

**A Comparative Study of Print Media Coverage of the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme
to Vulnerable Groups in Kenya Before and During the COVID-19 Pandemic**

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**A research project presented to the Department of Journalism and Mass Communication,
University of Nairobi, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree
of Master of Arts in Communication Studies**

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DECLARATION

This research is my original work and has not been presented for academic award in any other institution. No part of this report may be reproduced without prior permission of the author.

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

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this project to Neil Mwendwa.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would like to thank my supervisor Dr. Muiru Ngugi for his guidance and encouragement. My gratitude also goes to all the staff at the Department of Journalism and Mass Communication for their continued support.

ABSTRACT

This study set out to investigate how print media covered the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme before and during the COVID-19 pandemic. The specific objectives were: to find out the extent to which the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme was covered before and during the COVID-19 period, to analyse the themes emerging from print media coverage of the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme in Kenya and to investigate the public perceptions of the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme based on print media reporting. It is anchored on the agenda setting, priming and framing theories. The study used a descriptive design and qualitative research approach. Purposive sampling was used to draw a target population of 28 newspaper editions that had relevant articles on the programme drawn from a total population of 545 newspaper editions in Kenya. The sample size was 29 articles. The research method used was content analysis and the data collection tool was a coding sheet. Data were presented in narrative form. The study found out that there was a significant increase in coverage of the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme during the pandemic. The themes drawn from the reviewed articles were mismanagement, efficiency, corruption, non-commitment, challenges, reforms, shortage and expansion. The public perceptions drawn from the study were: efficiency, corruption, insecurity, protection, and government stipend not enough. The study recommends that the government and media put more effort in creating awareness of the Hunger Safety Net Programme. The study also recommends that the government address the issue of mismanagement of the programme and lastly the media should put more effort in capturing the public's opinions on social protection programmes in the country.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION.....	ii
DEDICATION.....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT.....	iv
ABSTRACT.....	v
LIST OF TABLES.....	x
ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS.....	xi
CHAPTER ONE.....	1
INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Background of the study.....	1
1.2 Problem statement.....	4
1.3 Research objectives.....	6
1.4 Research questions.....	6
1.5 Rationale and justification of the study.....	6
1.6 Scope and limitations.....	7
CHAPTER TWO.....	9
LITERATURE REVIEW.....	9
2.0 Overview.....	9
2.1 Emergence of social protection in the world.....	9
2.2 Social Protection in Kenya.....	10
2.3 Social protection and the Constitution of Kenya 2010.....	11
2.4 Cash transfers: Definition and growth in Kenya.....	12
2.5 Media and Social Protection.....	13
2.6 Theoretical framework.....	15

2.6.1 Agenda setting theory	15
2.6.2 Priming.....	16
2.6.3 Framing.....	16
Conclusion	17
CHAPTER THREE	18
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	18
3.0 Overview	18
3.1 Research Design	18
3.2 Research Approach.....	18
3.3 Research method.....	19
3.4 Population and Sampling.....	19
3.4 Data generation techniques.....	21
3.5 Data collection tools	21
3.6 Data analysis and presentation	22
3.7 Validity and Reliability.....	22
3.8 Ethical considerations.....	23
CHAPTER FOUR.....	24
DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION	24
4.0 Overview	24
4.1 The extent to which the <i>Inua Jamii</i> programme was covered before and during the COVID-19 period.....	24
4.1. 1. Coverage before the COVID-19 period	24
4.1.2. Coverage during the COVID-19 period.....	25
4.2 Themes emerging from print media coverage on the <i>Inua Jamii</i> cash transfer programme in Kenya.....	27

4.3 Public perceptions of the <i>Inua Jamii</i> cash transfer programme based on print media reporting in Kenya	29
4.4 Comparison between themes and audience perceptions	31
CHAPTER FIVE	33
SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	33
5.0 Overview	33
5.1 Summary of findings.....	33
5.1. 1. Coverage before the COVID-19 period	33
5.1.2. Coverage during the COVID-19 period.....	33
5.1.3 Themes emerging from the print media coverage of the <i>Inua Jamii</i> cash transfer programme in Kenya	34
5.1.4 Public perceptions of the <i>Inua Jamii</i> cash transfer programme based on print media reporting in Kenya	34
5.1.5 Comparison between themes and audience perceptions	34
5.2Recommendations	34
5.3Suggestions for further research	35
REFERENCES.....	36
APPENDICES	40
Coding sheet.....	40
Nation Newspaper.....	40
Standard Newspaper	42
The Star.....	43
Business Daily	44
The People Daily.....	45
Certificate of corrections.....	48

Certificate of fieldwork.....	49
Originality report.....	50

LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1 Summary of population and sample	211
Table 4.1 Publication dates of Inua Jamii programme articles before COVID-19 pandemic	255
Table 4.2 Articles published per month before COVID-19 pandemic	255
Table 4.3 Dates of publication of <i>Inua Jamii</i> programme articles during COVID-19 pandemic	26
Table 4.4 Articles published per month during COVID-19 pandemic	266
Table 4.5 Summary of themes on the Inua Jamii programme	288
Table 4.6 Public perceptions from print media reporting	311

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AU	African Union
DFID	Department for International Development
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
OVC	Orphans and vulnerable children
CT-OVC	Cash Transfer for Orphans and Vulnerable Children
OPCT	Older Persons Cash Transfer
NSNP	National Safety Net Programme
PWSD	Persons with Severe Disabilities
PWSD-CT	Persons with Severe Disabilities Cash Transfer Program
HSNP	Hunger Safety Net Programme
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background of the study

Cash transfer programmes are common instruments used by governments and institutions to economically empower vulnerable groups in society. They are seen as part of wider social protection programmes from governments to their citizens. As noted by Ouma & Adésínà (2018), “cash transfers, as public social assistance, constitute forms of social protection policies in which the state and/or other agencies make direct, regular and predictable payments to households or individuals to address short- and long-term vulnerabilities to cushion households from shocks, and prevent further deprivation and poverty”. Ngelu (2017) notes that cash transfer programmes are on the rise in developing countries. This is collaborated by Ouma & Adésínà (2018) who point out (ibid) there are 40 African Nations providing some sort of cash transfers to their citizens, an upward from 21 in 2010 as reported by world bank in 2015.

Social protection (usually to the vulnerable groups in society) emerged in the early 1900s in Western Europe according to (Andersen,2018). Anderson further notes that social protection was advanced to include different types of social services from the 1940s. There has been exponential growth since then. Enli, Syvertsen & Mjøs (2018) see social protection as a key objective of a welfare state. Lindbeck, (2006) defines a welfare state as that whose government makes arrangements for cash benefits to households and also provides subsidised human services. While Lindbeck argues that this is a narrow definition of a welfare state, it is worth noting that it encompasses most social protection programmes that Andersen (2018) talks about, “...the welfare state modifies the impact of the market, by providing some sort of minimum guarantee (mitigating poverty); covering a range of social risks (security), and providing certain services (health care, child and elder care, etc.) – at the best standards available” .From the above definition and explanation about welfare states, it is clear that there are different approaches to the provision of welfare in different states.

Devereux & White (2010) point out that social protection in Africa has increasingly become institutionalized in order to cushion the poor and most vulnerable in society. They further point out that even though this is majorly an initiative from development and aid organizations in the

continent, it has picked up nevertheless. They continue to point out that the driving forces behind social protection growth is a cost versus benefit measurement, political reasons and concern for people's rights. Devereux & White, 2010 also note that the growing trend of democratization in the continent has allowed governments to be keen on provision of citizen rights influencing social protection programmes positively.

(Holmes & LwangaNtale, 2012) point out that “The main social protection instruments implemented in African countries tend to align with the needs of particular vulnerable groups. On the one hand, social assistance and welfare forms of social protection for people who are labour-constrained (such as people with disabilities, orphans without support, victims of civil conflict and/or natural disasters, and those who are not eligible for insurance schemes) tend to be unconditional income or food transfers... On the other hand, labour-market programmes which target wage or non-wage employees in the formal and informal sectors, as well as those who are under-employed or unemployed are also increasingly prevalent”.

Social protection in Kenya takes different forms. According to the Kenya Social Protection Sector Review, 2017 there are two types of social protection schemes in Kenya. The ones funded from the government revenue such as Cash Transfer for Orphans and Vulnerable Children (CT-OVC), Older Persons Cash Transfer Programme (OPCT), Cash Transfer for Persons with Severe Disabilities (PWSD-CT), Hunger Safety Net Programme (HSNP), Urban Food Subsidy Programme (UFS-CT), World Food Programme Asset Creation Programme and World Food Programme General Food Distribution. The other types are contributory schemes such as the National Social Security Fund (NHIF), National Health Insurance Fund (NHIF) and Mbao Pension Scheme.

While all the above protection schemes target different groups in the society, this study sought to investigate the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme that has been a pilot programme for cash transfers since 2004.

The *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme is a local name for National Safety Net Programme (NSNP) that covers: Older Persons Cash Transfer (OPCT), Cash Transfer for Orphans and Vulnerable Children (OVC), Persons with Severe Disabilities Cash Transfer Program (PWSD-CT) and Hunger Safety Net Programme (HSNP). The National Safety Net Programme (NSNP)

was founded in 2013 to establish a common framework for the four programmes (Government of Kenya, 2016). Ouma & Adésínà (2018) note that the government began NSNP with the aim of increasing the efficiency and effectiveness of safety support to poor and vulnerable populations in Kenya.

According to Ngelu, (ibid) OVC is the biggest of all cash transfer programs currently in Kenya. It was launched in 2004 with an aim of improving the abilities of households with orphans and vulnerable children under their care. Ng'ong'a (2019) adds that the OVC was also a government's initiative in addressing the HIV/AIDS pandemic effects in Kenya at the time. Ngelu (2017) further notes that the OPCT programme was launched in 2006 and was allocated Ksh. 4 million. Since then, the government has continually funded the program while increasing its allocation. PWSD-CT programme was launched in 2011 to support households living in poverty with persons with severe disabilities requiring 24-hour support from a caregiver as members (Kenya Social Protection Sector Review, 2017). Mukasa (2019) states that funds distributed to PWSD for entrepreneurial activities may not be useful in cases where beneficiaries have severe disabilities. Also, caregivers of such persons may lack the economic ability to care for PWSD hence the need for the government to provide funds for sustaining PWSD. HSNP was piloted in 2008 with funding from Department for International Development (DFID) & Australian Department for Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT). The programme targeted vulnerable households in Turkana, Mandera, Wajir and Marsabit counties due to the arid conditions of the four counties (Ministry of Labour and Social protection,2020).

In an effort to understand the role of communication in development specifically in welfare states, Andersen (2018) notes that the media is a crucial part of the welfare state since it is not only a member of the society but also an important avenue through which social protection policies are debated and information shared to the citizens. Enli, Syvertsen & Mjøs (2018) relate media and the welfare state by pointing out that “while it may not be easy to highlight media effects on the welfare state, media structures and institutional ideologies help understand how issues are framed and what is considered free and fair.” There is therefore an already existing relationship between the media and the welfare state that cannot be underestimated.

Communication is critical in development hence the reason why focus of media coverage of social issues in a state is deemed very important. This further highlights the importance of development communication that is geared towards advocating for transformation for the benefit of the masses in society. Nora C. Quebral defined Development Communication as “the art and science of human communication applied to the speedy transformation of a country and the mass of its people from poverty to a dynamic state of economic growth that makes possible greater social equality and the larger fulfilment of the human potential.” The media therefore is no longer constrained to its traditional functions such as agenda setting and information sharing, but is now responsible for also framing issues in a way that the masses understand the role of the government and utilise media to articulate issues that need to be addressed by their leaders.

In recognition that the media is critical in building support for its social protection programmes, the Government of Kenya through the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection has undertaken several measures to maintain presence in the media. Some of the ways include organising the national conference on social protection in 2015 and training of Members of Parliament in 2016. Additionally, the Ministry [of Labour and Social Protection] has embarked on creating a communication strategy for the Social Protection Secretariat. (Kenya Social Protection Sector Review, 2017).

1.2 Problem statement

The Government of Kenya has over the years invested in various social protection interventions meant to cushion the poor and vulnerable people from poverty. One of these social protection interventions is implemented under a cash transfer programme called *Inua Jamii*. Under the *Inua Jamii* programme, beneficiaries - Older Persons Cash Transfer, Cash Transfer for Orphans and Vulnerable Children and Persons with Severe Disabilities - receive Sh2,000 monthly. McKay et al, 2020 notes that by 2019, the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme covered 1.2 million beneficiaries disbursing \$39 per beneficiary or \$48.4 million total in each bimonthly cycle. The 2016 National Safety Net Programme progress report indicates that the most vulnerable households in Kenya have through the programmes had their livelihoods improved commendably. Even with such a good track record, the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme has

not been devoid of challenges and failures hence numerous recommendations from the government, stakeholders and scholars who have reviewed this programme. For instance, the government notes that only a few beneficiary households are aware of the existence of the programmes' complaints and grievance mechanisms, and the programmes resolve only a small percentage of the complaints that they receive (2016 National Safety Net Programme progress report). Ngelu (2017) also states that cash transfer programmes were key in alleviating poverty in Kenya but efforts should be made to improve the level of awareness of such programmes. In her study on the *Influence of cash transfer program on socio-economic status of beneficiaries in Kenya*, Syanda (2017) also noted that cash transfer programs need more sensitization in the communities to enable community members understand who qualifies for the program and to prevent jealousy among non-recipients. McKay et al (2020) found out that *Inua Jamii* beneficiaries were not aware that the bank accounts they opened for the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme could be used as savings accounts. They further noted that the recipients did not know that they could link their bank accounts to *Mpesa* services that are more accessible to them. McKay et al, 2020 recommended that it is critical for the government and stakeholders to help beneficiaries understand the benefits of owning bank accounts and the functionalities of those accounts.

The foregoing clearly points to the fact that beneficiaries are not adequately reached by sensitization and public mobilization campaigns that can help them know the components and benefits of the *Inua Jamii* programme. Given the role of the media in public sensitisation, it would be expected that they will be utilised to mount awareness messages to beneficiaries. Mainstream media are especially valued for its credibility and ability to inform. With this understanding of the role of the media in society, it is therefore important to deeply investigate how *Inua Jamii* issues are covered by the media in a bid to find out if the media are adequately or inadequately utilised to boost awareness about *Inua Jamii*.

Investigating *Inua Jamii* media coverage is even more critical now that social protection interventions are needed to cushion more Kenyans who have fallen deeper into poverty as a result of COVID-19. This study therefore sought to investigate how the media covered the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme before and during the COVID-19 pandemic in a bid to find out

whether the lack of awareness about the programmes resulted in failure to utilise mainstream media.

1.3 Research objectives

1. To find out the extent to which the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme was covered before and during the COVID-19 period.
2. To analyse the themes emerging from print media coverage of the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme in Kenya.
3. To investigate the public perceptions of the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme based on the print media reporting.

