SOMALI 'TERROR SUSPECTS'. In the background, there are images of police tackling a man on the ground. He further explains that all arrests have been purely on ethnicity and not evidence	Vblog on What's Up, a satirical and pop-colure segment Blogger: Ikenna Azuike, A Nigerian-British lawyer turned broadcaster Date: May 16, 2014 Duration: 3:09
	The narrator further explains that temperatures in Nairobi are rising and even matatus are refusing to carry Somali-looking passengers Image: a woman dressed in a burqa walking past a matatu where screening of passengers is going on	

	While still gesturing with his hands to show the motion of rapid winds, the narrator explains that there is mounting political pressure in Mombasa. Image of police in anti-riot gear in trucks and streets making arrests. An unidentified man explains the scene as police arbitrarily arresting people. Blogger goes on to warn Somalis to expect heavy showers of police detentions He pretends to receive a phone-call informing him that Operation Usalama Watch has already 'blown' 300 Somalis out of the country. He winds up his weather forecast by saying that the rest of the week looks promising for Kenyans apart from Somali refugees and Kenyan somalis who should continue to expect worse weather with being detained for over 24 hours without charge and hence it will take them longer to see any 'sunlight'.	
	Image: Woman in hijab carrying a baby and then the name, Bisharo Hassan Hussein At this point, presenter says, 'and no ladies, being pregnant will not get you out of a Kenyan jail… so keep your jacks on, no sunshine for you…'	
No Humanity Here(Somali's in Kenya)	The documentary begins with the following words: *'The came for the Somalis but I didn't not speak out…because I am not a Somali;* *Then they came for the Muslims, and I did not speak out…because I am not a Muslim;* *Then they came for the human rights defenders, and I did not speak out… because I am not a human rights defender;* *Then they came for me….and there was no one left to speak out for me.* *The words, No Humanity Here…bolded and in red…fill the screen'*	Documentary by Inform Action, May 21,2014 Journalist: Asha Muktar Location, Eastleigh, Kasarani Stadium and Kasarani Police Station Duration: 25:05
	The first scene is shot at night time, it shows a narrow road with buildings on the side and the back of a police land cruiser. The first interview (English subtitles): A woman speaking in Somali explaining how she was beaten up by the police. The interviewee is not shown. Second interview in Somali (English subtitles used) A man whose face is hidden from the camera apart from his mouth talks about 90 detainees including children and pregnant women. He explains that the detainees only get one meal a day, some eat in the morning, others in the afternoon and others at dinner and so they fight for food. He finishes by saying that the people holding them to do not humanity. The third interviewee is speaking in Swahili behind the cover of darkness. He speaks of police brutality and how he was beaten.	
	Narrator in a 'buibui' and red hijab standing at a rooftop looking down the street introduces herself as Asha Muktar, a video journalist. She identifies her location as Eastleigh.	
	The images of Somali and non-Somalis going about normal business at Eastleigh, walking on	

	the streets, then there is an image of Asha with a camera looking like she is filming the scene. Next we see police officers everywhere. They are in vans and some on foot now mingling in the crowd of civilians.	
	Third interview: A woman speaking in Swahili challenges the government to take them back to where they came from (she doesn't mention the place). She speaks of police asking them for bribes. Fourth interview: A man speaking in English explains how the police came to his house asking for his national ID. Once he showed his refugee ID. The police said,' this ID is for an Al Shabaab.' He says that police see them as 'ATMs'.	
	The video journalist now explains that they are in Eastleigh where a security operation is ongoing. Locals say they welcome operations but they wish the government would do it in a humane way.	
	The following interviewees are not hidden from the camera: Fifth interview: A man speaking in Swahili explains that the police are in Eastleigh looking for money and not terrorists. Sixth interview: A man speaking in English asks whether the pregnant women and children in police custody are terrorists. He talks of rape and tortures and says that even real Kenyans with IDs are not spared. Seventh interview: A Kenyan Somali says that they are harassed and mistreated yet they have identity cards… we are Kenyans!	
	Image: A woman dressed in a buibui is stopped by the police who speaks in Swahili and says, '*onyesha sura, unaeza kua ni Al Qaeda.*' The woman hides her face from the camera, turns away from the road and lifts her veil for the policeman to see her face. He then asks for her ID card after seeing her face. She laughs and the camera moves from the scene.	
	Ninth interview: A man speaks about Somali business men and the fact that Eastleigh helps generates two billion shillings as revenue for the government. (The speaker is introduced as Abdinasir Adan, Law Student, Nairobi University) He speculates that the government is trying to displace the Somali community in Eastleigh so that they can take over their businesses	
	The location is now Safaricom(Kasarani) Stadium where the first scene is a police truck driving in…Journalists are walking in with cameras as the police shoos them away	
	Interviews at the stadium Tenth Interview (Speaking in Somali, English subtitles): A woman covered with a hijab speaks about the mistreatment that the detainees face at the camp, there is no food, they spend	

nights standing since there are so many people crammed into small spaces. She identifies herself as a Somali refugee.

The journalist shows identity cards belonging to some of the detainees identified as Kenyan Somalis. They claim to have been detained for three delays without knowing why.

Eleventh Interview: Hussein Abdinasir, Advocate High Court explains that the detainees are not allowed to meet their lawyers or UNHCR. He says that the rights of the detainees who some are Kenyans are violated since they have been held at the stadium for over 24 hours with no charge.

Twelfth Interview: Al Amin Kimathi, Human Rights
 Activist, speaks of the violation of human rights. He speaks of Kenyans who have IDs being held at the stadium, not allowed to be visited by even their families who want to attest to their being locals. He talks of abuse of human rights, constitutional rights and international conventions that govern not just human rights but also refugee rights. He terms the operation as money minting.

