

How a newspaper constructs a national identity: 'the Ugandan' vs. 'the refugee'

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Abstract

Several studies have shown that media play a huge role in constructing national identities. These studies are often carried out in the context of 'othering', since a collective dissociation of 'the other' in many cases strengthens the feeling of nationalism. Studies on how African media play a role in the formation of national identities are scarce, however. A regularly used example of 'the other' is the refugee and one of the largest refugee-hosting countries world-wide is Uganda. This thesis therefore studies how the *New Vision*, one of the biggest Ugandan newspapers, covers news on refugees and how the *New Vision* then contributes to the construction of a national identity in Uganda. Three methods were used: a participatory research in the form of an internship, a discourse analysis of text and finally a discourse analysis of pictures. The results show that the *New Vision* focuses on the idea that the government does everything in its power to help refugees and portrays 'the Ugandan' as very welcoming towards refugees.

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Introduction

That media play a huge role in shaping our worldviews is beyond dispute. Even though many journalists claim to be objective, the fact remains that they get to decide which issues are covered and from which perspective these issues are covered. This is how discourses are created. The same way, media play a role in the construction of identities. This thesis will study how a newspaper can contribute to the construction of a national identity. More specifically, this study is conducted in the context of the East-African country Uganda and focuses on the *New Vision*. The *New Vision* is one of the biggest newspapers in the country and is for the largest part owned by the government.

This thesis will focus on the coverage of news on refugees, because this subject is closely related to nationality and national identity. After all, this idea of 'the other' coming into one's country in many cases strengthens the feeling of nationalism (Postelnicescu, 2016). What makes it even more relevant to study this topic in the context of Uganda, is the fact that this country is seen as extremely tolerant towards refugees (Goldstein, 2018). It will thus be interesting to see whether this is also somehow reflected in the way national identity is displayed or not. The central research question will be the following:

"How does the New Vision contribute to the construction of a national identity in Uganda in its coverage of news on refugees?"

Then the question might rise why this is relevant. The answer to this question is manifold. First of all, the influence of media on national identity creation has been studied, but only very scarcely in the context of Uganda and not at all in the specific context of the *New Vision*. This thesis will therefore fill in this research gap. Secondly, national identity plays a crucial role in Uganda's current political landscape, as well as in other African countries (Green, 2018). This thesis will therefore form an opening for further research on national identity construction in other African countries. Furthermore, a lot of research has been done on discourse on immigration and refugees in western countries, but there is a lack of comparable research on discourse in non-western countries (Baker et al., 2008; Gelber, 2003; Gale, 2004).

Since the central research question is a fairly complex question to answer, it is necessary to break it apart into smaller sub-questions. First of all, it is necessary to look at the way journalists at the *New Vision* work in order to get an idea of the context their articles are written in. Then it is essential to look at the content they produce. This leads to the following sub-questions:

1. *"How do reporters at the New Vision operate?"*
2. *"Which discourses can be found in the selected articles on refugees?"*
3. *"Which discourses can be found in the pictures that complement the articles on refugees?"*
4. *"How can these discourses be interpreted with regard to national identity construction?"*

One of the main methods used was participatory research in the form of an internship at the *New Vision*. The internship was conducted during a ten-week period starting from mid-January 2019. During the internship, I worked together with several reporters. Every day I went to the field with one of the reporters, after which we went back to the office and wrote a story. 'The field' in this case refers to press conferences, events and ministries among others. Through this internship I was therefore able to establish a clear context and basis for my research. On the basis of this participatory study, the first sub-question will be answered.

Since some information gathered during the internship is rather sensitive, there is an ethical question that should be addressed. The fact that the *New Vision* is largely government-owned makes it difficult for reporters to openly criticize certain issues. My responsibility as a researcher in this case is to make sure that these reporters will never get in trouble for what they might have said in confidence. Therefore, the names are anonymized and the fields of specialization are not mentioned, since this would make it possible to trace the quote back to the journalist rather easily.