1.4 Research questions

1. What was the extent to which the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme was covered in print media before and during COVID-19 period?
2. Which themes emerged from coverage of the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme within the specified period?
3. What were the public's perceptions of the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme as reported by newspapers under review?

1.5 Rationale and justification of the study

COVID-19 Pandemic proved to be devastating to economies in the world, Kenya included. While the majority of the Kenyan population was affected, the more vulnerable groups in the society including the orphans, elderly persons and people living with disabilities were most affected as most live from hand to mouth, without savings or other means of earning a living.

Cash transfer programmes are meant to alleviate poverty among the vulnerable in the society hence the concern on whether the beneficiaries of the programme were actually cushioned from COVID-19 effects or not. Media's role in highlighting issues concerning the *Inua Jamii* programme cannot be wished away since it's only through coverage of such issues where government and stakeholders can understand how well the programme was received and the

challenges facing the programme and recipients. This study therefore sought to investigate how the mainstream media covered the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme before and during the COVID-19 pandemic in a bid to find out whether the lack of awareness about the programme resulted in failure to utilise mainstream media.

The study was carried out through review of newspaper articles from various print media over a period of 109 days after announcement of the first COVID-19 case in Kenya while comparing it to 109 days before COVID-19 pandemic hit. The researcher seeks to share the findings of the study with the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection, as well as any other interested party who can utilize the findings to improve cash transfer programmes in Kenya.

1.6 Scope and limitations

This research project investigated print media coverage of cash transfer programmes from the Kenya government to vulnerable groups, specifically Older Persons Cash Transfer, Cash Transfer for Orphans and Vulnerable Children, Persons with Severe Disabilities Cash Transfer Program and Hunger Safety Net Programme before and during the COVID-19 pandemic. The study only focused on these four programmes under the umbrella term National Safety Net Programme since it covers more vulnerable groups in the country. These four programmes are also under one programme referred to as the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme loosely translated to mean programmes that are meant to upgrade the socio-economic status of the beneficiaries.

Newspapers covered in this study were only the local English newspapers in Kenya with daily publications, that is, *Nation*, *The Star*, *The Standard*, *People Daily* and *Business Daily*. As mentioned in the operational definitions *The Standard* and *Nation* newspapers are inclusive of their weekend publications. The study period was 26 November 2019-30 June 2020. This is because Kenya first reported its first COVID-19 case on March 13, 2020 therefore compared 109 days before and 109 days during the COVID-19 period. The study also compared how different media houses covered the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme during the above period. Print media coverage referred to all daily English newspapers in Kenya; *Nation*, *The Standard*, *The Star*, *The People* and *Business Daily*.

1.7 Operational definitions

Daily newspaper-any local English newspaper that has a daily publication.

The Nation newspaper- Nation paper published Monday-Sunday (includes Saturday and Sunday Nation)

The Standard newspaper- The Standard paper published Monday-Sunday (includes Standard on Saturday and Sunday Standard)

The Star newspaper-is considered a daily newspaper as its published from Monday to Friday

Inua Jamii cash transfer programme- Orphans and Vulnerable Children cash transfer programme Older Persons cash transfer programme, Persons with Severe Disabilities cash transfer programme, Hunger Safety Net Programme.

Publication date-the date a newspaper article is published

Theme-main idea found in an article

Print media-mainstream newspaper print publications

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Overview

This chapter covers the relevant literature for this study. It also gives the theoretical framework of the study.

2.1 Emergence of social protection in the world

Social protection is any provision to the vulnerable meant to alleviate poverty. It can be provided by state and non-state agencies depending on each nation's policies. Andersen, 2018 notes that social protection emerged in the early 1900s in Western Europe. Further, social protection was advanced to include different types of social services from the 1940s. There has been exponential growth since then.

Social protection in Africa has seen tremendous growth over the past few decades. Ochieng'Opalo (2020: pg. 1) put it into more context by stating that:

“In 1990 less than 15 countries had any social safety net programs. But by 2016 the number had increased to 46.2. Coverage varied from 0.3 percent of the population in Guinea-Bissau to 64.4 percent in South Africa – with cash transfer programs being the most widespread form of social protection and accounting for 41 percent (and growing) of total spending on social safety nets (Beegle, Coudouel and Monsalve, 2018, p. 7). As of 2017, 46 countries had such programs, compared to 33 with workfare programs, and 28 with feeding programs.”

This is corroborated by Ouma & Adésinà (2018) who point out (ibid) there are 40 African Nations providing some sort of cash transfers to their citizens, an upward from 21 in 2010 as reported by world bank in 2015. Such upward projection is appreciated as more and more countries develop plans to cushion their most vulnerable. However, there are pertinent issues that have been pointed out pertaining to the advancement of social protection in Africa.

One of the most concerning issues is the over reliance on donor funding. Ochieng'Opalo (2020) [ibid] notes that “out of 87 programs across 24 countries in 2017, donor funding averaged 85.7

percent.” Ouma & Adésinà (2018) not only point at donor funding as an issue but also the implementation of social protection programs by non-state actors such as non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and international organisations. Overdependence on external funding and running of such programs by external factors pose high risks to the recipient governments. Donors and implementing agencies are sometimes ignorant of the political and social status of the countries they are involved with. In other areas, they create a culture of overdependence on outsiders. Robert Chambers, one of the leading scholars of participatory development, pointed out that outsiders do not always understand what it means to be poor due to failure to appreciate the contribution of the people they want to help. It is imperative to note that some development partners only work with state agencies in an effort to address social issues facing the vulnerable in society while oblivious of what is really a priority to the recipients of the services.

Another issue pointed out as bedevilling social protection in Africa is the failure of governments to address the real issues causing poverty in their countries and instead dish out cash in terms of transfers to the vulnerable (Ouma & Adesina 2018). In this sense, cash transfers may be seen as the easy way out by governments who do not want to address the real issues.

There are researches that have found that social protection through cash transfers have been very effective but at the same time there are critics of such. All in all, governments should strive to address the core issues facing their citizenry and not use cash transfers as an escape mechanism of providing social protection for their populations.

2.2 Social Protection in Kenya

Ouma (2017) traces the history of exponential growth of social protection in Kenya to the NARC government of 2003, usually referred to as the Kibaki era. When the government came to power, there was rejuvenated hope in the citizenry that their government would improve the living standards of everyone including the vulnerable. The political environment during Kibaki’s era also gave confidence to development partners such as UNICEF, World Bank and DFID to enter the development sector to supplement the government’s effort in development. This saw UNICEF begin the OVC programme in 2004. Since then, there has been tremendous improvements in the programme, development of many others and generally an improved social wellbeing of vulnerable Kenyans.

As mentioned in the background, social protection in Kenya takes different forms. Kabare, (2015) groups social protection in Kenya into three: social assistance, health insurance and social security. Social security falls under National Social Security Fund (NSSF) while health insurance falls under National Hospital Insurance Fund (NHIF). These two fall under the contributory schemes earlier highlighted in the background.

Social assistance targets the vulnerable groups in the society who for one reason or another are unable to provide for themselves. It mostly refers to aid; financial or material (Kabare 2015). Kenya Social Protection Sector Review, 2017 lists the ongoing national cash transfer programme as: Cash Transfer for Orphans and Vulnerable Children (CT-OVC), Older Persons Cash Transfer Programme (OPCT), Cash Transfer for Persons with Severe Disabilities (PWSD-CT), Hunger Safety Net Programme (HSNP), Urban Food Subsidy Programme (UFS-CT), World Food Programme Asset Creation Programmes and World Food Programme General Food Distribution. All the above are funded by the Kenyan government in conjunction with other partners such as the World Bank, the Department for International Development (DFID), and the United Nations Children’s Fund (UNICEF) (Kabare, 2015). While the above programmes have been formalised and improved through the years, it has taken a long process, heavy financial investment from both the government and partners and also has had its challenges.

2.3 Social protection and the Constitution of Kenya 2010

Article 21 of the Constitution of Kenya 2010 addresses the rights and fundamental freedoms of every Kenyan citizen. Chapter 3 specifically notes that “All state organs and all public officers have the duty to address the needs of vulnerable groups within society, including women, older members of society, persons with disabilities, children, youth, members of minority or marginalised communities, and members of particular ethnic, religious or cultural communities.” In Article 43 (1) of the same constitution, Kenyans are entitled to good health, accessible and adequate housing, freedom from hunger, clean and safe water, social security and education. This article specifically addresses the role of the state in provision of social security to those unable to provide for themselves. “The State shall provide appropriate social security to persons who are unable to support themselves and their dependants.”

With the above elaborate obligations to the state and its organs, the government has no option but to take up its role and responsibility in ensuring that vulnerable Kenyans are protected and their needs met. It is also along these lines that the government is expected to come up legislation on the protection of the vulnerable in society.

2.4 Cash transfers: Definition and growth in Kenya

Cash transfers refer to instruments used by governments and/or non-governmental organisations to help address poverty among beneficiaries. They are regular and non-contributory payments of money with the aim of absorbing long term shocks of poverty (Omolo,2017:10). Cash transfers are part of social protection programmes which include financial payments made to older persons, persons with disability, or children deemed vulnerable, to enable individuals and households meet their basic needs and cope with social risks (Ouma (2020).

Mukasa (2019) specifies that cash transfers are only directed to individuals and not state organs or institutions. This specification brings an important aspect of handling of cash transfers especially where government/state organs play a role. They can only implement the transfers but the money is usually sent directly to beneficiaries. In putting this to more context, McKay et al (2020) pointed out one of the biggest advancements of the cash transfers in Kenya was digitizing the process. Before this, the money for the beneficiaries would be transported to District Officers via armed guards who manually handed the money to the beneficiaries. This posed several challenges: first, transporting the money that way was such a high risk for the government and also the District Officers. Secondly, it took so long for the process to be completed and reconciliation of all the monies done. Three, there was no assurance that all beneficiaries received the money. All the above challenges point to more reasons why direct transfers of money to individuals or households is key.

The *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme is a local name for National Safety Net Programme (NSNP) that covers: Older Persons Cash Transfer (OPCT), Cash Transfer for Orphans and Vulnerable Children (OVC), Persons with Severe Disabilities Cash Transfer Program (PWSD-CT) and Hunger Safety Net Programme (HSNP). The National Safety Net Programme (NSNP)

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According to Ngelu, (ibid) OVC is the biggest of all cash transfer programs currently in Kenya. It was launched in 2004 with an aim of improving the abilities of households with orphans and vulnerable children under their care. Ng'ong'a (2019) adds that the OVC was also a government's initiative in addressing the HIV/AIDS pandemic effects in Kenya at the time. Ngelu (2017) further notes that the OPCT programme was launched in 2006 and was allocated Ksh. 4 million. Since then, the government has continually funded the program while increasing its allocation. PWSD-CT programme was launched in 2011 to support households living in poverty with persons with severe disabilities requiring 24-hour support from a caregiver as members (Kenya Social Protection Sector Review, 2017). Mukasa (2019) states that funds distributed to PWSD for entrepreneurial activities may not be useful in cases where beneficiaries have severe disabilities. Also, caregivers of such persons may lack the economic ability to care for PWSD hence the need for the government to provide funds for sustaining PWSD. HSNP was piloted in 2008 with funding from Department for International Development (DFID) & Australian Department for Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT). The programme targeted vulnerable households in Turkana, Mandera, Wajir and Marsabit counties due to the arid conditions of the four counties (Ministry of Labour and Social protection,2020).

2.5 Media and Social Protection

Media remains a key player in society. From its traditional functions of informing, entertaining, watchdog functions, educating, agenda setting among others to the more recent functions such as framing and priming, media is seen as a major player in our societies. It is therefore imperative that we understand the existing relationship between media and social protection, as part of the media's role in development. Understanding the media's relationship with social protection has to begin with the evolution of the media's role and place in society. This takes us to the four theories of the press that were first introduced by Theodore Peterson, Frederick S. Siebert, and Wilbur Schramm in 1956.

Authoritarian theory of the press explains the relationship between the media and government where the press is under control by the state. This means that the state has control over media functions and by doing so limits the power of the press. The theory applies to many governments before the 19th century such as European governments and also applies to some current regimes for instance, we have a number of countries especially in Africa, where press freedom is only limited to government propaganda. Authoritarianism stemmed from the understanding that the state is the organized system of regulation and control.

The libertarian theory of press opposes the authoritarian theory and explains that the society can decipher good from bad and should be fed with all types of information for them to choose without any restriction from the government or even the press itself. This means that the press should have freedom to inform the public on what's going on around them without any form of censorship. For the information consumers who are the public, they have the right to seek information and express themselves freely in the media. While this theory may seem impossible to apply in modern societies where governments are keen to regulate what their citizens are consuming from the media, alternative media such as websites, social media channels such as Instagram and blogs have taken over the role of the mainstream media in producing uncensored content. An example of this is a website known as Wiki leaks that has been known to publish top secrets of the United States government. The limits of the libertarian theory are evident when information meant for harm is distributed to the public in the name of press freedom and the rights of people hence some critics argue that media should have some form of censorship.

The third theory of the press is the Soviet Media Theory that is not very different from the authoritarian theory. The theory explains that governments need absolute control of the media but only for the benefit of the people. The belief is that most beneficiaries of this type of the media would be the working class who need the government to inform, educate and entertain them through the media while still having some form of freedom to offer feedback. This type of media was common in communist countries.

The last theory of the press is the social responsibility theory. It is more applicable to this study as it mainly focuses on media responsibility in society. The theory holds that the media have a

social obligation to provide the society with accurate, objective and relevant information. Additionally, the media have a responsibility of enlightening the public in promotion of self-governance and lastly the media is tasked with safeguarding people's rights. With the above expectation for the media to promote self-governance, there underlies its obligation to report on issues concerning the public including but not limited to government obligation to its citizens and their grievances. This also forms the basis of the relationship between the media and the welfare state.

The welfare state, as explained in the above sections of this study, is an arrangement where the state takes responsibility for the welfare of its population, especially the most vulnerable in society, through offering subsidized health care, provision of pensions, insurance regulation and even direct cash benefits among others.

2.6 Theoretical framework

The following theories have influenced this study:

2.6.1 Agenda setting theory

Media's influence on the masses cannot be underestimated. The fourth estate has taken a central place in people's lives over the past decades and continues to influence what people think about, talk about and classify as important in their societies. Agenda setting is about pointing to people what is important (Moy, Tewksbury & Rinke, 2016). While quoting Cohen (1963), they put an emphasis on the role of media which has successfully told people what to think about.