'These people are the scum of the earth, why scum? Because they are Somali, because they are Muslim and because the public has been whipped up to applaud and say, "Kill them, hang them at every level."

"Somalis risk enforced disappearance…"

Image: detainees seated on the ground, next to them armed officers talking among themselves. One officer has a desk and seems to be talking to the detainees who stand when answering questions and then sit down as the officer takes notes.

Thirteenth Interview: Joseph Ole Lenku, Cabinet Secretary, Interior and Coordination
Speaking in Swahili he explains that they know their job and nobody can come and try to teach them how to do it as they are the experts.

Journalist asks him about cases of rape which he denies and says that the police are tackling all issues of the detainees and there have been no reported rape cases. He adds that the government is professional and will stop at nothing until the country is fully secured.

Image: Kasarani division police headquarters and police station sign board
Journalists ask to speak to OCPD and are informed that he is out but they are allowed to speak to the deputy OCPD.

Fourteenth interview: As journalist talks to the police officer, in the background, men are shown held in a space. They seem to be gesturing to the cameras pointing their mouths.

Deputy OCPD says he doesn't have much information or even know the number of detainees held at the station since it's his boss dealing with them

	Fifteenth interview: Ibrahim Abdi Saney, MP, Wajir North who says that there are many Kenyans being held at Kasarani. He gives this number as 116. The MP says that Kasarani stadium is not a police station but a **concentration camp.** He compares the operation to Wagalla, Bagalla and Garissa massacres. 'History has taught us that after every while, Somalis have been victimized. Nobody is safe, even me the MP for Wajir North can be repatriated soon.' 'Somalis cannot be treated this way, this is about ethnic profiling. Not all somalis have a hand in insecurity. 40 security officers have been murdered in Baragoi, no AL-shabaab there, turkanas keep fighting samburus… The general insecurity issue should not be pushed to Somalis.'	
	Seventeenth interview: Salah Abdi, Author of Blood on the Runway, a book about Wagalla massacre 'When you see in Africa, the name of your tribe appearing frequently on TV, you should start moving because that is what happened to the Tutsi." 'The normal people in Kenya have no grievances against the Somali. There's nothing they have done to them, absolutely nothing. But once they are incited and shown that these guys are the ones who are committing these crimes, these are your enemies... and that is what has happened now. People have been incited.' "Are we leading this country to genocide?" Image of journalist looking down the streets, she states that *Operation Usalama* Watch has been unconstitutional and a violation of human rights. Image: Dark streets, police patrols, officers checking ID cards and loading people in trucks. Next screen has the following excerpt from The Constitution of Kenya *28. Every person has inherent dignity and the right to have that dignity respected and protected. 29. Each person has the right to freedom and security of the person, which includes the right not to be…. Deprived of freedom arbitrarily without just cause…, treated in a criminal, inhumane way…*	
Not yet Kenyan	First image, people screaming, running, shouting. Images of people dying injured or dead on the ground. The journalist explains that this is footage of the Westgate Mall terror attack on September 21, 2013	**Aljazeera Correspondent, Mohammed Adow Duration: 47:54**
	Second image, blood, overturned chairs, narrator explains this is his hometown, North Eastern *'Instead of enlisting the help of the ethnic Somalis in the area, the Kenyan army has treated us as part of the problem,'* Image in the background, an elderly man wearing a white robe is roughly being shoved and carried to the back of a Landover by policemen. The man is kicking and shouting (inaudible	

| | words) but he is overpowered by the three policemen. |
| | 'In Kenya, all tribes are meant to be equal but the reality remains that some are less equal than the others.' |

	First location: Garissa, five months before the Westgate Mall attack. The journalist explains that Garissa was one of the safest towns in Kenya before Kenya's invasion of Somalia Journalist is shown driving into the town, he explains how difficult it is for him to be back in the town with the insecurity. He has covered conflicts in faraway places but this is his first time covering conflict in his hometown.
	First interview (Speaking in Somali but with English subtitles), traders explain how the market has changed and now everyone is working in fear. The herders who used to sell their cattle in the market have now stopped coming and the place is left looking like an open field.
	"Who do you blame?" Journalist asks.
	"I blame our government our government. They sent troops into Somalia. They let al-shabaab fighters loose on us. The government is to blame 'replies the interviewee.
	The journalist goes on to explain that the invasion into Somalia was called 'Linda Nchi' meaning to protect the country but the operation has not done that. Instead, the country is currently suffering.

	Location: Garrissa Hospital which the journalist explains is now a trauma center. He explains that nine people were shot the previous night, one died, six were airlifted to Nairobi and two young boys remain admitted at the hospital.
	Image: a young man with bandages on his legs being lifted onto the hospital bed. The man is Jackson Mutua who works at a restaurant where the shooting took place.
	Third interview: Mutua explains the ordeal. The journalist asks him how he feels about the attack and he replies, 'To me it's hurting, those people are inhuman.'
	'If someone has a problem, he should address the right people and not us innocent citizens who have done nothing wrong to them.'
	Journalist explains that the targeted café called, Chege's café was unlikely to have Somalis who are mostly Muslims. This is because the café sold alcohol.

	Next Location: A mosque at the town.
	Image: men removing their shoes and walking into the mosques. Outside, Imams address a small congregation. It is explained that this is the Friday brief.
	The imams condemn the attacks by Al Shabaab explaining that they go against the teachings of Islam which explain that killing one innocent soul is equal to killing all the people on earth.