The second method used then is a critical discourse analysis (Van Dijk, 1993); a total of 20 articles with topics related to refugees was selected and analysed. The data generated through this analysis will provide an answer to the third sub-question. The third, and last, method used was a critical discourse analysis of the pictures that complement the selected articles. Visual discourse analysis is not commonly used, but it is another good way to draw conclusions about discourse. Moreover, signs of national symbols and traditions, whether subtle or not, give an idea to what extent the newspaper contributes to the construction of national identity (Machin & Mayr, 2012).

The thesis will start off by outlining a context of Uganda's media landscape, including background information of the *New Vision*. The second chapter will elaborate on the theoretical framework this study takes place in. 'National identity' will be defined in this chapter and the role of the media will be discussed. Chapter 3 gives a detailed description of the methods used, after which Chapter 4 will give the results. This will be followed by a short discussion which will link the results to the discussed literature. The thesis will close off with a conclusion in which the central research question will be answered.

1. Context: The ins and outs of Uganda's media landscape

This chapter will provide background information on Uganda's media landscape. Since this thesis only studies one particular medium, it is crucial to be aware of the context this medium operates within. However, literature on Uganda's media landscape is scarce, which is why this information will be complemented with information gathered during the internship that was carried out as part of this research. The chapter will start with a brief overview of the history of Uganda's media, after which the current media landscape will be described.

1.1 Uganda's media in the past

In 1962, when Uganda gained independence, the radio and printing press came under the surveillance of the new Ugandan government led by president and Kabaka of Buganda¹ Edward Muteesa II (Kalyango, 2009). The media lacked independence and had problems with integrity, among others. According to several scholars, all television and radio stations continued to be owned by the state and lacking independence until the late 1980's (Carver, 1995; Ocitti, 2006; Kalyango, 2009).

After the bloodstained reigns of Milton Obote and Idi Amin, among others, the National Resistance Movement (NRM) gained power in 1986 and Yoweri Museveni became president. This meant the end of a civil war that had begun in 1980. At this time, the West generally considered Museveni part of a new generation of African leaders that would offer different solutions to the problems big parts of the continent were facing (Oloka-Onyango, 2004). As time passed, however, this view faded and Museveni was more and more considered similar to the 'old generation of African leaders' (Oloka-Onyango, 2004).

At first the media landscape under Museveni was fairly small and one sided, with the only operating local broadcast media being Radio Uganda and Uganda Television. Besides that, these two media had a reputation of being largely unprioritized (Chibita, 2010). A rather revolutionary year for Uganda's media then was 1992, when Museveni liberalized the media. Uganda stands out in this regard when comparing it to regimes in other African countries, because in Uganda the liberalization of the media came before political liberalisation (Maractho, 2015). After all, when Museveni came to power, his political party was still the only one. The broadcasting liberalization made it possible for dozens of privately-owned radio stations to be launched. The same went for independent newspapers and television stations, although to a much lesser extent (Kalyango, 2009).

The huge popularity of radio in many African countries had (and has) several reasons. Mwesige (2004) explains, for example, that the fact that the audience has the opportunity to let their voices literally be heard, plays a big role. After all, most radio programs allow listeners to share their views on all kinds of topics. Moreover, the fact that it is rather simple to start a radio station, makes that there are radio stations in a wide variety of languages. Radio is therefore the most accessible medium in most of Africa (Mano, 2012). Uganda's internet penetration is still relatively low, which makes radio the biggest medium there as well. According to Mwesige (2004), Uganda even was among the continent's leaders in private radio penetration.

¹'Kabaka' is the title of the king of the Kingdom of Buganda, a subnational kingdom within Uganda.

Press freedom thus emerged for the first time after independence under the direction of Museveni, though only partially, since state-owned radio stations continued to exist and they continued to lack editorial and managerial independence (Kannyo, 2004). Moreover, the government attempted to limit the freedom of the independent press by making use of constitutional clauses (Kalyango, 2009).