This theory was developed by Max McCombs and Donald Shaw in 1968. Their study was ground-breaking in the sense that it proved that indeed the media determined what people thought about. They concluded this after carrying out a study where, when asked, voters would give examples of the three things that they thought were important for the government to focus on, which reflected the news covered by their media in the area (Moy, Tewksbury & Rinke, 2016). Since this study, media have advanced presentation of news and content by systematically selecting opening stories during news times for television, choosing where to place links of the

main stories for digital media, interrupting normal programming to bring in breaking news among others are as a result of understanding the influence of the agenda setting theory (Pg:3)

2.6.2 Priming

Priming generally refers to associating one phenomenon to another, in media, it refers to the standards people use to make political evaluations (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987, p. 63). Audiences use the information available in news content to make evaluations of their leaders and governments. Weaver (2007: pg. 145) points out that priming is all about making issues more salient and more likely to be accessed in forming opinions. Priming is seen as part of the process of agenda setting (Scheufele & Tewksbury 2007). It occurs in two steps: receiving information, and the consequences of that information. In the first step, audiences will consume news items and that will activate pre-existing [related] knowledge of the particular individual. Association of the news information received to the pre-existing knowledge enables the individual to interpret and evaluate the new information. As explicitly mentioned by (Moy, Tewksbury & Rinke, 2016 pg 6), “A media priming effect occurs if, in the second step, the receiver applies the primed, now more accessible concept to a target stimulus when s/he would not otherwise have done this. The first step thus consists of the priming process, and the second speaks to its consequences.”

Priming is majorly associated with political communication. While the political linkage may not be explicit every time, there is a tendency of news media consumers to associate news items to political issues hence directly influencing their perceptions of leaders and governments.

2.6.3 Framing

Framing is based on the assumption that how an issue is characterized in news reports can have an influence on how it is understood by audiences (Scheufele & Tewksbury 2007). A frame is a concept that summarizes the basic characteristics of a topic according to Moy, Tewksbury & Rinke (2016 pg. 8). “To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described.” Entman, 1993, p. 52.: Moy, Tewksbury & Rinke (2016 pg. 9) identified two stages in framing: frame-building and frame-setting. Frame-building is done by journalists who develop frames for their news items while frame-setting refers to the audience’s consumption of the

frames in the news stories. Further, the authors note that “frames are shaped by culture and social norms, organizational pressures and constraints, and frame advocates.”

Frames are important because they determine how audiences understand information in news stories hence influence how they think about life.

Moy, Tewksbury & Rinke (2016: pg. 9) highlighted the importance of farming:

“If agenda-setting describes how the public accessibility of a problem is affected by how much the media cover that problem, frame-setting describes how public perceptions of what is applicable to explaining a problem are influenced by how the media frame that problem (Price & Tewksbury, 1997). Applicability refers to the mental associations people make between concepts. If people perceive that a public problem (e.g., poverty) is associated with a particular concept (e.g., high unemployment), they believe that the latter is applicable to the former. A news article can establish this link by explicitly stating the connection or by implying it in its portrayals of the poverty-stricken.”

Conclusion

After reviewing relevant literature on the media and its influence on its consumers, the researcher found a gap in the literature on specific coverage of social protection programmes in Kenya and in Africa generally. The researcher understands that social protection is part of the many issues that the media covers in regard to development but also identifies it as a crucial development issue that affects many people in the country. It cannot be emphasised enough times that the COVID-19 pandemic has also exposed gaps in different sections of development such as gaps in health care, equality, equity, social protection, gender among other sections, media coverage not excluded. The researcher is therefore curious on how the media has covered *Inua Jamiii* cash transfer programme and whether there has been a change in coverage during the COVID-19 pandemic.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Overview

This chapter describes the methodology used in the study. It comprises the research design, research approach, research method, population and sampling, data generation techniques, data collection tools, data analysis and data presentation as well as validity and reliability and ethical considerations of the study.

3.1 Research Design

Oso (2016) simplifies a research design as a master plan for the overall research process. It is supposed to guide the researcher to understand how a study will be carried out. Ong'ondo & Jwan (2020) look at research design as an overall arrangement of the overall research process. To them, the research design acts as a link between the different processes involved in carrying out research, that is, “the philosophical paradigm, research approaches, method, data generation techniques, data analysis, and presentation and discussion.” Ong'ondo & Jwan (2020) further state that some terms in research can be used to mean different things depending on the definition by authors. With that said, research design in this chapter will be used to mean the overall plan for connecting the conceptual research problems to the pertinent and achievable empirical research (Creswell, 2014).

This study employed a descriptive research design. Kothari & Garg, 2019 describes descriptive research as that which describes the state of affairs as it exists at present. The researcher described the phenomena which is coverage of the *Inua Jamii* programme by print media in Kenya. This type of design also enabled the researcher to extensively explore issues covered by the print media in relation to social protection in Kenya.

3.2 Research Approach

This study employed a qualitative approach. The researcher deemed it fit to use the approach as it was the best that could provide an in-depth understanding of media coverage of the *Inua Jamii*

cash transfer programme. The researcher sought to find three things in this study as per the objectives. The first is the extent to which the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme was covered before and during the COVID-19 period. To achieve this, the researcher looked into the number of articles in each of the daily newspapers that addressed *Inua Jamii* cash transfers in the country.

In the second objective, the researcher explored themes used in print media coverage before and during the COVID-19 period. This was achieved through looking into individual articles in the selected newspapers and analysis of the content. The third objective is to understand people's perceptions of the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme based on the print media reporting.

3.3 Research method

Research methods are the behaviour and instruments used in selecting and constructing research (Kothari & Garg, 2019: pg 6). The study employed content analysis as a research method. Content analysis was suitable because it enabled the researcher to analyse records and documents, specifically newspapers in order to establish required data.

Content analysis was more appropriate in this study because it offered the researcher an opportunity to study newspapers extensively and allowed the researcher to analyse themes present in the selected articles. This is in tandem with Ong'ondo & Jwan (2020 pg:122) where they explain the use of content analysis as a research method compared to a data generation technique.

The researcher also compared how different daily newspapers covered the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme in Kenya, hence the analysis of each and every story covered within the selected period of time.

3.4 Population and Sampling

Population consists of the whole group of subjects under study. Sampling refers to the way research participants are chosen and accessed Ong'ondo & Jwan (2020 pg:122: Mason 2002). Oso (2016 pg:122) notes that sampling is the process of selecting a few cases out of the target

population. It is important that these few cases should be representing the target population, they shouldn't be just any cases.

In this study, the researcher analysed all the five English daily newspapers in Kenya. The choice to pick the five was based solely on the frequency of circulation and publication language. The target population therefore refers to all newspapers in the country including the daily, weekly, fortnight among others but the sample population will refer to only the five.

The coverage period in this study was 109 days before reporting of the first COVID-19 case in Kenya, that is, 26 November 2019-13 March 2020, in comparison with 109 days after reporting the first COVID-19 case in Kenya, that is, 13 March-30 June 2020.

The sampling frame included all the newspaper issues of the five daily newspapers for the period between 26 November 2019-30 Jun 2020. A sampling frame is a list containing all units that are under study. The researcher got this list by visiting the newspaper libraries that have the records of their publications. After gaining access to their libraries, the researcher used their cataloguing systems that help with search of keywords. The keyword in this case was 'Inua Jamii'. This sampled only the related articles and stories for this study. This type of sampling is known as purposive sampling. The reason for choosing this method is that the researcher is only interested in information about the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme that fall within a specific period of time. In summary, sampling was done as follows:

Table 3.1 Summary of population and sample

Research Phase	Sampling Frame	Inclusion criterion	Sampling technique	Sample
Qualitative method	109 issues of Nation 109 issues of The Standard 109 issues of The Star 109 issues of People Daily 109 issues of the Business Daily Total population=545 issues	Any article mentioning the <i>Inua Jamii</i> cash transfer programme	Purposive	28 issues

3.4 Data generation techniques

This study mainly focused on secondary data available in Kenyan daily newspapers. To ensure that there was sufficient data available, the researcher first carried out a pre-test by conducting an online search of the available data. Using digital platforms of each of the five daily newspapers, the researcher searched for ‘Inua Jamii’ and found out that there were indeed sufficient articles published with the referenced keywords. The researcher then sought access to each of the media house’s libraries and accessed their cataloguing systems that provided access to published stories with the theme of the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme from 26 November 2019 -30 June 2020. To ensure the stories are relevant, the researcher read each of the articles to understand whether it was relevant to the study. The researcher then analysed the available information using a coding sheet.

3.5 Data collection tools

The tool used to collect data in this study is a code sheet. The coding sheet included the date of publication, the article page number, the headline of the article, tone of the article and audience perception gained from the article. Each newspaper had its own coding sheet. The information

included in the coding sheet goes hand in hand with the objectives of the study. A copy of the coding sheet is annexed to this document.

3.6 Data analysis and presentation

Data analysis is the organization of data to make it easier for the researcher to draw conclusions. In qualitative research, it is the process of understanding the data, breaking it into sensible categories and creating themes in an effort to answer your research questions (Ong 'ondo & Jwan 2020). It is important to note that data analysis began from the moment the researcher sampled newspaper articles up to the completion of the study. This is because the researcher continuously looked into the data obtained in an effort to make sense out of it. In other terms, data analysis was a continuous process from beginning to end of the study.

The main strategy utilised in this study is thematic analysis, where data was grouped into themes. The process involved reading all the relevant newspaper articles on the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme then listing the categories of related themes. These themes were informed by research questions highlighted in the background section of this study. The researcher drew themes from the data obtained, that is, posteriori themes. Data from this study was then presented in narrative form.

3.7 Validity and Reliability

To ensure validity of the study, the researcher first carried out a pre-test study. This was done through conducting an online search of the available data. Using digital platforms of each of the five daily newspapers, the researcher searched for 'Inua Jamii' and found out that there were indeed sufficient articles published with the referenced keywords. The pilot study was also used to determine if the objectives were achievable. The pilot study gave confidence to the researcher to continue with the research.

The researcher also carried out the study with guidance from the supervisor who provided professional direction throughout the study.

The researcher also gave operational definitions that are accepted within the social protection and media fields. In addition, in terms of triangulation, the study demonstrated how several theories influence the research. The researcher has also provided a thick description of the

process used in the study as stated by Ong'ondo & Jwan (2020) to mean that details are provided as to how the study was carried out.

3.8 Ethical considerations

The researcher attributed all borrowed information to the authors and ensured that sources are well acknowledged. The researcher also obtained certificate of fieldwork from the Department of Journalism and Mass Communication. The certificate is attached to the appendices of this project on page 49.

The researcher also defended the final project before a panel of faculty members in the Department of Journalism and Mass Communication after which she made necessary corrections agreed upon during the defences. A certificate of corrections is appended on page 48 of this project.

Lastly, the researcher was issued with a similarity index report by the department after running this work through a plagiarism check whose result was 3 per cent. The report is appended on page 50 of this document.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.0 Overview

This section presents data analysis, presentation of the study findings and their interpretation. The researcher analysed data from the five daily newspapers in Kenya guided by the below objectives.

1. To find out the extent to which the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme was covered before and during the COVID-19 period.
2. To analyse the themes emerging from print media coverage of the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme in Kenya.
3. To investigate the public perceptions of the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme based on the print media reporting.

4.1 The extent to which the *Inua Jamii* programme was covered before and during the COVID-19 period

To find out the extent to which the programme was covered, the researcher tallied the number of articles each of the daily newspapers published between 26 November 2019 to 13 March 2020 and compared them with those published from 14 March 2020-30 June 2020. The researcher reviewed 109 issues of each of the newspapers making a total of 545 issues. Out of these, only 28 had information related to the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme.

4.1.1. Coverage before the COVID-19 period

There was limited coverage of the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme before COVID-19 struck. *Business Daily* and the *People Daily* had the highest number of articles on the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme with each publishing three articles. *Nation* and *The Standard* ranked second with two articles each while *The Star* did not publish any article on the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme before the COVID-19 period. The table below summarises the dates each of the newspapers published the articles.

Table 4.1 Publication dates of *Inua Jamii* programme articles before COVID-19 pandemic

Newspaper	Date of publication
People Daily	20 January, 04 & 09 March 2020
Business Daily	27 November 2019, 03 & 22 January 2020
Nation	04 January 2020
The Standard	07 December 2019
The Star	None

In terms of the articles published per month before the COVID-19 period, January had the highest number of articles published with a total of four articles from all the newspapers. Only two articles were published in the month of March while November and December had the least number of articles published with a single article. The table below summarises the number of articles published by all the five newspapers per month.

Table 4.2 Articles published per month before COVID-19 pandemic

Month	Number of articles per month
November	1
December	1
January	4
February	0
March	2
Total	8

4.1.2. Coverage during the COVID-19 period

There was a significant increase in coverage of the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme during the COVID-19 period. The *Nation* newspaper had the highest number of articles published

during COVID-19 period with a total of seven articles published on 15 & 20 April, 03, 06, 07, 21 May and 15 June 2020. The *People Daily* ranked second with six articles published on 28 & 29 May, 11 June (twice), 12 & 29 June 2020. They were followed by *The Star* that had five articles published on 03, 20 & 29 April, 21 & 22 May 2020. *The Standard* and *Business Daily* newspapers published two articles on the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme. Below is the summary of coverage during the pandemic.

Table 4.3 Dates of publication of *Inua Jamii* programme articles during COVID-19 pandemic

Newspaper	Date of Publication
Nation	15 & 20 April, 03, 06, 07, 21 May and 15 June 2020
People Daily	28 & 29 May, 11 June (twice), 12 & 29 June 2020
The Star	03, 20, 29 April, 21 & 22 May 2020
Business Daily	03 April, 23 June 2020
The Standard	23 May & 26 June 2020

The month of May had the highest number of articles with a total of nine articles from the five newspapers. All the newspapers published eight articles in June and six in April. There were no articles on the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme published between 14-31 March 2020.

From the data presented here, it can be inferred that there was an increased reporting of the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme during the COVID-19 period compared to the period just before the pandemic hit.

Table 4.4 Articles published per month during COVID-19 pandemic

Month	Number of articles
March	0
April	6
May	9
June	8
Total	23

The main aim of this study was to investigate how the media covered the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme before and during the COVID-19 pandemic in a bid to find out whether the lack of awareness about the programmes resulted in failure to utilise mainstream media. It can be inferred from the findings that print media was adequately utilised especially during the pandemic period.

The researcher also observed that there was very little coverage of the Hunger Safety Net Programme (HSNP) compared to the other programmes within the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme. There was only one article by the Nation newspaper that covered HSNP that was published on 03 May 2020. The researcher also observed from the findings that in general, there was minimal information on HSNP including information on the funding of the programme. In addition, the Nation newspaper mentioned HSNP as a stand-alone project in its 15 April 2020 article. These findings match the researcher's observation from the available literature that there was minimal information on HSNP. Additionally, even though the government mentioned that the *Inua Jamiicash* transfer programme consisted of four programmes: Older Persons Cash Transfer, Cash Transfer for Orphans and Vulnerable Children, Persons with Severe Disabilities Cash Transfer Program, and Hunger Safety Net Programme (Government of Kenya, 2016) the researcher observed that HSNP was not included as part of the government's funding of the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme. These findings are likely to suggest that HSNP is not part of the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme.