	Journalist explains that the citizens, Somalis, non-Somalis and even imams all denounce the attacks but nobody is willing to help the police or volunteer any information. He explains that residents fear the police. When attacks occur, the police flood the town in anti-riot gear. Image: people running around with their hands up, armed police men stand watching them. The man shown in the first image is shown again. He is now in the police land cruiser which is surrounded by about six officers, keeping him inside and holding his legs down. He now shouts in Swahili, 'I am not Al-Shabaab. I only fight for our rights as Kenyans.'	
	Next scene is Garrissa at dusk, the streets are deserted and the journalist explains that this is because of the ongoing curfew. He compares Garissa to Mogadishu which also has evening curfews. Fourth Interview: Hassan Adow, an activist. He explains that the insecurity has greatly affected the Somali youth who do not have Ids. 60% of the youth are unable to get IDs due to the restrictions place on Kenyan Somalis. This makes them easy targets in security operations where they are arrested for not having IDs. The activist explains that the Somali youth are not safe anywhere. They are hunted by police and by Al-Shabaab.	
	Next scene: The journalist goes back to his childhood home. He explains the night after the police killing where they were woken up at night by screams. They woke up and the whole town were in chaos. There were screams, fires, children crying. One of his neighbours was shot dead that night. Journalist' family lost their home in a fire that night. They lost everything. The journalist goes to his father's house where he interviews him. Fifth interview: Speaking in Somali with English subtitles, Adow's father talks of the night of the killings in 1980. He explains about being captured and put in prison. "Dad, do you see yourself as a Kenyan citizen?" Adow asks. 'Completely. I have lived here all my life. Although I don't speak English or Arabic, I speak many Kenyan dialects. So how can a Somali who speaks Luo not be Kenyan?' The journalist explains that his father's attitude is simple, as long as he speaks the local languages, he is Kenyan.	
	Sixth Interview held at a local playing ground. Interviewee introduced as Duba Ali speaks about the night of the killing in 1980. He explains that they were forcefully removed from their homes and rounded up. After a while, the women were released. However, he explains that this wasn't an innocent release; instead almost all the women in the town were raped by soldiers that night. 'The British government did not subject the MauMau to what the Somalis have been subjected by both Moi and Kenyatta's governments.'	

'That was not our government. We were not a part of them so they did not woe us allegiances. We did not have any ministers, civil servants, governors…we were not part of the government.'

Black and white images of colonial era with the British rounding up African detainees.

'The war between Kenyan Somalis and the government known as the shifta wars have remained a forgotten conflict.' Adow.

The footage shone is from the archives. It shows Kenyan Somalis during the colonial era when they applied for secession to allow the Northern Frontier District to become part of The Greater Somalia.

The journalist explains that this application was unsuccessful because the British government granted Kenya independence before sorting the issue. Therefore, the Somalis decided to take up arms.

(In the background, black and white footage of Somalis speaking, singing, holding placards…)

"With the help of the British government, Kenya for the first time went to war against its own people…"

There was a shoot to kill policy, detainees held without trial, mistreatment of Somalis everywhere in the form of collective punishment.

Seventh interview: Dekow Malim Sambul, former leader of NFD speaks about the war. The interview is in Somali but the subtitles are in English. He accepts that as a leader, he was one of the people who led in the secession attempt. He accepts responsibility for that but blames the Kenyan and Her Royalty majesty government for ignoring the will of the people.

'…even if we hadn't asked for separation, the difference between us would never allow us to truly integrate.'

"The only solution to North Eastern issue was to allow Somalis to separate and join the other Somalis in Somalia and we would have wished Kenyans well...'

Archive footage is shown of Jomo Kenyatta in a meeting signing paper.

The segment ends with the journalist explaining how the government denied all allegations of murder and rape in Garrisa in 1980. On the other hand, the locals tell different stories about their relatives being murdered and the dumping of hundreds of bodies at Tana River.

The next location is Wajir where the Wagalla Massacre took place in the 1980S. The footage begins with the journalist's car being seen driving through a dusty road. The car is then driving through an area where there seems to be no road. There is a lot of water as the car drives through a section where the journalist explains is supposed to be the main road. He uses this to explain that the poor infrastructure illustrates the lack of interest in Wajir as portrayed by the Kenyan government.

The narrative starts by explaining conditions of Wajir in 1984 where there was rising insecurity due to inter-clan war.

"Like the British government, the Kenyan government could not understand the intricate of Somali inter-clan politics and so their answer to the issue was to disarm Somalis.' However, the journalist explains that the security officers held Somalis in contempt and this lead to fatal consequences.

February 10, 1984, security officers did a sweep of Wajir town and arrested all men from the Degodia clan who the government blamed for the clan violence. Thousands were rounded up and held at the Wagalla airstrip which was the only place big enough to hold the number of detainees.

Seventh interview, Yusuf Ibrahim, a survivor of Wagalla massacre recounts his experience of the ordeal. He explains how men who tried to explain were shot down and the officers said that the bodies will be meat for the hyenas. All other detainees were told to lie face down on the ground. He recounts seeing men being beaten, stripped naked, humiliated and bodies being burnt.

'Geographically, I feel I am a Kenyan… but fairness and justice per say, I don't believe I have ever tasted this in Kenya.'

Next Location: The journalist is driving to Nairobi to get answers about the massacre and other problems being faced by Kenyan Somalis.

"Residents of North Eastern still refer to Nairobi as going to Kenya'.

Footage of parliament is shown, motto of Haramabee, statute of Jomo Kenyatta and the symbol of KANU and Moi.