Maractho (2015) studied Uganda's legal framework in the field of media. She explains that the overall legal framework for media governance was set in the constitution of 1995. This constitution on the one hand is considered progressive, but it is criticized on the other hand since it would not emphasize press freedom enough; the media are only mentioned once and the constitution does not bring up the protection of journalists (Maractho, 2015). The law thus mainly focuses on the regulation of media and less on guaranteeing actual independence and diversity. Research by Ocitti (2006) has shown that independent radio stations were actually manipulated by the government and by the managers, just as much as the state-owned stations were controlled. In practice, this means that one media owner buys a great number of media, having as a consequence that even private media are influenced by one and the same elitist person. These owners are often members of the NRM or their friends. Maractho (2015) therefore claims that there might be need for an ownership policy. Kalyango (2009) explains that governments have attempted to restrain the media with this method throughout the post-independence period until the writing of his article.

The liberalization of the media led to the launch of a great number of radio stations in a relatively short time; the first private FM radio station was launched in 1993 and by the end of 2007, there were no less than 70 (Kalyango, 2009). The medium of radio has been known to provide a platform for those supporting the opposition. Remarkable is that this has not automatically meant that the opposition was largely supported. In 2000 international pressure actually forced Museveni to hold a referendum in which citizens could vote for either the existing one-party system or a multiparty system. In the build-up to the referendum many radio stations showed support to the politicians of the side of the opposition, who were pro-multiparty politics, and still over 90% of the votes went to the one-party system (Kalyango, 2009).² This might be explained by the fact that actual press freedom was limited, as explained above. Another challenge the newly emerged media were facing, was to achieve good quality. As the big number of radio stations that had arisen might suggest, quantity seemed to be prioritized over quality (Kibazo & Kanaabi, 2007).

All in all, the liberalisation of the media in 1992 has been a very relevant event in Uganda's media history. This paragraph has attempted to show, however, that this concept of 'liberalization' might not be as black and white as it might seem.

1.2 Uganda's media nowadays

Now that has been described how the foundation of the Ugandan media landscape has come into being, the current media landscape will be elaborated upon below. Firstly, internet and social media will be discussed, followed by television and radio. Lastly, a more extensive overview of the newspapers will follow.

Internet

As almost anywhere in the world, social media play a big role in Uganda in many respects of the society. GeoPoll carried out a survey in February 2017 among almost 3000 respondents between 18 and 34 years old (GeoPoll, 2017). The study showed that social media was by far the most popular

²An opposition in a one-party system seems paradoxal. There can actually be an opposition in a one-party system, however, but it will be either outlawed or it can only play a very limited role in elections.

primary source of news and information, with over 60% of the respondents giving this as an answer (see figure 1).