4.2 Themes emerging from print media coverage on the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme in Kenya

Several themes emerged from the articles reviewed. These were: mismanagement, efficiency, corruption, non-commitment, challenges, reforms, shortage and expansion. The themes are summarised in the table below according to each newspaper article. There was a total of 13 articles with the theme of efficiency. Articles that addressed mismanagement as a theme were four, while those addressing reforms were three, corruption three, shortage two, one that addressed expansion, one that addressed challenges, and one that addressed non-commitment as a theme.

Table 4.5 Summary of themes on the Inua Jamii programme

Themes	Nation	The Standard	The Star	Business Daily	People Daily	Total
Efficiency	2	1	2	3	5	13
Mismanagement	3	0	1	0	0	4
Reforms	0	0	0	1	2	3
Corruption	0	1	0	1	1	3
Shortage	2	0	0	0	0	2
Expansion	0	0	0	0	1	1
Non-commitment	0	1	0	0	0	1

Out of the 28 newspaper issues that covered the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme, 13 of them had the theme of efficiency. It can therefore be inferred that the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme is efficient. Out of the 13, the *People Daily* had the highest number of articles that projected the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme as efficient with a total of five articles. These were articles published on 09 March, 28 May, 29 May, 12 June and 29 June 2020. The researcher found this theme appropriate since the articles covered stories on the positive impact of the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme. For instance, on 28 May 2020, the *People Daily* reported on page 12 that the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection had noted an increase in the purchasing power of beneficiaries of the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme. Further, the Ministry noted that the level of poverty of beneficiaries had dropped down, there was increase in food expenditure and dietary diversification and increase in savings and investments of the beneficiaries of the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme. At the same time, the Ministry observed that more children were retained in school while there was a reduction of child labour and

illnesses due to the government stipend provided to the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme beneficiaries. The article entitled: *CS:Sh8.7b Inua Jamii cash sent to beneficiaries*, is an example of articles that had a theme on efficiency of the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme.

It can also be concluded from the findings that the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme has been mismanaged as the theme appeared four times in the reviewed articles. The *Nation* had the highest number of articles with the theme of mismanagement, followed by *The Star* that had one article. The rest of the newspapers did not have articles projecting such a theme. *Nation* newspaper published the three articles on 04 January, 07 May & 21 May 2020, while *The Star* published one on 21 May 2020 entitled: *350,000 locked out of Inua Jamii programme*. In comparison to the *Nation* newspaper that also carried an article on 21 May 2020 titled: *MPs want 350,000 added to stipend plan*, the researcher noted that both articles projected the same theme of mismanagement. The *Star* newspaper's article was shorter compared to the *Nation* and did not offer as much background information as the *Nation*. The *Star* article appeared on page 8 while the *Nation* article appeared on page 36.

4.3 Public perceptions of the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme based on print media reporting in Kenya

The researcher wanted to investigate how the public perceived the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme from the media within the study period. This was done through analysis of all the sampled articles that had direct or indirect reporting from the public on issues concerning the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme. Direct reporting refers to quotes from the audience while indirect reporting refers to any information paraphrased by the media to capture what a specific audience said.

Nation had the highest number of public perceptions recorded within the study period. Out of the three, one had a direct quote while two were paraphrased by the media. On 04 January 2020, *Nation* published an article entitled: *Senior citizens decry delays in cash transfers*. The researcher deduced that the audience perception was corruption as the article addressed concerns from elderly people who complained to the media that they had not received their stipends since

November 2018. On 07 May 2020, the *Nation* newspaper published an article with the title: *Release our stipend, cry elderly, disabled*. The article addressed concerns from the elderly and orphans who had previously received cash from the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme but they no longer received the money. The researcher also concluded that the audience perception in this article was corruption. The last article from the *Nation* that had audience perception was published on 15 June 2020 titled: *A call to end violence, abuse and neglect of older people*. The researcher deduced that the audience perception of this article was the efficiency of the Older Persons cash transfer programme. Older Persons cash transfer programme, a part of the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme, was one of the key factors that contributed to the general well-being of the older people aged 70 and above as noted in the article.

The Star had two articles that recorded audience perceptions. One article that was published on 29 April 2020 titled: *85-year-old cash transfer beneficiary robbed of Sh8,000* addressed concerns from the public on the insecurity older people faced once they accessed the government stipend hence the public perception deduced here was insecurity. The other article was published on 22 May 2020 with the title: *Cushion tenants from eviction, ICJ urges government and* addressed the vulnerability of older persons who were expected to access government stipend through the banks, increasing their risk of contracting COVID-19. The researcher deduced that the public perception from this article was protection.

The Standard only had one article that contained public perception. This article was published on 23 May 2020 with the title: *Cartel steals Inua Jamii cash from bank accounts of senior citizens*. The researcher felt that the public perception was corruption as the article addressed concerns from older persons complaining that they only received the text that alerts them of the stipend but upon reaching the banks, there was no money.

Only one article from the *People Daily* recorded audience perception. The article, titled: *Biting poverty pushes grannies into strenuous quarry work*, featured the story of an old granny unable to sustain herself with the Ksh.2000 that she receives from the government. The researcher deduced that the perception was that the government stipend wasn't enough.

The *Business Daily* newspaper had no article that recorded audience perception. The table below provides a summary of audience perceptions that were derived from the articles reviewed from

26 November 2019-30 June 2020 that contained information on the *Inua Jamiicash* transfer programme.

Table 4.6 Public perceptions from print media reporting

Newspaper	Audience perception	Date of publication
Nation	Corruption	04 January 2020
	Corruption	07 May 2020
	Efficiency	15 June 2020
The Star	Insecurity	29 April 2020
	Protection	22 May 2020
The Standard	Corruption	23 May 2020
People Daily	Government stipend not enough	09 March 2020
Business Daily	None	-

The above findings on audience perceptions are likely to suggest that print media made little effort to incorporate the public’s opinion on social protection issues. The researcher observed from the reviewed articles that the media mostly reported on government’s efforts in the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme. This is also likely to suggest that media’s role in agenda setting in the reviewed articles was minimal. Agenda setting here refers to the media’s ability to tell the audience what to think about. From the findings, it can be inferred that the media reported what the government needed the public to know.

4.4 Comparison between themes and audience perceptions

There was a total of seven articles that contained audience perceptions. Out of these, only two audience perceptions were similar to the themes of the articles. These were published by the *Nation* on 15 June 2020 and *The Standard* on 23 May 2020. *Nation’s* article on: *A call to end violence, abuse and neglect of older people* appeared on page 27 as an advertising feature to mark the world’s Elder Abuse Awareness Day. The article also featured a statement from an older person representing the elderly. The researcher therefore concluded that the article theme and the statement from the older person both showed how the Older Persons Cash transfer programme had succeeded over the years. The theme of the article was efficiency of the

programme just like the audience perception per the researcher's understanding. On 23 May 2020, *The Standard* ran an article on: *Cartel steals Inua Jamii cash from bank accounts of senior citizens* detailing the agony of older persons who received text messages from the bank asking them to collect their funds from the banks only to find that there was no money available. The researcher classified this article under the theme corruption and also classified the audience perception as corruption.

The above findings are likely to suggest that print media still represents the people's voices when it comes to airing views/opinions on social protection. This is in line with the social responsibility theory that states that the media have an obligation to offer the public accurate, objective and relevant information, have a responsibility of enlightening the public in promotion of self-governance and lastly the media is tasked with safeguarding people's rights. As pointed out in chapter two of this study, the media have an obligation to promote self-governance of the public through the media's power to influence. It can therefore be concluded social responsibility theory still influences Kenyan media in carrying out their work.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Overview

This chapter addresses the summary of research findings in line with the objectives of the study. It also provides the conclusion and recommendations from the findings as well as suggestions for further research.

5.1 Summary of findings

This was a comparative study of print media coverage of the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme to vulnerable groups in Kenya before and during the COVID-19 pandemic. The study sought to investigate how the media covered the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme before and during the COVID-19 pandemic in a bid to find out whether the lack of awareness about the programmes resulted in failure to utilise mainstream media. The researcher found that the media adequately covered the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme during the COVID-19 period. However, there was less coverage of the same programme before the pandemic.

5.1.1. Coverage before the COVID-19 period

The findings revealed that there was limited coverage of the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme before COVID-19 struck compared to the period during the pandemic. These findings are consistent in all newspapers that were reviewed within the study period. It can be concluded that COVID-19 had an impact on the coverage of the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme.

5.1.2. Coverage during the COVID-19 period

The researcher observed from the findings that there was a significant increase in coverage of the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme during the COVID-19 period. It can be concluded from the findings that print media was adequately utilised especially during the pandemic period. The study also revealed that there was minimal coverage of the Hunger Safety Net Programme

(HSNP) compared to the other programmes within the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme. From the findings it can be concluded that HSNP is not part of the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme but rather a different (stand-alone) programme.

5.1.3 Themes emerging from the print media coverage of the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme in Kenya

The following themes emerged from the findings of the reviewed articles: mismanagement, efficiency, corruption, non-commitment, challenges, reforms, shortage and expansion. The findings revealed that the commonest theme of the reviewed articles was efficiency. Based on the findings, it can be concluded that the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme is efficient. The second common theme in the reviewed articles was mismanagement of the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme. Based on these findings, it can be concluded that the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme has been mismanaged.

5.1.4 Public perceptions of the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme based on print media reporting in Kenya

Based on the findings of the study it can be concluded that print media made little effort to incorporate the public's opinion on issues. Additionally, the findings suggest that media's role in agenda setting in the reviewed articles was minimal.

5.1.5 Comparison between themes and audience perceptions

The study revealed that print media still represents the people's voices when it comes to airing views/opinions of issues on social protection.

5.2 Recommendations

The researcher makes the following three recommendations based on the study objectives and key findings. First, the media needs to put more effort in capturing the public's opinions on social protection programmes in the country. Based on the findings, it is clear that the media only focused on information provided by the government about the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme.

Secondly, the Ministry of Public Service, Gender, Senior Citizens Affairs and Social Programmes where Social Protection is currently housed, needs to make extra efforts in addressing mismanagement of the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme. Mismanagement of the programme was the second most prominent theme of the study after efficiency. This indicates that the government needs to put more effort in addressing issues concerning mismanagement of the programme. Some of the areas to address under this theme include: ensuring that only the deserving beneficiaries receive the government stipend, ensuring that registration of beneficiaries is constantly ongoing, ensuring that beneficiaries' register is well updated to capture new members and also to ensure deceased members are removed from the list of beneficiaries. Lastly, the government and the media need to increase awareness of the Hunger Safety Net Programme (HSNP). Based on the findings of this study, the researcher observed that there was minimal coverage of HSNP by all newspapers. It was also observed that there was lack of clarification on whether HSNP was part of the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme. It would be helpful to the beneficiaries if more information of the HSNP is availed to the public.

5.3 Suggestions for further research

This study focused on the *Inua Jamii* cash transfer programme in Kenya. Further studies can be carried out to investigate other social protection programmes in the country. Secondly, the researcher used qualitative research approach. Further studies can be carried out using different methodologies from what the researcher utilised. These can be in terms of the research design, approach, research method and the data collection tool used for this study. Lastly, there are many theories that influence the media other than agenda setting theory that mainly influenced this study. Further research can be carried out to find out the influence of other theories on the media in relation to social protection in the country.

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APPENDICES

Coding sheet

Nation Newspaper

Publication date	Page	Theme	Headline of the article	Tone of the article	Audience Perception
04 January 2020	10	Mismanagement of funds	Senior citizens decry delays in cash transfers	Negative	Corruption
15 April 2020	14	Efficiency cash transfer programmes	Cash transfers best way to give donations, not crowded baraza	Positive	None

20 2020	April	48	Efficiency of cash transfer programmes	Needy families to start receiving Sh8,000 as State releases Sh8.7bn	Neutral	None
03 2020	May	26	Shortage of funds	Sh10b needed to reach more vulnerable senior citizens	Neutral	None
06 2020	May	12	Shortage of funds	PS: Sh4.7bn needed for poor families	Negative	None
07 2020	May	12	Mismanagement of the programme	Release our stipend, cry elderly, disabled	Negative	Corruption
21 2020	May	36	Mismanagement of the programme	MPs want 350,000 added to stipend plan	Negative	None

15 June 2020	27	Efficiency of cash transfer programmes	A call to end violence,abuse and neglect of older people	Positive	Efficiency in older people cash transfer programme
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Standard Newspaper

Publication date	Page	Theme	Headline of the article	Tone of the article	Audience Perception
07 December 2019	27	Efficiency of the programme	Agency banking in slow death as billions shifted to mobile	Positive	None
23 May 2020	3	Corruption in the programme	Cartel steals Inua Jamii cash from bank accounts of senior citizens	Negative	Corruption in the programme

26 June 2020	10	Non-commitment	State House cars budget up 10 times as debt cash flows	Neutral	None
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The Star

Publication date	Page	Theme	Headline of the article	Tone of the article	Audience Perception
03 Apr 2020	10	Efficiency of cash transfer programmes	With Covid-19, it is time for a Kenyan universal basic income	Neutral	None

20 2020	April	6	Efficiency of cash transfer programmes	Inua Jamii beneficiaries to get Sh8,000 each starting today	Neutral	None
29 2020	April	28	Challenges faced by beneficiaries	85-year-old cash transfer beneficiary robbed of Sh8,000	Negative	Government should provide security to beneficiaries of programme funds
21 2020	May	8	Mismanagement of the programme	350,000 locked out of Inua Jamii programme	Negative	None
22 2020	May	Page 10	Mismanagement of the programme	Cushion tenants from eviction, ICJ urges government	Neutral	Protect the elderly against COVID-19

Business Daily

Publication date	Page	Theme	Headline of the article	Tone of the article	Audience Perception
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27 November 2019	6	Efficiency of the programme	15,000 elderly folk to get stipend	Positive	None
03 January 2020	14	Efficiency of cash transfer programmes	Rural Kenya needs cash transfer programmes	Positive	None
22 January 2020	6	Corruption in the programme	14,000 dead people got stipend for old citizens	Negative	None
03 April 2020	10	Efficiency of cash transfer programmes	Prioritise protection of social welfare	Positive	None
23 June 2020	2	Reforms	Income protection agency board faces dissolution under new law	Neutral	None

The People Daily

Publication	Page	Theme	Headline of the article	Tone of the	Audience
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date				article	Perception
20 January 2020	14	Programme reforms	Sh4.4b released for cash transfer programme	Positive	None
04 March 2020	9	Corruption	Banks accused of stealing cash for the elderly	Negative	None
09 March 2020	9	Efficiency of cash transfer programmes	Biting poverty pushes grannies into strenuous quarry work	Neutral	Government stipend not enough
28 May 2020	12	Efficiency of cash transfer programmes	CS:Sh8.7b Inua Jamii cash sent to beneficiaries	Positive	None
29 May 2020	13	Efficiency of cash transfer programme	State's Sh200m kitty for people with disabilities	Neutral	None

11 June 2020	16	Expansion of the programme	Street families to get monthly State stipend, says Chelugui	Neutral	None
11 June 2020	4	Reforms	CS cautions against taxing pensioners	Neutral	None
12 June 2020	9	Efficiency of cash transfer programmes	Social protection gets Sh27b boost	Neutral	None
29 June 2020	7	Efficiency of cash transfer programmes	Sh4.37b InuaJamii funds released	Neutral	None



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REF: CERTIFICATE OF CORRECTIONS

This is to certify that all corrections proposed at the Committee of Examiners meeting held on 03 November 2021 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 binding.