The journalist explains that Moi was president during the Wagalla massacre.

An old black and white photograph of Moi and G.G Kariuki is shown as the journalist explain that although Moi was president, the people of North Eastern hold GG Kariuki responsible for the Wagalla massacre since he was the then minister for internal security.

Ninth Interview, GG Kariuki, former internal security minister.

Journalist asks GG about the collective punishment, the killing of innocent women, beatings and rape incidents.

" What I see as the problem with people like you, the Somalis, is that you have never taken time to ask yourself One question, how do you deal with bandits while you have women and children separated and put in a corner yet the bandits rely on the cover of these women and children.' GG Kariuki asks in response.

"People like you with these computers…you keep passing the messages. Why do you keep deceiving your own community?'

Adow asks GG about his visit to Garissa in 1980. He asked about the article on the front page

of the Daily Nation newspaper on November 11, 1980 which quoted GG saying that he saw burning houses from the plane. However, in the article he commends the forces for showing restraint. GG responds by explaining that the fires were not started by security forces but by the bandits. Adow responds that he was a victim of Garissa massacre and he saw soldiers burning his own home and not bandits. GG asks him about the death toll and Adow responds that many people died. 'Once again, you are deceiving your people…many many people died…but you can't even give the figures.' Adow tells him that the bodies were dropped in Tana River to which GG responds that he would have known if that had happened. The interview ends with the journalist, Mohamed Adow standing on a dark street saying that he doesn't believe GG Kariuki who he believe is still continuing with the government cover-up.	
Footage of post election violence, people running around injured, bodies piled on the streets, police shooting in the air and at the crowds. Journalist that the violence was proof that there is still deep seated ethnic hatred in the country. After peace was brokered, the TJRC was formed. This was the first official recognition of victims of the Garrissa and Wagalla massacres. Mohammed Maalim, a survivor of Wagalla massacre speaks about what he saw at that time. He described the pile of bodies as he was overcome by emotion and had to stop his testimony as he cried.	
Footage of Kenyan's KDF army invasion of Somali. Journalists explain that the invasion took place in October, 2011 resulting to a backlash from the Al Shabaab. Tenth Interview: Billow Kerrow, Senator, Mandera explains how the invasion wasn't just costly financially but also to security in the country because he government wasn't prepared for the backlash. 'There is generally a growing unease about Somalis in the country and there have been reports about attacks against Kenyan Somalis in Nairobi. There is a growing resentment towards the community.' 'As Somalis, we have also been guilty of tribal prejudice. During colonial era, we saw ourselves as being distinct from Kenyans of other tribes and sought to be recognized as Asians like Indians and Arabs rather that Africans.' Adow continues on to explain that this was a dubious privilege for which they paid heavily.	

He explains that Somalis ended up in Eastleigh, an area reserved for Asians during this peroid when they sought separation. During the 90s civil wars in Somalia, more Somalis came to the area. This uis why Eastleigh was nicknamed, Little Mogadishu. Adow explains that there are half a million Somali refugees at Dadaab.

"This combined with the shifta wars, request to be seen as Asians…we are seen as people of dubious loyalty, at worst, Al-Shabaab.'

'The mistrust towards Kenyan Somalis was illustrated on 18th November 2012, when a matatu exploded on the outskirts of Eastleigh. A young Somali man was caught and beaten by a crowd on non-Somalis. Within minutes, there were running battles between Somalis and non-Somalis. The looting of shops, rapes were a grim reality of how little things have changed in my homeland.'

Mohammed Adow says this. In the background, there is footage of people running in the streets, throwing stones.

He explains that it took police a while to respond at which point, damage had been done much to the anger of the residents of Eastleigh. The residents suffer from the failures of the Kenyan police to protect them.

Footage is shown of young men throwing stones at a house within an apartment building.

Eleventh interview: Charles Owino, police spokesman who says that the anti-terrorism operations have been unsuccessful due to lack of support from the community. He goes on to say, 'whether you are Somalis from Somalia or Somalis from Kenya…these are people of the same community who protect each other."

Adow asks Charles Owino about the security operations in Eastleigh. He compares the collective punishment to what happened in Garrissa and Wajir.

"Why are you talking about those massacres? I have not heard you talk of innocent officers being killed at the Kenyan borders. We are not hearing you talk about police massacres by the locals. It is a lie, very indecent to blame government for primitive actions being carried out by locals.'

Footage is shown of Adow driving from Nairobi back to Garrisa where he comments that there have been fresh violence following the Eastleigh riots.

KDF soldiers were shot dead at the town when they stopped to change a tyre. Within hours, the town was filled with security officials. Images are shown of burning buildings. Garrissa central market was targeted by the military. Images are shown of destroyed and burned market stalls.

Adow interviews one of the traders who explains how the market was burnt down by soldiers, he goes ahead to explain that people were killed that day.

'With all this happening, do you still feel that you are Kenyan?' Adow asks the man.