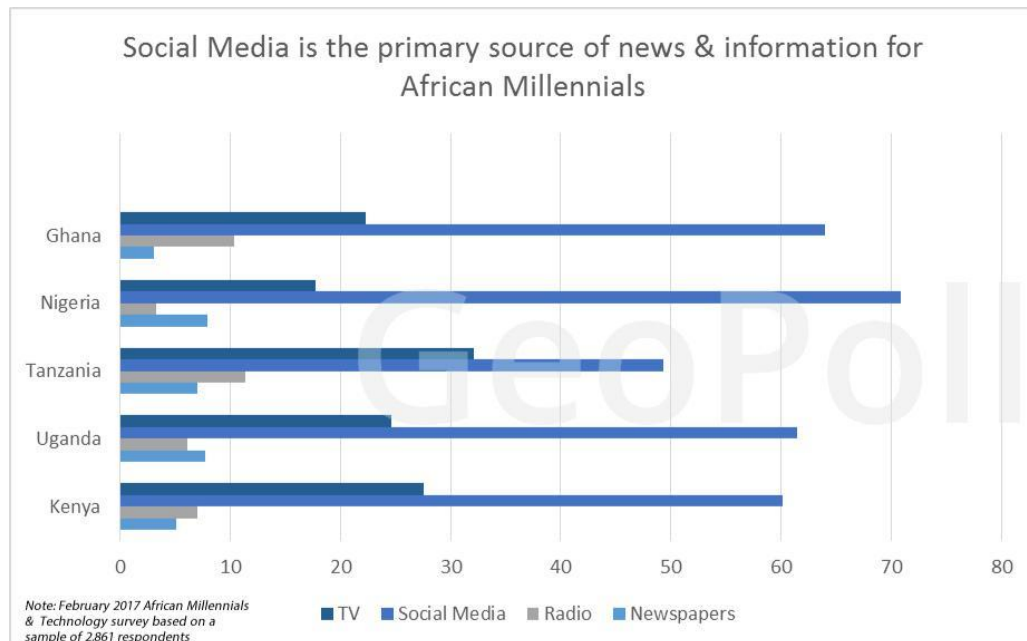


Figure 1

Whether this is a valid representation of the Ugandan society can be questioned, however, since it concerns a mobile survey. After all, many people in Uganda still live below the poverty line and many of these people do not own a mobile phone. A report by the Uganda Communications Commission (UCC) (2018) shows that about 60% of the population had access to a mobile phone as of September 2018. The survey by GeoPoll will nonetheless be used to guide as an indication. After all, it does give important information on the media use of a big part of the Ugandan society. The UCC estimates that the actual internet penetration³ in the second quarter of 2018 stood at almost 50%.

Little academic research has been carried out in the context of media use in Uganda specifically. However, 'social media management platform' Hootsuite and marketing agency We Are Social (2019) did carry out a global research on the topic of internet use. According to their research, only approximately 6% of the Ugandan population was considered an 'active social media user' as of January 2019. In comparison, this number was 64% in the Netherlands and 16% in the neighbouring Kenya.

Another source of information about internet and (social) media use, although criticized for privacy concerns is the American web traffic analysis company Alexa. According to this company, amongst the ten most popular websites in January 2019 were sites like Facebook, YouTube and Wikipedia, as well as the websites of the two biggest newspapers: the New Vision and the Daily Monitor (Alexa, 2019). This is significant information for this research, because it shows that these media also have a big impact online. More about this will be covered below in the analysis of the role of newspapers in Uganda's media landscape.

Television

The same survey by GeoPoll shows that almost a quarter of the respondents answered that their primary source of news and information was television. Radio and newspapers hence were the least

³The term 'internet penetration' refers to the percentage of people who use the internet in a country.

popular sources of news and information (GeoPoll, 2017). It is interesting to see that in Ghana, Tanzania and Kenya radio seemed to be slightly more popular than newspapers as the primary source of news and information, while in Nigeria and Uganda it was the other way around.

According to the UCC (2018), as of September 2018 there were 33 operational TV stations in Uganda, of which 8 offered paid subscriptions. A different survey from GeoPoll (2017) shows that in the last quarter of 2017 NTV was by far the most popular TV station. NTV is a subsidiary of Kenya's Nation Media Group, which is the largest independent media house in East and Central Africa. Bukedde TV is the second most popular TV channel, followed closely by the privately-owned NBS. Bukedde TV is owned by the Vision Group, the same largely government-owned media house that publishes the New Vision.

Radio

Besides the large amount of TV channels, Uganda also still has a huge radio network at its disposal; as of September 2017, there were 292 radio stations (UCC, 2017). According to the second-mentioned survey by GeoPoll (2017), the most popular radio station in the last quarter of 2017 was the private Capital FM. Capital FM is followed by the private Radio Simba and KFM, the latter being operated by the independent Monitor Publications. When looking at the Ugandan television and radio channels, one can hence say that the Ugandan broadcast landscape is quite diverse.