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12th November 2021
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This is to certify that all corrections proposed at the Committee of Examiners meeting held on 15 July 2021 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.
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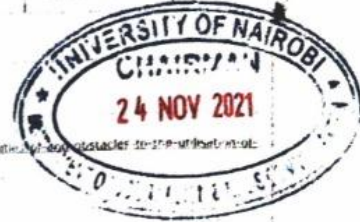
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A Comparative Study of Print Media Coverage of the Inua Jami cash transfer programme in Vulnerable Groups By Aurelia Kang'ata

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The thesis (Internet) from 11-Dec-2021
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A Comparative Study of Print Media Coverage of the Inua Jami cash transfer programme in Vulnerable Groups in Kenya During the COVID-19 Pandemic. Aurelia Mumbua KSO/12283/2018. A research project presented to the Department of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Nairobi, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in Communication Studies November 2021. DECLARATION: This research is my original work and has not been presented for academic award in any other institution. No part of this report may be reproduced without prior permission of the author.

Signature: Aurelia Mumbua KSO/12283/2018
Date: This research project has been submitted for examination with my approval from the University supervisor.
Signature: Dr. Muri Njiru, Department of Journalism and Mass Communication. I dedicate this project to Neil Mwendwa, my supervisor, Dr. Muri Njiru for his guidance and encouragement. My gratitude also goes to all the staff at the Department of Journalism and Mass Communication for their continued support.
ABSTRACT: This study set out to investigate how print media covered the Inua Jami cash transfer programme before and during the COVID-19 pandemic. The specific objectives were: to find out the extent to which the Inua Jami cash transfer programme was covered before and during the COVID-19 period, to analyse the themes emerging from the print media coverage of the Inua Jami cash transfer programme in Kenya and to investigate the public perceptions of the Inua Jami cash transfer programme based on print media reporting. It is anchored on the agenda setting, priming and framing theories. The study used a descriptive design and qualitative research approach. Purposive sampling was used to draw a sample of 28 newspaper issues that had relevant articles on the programme drawn from a sample population of five daily newspapers in Kenya. The research method used was content analysis and the data collection tool was a coding sheet. The study found out that there was a significant increase in coverage of the Inua Jami cash transfer programme during the pandemic. The themes drawn from the reviewed articles were: management, efficiency, corruption, insecurity, protection, and government spend not enough. The public perceptions drawn from the study were: efficiency, corruption, insecurity, protection, and government spend not enough. The study recommends that the government and media put more effort in creating awareness of the Hunger Safety Net Programme. Additionally, the government needs to address the issue of mismanagement of the programme and lastly the media needs to put more effort in capturing the public's opinions on social protection programmes in the country.

DECLARATION ii
DEDICATION iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT iv
ABSTRACT v
LIST OF TABLES vi
ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS vii
CHAPTER ONE 1
INTRODUCTION 1
1.1 Background of the study 1.1
1.1.2 Problem statement 1.1.2
1.1.3 Research objectives 1.1.3
1.1.4 Research questions 1.1.4
1.1.5 Rationale and justification of the study 1.1.5
1.1.6 Scope and limitations 1.1.6
CHAPTER TWO 7
LITERATURE REVIEW 7
2.0 Overview 7
2.1 Emergence of social protection in the world 7
2.2 Social Protection in Kenya 10
2.3 Social protection and the Constitution of Kenya 2010 10
2.4 Cash transfers: Definition and growth in Kenya 11
2.5 Home and Social Protection 15
2.6 Agenda setting theory 15
2.6.1 15
2.6.2 15
2.6.3 16
2.6.4 16
2.6.5 16
2.6.6 16
2.6.7 16
2.6.8 16
2.6.9 16
2.6.10 16
2.6.11 16
2.6.12 16
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2.6.840 16
2.6.841 16
2.6.842

period	32	5.1.3 Themes emerging from the print media coverage of the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme in Kenya
cash transfer programme in Kenya	32	5.1.4 public perceptions of the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme based on print media reporting in Kenya
perceptions	33	5.1.5 Comparison between themes and audience perceptions
perceptions	33	5.2 Recommendations
	33	5.3 Suggestions for further research
	34	
REFERENCES	35	APPENDICES
sheet	39	Coding
Newspaper	39	Nation
	41	Standard Newspaper
	41	The Star
	42	Business Daily
	43	The People
Daily	45	viii LIST OF TABLES Table 3.1 Summary of population and sample
population and sample	20	Table 4.1 Publication dates of Inua Jamii programme articles before COVID-19 pandemic
articles before COVID-19 pandemic	24	Table 4.2 Articles published per month before COVID-19 pandemic
articles	24	Table 4.3 Dates of publication of Inua Jamii programme articles during COVID-19 pandemic
pandemic	25	Table 4.4 Articles published per month during COVID-19 pandemic
	25	Table 4.5 Summary of themes on the Inua Jamii programme
Table 4.6 Public perceptions from print media reporting	30	ix AU DFID NGC OVC CT-OVC OPCT NSNP PWSO PWSO-CT HSNP UNDP UNICEF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS African Union Department for International Development Non-governmental organisation Orphans and vulnerable children Cash Transfer for Orphans and Vulnerable Children Older Persons Cash Transfer National Safety Net Programme Persons with Severe Disabilities Persons with Severe Disabilities Cash Transfer Hunger Safety Net Programme United Nations Development Programme United Nations Children's Fund x CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION 1.1 Background of the study Cash transfer programmes are common instruments used by governments and institutions to economically empower vulnerable groups in society. They are seen as part of wider social protection programmes from governments to their citizens. As noted by Ouma & Adesina (2018), "cash transfers, as public social assistance, constitute forms of social protection policies in which the state and/or other agencies make direct, regular and predictable payments to households or individuals to address short- and long-term vulnerabilities to cushion households from shocks, and prevent further deprivation and poverty". Ngelu (2017) notes that cash transfer programmes are on the rise in developing countries. This is corroborated by Ouma & Adesina (2018) who point out (ibid) there are 40 African Nations providing some sort of cash transfers to their citizens, an upward from 21 in 2010 as reported by world bank in 2015. Social protection (usually to the vulnerable groups in society) emerged in the early 1900s in Western Europe according to (Andersen, 2018). Anderson further notes that social protection was advanced to include different types of social services from the 1940s. There has been exponential growth since then. Enli, Syvertsen & Mjos (2018) see social protection as a key objective of a welfare state. Lindbeck, (2006) defines a welfare state as that whose government makes arrangements for cash benefits to households and also provides subsidised human services. While Lindbeck argues that this is a narrow definition of a welfare state, it is worth noting that it encompasses most social protection programmes that Andersen (2018) talks about, "...the welfare state modifies the impact of the market, by providing some sort of minimum guarantee (mitigating poverty); covering a range of social risks (security), and providing certain services (health care, child and elder care, etc.) - at the best standards available". From the above definition and explanation about welfare states, it is clear that there are different approaches to the provision of welfare in different states. Devereux & White (2010) point out that social protection in Africa has increasingly become institutionalized in order to cushion the poor and most vulnerable in society. They further point out that even though this is majorly an initiative from development and aid organizations in the continent, it has picked up nevertheless. They continue to point out that the driving forces behind social protection growth is a cost versus benefit measurement - political reasons and concern for people's rights. Devereux & White, 2010 also note that the growing trend of democratization in the continent has allowed governments to be keen on provision of citizen rights influencing social protection programmes positively. (Holmes & Lwanga-Ntale, 2012) point out that "The main social protection instruments implemented in African countries tend to align with the needs of particular vulnerable groups. On the one hand, social assistance and welfare forms of social protection for people who are labour- constrained (such as people with disabilities, orphans without support, victims of civil conflict and/or natural disasters, and those who are not eligible for insurance schemes) tend to be unconditional income or food transfers... On the other hand, labour-market programmes which target wage or non-wage employees in the formal and informal sectors, as well as those who are under-employed or unemployed are also increasingly prevalent". Social protection in Kenya takes different forms. According to the Kenya Social Protection Sector Review, 2017 there are two types of social protection schemes in Kenya. The ones funded from the government revenue such as Cash Transfer for Orphans and Vulnerable Children (CT-OVC), Older Persons Cash Transfer Programme (OPCT), Cash Transfer for Persons with Severe Disabilities (PWSO-CT), Hunger Safety Net Programme (HSNP), Urban Food Subsidy Programme (UFS-CT), World Food Programme Asset Creation Programme and World Food Programme General Food Distribution. The other types are contributory schemes such as the National Social Security Fund (NSSF), National Health Insurance Fund (NHIF) and Mhoro Pension Scheme. While all the above protection schemes target different groups in the society, this study sought to investigate the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme that has been a pilot programme for cash transfers since 2004. The Inua Jamii cash transfer programme is a local name for National Safety Net Programme (NSNP) that covers: Older Persons Cash Transfer (OPCT), Cash Transfer for Orphans and Vulnerable Children (OVC), Persons with Severe Disabilities Cash Transfer Program (PWSO-CT) and Hunger Safety Net Programme (HSNP). The National Safety Net Programme (NSNP) was founded in 2013 to establish a common framework for the four programmes (Government of Kenya, 2016). Ouma & Adesina (2018) note that the government began NSNP with the aim of increasing the efficiency and effectiveness of safety support to poor and vulnerable populations in Kenya. According to Ngelu, (ibid) OVC is the biggest of all cash transfer programs currently in Kenya. It was launched in 2004 with an aim of improving the abilities of households with orphans and vulnerable children under their care. Ng'ong'a (2019) adds that the OVC was also a government's initiative in addressing the HIV/AIDS pandemic effects in Kenya at the time. Ngelu (2017) further notes that the OPCT programme was launched in 2006 and was allocated Ksh. 4 million. Since then, the government has continually funded the program while increasing its allocation. PWSO- CT programme was launched in 2011 to support households living in poverty with persons with severe disabilities requiring 24-hour support from a caregiver as members (Kenya Social Protection Sector Review, 2017). Mukasa (2019) states that funds distributed to PWSO for entrepreneurial activities may not be useful in cases where beneficiaries have severe disabilities. Also, caregivers of such persons may lack the economic ability to care for PWSO hence the need for the government to provide funds for sustaining PWSO. HSNP was piloted in 2008 with funding from Department for International Development (DFID) & Australian Department for Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT). The programme targeted vulnerable households in Turkana, Mandera, Wajir and Marsabit counties due to the arid conditions of the four counties (Ministry of Labour and Social Protection, 2020). In an effort to understand the role of communication in development specifically in welfare states, Andersen (2018) notes that "the media is a crucial part of the welfare state since it is not only a member of the society but also an important avenue through which social protection policies are debated and information shared to the citizens. Enli, Syvertsen & Mjos (2018) relate media and the welfare state by pointing out that "while it may not be easy to highlight media effects on the welfare state, media structures and institutional ideologies help understand how issues are framed and what is considered free and fair." There is therefore an already existing relationship between the media and the welfare state that cannot be underestimated. Communication is critical in development hence the reason why focus of media coverage of social issues in a state is deemed very important. This further highlights the importance of development communication that is geared towards advocating for transformation for the benefit of the masses in society. Nora C. Quebra de Jesus Development Communication as "the art and science of human communication applied to the speedy transformation of a country and the mass of its people from poverty to a dynamic state of economic growth that makes possible greater social equality and the larger fulfilment of the human potential." The media therefore is no longer constrained to its traditional functions such as agenda setting and information sharing, but is now responsible for also framing issues in a way that the masses understand the role of the government and utilise media to articulate issues that need to be addressed by their leaders. In recognition that the media is critical in building support for its social protection programmes, the Government of Kenya through the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection has undertaken several measures to maintain presence in the media. Some of the ways include organising the national conference on social protection in 2015 and training of Members of Parliament in 2016. Additionally, the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection has embarked on creating a communication strategy for the Social Protection Secretariat. (Kenya Social Protection Sector Review, 2017). 1.2 Problem statement The Government of Kenya has over the years invested in various social protection interventions meant to cushion the poor and vulnerable people from poverty. One of these social protection interventions is implemented under a cash transfer programme called Inua Jamii. Under the Inua Jamii programme, beneficiaries - Older Persons Cash Transfer, Cash Transfer for Orphans and Vulnerable Children and Persons with Severe Disabilities - receive Sh2,000 monthly. McKay et al, 2020 notes that by 2019, the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme covered 1.2 million beneficiaries disbursing \$29 per beneficiary or \$40.4 million total in each bimonthly cycle. The 2016 National Safety Net Programme progress report indicates that the most vulnerable households in Kenya have through the programmes had their livelihoods improved commendably. Even with such a good track record, the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme has not been devoid of challenges and failures hence numerous recommendations from the government, stakeholders and scholars who have reviewed this programme. For instance, the government notes that only a few beneficiary households are aware of the existence of the programmes' complaints and grievance mechanisms, and the programmes reach only a small percentage of the