	'I am Kenyan and nobody will ever change that even if they mistreat us. Nobody will change that." He however explains that nobody cares for them and nobody even said sorry for what happened. Thirteenth interview: Adow speaks to a Somali woman. She is speaking in Somali though the subtitles are in English. The woman explains how she lost everything in the fire. Footage is shown of civilians running around while police drive around in land cruisers. Adow explains that the civilians were protesting against the security operations targeting the Kenyan Somalis in collective punishment. He further explains that his childhood friend who was trying to calm the protestors was also shot dead. The final scene is what was shown at the beginning of the documentary. The destruction of the Westgate attack. Collapsed building and burnt cars. People are shown crying and hugging. 'As a Kenyan, I watched these scenes with horror. As a Kenyan Somali, I fear the backlash. President Kenyatta has reassured us that the country is tolerant (Uhuru's speech after Westgate is shown)… I hope that this is true. I hope that we can finally move on from the suspicion and mistrust of the shifta wars. I hope that 50 years after independence, Kenya's dream can finally be realized. One Nation where we are all Kenyans.' Says, Mohammed Adow as the the documentary ends and the screen fades out to the Aljazeera logo.	
The Stream: Security Crackdown sweeps up Somalis.	The presenter starts by explaining that the panel will be discussing the security crackdown in Kenya. The show begins with the hosts reading and sharing tweets from the audience. The first tweet shared: I am following the Eastleigh Nairobi arrests. Here is the hashtag #JusticeFor Eastleigh- Abdisalam Aato	Length: 36.34 Talk show Hosts: Femi Oke and Omar Baddar Guests: Moses Kuria, political analyst Farah Maalim, former speaker of the national assembly Abdiwahad Sheikh Abdisamad, Peace and Conflict Specialist, Southlink Masood Mwinyi, spokesman for the administration police of Kenya
	Second tweet: maybe you should talk about #Kasaraniconcentrationcamp- East African Star At this point, the host explains that the Kasarani Concentration Camp refers to the stadium where Somalis are being held	
	The host explains that there in an ongoing security operations in Nairobi which has led to the arrest of over 4,000 people. The aim of the operation is to arrest any unlawful people. In the background, there is footage from K24 News on YouTube with the description, Door-to-door police crackdown continue in South C, Eastleigh. The hosts explain that the operation is focused on Eastleigh, home for ethnic Somalis which the authorities say is a haven for Al Shabaab. However, Kenyan Somalis say that they are	

	victims of ethnic profiling.	
	An image is shown of people squatting in a cage-like structure with wire mesh on top. The video is on YouTube and is labelled 'activist video'. The host explains that it is an image of detainees at Kasarani Farah Maalim is the first panelist to react to the image. He describes the conditions that the detainees are held in as deplorable and inhuman reminiscent of the former Yugoslavia where serbs had detained people especially in Bosnia. He also described the scene as being similar to what happened in Nazi Germany Image: Background image is of women dressed in buibuis in a queue manned by police officers.	
	Masoud Mwinyi begins by saying that the claims that there are thousands of people held in Kasarani are very wrong. He explains that it is just a screening center. Where about 500 per day are rounded up, taken to Kasarani for screening and then they are released. Image: women and men walking with police officers surrounding them Image: police officers entering a house	
	Third Tweet: Fainting wives and mothers giving birth in dirty prison cells with no water, food or help- Tanya Alvis Fourth tweet: Hundreds of Somalis have been taken to Kasarani Concentration Camp they're there for days and cold nights no food no nothing and tortured. A friend of mine in Kasarani is telling me there's no progress going on but at least they gave them food tonight- Istareeey Masound reacts to the tweet about the mothers by saying that the personally visited the stadium where they found a pregnant woman in the queue. The woman was cleared that the security officers organized for transport to take her back to her home. He insists that the issue of pregnant women being held at the stadium is false.	
	Faarah Maalim asks Masood why the media was stopped from going into the stadium to witness the security operation. He says that even human rights officials were prevented from accessing the stadium Fifth tweet: Most Kenyan Somalis support the ongoing operation, Kenyan forces doing everything within the law. L Mwongera Responding to Mwongera: I am Kenyan Somali and I do not support it, stop lying, anyway who would support his people being mistreat- Mohameddahir Seventh tweet: What is motivating the raids is Kenya's prejudiced against Somalis, they have become scapegoat for everything Maalim accuses Massod of being untruthful in his claims that there are no detainees at kasarani stadium. 'What is happening in Kenya toady does not happen in any civilized society	

	in the world.'	
	Abdiwahad begins by saying that Kenya is not a banana republic but a country governed by law. He says that all human rights bodies have termed the security operation as ethnic profiling of Kenyan Somalis. He terms the operation in Eastleigh as collective punishment and systematic disregard of the law, detention without trial and extrajudicial killings.	
	Image: Youtube video of the operation showing police putting civilians into the back of a truck. The video is titled, 'Rights groups slam Kenya refugee creackdown.'	
	Screenshot of a facebook post: This simply had to be done! The grenade attacks were simply too many…and 90% chance it was a Somali was involved in them somehow- Charles Kagwe	
	Masood says that the government organized for structured visits by the media and they were taken for three tours of the area to ensure that media sees the process and the people profiled so they is nothing to hide Massod said that the operation is not targeting any ethnicity of religion or even people in a particular area. It has been done in different parts of the country.	
	Maalim responded to Masood's statements by saying that it is known that the target of the operation has been Somali businessmen, peaceful citizens of kenya from one ethnic community. He challenged the officer to say how many non-Somalis are in Kasarani. He also challenged the officer to explain if there are Southern Sudanese being held in Kasarani. He finishes his statement by emphasizing that only Kenyan Somalis have been profiled in the operation. Maalim says that the security officers raped and stole from people in Eastleigh during the operation.	
	Video clip on NTV Live on Security Operations with a tag that says 3000 arrested in ongoing swoops, crackdown. On the show is Joseph Ole Lenku, the then security minister Ole lenku states that terrorists have targeted both Christians and Muslims and so allegations of ethnic profiling are just meant to cause a distraction	