In the paragraph on history is explained that the independency of private media can be limited, since they are sometimes owned by people who have relations with the government. An example of this can be seen with Voice of Tese Radio station which is based in Soroti District in Eastern Uganda. This radio station was owned by Mike Mukula who used to be a state Minister of Health and who is still a member of the NRM (TheSpy Uganda, 2019).

Print

A good way to study the popularity of newspapers in a country is by looking at the circulation numbers. The most popular newspapers will therefore be discussed below based on these numbers.

According to the Audit Bureau of Circulations of South Africa (ABC) (2019), Bukedde was the biggest paper with a distribution of almost 36 thousand on average per day in the last quarter of 2018. This newspaper is published in Luganda, one of the biggest languages in Uganda. Bukedde is published by the Vision Group, the same media house that publishes the New Vision. The New Vision is therefore considered its English language sister-paper.

Bukedde was followed by the New Vision, with a circulation of 25 thousand. These numbers suggest that the percentage of people who read the print version of the New Vision daily, is a little lower than 2%.⁴ As explained earlier, the websites of the newspapers are rather popular as well, however. This should always be taken into consideration when attempting to determine the actual reach of these newspapers. The circulation rates above are solely meant as an indication of their popularity. More details about the Vision Group in general and the New Vision more specifically will be discussed after the general overview of the newspapers.

The Daily Monitor was the third largest newspaper in the last quarter of 2018, having a circulation of 17 thousand (ABC, 2019). As opposed to Bukedde and the New Vision, the Daily Monitor is a fully independent newspaper. The fact that the two (partially) state-owned print newspapers are more popular than the independent one, might go against western-centric expectations. From conversations I had with journalists of the *New Vision* during the internship, I also learned that most

⁴The population at the end of 2018 was estimated at 44.2 million. 25 thousand is 1.76% of this number.

journalists actually prefer to work for the *New Vision*, because they have more resources and the salaries are therefore higher. The Daily Monitor is a subsidiary of Monitor Publications Ltd, which is partially owned by the Nation Media Group, a big independent media house with its headquarters based in Nairobi, Kenya. Moreover, there are five other shareholders (Daily Monitor, 2019). The Daily Monitor claims that “the paper's private ownership guarantees the independence of its editors and journalists, free from the influence of Government, shareholders or any political allegiance” (Daily Monitor, 2019).

Considering the fact that Uganda has a population of over 45 million, the distribution numbers seem very limited. Bompani and Brown (2015) claim, however, that newspapers have a much greater impact on the Ugandan public sphere than these numbers would suggest. The duo claims that articles published in print media are regularly used as bases for discussions on radio and television stations of the same media house as the print medium. Furthermore, it should be noted that the distribution number is not equal to the number of readers. Bompani and Brown (2015) explain that one newspaper is usually shared. When one newspaper has been circulating for several days, it can hence be read by a great number of people. Lastly, the distribution numbers do not say anything about online readership. Newspapers therefore actually do have a significant influence on the Ugandan public sphere and for this reason studying print media is certainly relevant.

1.3 About the New Vision

As already explained, the New Vision is published by the media house named Vision Group, whose original name was the New Vision Printing & Publishing Company Limited (NVPPCL). The media house was established when Museveni became president in 1986 (Vision Group, 2019). Besides newspapers and television stations, the Vision Group also houses radio station, magazines and several websites.

According to the New Vision itself (New Vision, 2008) the government granted the newspaper financial autonomy and editorial independence. According to the report, “The New Vision management set an objective and progressive political line, supportive of the Movement ideals, but critical of failings, as the basis of its editorial philosophy”. The Vision Group describes its mission as follows: “To be a market-focused, performance-driven organization, managed on global standards of operational and financial efficiency” (New Vision, 2008).