complaints that they receive (2016 National Safety Net Programme progress report). Ngeli (2017) also states that cash transfer programmes were key in alleviating poverty in Kenya but efforts should be made to improve the level of awareness of such programmes. In her study on the Influence of cash transfer program on socio-economic status of beneficiaries in Kenya, Syanda (2017) also noted that cash transfer programs need more sensitization in the communities to enable community members understand who qualifies for the program and to prevent jealousy among non-recipients. McKay et al (2020) found out that Inua Jamii beneficiaries were not aware that the bank accounts they opened for the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme could be used as savings accounts. They further noted that the recipients did not know that they could link their bank accounts to Mpesa services that are more accessible to them. McKay et al, 2020 recommended that it is critical for the government and stakeholders to help beneficiaries understand the benefits of owning bank accounts and the functionalities of those accounts. The foregoing clearly points to the fact that beneficiaries are not adequately reached by sensitization and public mobilization campaigns that can help them know the components and benefits of the Inua Jamii programme. Given the role of the media in public sensitisation, it would be expected that they will be utilised to mount awareness messages to beneficiaries. Mainstream media are especially valued for its credibility and ability to inform. With this understanding of the role of the media in society, it is therefore important to deeply investigate how Inua Jamii issues are covered by the media in a bid to find out if the media are adequately or inadequately utilised to boost awareness about Inua Jamii. Investigating Inua Jamii media coverage is even more critical now that social protection interventions are needed to cushion more Kenyans who have fallen deeper into poverty as a result of COVID-19. This study therefore sought to investigate how the media covered the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme before and during the COVID-19 pandemic in a bid to find out whether the lack of awareness about the programmes resulted in failure to utilise mainstream media. 1.3 Research objectives 1. To find out the extent to which the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme was covered before and during the COVID-19 period. 2. To analyse the themes emerging from print media coverage of the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme in Kenya. 3. To investigate the public perceptions of the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme based on the print media reporting. 1.4 Research questions 1. What was the extent to which the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme was covered in print media before and during COVID-19 period? 2. Which themes emerged from coverage of the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme within the specified period? 3. What were the public's perceptions of the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme as reported by newspapers under review? 1.5 Rationale and justification of the study COVID-19 Pandemic proved to be devastating to economies in the world, Kenya included. While the majority of the Kenyan population was affected, the more vulnerable groups in the society including the orphans, elderly persons and people living with disabilities were most affected as most live from hand to mouth, without savings or other means of earning a living. Cash transfer programmes are meant to alleviate poverty among the vulnerable in the society hence the concern on whether the beneficiaries of the programme were actually cushioned from COVID-19 effects or not. Media's role in highlighting issues concerning the Inua Jamii programme cannot be wished away since it's only through coverage of such issues where government and stakeholders can understand how well the programme was received and the challenges facing the programme and recipients. This study therefore sought to investigate how the mainstream media covered the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme before and during the COVID-19 pandemic in a bid to find out whether the lack of awareness about the programme resulted in failure to utilise mainstream media. The study was carried out through review of newspaper articles from various print media over a period of 109 days after announcement of the first COVID-19 case in Kenya while comparing it to 109 days before COVID-19 pandemic hit. The researcher seeks to share the findings of the study with the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection, as well as any other interested party who can utilize the findings to improve cash transfer programmes in Kenya. 1.6 Scope and limitations This research project investigated print media coverage of cash transfer programmes from the Kenya government to vulnerable groups, specifically Older Persons Cash Transfer, Cash Transfer for Orphans and Vulnerable Children, Persons with Severe Disabilities Cash Transfer Program and Hunger Safety Net Programmes before and during the COVID-19 pandemic. The study only focused on these four programmes under the umbrella term National Safety Net Programme since it covers more vulnerable groups in the country. These four programmes are also under one programme referred to as the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme loosely translated to mean programmes that are meant to upgrade the socio-economic status of the beneficiaries. Newspapers covered in this study were only the local English newspapers in Kenya with daily publications, that is, Nation, The Star, The Standard, People Daily and Business Daily. As mentioned in the operational definitions The Standard and Nation newspapers are inclusive of their weekend publications. The study period was 26 November 2019-30 June 2020. This is because Kenya first reported its first COVID-19 case on March 13, 2020 therefore compared 109 days before and 109 days during the COVID-19 period. The study also compared how different media houses covered the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme during the above period. Print media coverage referred to all daily English newspapers in Kenya; Nation, The Standard, The Star, The People and Business Daily. 1.7 Operational definitions Daily newspaper-any local English newspaper that has a daily publication. The Nation newspaper- Nation paper published Monday-Sunday (includes Saturday and Sunday Nation) The Standard newspaper- The Standard paper published Monday-Sunday (includes Standard on Saturday and Sunday Standard) The Star newspaper-is considered a daily newspaper as it is published from Monday to Friday Inua Jamii cash transfer programme- Orphans and Vulnerable Children cash transfer programme Older Persons cash transfer programme, Persons with Severe Disabilities cash transfer programme, Hunger Safety Net Programme. Publication date-the date a newspaper article is published Theme-main idea found in an article Print media-mainstream newspaper print publications CHAPTER TWO LITERATURE REVIEW 2.0 Overview This chapter covers the relevant literature for this study. It also gives the theoretical framework of the study. 2.1 Emergence of social protection in the world Social protection is any provision to the vulnerable meant to alleviate poverty. It can be provided by state and non-state agencies depending on each nation's policies. Andersen, 2018 notes that social protection emerged in the early 1900s in Western Europe. Further, social protection was advanced to include different types of social services from the 1940s. There has been exponential growth since then. Social protection in Africa has seen tremendous growth over the past few decades. Ochieng Opalo (2020) put it into more context by stating that: "In 1990 less than 15 countries had any social safety net programs. But by 2016 the number had increased to 46.2. Coverage varied from 0.3 percent of the population in Guinea-Bissau to 64.4 percent in South Africa - with cash transfer programs being the most widespread form of social protection and accounting for 41 percent (and growing) of total spending on social safety nets (Beegle, Coudouel and Monsalve, 2018, p. 7). As of 2017, 46 countries had such programs, compared to 33 with workfare programs, and 28 with feeding programs." This is corroborated by Ouma & Adesina (2018) who point out (ibid) there are 40 African Nations providing some sort of cash transfers to their citizens, an upward from 21 in 2010 as reported by world bank in 2015. Such upward projection is appreciated as more and more countries develop plans to cushion their most vulnerable. However, there are pertinent issues that have been pointed out pertaining to the advancement of social protection in Africa. One of the most concerning issues is the over reliance on donor funding. Ochieng Opalo (2020) [ibid] notes that "out of 87 programs across 24 countries in 2017, donor funding averaged 85.7 percent." Ouma & Adesina (2018) not only point at donor funding as an issue but also the implementation of social protection programs by non-state actors such as non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and international organisations. Overdependence on external funding and running of such programs by external factors pose high risks to the recipient governments. Donors and implementing agencies are sometimes ignorant of the political and social status of the countries they are involved with. In other areas, they create a culture of overdependence on outsiders. Robert Chambers, one of the leading scholars of participatory development, pointed out that outsiders do not always understand what it means to be poor due to failure to appreciate the contribution of the people they want to help. It is imperative to note that some development partners only work with state agencies in an effort to address social issues facing the vulnerable in society while oblivious of what is really a priority to the recipients of the services. Another issue pointed out as bedeviling social protection in Africa is the failure of governments to address the real issues causing poverty in their countries and instead dish out cash in terms of transfers to the vulnerable (Ouma & Adesina 2018). In this sense, cash transfers may be seen as the easy way out by governments who do not want to address the real issues. There are researches that have found that social protection through cash transfers have been very effective but at the same time there are critics of such. All in all, governments should strive to address the core issues facing their citizenry and not use cash transfers as an escape mechanism of providing social protection for their populations. 2.2 Social Protection in Kenya Ouma (2017) traces the history of exponential growth of social protection in Kenya to the NARC government of 2003, usually referred to as the Kibaki era. When the government came to power, there was rejuvenated hope in the citizenry that their government would improve the living standards of everyone including the vulnerable. The political environment during Kibaki's era also gave confidence to development partners such as UNICEF, World Bank and DFID to enter the development sector to supplement the government's effort in development. This saw UNICEF begin the OVC programme in 2004. Since then, there has been tremendous improvements in the programme, development of many others and generally an improved social wellbeing of vulnerable Kenyans. As mentioned in the background, social protection in Kenya takes different forms. Kabare, (2015) groups social protection in Kenya into three: social assistance, health insurance and social security. Social security falls under National Social Security Fund (NSSF) while health insurance falls under National Hospital Insurance Fund (NHIF). These two fall under the contributory schemes earlier highlighted in the background. Social assistance targets the vulnerable groups in the society who for one reason or another are unable to provide for themselves. It mostly refers to aid; financial or material (Kabare 2015). Kenya Social Protection Sector Review, 2017 lists the ongoing national cash transfer programme as: Cash Transfer for Orphans and Vulnerable Children (CT-OVC), Older Persons Cash Transfer Programme (OPCT), Cash Transfer for Persons with Severe Disabilities (PWSD-CT), Hunger Safety Net Programme (HSNP), Urban Food Subsidy Programme (UFS-CT), World Food Programme Asset Creation Programmes and World Food Programme General Food Distribution. All the above are funded by the Kenyan government in conjunction with other partners such as the World Bank, the Department for International Development (DFID), and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) (Kabare, 2015). While the above programmes have been formalised and improved through the years, it has taken a long process, heavy financial investment from both the government and partners and also has had its challenges. 2.3 Social protection and the Constitution of Kenya 2010 Article 210f the Constitution of Kenya 2010 addresses the rights and fundamental freedoms of every Kenyan citizen. Chapter 3 specifically notes that "All state organs and all public officers have the duty to address the needs of vulnerable groups within society, including women, older members of society, persons with disabilities, children, youth, members of minority or marginalised communities, and members of

particular ethnic, religious or cultural communities." In Article 43 (1) of the same constitution, Kenyans are entitled to good health, accessible and adequate housing, freedom from hunger, clean and safe water, social security and education. This article specifically addresses the role of the state in provision of social security to those unable to provide for themselves. "The State shall provide appropriate social security to persons who are unable to support themselves and their dependants." With the above elaborate obligations to the state and its organs, the government has no option but to take up its role and responsibility in ensuring that vulnerable Kenyans are protected and their needs met. It is also along these lines that the government is expected to come up legislation on the protection of the vulnerable in society. 2.4 Cash transfers: Definition and growth in Kenya Cash transfers refer to instruments used by governments and/or non-governmental organisations to help address poverty among beneficiaries. They are regular and non-contributory payments of money with the aim of absorbing long term shocks of poverty (Omolo, 2017:10). Cash transfers are part of social protection programmes which include financial payments made to older persons, persons with disability, or children deemed vulnerable, to enable individuals and households meet their basic needs and cope with social risks (Ouma (2020). Mukasa (2019) specifies that cash transfers are only directed to individuals and not state organs or institutions. This specification brings an important aspect of handling of cash transfers especially where government/state organs play a role. They can only implement the transfers but the money is usually sent directly to beneficiaries. In putting this to more context, McKay et al (2020) pointed out one of the biggest advancements of the cash transfers in Kenya was digitizing the process. Before this, the money for the beneficiaries would be transported to District Officers via armed guards who manually handed the money to the beneficiaries. This posed several challenges: first, transporting the money that way was such a high risk for the government and also the District Officers. Secondly, it took so long for the process to be completed and reconciliation of all the monies done. Three, there was no assurance that all beneficiaries received the money. All the above challenges point to more reasons why direct transfers of money to individuals or households is key. The Inua Jamii cash transfer programme is a local name for National Safety Net Programme (NSNP) that covers: Older Persons Cash Transfer (OPCT), Cash Transfer for Orphans and Vulnerable Children (OVC), Persons with Severe Disabilities Cash Transfer Program (PWS-D-CT) and Hunger Safety Net Programme (HSNP). The National Safety Net Programme (NSNP) was founded in 2012 to establish a common framework for the four programmes (Government of Kenya, 2016). Ouma & Adesina (2018) note that the government began NSNP with the aim of increasing the efficiency and effectiveness of safety support to poor and vulnerable populations in Kenya. According to Ngelu, (ibid) OVC is the biggest of all cash transfer programs currently in Kenya. It was launched in 2004 with an aim of improving the abilities of households with orphans and vulnerable children under their care. Ng'ong'a (2019) adds that the OVC was also a government's initiative in addressing the HIV/AIDS pandemic effects in Kenya at the time. Ngelu (2017) further notes that the OPCT programme was launched in 2006 and was allocated Ksh. 4 million. Since then, the government has continually funded the program while increasing its allocation. PWS-D-CT programme was launched in 2011 to support households living in poverty with persons with severe disabilities requiring 24-hour support from a caregiver as members (Kenya Social Protection Sector Review, 2017). Mukasa (2019) states that funds distributed to PWS-D for entrepreneurial activities may not be useful in cases where beneficiaries have severe disabilities. Also, caregivers of such persons may lack the economic ability to care for PWS-D hence the need for the government to provide funds for sustaining PWS-D. HSNP was piloted in 2008 with funding from Department for International Development (DFID) & Australian Department for Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT). The programme targeted vulnerable households in Turkana, Mandera, Wajir and Marsabit counties due to the arid conditions of the four counties (Ministry of Labour and Social protection, 2020).

2.5 Media and Social Protection Media remains a key player in society. From its traditional functions of informing, entertaining, watchdog functions, educating, agenda setting among others to the more recent functions such as framing and priming, media is seen as a major player in our societies. It is therefore imperative that we understand the existing relationship between media and social protection, as part of the media's role in development. Understanding the media's relationship with social protection has to begin with the evolution of the media's role and place in society. This takes us to the four theories of the press that were first introduced by Theodore Peterson, Frederick S. Siebert, and Wilbur Schramm in 1956. Authoritarian theory of the press explains the relationship between the media and government where the press is under control by the state. This means that the state has control over media functions and by doing so limits the power of the press. The theory applies to many governments before the 19th century such as European governments and also applies to some current regimes for instance, we have a number of countries especially in Africa, where press freedom is only limited to government propaganda. Authoritarianism stemmed from the understanding that the state is the organized system of regulation and control. The libertarian theory of press opposes the authoritarian theory and explains that the society can decipher good from bad and should be fed with all types of information for them to choose without any restriction from the government or even the press itself. This means that the press should have freedom to inform the public on what's going on around them without any form of censorship. For the information consumers who are the public, they have the right to seek information and express themselves freely in the media. While this theory may seem impossible to apply in modern societies where governments are keen to regulate what their citizens are consuming from the media, alternative media such as websites, social media channels such as Instagram and blogs have taken over the role of the mainstream media in producing uncensored content. An example of this is a website known as Wiki leaks that has been known to publish top secrets of the United States government. The limits of the libertarian theory are evident when information meant for harm is distributed to the public in the name of press freedom and the rights of people hence some critics argue that media should have some form of censorship. The third theory of the press is the Soviet Media Theory that is not very different from the authoritarian theory. The theory explains that governments need absolute control of the media but only for the benefit of the people. The belief is that most beneficiaries of this type of the media would be the working class who need the government to inform, educate and entertain them through the media while still having some form of freedom to offer feedback. This type of media was common in communist countries. The last theory of the press is the social responsibility theory. It is more applicable to this study as it mainly focuses on media responsibility in society. The theory holds that the media have a social obligation to provide the society with accurate, objective and relevant information. Additionally, the media have a responsibility of enlightening the public in promotion of self-governance and lastly the media is tasked with safeguarding people's rights. With the above expectation for the media to promote self-governance, there underlies its obligation to report on issues concerning the public including but not limited to government obligation to its citizens and their grievances. This also forms the basis of the relationship between the media and the welfare state. The welfare state, as explained in the above sections of this study, is an arrangement where the state takes responsibility for the welfare of its population, especially the most vulnerable in society, through offering subsidized health care, provision of pensions, insurance regulation and even direct cash benefits among others.