	Facebook post: If kenyan police and courts weren't corrupt, they could find the real terrorists and prosecute them instead of extorting money from innocent Kenyans- Ahmed Afen Video comment from Amos Odero: police swoops are meaningless unless government deals with porous borders	
	Moses Kuria made a comment that the whole discussion is part of a sideshow not addressing the real issue about the increases terrorist attacks in Kenya since 2011. Image: Westagate Mall attack in the background "When terrorists attacks occur, its business as usual. You will never hear of the likes of Farah Maalim. When a baby was shot, you didn't hear all these people. All of a sudden, it's about Somalis and Eastleigh.' Don't kenyans have the rights to live in peace? When attacks were happening, the likes of Faraah Maalim were not offering an alternative. "Some of these leaders are actually the bigger terrorists…' Moses Kuria. Farah responds by accusing Kuria of dishonesty and saying that he has in the past addressed security lapses even in parliament. "The only politicians on Al-Shabaab hit list is myself and former minister Haji who are both ethnic Somalis and not any other kenyan even the president. This is information from the kenyan intelligence systems.'	
	Abdiwahad explains that Al Shabaab is not a Kenyan problem but a regional one. He them lists non- Kenyan Somalis arrested and charged for terrorism in Garrissa. He explains that what occurred in Eastleigh was ethnic profiling of Kenyan Somalis. Tweet: My younger brother who is 17 years old was detained for 10 nights despite being a kenyan and he was physically abused- Munal Abdi Invest in ability of security forces to detect and investigate, Fight corruption. Stop collective punishment – Gathara The police force were basically mistreating, humiliating Somalis, it was a government sponsored anti-Somali swoop- Rejjectterror Image of detainees at Kasarani, showing their national identity cards to cameras Facebook post: Kenyan security should work in collaboration with Somali leaders in Kenya and recruit Somalis as informers	
	Section 26 and 27 of the national police service act dictates the operation usalama watch It is a delicate situation really. Influx of Somalis is something that has to be curtailed- Kalechi Jack As clearly highlighted Somalis are tired of being treated like 2nd class citizens we are part and parcel of Kenya- Rabah	

	Kenya I'm Not a Terrorist- Kenyan Somalis campaigning online against ethnic profiling. If you want to fight terrorism, stop radicalizing the youth through discrimination- placard Kenyaimnotaterroris.tumblur.com My ID cannot be original because I am Somali? Placard ' Since independence it has always been business as usual to attack Somalis in kenya,' Maalim 'Somalis have been collected in cages like animals. How dehumanizing certain community can deter terrorism?' Kahlid Deheye Maalim explains past massacres affecting Somali community to show that the government has been targeting the ethnic group for centuries. The operation has yielded positive results, not all Somalis are guilty but we cannot ignore the hundreds of victims We have many Somalis is Kenya both kenyan Somalis and Somalis Somalis. Let us look at Somalis in Bungoma, nobody is going after them because there is peace there. In Nairobi, areas with Kenyan Somalis have people causing mayhem to innocent people. Masood. 'Not all kenyan Somali's are criminals'. 'Show me a Somali convicted of terrorism in Kenya.' Calmness has been achieved, no attacks during the operation. Good will where Kenyans are commending government. Not targeting a single	
	Kenya needs to build strong relations with kenyan Somalis. Antagonizing them is not going to be helpful at all- Abdullahi Halakhe	
	Adbiwahab: 'government need to gain trust of kenyan Somalis so that they can share information. Collective punishment and ethnic profiling is a breeding ground from radicalization of Kenyan Somalis.' The hosts end the interviews and discussions explaining that they have run out of time.	

Appendix 3: Codying and Thematic Clustering of Data Collected from Videos

Themes Used	xenophobia	Dominant Ideologies and Perceptions about Kenyan Somalis	Identity Construction	Ethnic Profiling	The Role of Media in shaping perceptions about Kenyan Somalis
Clip 1			Mohamoud Mohammed, form four student narrates his ordeal. Stopped by police officers asking for his national identity card. He is underage and doesn't not have an ID but police still took him to Pangani for further questions	Ethnic Kenyan Somali students affected by security operations in Eastleigh. Most still held at Kasarani stadium hence missing reopening of school	
Clip 2	Reporter states that ethnic Somalis have faced marginalization and persecution since independence in the hands of different governments She further explains that Kenya's military presence in Somali have further fuelled the negative perceptions against Kenyan Somalis are fears are rife that it could lead to xenophobia Zainab explains negative perceptions by other Kenyan citizens. She explains how they	The screening of Somalis due to fear of ties to Al Shabaab have not helped correct the negative perceptions Salah Sheikh, Political Analyst. He explains that the security officers should have a dialogue with Kenyan Somalis so that the security of the Somalis and the rest of Kenya is in the hands of the community and the government			

	talk and stare when they see Somalis in matatu. She also says that she has heard whispers of people calling them Al Shabaab and saying that they need to go back to Somali.				
Clip 3	Reporter explains that as the war against terror continues, Adan and others like him(Kenyan Somalis) hope that they will stop being the silent victims whose only crime is how they look		Adan is wearing a Kenyan, beaded write band as he explains that the discrimination can never make him feel any less Kenyan. He is proud to be Kenyan whether he is removed from matatus or harassed on the streets, he remains Kenyan and knows no other country as home. He remains patriotic.	The report begins with the presenter posing a question to viewers, what you do if you entered a matatu and all other passengers alight? He explains that this is something that Kenyan Somalis deal with everyday He also explains that landlords in Mombasa have been using the absence of Kenyan Somalis in their flats as a selling point Adan Mohammed- He explains how he boarded a matatu to kileleshwa at Odeon Cinema. All 7 passengers inside the matatu who were non-somalis immediately alighted. He explains how frustrated and hurt he was. He also alighted the matatu and took a matatu to work although he wonders if that will	

			be a sustainable option since taxis are costly.	
Vblog 1	The narrator further explains that temperatures in Nairobi are rising and even matatus are refusing to carry Somali-looking passengers		He starts saying that there is a 75% chance of high and random victimization of Somali Kenyans The victimization is as a result of ' hot air' emanating from the parliament where the MPs are doing their best to appear like they are fighting terrorism by condoning the arrest of thousands of their own citizens He winds up his weather forecast by saying that the rest of the week looks promising for Kenyans apart from Somali refugees and Kenyan somalis who should continue to expect worse weather with being detained for over 24 hours without charge and hence it will take them longer to see any 'sunlight'.	