According to the website of the Vision Group (2009), the media house was registered as a public limited liability company in 2002, which means that it began to offer shares to the general public. Little over half of the shares are owned by the government (53,3%) and the rest is in hands of the public (46,7%) (Vision Group, 2019). This does not mean, though, that the input of the government is limited to the percentage of shares, since the public shareholders might be NRM supporters as well. An annual report of the Vision Group (2017) shows, for example, that almost half of the public shares were owned by the National Social Security Fund (NSSF). The NSSF in turn is regulated by the Uganda Retirement Benefits Regulatory Authority, which is a government-owned agency. More about the influence of shareholders will be discussed in the next chapter.

What the fact that the New Vision is largely state-owned can mean for the contents of the paper, is not as straightforward as it might seem. The paper might be supportive of the principles and ideas of the government, but this does not automatically mean that it is never critical towards these ideas. During the internship I found that the articles can actually get rather critical in cases of mistakes by the government. Examples of this will be given in Chapter 3, as a part of the analysis.

Then it is relevant to know something of the contents of the *New Vision*. According to Tumusiime (2016), the news media in Uganda have moved towards market-driven journalism. This has been

caused by to the ‘shrinking advertising cake’ (Tumusiime, 2016, p. 5). In practice, this means that there is more coverage of ‘infotainment’ and that the news is often brought in a more sensational way. Another factor that should be taken into consideration is religion. Bompari and Brown (2015) found that most journalists working for several different Ugandan newspapers indicated that their religious beliefs had a direct impact on their journalism. The same study showed that some of these journalists felt that their beliefs sometimes withheld them from being able to report freely about sensitive topics, as for example sexuality. Whether this is also reflected in the articles will be shown in the analysis.

1.4 Media freedom

Earlier is described to what extent Uganda’s media were free in the past. Below will follow a short analysis of the current media freedom.

Reporters Without Borders (RSF)⁵ is an NGO that studies press freedom around the world. At the time of writing, May 2019, Uganda ranks 125th out of 180 countries in their Press Freedom Index (see Figure 2). The figure shows that Uganda’s ranking has worsened since 2018 and it has decreased even more on the longer term since 2013.

Year	Ranking		Year	Ranking	
2018	117 / 180	↓	2014	110 / 180	↓
2017	112 / 180	↓	2013	104 / 180	=
2016	102 / 180	↓			
2015	97 / 180	↑			

Figure 2: Uganda’s ranking on the Press Freedom Index by RSF

According to their research, press freedom in Uganda hence leaves much to be desired. According to RSF (2019), the low score has several causes. First of all, intimidation and violence against journalists, mainly carried out by the security services, is not uncommon. When journalists openly criticize Museveni or the authorities more generally, this can result in violence or arrests. A clear and recent example of this violation of press freedom emerged when opposition politician ‘Bobi Wine’ was arrested in April 2019.⁶ After many national media had covered this event, the Uganda Communications Commission (UCC) commanded 13 TV and radio stations to suspend almost 40 producers, editors and heads of news (Al Jazeera, 2019). This also included Bukedde TV, which is produced by the partially state-owned Vision Group, the media house that also produces the *New Vision* (Observer, 2019). This therefore illustrates at the same time that the differences between the (partially) state-owned media and the private media are not that big. This also gets confirmed by my own personal experience; on my Facebook overview I saw that several journalists of the *New Vision* participated in a demonstration on World Press Freedom Day to demand the resignation of the Executive Director of the UCC.

⁵ RSF stands for ‘Reporters Sans Frontières’, the original name of the Organization.

⁶ Bobi Wine, whose real name is Robert Kyagulanyi Ssentamu, originally is a musician by profession. He became the figurehead of the Ugandan opposition and received a lot of attention by the (international) media.