2.6 Theoretical framework The following theories have influenced this study: 2.6.1 Agenda setting theory Media's influence on the masses cannot be underestimated. The fourth estate has taken a central place in people's lives over the past decades and continues to influence what people think about, talk about and classify as important in their societies. Agenda setting is about pointing to people what is important (Moy, Tewksbury & Rinke, 2016). While quoting Cohen (1963), they put an emphasis on the role of media which has successfully told people what to think about. This theory was developed by Max Combs and Donald Shaw in 1968. Their study was ground-breaking in the sense that it proved that indeed the media determined what people thought about. They concluded this after carrying out a study where, when asked, voters would give examples of the three things that they thought were important for the government to focus on, which reflected the news covered by their media in the area (Moy, Tewksbury & Rinke, 2016). Since this study, media have advanced presentation of news and content by systematically selecting opening stories during news times for television, choosing where to place links of the main stories for digital 15 media, interrupting normal programming to bring in breaking news among others as a result of understanding the influence of the agenda setting theory (Pg:3) 2.6.2 Priming Priming generally refers to associating one phenomenon to another, in media, it refers to the standards people use to make political evaluations (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987, p. 63). Audiences use the information available in news content to make evaluations of their leaders and governments. Weaver (2007: pg. 145) points out that priming is all about making issues more salient and more likely to be accessed in forming opinions. Priming is seen as part of the process of agenda setting (Scheufele & Tewksbury 2007). It occurs in two steps: receiving information, and the consequences of that information. In the first step, audiences will consume news items and that will activate pre-existing [related] knowledge of the particular individual. Association of the news information received to the pre-existing knowledge enables the individual to interpret and evaluate the new information. As explicitly mentioned by (Moy, Tewksbury & Rinke, 2016 pg 6), "A media priming effect occurs if, in the second step, the receiver applies the primed, now more accessible concept to a target stimulus when s/he would not otherwise have done this. The first step thus consists of the priming process, and the second speaks to its consequences." Priming is majorly associated with political communication. While the political linkage may not be explicit every time, there is a tendency of news media consumers to associate news items to political issues hence directly influencing their perceptions of leaders and governments. 2.6.3 Framing Framing is based on the assumption that how an issue is characterized in news reports can have an influence on how it is understood by audiences (Scheufele & Tewksbury 2007). A frame is a concept that summarizes the basic characteristics of a topic according to Moy, Tewksbury & Rinke (2016 pg. 8). "To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described." Entman, 1993, p. 52. Moy, Tewksbury & Rinke (2016 pg. 9) identified two stages in framing: frame-building and frame-setting. Frame-building is done by journalists who develop frames for their news items while frame-setting refers to the audience's consumption of the frames in the 16 news stories. Further, the authors note that "frames are shaped by culture and social norms, organizational pressures and constraints, and frame advocates." Frames are important because they determine how audiences understand information in news stories hence influence how they think about life. Moy, Tewksbury & Rinke (2016: pg. 9) highlighted the importance of framing: "If agenda-setting describes how the public accessibility of a problem is affected by how much the media cover that problem, frame-setting describes how public perceptions of what is applicable to explaining a problem are influenced by how the media frame that problem (Price & Tewksbury, 1997). Applicability refers to the mental associations people make between concepts. If people perceive that a public problem (e.g., poverty) is associated with a particular concept (e.g., high unemployment), they believe that the latter is applicable to the former. A news article can establish this link by explicitly stating the

connection or by implying it in its portrayals of the poverty-stricken." Conclusion: After reviewing relevant literature on the media and its influence on its consumers, the researcher found a gap in the literature on specific coverage of social protection programmes in Kenya and in Africa generally. The researcher understands that social protection is part of the many issues that the media covers in regard to development but also identifies it as a crucial development issue that affects many people in the country. It cannot be emphasised enough times that the COVID-19 pandemic has also exposed gaps in different sections of development such as gaps in health care, equality, equity, social protection, gender among other sections, media coverage not excluded. The researcher is therefore curious on how the media has covered Inua Jamii cash transfer programme and whether there has been a change in coverage during the COVID-19 pandemic.

CHAPTER THREE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY 3.0 Overview This chapter describes the methodology used in the study. It comprises the research design, research approach, research method, population and sampling, data generation techniques, data collection tools, data analysis and data presentation as well as validity and reliability and ethical considerations of the study.

3.1 Research Design Osó (2016) simplifies a research design as a master plan for the overall research process. It is supposed to guide the researcher to understand how a study will be carried out. Ong'ondo & Jwan (2020) look at research design as an overall arrangement of the overall research process. To them, the research design acts as a link between the different processes involved in carrying out research, that is, "the philosophical paradigm, research approaches, method, data generation techniques, data analysis, and presentation and discussion." Ong'ondo & Jwan (2020) further state that some terms in research can be used to mean different things depending on the definition by authors. With that said, research design in this chapter will be used to mean the overall plan for connecting the conceptual research problems to the pertinent and achievable empirical research (Cheswell, 2014). This study employed a descriptive research design. Kothari & Garg, 2019 describes descriptive research as that which describes the state of affairs as it exists at present. The researcher described the phenomena which is coverage of the Inua Jamii programme by print media in Kenya. This type of design also enabled the researcher to extensively explore issues covered by the print media in relation to social protection in Kenya.

3.2 Research Approach This study employed a qualitative approach. The researcher deemed it fit to use the approach as it was the best that could provide an in-depth understanding of media coverage of the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme. The researcher sought to find three things in this study as per the 18 objectives. The first is the extent to which the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme was covered before and during the COVID-19 period. To achieve this, the researcher looked into the number of articles in each of the daily newspapers that addressed Inua Jamii cash transfers in the country. In the second objective, the researcher explored themes used in print media coverage before and during the COVID-19 period. This was achieved through looking into individual articles in the selected newspapers and analysis of the content. The third objective is to understand people's perceptions of the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme based on the print media reporting.

3.3 Research method Research methods are the behaviour and instruments used in selecting and constructing research (Kothari & Garg, 2019: pg 6). The study employed content analysis as a research method. Content analysis was suitable because it enabled the researcher to analyse records and documents, specifically newspapers in order to establish required data. Content analysis was more appropriate in this study because it offered the researcher an opportunity to study newspapers extensively and allowed the researcher to analyse themes present in the selected articles. This is in tandem with Ong'ondo & Jwan (2020 pg:122) where they explain the use of content analysis as a research method compared to a data generation technique. The researcher also compared how different daily newspapers covered the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme in Kenya, hence the analysis of each and every story covered within the selected period of time.

3.4 Population and Sampling Population consists of the whole group of subjects under study. Sampling refers to the way research participants are chosen and accessed Ong'ondo & Jwan (2020 pg:122; Mason 2002). Osó (2016 pg:122) notes that sampling is the process of selecting a few cases out of the target population. It is important that these few cases should be representing the target population, they shouldn't be just any cases. In this study, the researcher analysed all the five English daily newspapers in Kenya. The choice to pick the five was based solely on the frequency of circulation and publication language. The target population therefore refers to all newspapers in the country including the daily, weekly, fortnight among others but the sample population will refer to only the five. The coverage period in this study was 109 days before reporting of the first COVID-19 case in Kenya, that is, 26 November 2019-13 March 2020, in comparison with 109 days after reporting the first COVID-19 case in Kenya, that is, 13 March-30 June 2020. The sampling frame included all the newspaper issues of the five daily newspapers for the period between 26 November 2019-30 June 2020. A sampling frame is a list containing all units that are under study. The researcher got this list by visiting the newspaper libraries that have the records of their publications. After gaining access to their libraries, the researcher used their cataloguing systems that help with search of keywords. The keyword in this case was 'Inua Jamii'. This sampled only the related articles and stories for this study. This type of sampling is known as purposive sampling. The reason for choosing this method is that the researcher is only interested in information about the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme that fall within a specific period of time. In summary, sampling was done as follows. Table 3.0-1 Summary of population and sample Research Phase Sampling Frame Inclusion criterion Sampling technique Sample Qualitative method 109 issues of Nation 109 issues of The Standard 109 issues of The Star 109 issues of People Daily 109 issues of the Business Daily Total=545 issues Any article mentioning the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme Purposive 28 issues 3.4 Data generation techniques This study mainly focused on secondary data available in Kenyan daily newspapers. To ensure that there was sufficient data available, the researcher first carried out a pre-test by conducting an online search of the available data. Using digital platforms of each of the five daily newspapers, the researcher searched for 'Inua Jamii' and found out that there were indeed sufficient articles published with the referenced keywords. The researcher then sought access to each of the media house's libraries and accessed their cataloguing systems that provided access to published stories with the theme of the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme from 26 November 2019 -30 June 2020. To ensure the stories are relevant, the researcher read each of the articles to understand whether it was relevant to the study. The researcher then analysed the available information using a coding sheet.

3.5 Data collection tools The tool used to collect data in this study is a code sheet. The coding sheet included the date of publication, the article page number, the headline of the article, tone of the article and audience perception gained from the article. Each newspaper had its own coding sheet. The information included in the coding sheet goes hand in hand with the objectives of the study. A copy of the coding sheet is annexed to this document.

3.6 Data analysis and presentation Data analysis is the organization of data to make it easier for the researcher to draw conclusions. In qualitative research, it is the process of understanding the data, breaking it into sensible categories and creating themes in an effort to answer your research questions (Ong'ondo & Jwan 2020). It is important to note that data analysis began from the moment the researcher sampled newspaper articles up to the completion of the study. This is because the researcher continuously looked into the data obtained in an effort to make sense out of it. In other terms, data analysis was a continuous process from beginning to end of the study. The main strategy utilised in this study is thematic analysis, where data was grouped into themes. The process involved reading all the relevant newspaper articles on the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme then listing the categories of related themes. These themes were informed by research questions highlighted in the background section of this study. The researcher drew themes from the data obtained, that is, posterior themes. Data from this study was then presented in narrative form.

3.7 Validity and Reliability To ensure validity of the study, the researcher first carried out a pre-test study. This was done through conducting an online search of the available data. Using digital platforms of each of the five daily newspapers, the researcher searched for 'Inua Jamii' and found out that there were indeed sufficient articles published with the referenced keywords. The pilot study was also used to determine if the objectives were achievable. The pilot study gave confidence to the researcher to continue with the research. The researcher also carried out the study with guidance from the supervisor who provided professional direction throughout the study. The researcher also gave operational definitions that are accepted within the social protection and media fields. In addition, in terms of triangulation, the study demonstrated how several theories influence the research. The researcher has also provided a thick description of the process used in the study as stated by Ong'ondo & Jwan (2020) to mean that details are provided as to how the study was carried out.

3.8 Ethical considerations The researcher attributed all borrowed information to the authors and ensured that sources are well acknowledged. The researcher also obtained required certificates from the Department of Journalism and Mass Communication: certificate of fieldwork, certificate of corrections and certificate of originality. Lastly, the researcher defended the final project before a panel of faculty members in the Department of Journalism and Mass Communication.

CHAPTER FOUR DATA PRESENTATION ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION 4.0 Overview This section presents data analysis, presentation of the study findings and their interpretation. The researcher analysed data from the five daily newspapers in Kenya guided by the below objectives.

1. To find out the extent to which the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme was covered before and during the COVID-19 period.
2. To analyse the themes emerging from print media coverage of the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme in Kenya.
3. To investigate the public perceptions of the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme based on the print media reporting.

4.1 The extent to which the Inua Jamii programme was covered before and during the COVID-19 period To find out the extent to which the programme was covered, the researcher tallied the number of articles each of the daily newspapers published between 26 November 2019-13 March 2020 and compared them with those published from 14 March 2020-30 June 2020. The researcher reviewed 109 issues of each of the newspapers making a total of 545 issues. Out of these, only 28 had information related to the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme.

4.1.1. Coverage before the COVID-19 period There was limited coverage of the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme before COVID-19 struck. Business Daily and the People Daily had the highest number of articles on the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme with each publishing three articles. Nation and The Standard ranked second with two articles each while The Star did not publish any article on the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme before the COVID-19 period. The table below summarises the dates each of the newspapers published the articles.

Table 4.0-1 Publication dates of Inua Jamii programme articles before COVID-19 pandemic

Newspaper	Date of publication
People Daily	20 January, 04 & 09 March 2020
Business Daily	27 January 2019, 03 & 22 January 2020
Nation	04 January 2020
The Standard	07 December 2019
The Star	None

In terms of the articles published per month before the COVID-19 period, January had the highest number of articles published with a total of four articles from all the newspapers. Only two articles were published in the month of March while November and December had the least number of articles published with a single article. The table below summarises the number of articles published by all the five newspapers per month.

Table 4.0-2 Articles published per month before COVID-19 pandemic

Month	Number of articles
November	1
December	1
January	4
February	0
March	2
Total	8