Documentary 1	The first interview (English subtitles): A woman speaking in Somali explaining how she was beaten up by the police. The interviewee is not shown. Second interview in Somali (English subtitles used) A man whose face is hidden from the camera apart from his mouth talks about 90 detainees including children and pregnant women. He explains that the detainees only get one meal a day, some eat in the morning, others in the afternoon and others at dinner and so they fight for food. He finishes by saying that the people holding them to do not humanity. The third interviewee is speaking in Swahili behind the cover of darkness. He speaks of police brutality and how he was beaten.	The came for the Somalis but I didn't not speak out…because I am not a Somali He speculates that the government is trying to displace the Somali community in Eastleigh so that they can take over their businesses Activist, speaks of the violation of human rights. He speaks of Kenyans who have IDs being held at the stadium, not allowed to be visited by even their families who want to attest to their being locals. He talks of abuse of human rights, constitutional rights and international conventions that govern not just human rights but also refugee rights. He terms the operation as money minting. 'These people are the scum of the earth, why scum? Because they are Somali, because they are Muslim and because the public has been whipped up to applaud and say, "Kill them, hang them at every level." "Somalis risk enforced disappearance…"	Sixth interview: A man speaking in English asks whether the pregnant women and children in police custody are terrorists. He talks of rape and tortures and says that even real Kenyans with IDs are not spared. Seventh interview: A Kenyan Somali says that they are harassed and mistreated yet they have identity cards… we are Kenyans! Eight interview: Alphonse Ngundo, OCS Central Police Station: He explains that police ask for IDs of all Somali-looking people. Those with IDs are released and those without IDs are taken to Kasarani where they are 'needed'.	Image: A woman dressed in a buibui is stopped by the police who speaks in Swahili and says, '*onyesha sura, unaeza kua ni Al Qaeda.*' The woman hides her face from the camera, turns away from the road and lifts her veil for the policeman to see her face. He then asks for her ID card after seeing her face. The journalist shows identity cards belonging to some of the detainees identified as Kenyan Somalis. They claim to have been detained for three delays without knowing why.	'When you see in Africa, the name of your tribe appearing frequently on TV, you should start moving because that is what happened to the Tutsi." 'The normal people in Kenya have no grievances against the Somali. There's nothing they have done to them, absolutely nothing. But once they are incited and shown that these guys are the ones who are committing these crimes, these are your enemies... and that is what has happened now. People have been incited.'
Documentary 2	'There is generally a growing unease about Somalis in the country and there have been reports about attacks against Kenyan Somalis in Nairobi. There is a growing resentment towards the community.' "This combined with the shifta wars, request to be seen as	*'Instead of enlisting the help of the ethnic Somalis in the area, the Kenyan army has treated us as part of the problem,'* "I blame our government our government. They sent troops into Somalia. They let al-shabaab fighters loose on us. The government is to blame 'replies the interviewee.	'In Kenya, all tribes are meant to be equal but the reality remains that some are less equal than the others.' Fourth Interview: Hassan Adow, an activist. He explains that the insecurity has greatly affected the Somali youth who do not have Ids. 60% of the	The man shown in the first image is shown again. He is now in the police land cruiser which is surrounded by about six officers, keeping him inside and holding his legs down. He now shouts in	" What I see as the problem with people like you, the Somalis, is that you have never taken time to ask yourself One question, how do you deal with bandits while you have women and

Asians…we are seen as people of dubious loyalty, at worst, Al-Shabaab.' 'The mistrust towards Kenyan Somalis was illustrated on 18th November 2012, when a matatu exploded on the outskirts of Eastleigh. A young Somali man was caught and beaten by a crowd on non-Somalis. Within minutes, there were running battles between Somalis and non-Somalis. The looting of shops, rapes were a grim reality of how little things have changed in my homeland.'	Journalist explains that the citizens, somalis, non-somalis and even imams all denounce the attacks but nobody is willing to help the police or volunteer any information. 'The war between Kenyan Somalis and the government known as the shifta wars have remained a forgotten conflict.' Adow.	youth are unable to get IDs due to the restrictions place on Kenyan Somalis. This makes them easy targets in security operations where they are arrested for not having IDs. The activist explains that the Somali youth are not safe anywhere. They are hunted by police and by Al-Shabaab. "Dad, do you see yourself as a Kenyan citizen?" Adow asks. 'Completely. I have lived here all my life. Although I don't speak English or Arabic,I speak many Kenyan dialects.So how can a Somali who speaks Luo not be Kenyan?'	Swahili, 'I am not Al-Shabaab. I only fight for our rights as Kenyans.' 'The British government did not subject the MauMau to what the Somalis have been subjected by both Moi and Kenyatta's governments.'	children separated and put in a corner yet the bandits rely on the cover of these women and children.' GG Kariuki asks in response. "People like you with these computers…you keep passing the messages. Why do you keep deceiving your own community?' 'Once again, you are deceiving your people…many many people died…but you can't even give the figures.' "Why are you talking about those massacres? I have not heard you talk of innocent officers being killed at the Kenyan borders. We are not hearing you talk about police massacres by the locals. It is a lie, very indecent to blame government for primitive actions being carried out by locals.'