4.1.2. Coverage during the COVID-19

period. There was a significant increase in coverage of the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme during the COVID-19 period. The Nation newspaper had the highest number of articles published during COVID-19 period with a total of seven articles published on 15 & 20 April, 03, 06, 07, 21 May and 15 June 2020. The People Daily ranked second with six articles published on 28 & 29 May, 11 June (twice), 12 & 29 June 2020. They were followed by The Star that had five articles published on 03, 20, 29 April, 21 & 22 May 2020. The Standard and Business Daily newspapers published two articles on the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme. Below is the summary of coverage during the pandemic. Table 4.3 Dates of publication of Inua Jamii programme articles during COVID-19 pandemic Newspaper Date of Publication Nation 15 & 20 April, 03, 06, 07, 21 May and 15 June 2020 People Daily 28 & 29 May, 11 June (twice), 12 & 29 June 2020 The Star 03, 20, 29 April, 21 & 22 May 2020 Business Daily 03 April, 23 June 2020 The Standard 23 May & 25 June 2020 The month of May had the highest number of articles with a total of nine articles from the five newspapers. All the newspapers published eight articles in June and six in April. There were no articles on the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme published between 14-31 March 2020. From the data presented here, it can be inferred that there was an increased reporting of the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme during the COVID-19 period compared to the period just before the pandemic hit. Table 4.4 Articles published per month during COVID-19 pandemic. Month Number of articles March 0 April 6 May 9 June 8 Total 23 The main aim of this study was to investigate how the media covered the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme before and during the COVID-19 pandemic in a bid to find out whether the lack of awareness about the programmes resulted in failure to utilise mainstream media. It can be inferred from the findings that print media was adequately utilised especially during the pandemic period. 25 The researcher also observed that there was very little coverage of the Hunger Safety Net Programme (HSNP) compared to the other programmes within the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme. There was only one article by the Nation newspaper that covered HSNP that was published on 03 May 2020. The researcher also observed from the findings that in general, there was minimal information on HSNP including information on the funding of the programme. In addition, the Nation newspaper mentioned HSNP as a stand-alone project in its 15 April 2020 article. These findings match the researcher's observation from the available literature that there was minimal information on HSNP. Additionally, even though the government mentioned that the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme consisted of four programmes: Older Persons Cash Transfer, Cash Transfer for Orphans and Vulnerable Children, Persons with Severe Disabilities Cash Transfer Program, and Hunger Safety Net Programme (Government of Kenya, 2016) the researcher observed that HSNP was not included as part of the government's funding of the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme. These findings are likely to suggest that HSNP is not part of the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme. 4.2 Themes emerging from print media coverage on the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme in Kenya Several themes emerged from the articles reviewed. These were: mismanagement, efficiency, corruption, non-commitment, challenges, reforms, shortage and expansion. The themes are summarised in the table below according to each newspaper article. There was a total of 13 articles with the theme of efficiency. Articles that addressed mismanagement as a theme were four, while those addressing reforms were three, corruption three, shortage two, one that addressed expansion, one that addressed challenges, and one that addressed non-commitment as a theme. Table 4.5 Summary of themes on the Inua Jamii programme Themes Nation The Standard The Star Business Daily People Daily Total Efficiency 2 1 2 3 5 13 Mismanagement 3 0 1 0 0 4 Reforms 0 0 0 1 2 3 Corruption 0 1 0 1 1 3 Shortage 2 0 0 0 0 2 Expansion 0 0 0 0 1 1 Non-commitment 0 1 0 0 0 1 Out of the 28 newspaper issues that covered the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme, 13 of them had the theme of efficiency. It can therefore be inferred that the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme is efficient. Out of the 13, the People Daily had the highest number of articles that projected the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme as efficient with a total of five articles. These were articles published on 09 March, 28 May, 29 May, 12 June and 29 June 2020. The researcher found this theme appropriate since the articles covered stories on the positive impact of the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme. For instance, on 28 May 2020, the People Daily reported on page 12 that the Ministry of Labour and Social Protection had noted an increase in the purchasing power of beneficiaries of the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme. Further, the Ministry noted that the level of poverty of beneficiaries had dropped down, there was increase in food expenditure and dietary diversification and increase in savings and investments of the beneficiaries of the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme. At the same time, the Ministry observed that more children were retained in school while there was a reduction of child labour and illnesses due to the government stipend provided to the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme beneficiaries. The article entitled: CS:Sh8.7b Inua Jamii cash sent to beneficiaries, is an example of articles that had a theme on efficiency of the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme. It can also be concluded from the findings that the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme has been mismanaged as the theme appeared four times in the reviewed articles. The Nation had the highest 27 number of articles with the theme of mismanagement, followed by The Star that had one article. The rest of the newspapers did not have articles projecting such a theme. Nation newspaper published the three articles on 04 January, 07 May & 21 May 2020, while The Star published one on 21 May 2020 entitled: 350,000 locked out of Inua Jamii programme. In comparison to the Nation newspaper that also carried an article on 21 May 2020 titled: MPs want 350,000 added to stipend plan, the researcher noted that both articles projected the same theme of mismanagement. The Star newspaper's article was shorter compared to the Nation and did not offer as much background information as the Nation. The Star article appeared on page 8 while the Nation article spanned on page 36. 4.3 Public perceptions of the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme based on print media reporting in Kenya The researcher wanted to investigate how the public perceived the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme from the media within the study period. This was done through analysis of all the sampled articles that had direct or indirect reporting from the public on issues concerning the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme. Direct reporting refers to quotes from the audience while indirect reporting refers to any information paraphrased by the media to capture what a specific audience said. Nation had the highest number of public perceptions recorded within the study period. Out of the three, one had a direct quote while two were paraphrased by the media. On 04 January 2020, Nation published an article entitled: Senior citizens decry delays in cash transfers. The researcher deduced that the audience perception was corruption as the article addressed concerns from elderly people who complained to the media that they had not received their stipends since November 2018. On 07 May 2020, the Nation newspaper published an article with the title: Release our stipend, cry elderly, disabled. The article addressed concerns from the elderly and orphans who had previously received cash from the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme but they no longer received the money. The researcher also concluded that the audience perception in this article was corruption. The last article from the Nation that had audience perception was published on 15 June 2020 titled: A call to end violence, abuse and neglect of older people. The researcher deduced that the audience perception of this article was the efficiency of the Older Persons Cash transfer programme. Older Persons cash transfer programme, a part of the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme, was one of the key factors that contributed to the general well-being of the older people aged 70 and above as noted in the article. The Star had two articles that recorded audience perceptions. One article that was published on 29 April 2020 titled: 89-year-old cash transfer beneficiary robbed of Sh8,000 addressed concerns from the public on the insecurity older people faced since they access the government stipend hence the public perception deduced there was insecurity. The other article was published on 22 May 2020 with the title: Cushion tenants from eviction, ICJ urges government and addressed the vulnerability of older persons who were expected to access government stipend through the banks, increasing their risk of contracting COVID-19. The researcher deduced that the public perception from this article was protection. The Standard only had one article that contained public perception. This article was published on 23 May 2020 with the title: Cartel steals Inua Jamii cash from bank accounts of senior citizens. The researcher felt that the public perception was corruption as the article addressed concerns from older persons complaining that they only received the text that alerts them of the stipend but upon reaching the banks, there was no money. Only one article from the People Daily recorded audience perception. The article, titled: Biting poverty pushes grannies into strenuous quarry work, featured the story of an old granny unable to sustain herself with the Ksh,2000 that she receives from the government. The researcher deduced that the perception was that the government stipend wasn't enough. The Business Daily newspaper had no article that recorded audience perception. The table below provides a summary of audience perceptions that were derived from the articles reviewed from 26 November 2019-30 June 2020 that contained information on the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme. Table 4.6 Public perceptions from print media reporting Newspaper Audience perception Date of publication Nation Corruption Corruption Efficiency 04 January 2020 07 May 2020 15 June 2020 The Star Insecurity Protection 29 April 2020 22 May 2020 The Standard Corruption 23 May 2020 People Daily Government stipend not enough 09 March 2020 Business Daily None - The above findings on audience perceptions are likely to suggest that print media made little effort to incorporate the public's opinion on social protection issues. The researcher observed from the reviewed articles that the media mostly reported on government's efforts in the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme. This is also likely to suggest that media's role in agenda setting in the reviewed articles was minimal. Agenda setting here refers to the media's ability to tell the audience what to think about. From the findings, it can be inferred that the media reported what the government needed the public to know. 4.4 Comparison between themes and audience perceptions There was a total of seven articles that contained audience perceptions. Out of these, only two audience perceptions were similar to the themes of the articles. These were published by the Nation on 15 June 2020 and The Standard on 23 May 2020. Nation's article on: A call to end violence, abuse and neglect of older people appeared on page 37 as an advertising feature to mark the world's Elder Abuse Awareness Day. The article also featured a statement from an older person representing the elderly. The researcher therefore concluded that the article theme and the statement from the older person both showed how the Older Persons Cash transfer programme had succeeded over the years. The theme of the article was efficiency of the programme just like the audience perception per the researcher's understanding. On 23 May 2020, The Standard ran an article on: Cartel steals Inua Jamii cash from bank accounts of senior citizens detailing the agony of older persons who received text messages from the bank asking them to collect their funds from the banks only to find that there was no money available. The researcher classified this article under the theme corruption and also classified the audience perception as corruption. The above findings are likely to suggest that print media still represents the people's voices when it comes to airing views/opinions on social protection. This is in line with the social responsibility theory that states that the media have an obligation to offer the public accurate, objective and relevant information, have a responsibility of enlightening the public in promotion of self-governance and lastly the media is tasked with safeguarding people's rights. As pointed out in chapter two of this study, the media have an obligation to promote self-governance of the public through the media's power to influence. It can therefore be concluded social responsibility theory still influences Kenyan media in carrying out their work.

CHAPTER FIVE SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS 5.0 Overview This chapter addresses the summary of research findings in line with the objectives of the study. It also provides the conclusion and recommendations from the findings as well as suggestions for further research. 5.1 Summary of findings This was a comparative study of print media coverage of the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme to vulnerable groups in Kenya before and during the COVID-19 pandemic. The study sought to investigate how the media covered the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme before and during the COVID-19 pandemic in a bid to find out whether the lack of awareness about the programmes resulted in failure to utilise mainstream media. The researcher found that the media adequately covered the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme during the COVID-19 period. However, there was less coverage of the same programme before the pandemic. 5.1.1 Coverage before the COVID-19 period The findings revealed that there was limited coverage of the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme before COVID-19 struck compared to the period during the pandemic. These findings are consistent in all newspapers that were reviewed within the study period. It can be concluded that COVID-19 had an impact on the coverage of the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme. 5.1.2 Coverage during the COVID-19 period The researcher observed from the findings that there was a significant increase in coverage of the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme during the COVID-19 period. It can be concluded from the findings that print media was adequately utilised especially during the pandemic period. The study also revealed that there was minimal coverage of the Hunger Safety Net Programme (HSNP) 32 compared to the other programmes within the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme. From the findings it can be concluded that HSNP is not part of the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme but rather a different (stand-alone) programme. 5.1.3 Themes emerging from the print media coverage of the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme in Kenya The following themes emerged from the findings of the reviewed articles: mismanagement, efficiency, corruption, non-commitment, challenges, reforms, shortage and expansion. The findings revealed that the commonest theme of the reviewed articles was efficiency. Based on the findings, it can be concluded that the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme is efficient. The second common theme in the reviewed articles was mismanagement of the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme. Based on these findings, it can be concluded that the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme has been mismanaged. 5.1.4 Public perceptions of the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme based on print media reporting in Kenya Based on the findings of the study it can be concluded that print media made little effort to incorporate the public's opinion on issues. Additionally, the findings suggest that media's role in agenda setting in the reviewed articles was minimal. 5.1.5 Comparison between themes and audience perceptions The study revealed that print media still represents the people's voices when it comes to airing views/opinions of issues on social protection. 5.2 Recommendations The researcher makes the following three recommendations based on the study objectives and key findings. First, the media needs to put more effort in capturing the public's opinions on social protection programmes in the country. Based on the findings, it is clear that the media only focused on information provided by the government about the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme. Secondly, the Ministry of Public Service, Gender, Senior Citizens Affairs and Social Programmes where Social Protection is currently housed, needs to make extra efforts in addressing mismanagement of the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme. Mismanagement of the programme was the second most prominent theme of the study after efficiency. This indicates that the government needs to put more effort in addressing issues concerning mismanagement of the programme. Some of the areas to address under this theme include: ensuring that only the deserving beneficiaries receive the government stipend, ensuring that registration of beneficiaries is constantly ongoing, ensuring that beneficiaries' register is well updated to capture new members and also to ensure deceased members are removed from the list of beneficiaries. Lastly, the government and the media need to increase awareness of the Hunger Safety Net Programme (HSNP). Based on the findings of this study, the researcher observed that there was minimal coverage of HSNP by all newspapers. It was also observed that there was lack of clarification on whether HSNP was part of the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme. It would be helpful to the beneficiaries if more information of the HSNP is available to the public. 5.3 Suggestions for further research This study focused on the Inua Jamii cash transfer programme in Kenya. Further studies can be carried out to investigate other social protection programmes in the country. Secondly, the researcher used qualitative research approach. Further studies can be carried out using different methodologies from what the researcher utilised. These can be in terms of the research design, approach, research method and the data collection tool used for this study. 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Retrieved from http://erepository.uonbi.ac.ke/bitstream/handle/11295/101485/Syanda_Influenceof%20Cash%20Transfer%20Program%20on%20Socio-economic%20Status%20of%20Beneficiaries%20in%20Kenya%20A%20Case%20of%20Persons%20Living%20With%20Disabilities%20in%20Kitui%20Central%20Sub-county%20in%20Kitui%20County.pdf?sequence=1 APPENDICES Coding sheet: Nation Newspaper Publication date Page Theme Headline of the article Tone of the article Audience Perception 04 January 2020 10 Mismanagement of funds Senior citizens deny delays in cash transfers Negative Corruption 15 2020 April 14 Efficiency cash transfer programmes Cash transfers best way to give donations, not crowded baraza Positive Intra 20 April 2020 48 Efficiency of cash transfer programmes Needy families to start receiving Sh8,000 as state relieves Sh8.7bn Neutral None 03 May 2020 26 Shortage of funds Sh10b needed to reach more vulnerable senior citizens Neutral None 06 May 2020 12 Shortage of funds PS: Sh4.7bn needed for poor families Negative None 07 May 2020 12 Mismanagement of the programme Release our stipend, say elderly, disabled Negative Corruption 21 May 2020 26 Mismanagement of the programme MPs want 350,000 added to stipend plan Negative None 15 June 2020 27 Efficiency of cash transfer programmes A call to end violence, abuse and neglect of older people Positive Efficiency in older people transfer cash programme Standard Newspaper Publication date Page Theme Headline of the article Tone of the article Audience Perception 07 December 2019 27 Efficiency of the programme Agency banking in slow death as billions shifted to mobile Positive None 23 May 2020 3 Corruption in the programme Cartel steals Inua Jamii cash from bank accounts of senior citizens Negative Corruption in the programme 26 June 2020 10 Non-commitment State House cuts budget up 10 times as debt cash flows Neutral None The Star Publication date Page Theme Headline of the article Tone of the article Audience Perception 03 April 2020 10 Efficiency of cash transfer programmes With Covid-19, it is time for a Kenyan universal basic income Neutral None 20 2020 April 6 Efficiency of cash transfer programmes Inua Jamii beneficiaries to get Sh8,000 each starting today Neutral None 29 2020 April 28 Challenges faced by beneficiaries 85-year-old cash transfer beneficiary robbed of Sh8,000 Negative Government should provide security to beneficiaries of

programme funds 21 May 2020 8 Mismanagement of the programme 350,000 locked out of Inua Jamii programme Negative None 22 May 2020 Page 10 Mismanagement of the programme Cushion tenants from eviction, ICJ urges government Neutral Protect the elderly against COVID-19 Business Daily Publication date Page Theme Headline of the article Tone of the article Audience Perception 27 November 2019 6 Efficiency of the programme 15,000 elderly folk to get stipend Positive None 03 2020 January 14 Efficiency of cash transfer programmes Rural Kenya needs cash transfer programmes Positive None 22 2020 January 6 Corruption in the programme 14,000 dead people got stipend for old citizens Negative None 03 April 2020 10 Efficiency of cash transfer programmes Prioritise protection of social welfare Positive None 23 June 2020 2 Reforms Income protection agency board faces dissolution under new law Neutral None The People Daily Publication date Page Theme Headline of the article Tone of the article Audience Perception 20 January 2020 14 Programme reforms Sh4.4b released for cash transfer programme Positive None 04 2020 March 9 Corruption Banks accused of stealing cash for the elderly Negative None 09 2020 March 9 Efficiency of cash transfer programmes Biting poverty pushes grannier into strenuous quarry work Neutral Government stipend enough not 28 May 2020 12 Efficiency of cash transfer programmes CS:Sh8.7b Inua Jamii cash sent to beneficiaries Positive None 29 May 2020 13 Efficiency of cash transfer programme State's Sh200m Kitty for people with disabilities Neutral None 11 June 2020 16 Expansion of the programme Street families to get monthly State stipend, says Chelugui Neutral None 11 June 2020 4 Reforms CS cautions against taxing pensioners Neutral None 12 June 2020 9 Efficiency of cash transfer programmes Social protection gets Sh27b boost Neutral None 29 June 2020 7 Efficiency of cash transfer programmes Sh4.37b InuaJamii funds released Neutral None 3 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 17 19 20 21 22 23 26 28 29 31 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46