Talk Show 1	Second tweet: maybe you should talk about Kasaraniconcentrationcamp-East African Star At this point, the host explains that the Kasarani Concentration Camp refers to the stadium where Somalis are being held 'Somalis have been collected in cages like animals. How dehumanizing certain community can deter terrorism?' Kahlid Deheye	Farah Maalim is the first panelist to react to the image. He describes the conditions that the detainees are held in as deplorable and inhuman reminiscent of the former Yugoslavia where serbs had detained people especially in Bosnia. He also described the scene as being similar to what happened in Nazi Germany He terms the operation in Eastleigh as collective punishment and systematic disregard of the law, detention without trial and extrajudicial killings. "When terrorists attacks occur, its business as usual. You will never hear of the likes of Farah Maalim. When a baby was shot, you didn't hear all these people. All of a sudden, it's about Somalis and Eastleigh.' 'Not all kenyan Somali's are criminals'. 'Show me a Somali convicted of terrorism in Kenya.	Image: A woman seated on a bed gives her identity card to police officers. She breaks down crying. A mother and a little girl walk on a dark corridor. She presents her ID card to the police officers. Tweet: My younger brother who is 17 years old was detained for 10 nights despite being a kenyan and he was physically abused- Munal Abdi My ID cannot be original because I am Somali? Placard	The hosts explains that the operation is focused on Eastleigh, home for ethnic Somalis which the authorities say is a haven for Al Shabaab. However, Kenyan Somalis say that they are victims of ethnic profiling. Seventh tweet: The profiling of Somalis is a necessary exercise to ensure Kenya is for Kenyans and illegal Somalis should go back to Somalia- Motanyar Don't Kenyans have the rights to live in peace?	Faarah Maalim asks Masood why the media was stopped from going into the stadium to witness the security operation. He says that even human rights officials were prevented from accessing the stadium Screenshot of a Facebook post: This simply had to be done! The grenade attacks were simply too many…and 90% chance it was a Somali was involved in them somehow- Charles Kagwe

Appendix ii: Certificate of Fieldwork

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES
SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM & MASS COMMUNICATION

Telegram: Journalism Varsity Nairobi
Telephone: 254-02-3318262, Ext. 28080, 28061
Director's Office: +254-204913208 (Direct Line)
Telex: 22095 Fax: 254-02-245566
Email: director-soj@uonbi.ac.ke

P.O. Box 30197-00100
Nairobi, GPO
Kenya

REF: CERTIFICATE OF FIELDWORK

This is to certify that all corrections proposed at the Board of Examiners meeting held on May 26, 2017 in respect of M.A/PhD. Project/Thesis Proposal defence have been effected to my/our satisfaction and the project can be allowed to proceed for fieldwork.

Reg. No: K50/80661/2015

Name: Artem Diana Wanjiru

Title: Media Representation of Kenyan Somalis

Dr E Mokua
SUPERVISOR   SIGNATURE   DATE 26/5/2017

Dr Samuel Siringi
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR   SIGNATURE   DATE 26/5/2017

Dr Ndeti-Ndeti
DIRECTOR   SIGNATURE/STAMP   DATE 10.10.2017

150

Appendix iii: Originality Report

Turnitin *Originality Report*

- Processed on: 30-Nov-2017 11:02 EAT
- ID: 873778221
- Word Count: 30368
- Submitted: 1

Final Thesis *By Diana Gitau*

Similarity Index
5%
Similarity by Source
Internet Sources:
5%
Publications:
2%
Student Papers:
N/A
refresh

☒<1% match (Internet from 24-Jun-2015)

http://www.mediacouncil.or.ke

☒<1% match (Internet from 10-Dec-2015)

http://www.dehai.org

☒<1% match (Internet from 30-Mar-2012)

http://www.monitor.upeace.org

☒<1% match (publications)

Harry Kipkemoi Bett. "The cascade model of teachers' continuing professional development in Kenya: A time for change?", Cogent Education, 2016

☒<1% match (Internet from 26-Oct-2017)

http://aut.researchgateway.ac.nz

☒<1% match (Internet from 03-Oct-2013)

Appendix iv: Certificate of Corrections

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES
SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM & MASS COMMUNICATION

Telegram: Journalism Varsity Nairobi
Telephone: 254-02-3318262, Ext. 28080, 28061
Director's Office: +254-204913208 (Direct Line)
Telex: 22095 Fax: 254-02-245566
Email: director-soj@uonbi.ac.ke

P.O. Box 30197-00100
Nairobi, GPO
Kenya

REF: CERTIFICATE OF CORRECTIONS

This is to certify that all corrections proposed at the Board of Examiners meeting held on _____ in respect of M.A/PhD. Project/Thesis defence have been effected to my/our satisfaction and the project/thesis can be allowed to proceed for binding.

Reg. No: K50/80661/2015

Name: DIANA WANJIRU GITAU

Title: MEDIA REPRESENTATION OF KENYAN SOMALIS

Dr Elias Mokua
SUPERVISOR   SIGNATURE   DATE 5/12/2017

Dr Samuel Siringi
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR SIGNATURE   DATE 8/12/2017

Dr Ndeti Ndati
DIRECTOR   SIGNATURE/STAMP   DATE 8

08 DEC 2017

152