For the TV stations, the lack of press freedom can also lead to an immediate block and social media are not free either. In June 2017 the government set up a special team to scan social media for criticism against the government and social media are often blocked during elections. Most typical for the lack of press freedom perhaps is the social media tax (OTT) that was introduced in July 2018. This means that Ugandans since have to pay 200 Ugandan Shilling (UGX) per day (about €0,05), to continue to use social media like Facebook, WhatsApp, Twitter and Instagram. For many Ugandans this can be rather tough to fetch. Many Ugandans do use free Virtual Private Networks (VPN's) to dodge this tax, but the tax still caused a decline of approximately 3 million internet users in a three-month period after the introduction of the tax (UCC, 2018).

An often forgotten question to ask then is the following: How do Ugandans themselves think about this lack of press freedom? A report by the independent African research network Afrobarometer (2019) shows that in the period of 2016/2018 almost 60% of the Ugandans indicated that the media should be free to publish anything without state control. This means that 40% of the respondents believed that the government should have the right to prevent publication of things that are considered damaging to the society. According to Afrobarometer (2019), there has been a decline of support for media freedom of over 20% since the first time the survey was held in 2011/2013. The report does not mention possible causes of this decline, but it might be a sign of dissatisfaction about the media. It is nevertheless interesting to realize that the desire for press freedom is not as self-evident as one might think.

All in all, the goal of this chapter to give an idea of the context of this thesis. It has shown that Uganda has a fairly diverse media landscape. After the liberalization of the media in 1992, many privately-owned radio stations were launched, as well as some independent newspapers and television stations. This chapter has shown that the differences between state-owned and private media are not that big as one might expect, as there is a lack of press freedom. The largely state-owned *New Vision* is still one of the most popular newspapers. Even though the distribution numbers might seem low, newspapers do play a meaningful role in the public sphere, as newspapers are shared by many and as their websites seem very popular. The next chapter will outline the theoretical framework this research takes place in.

2. Theoretical Framework: National identity in media through 'the Other'

In this chapter will be explained which theories and concepts are relevant in this research on national identity construction by the *New Vision*. It will start off by elaborating on the concept of 'national identity'. The second paragraph will then connect this to the idea of nation building and the role media can play in this process.

2.1 Defining 'national identity'

In order to define the concept of 'national identity' it is necessary to find a definition to the separate concepts of 'nations' and 'states'. This is therefore what this paragraph will start off with. Afterwards will be explained how a national identity is constructed.

Nations and states

Even though the concepts 'nation' and 'state' are often used in the same context, they do not refer to the exact same thing. Guibernau (2004) uses Max Weber's (1991) definition to define 'state': "a human community that (successfully) claims the monopoly of the legitimate use of physical force within a given territory" (Weber, 1991, p. 78). The Montevideo Convention on the Rights and Duties of States (1933) defines the word 'state' as follows: "The state as a person of international law should possess the following qualifications: a) a permanent population; b) a defined territory; c) government; and d) capacity to enter into relations with the other states".

Defining the 'nation', however, has been found to be more complicated; there does not exist one clear-cut definition of the nation. Scholars have taken multiple approaches to this concept, which will briefly be summarized below.

Grotenhuis (2016) has taken a constructivist approach to the concept of a nation; he believes that the nation is constructed by people to outline the identity of a political community and to retain this identity in changing circumstances. Anderson (2006) also adheres to this approach and defines the nation as "an imagined political community - and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign" (p.6). Anderson explains the term 'imagined community' as a community of people who are somehow connected, while they do not necessarily know each other. According to Bauder (2011), this concept of imagined communities remains very relevant in how nation-states frame their identities about domestic and foreign policy, as is particularly interesting for this thesis.

The constructivist approach is not the only approach to the concept of a nation, however. Bačová (1998) describes two 'basic ideal' approaches to construing the nation: the primordial approach and the instrumental approach. In short, the primordial approach entails the idea that the nation is a community in which individuals are united through "the same blood and common fate" (Bačová, 1998, p. 29). The instrumental approach, in contrast, emphasizes the pragmatic and situational aspects.

According to Grotenhuis (2016), the difference between 'nation' and 'state' lies in the importance of culture or identity; the state is about institutions and systems, whereas the nation is all about identity. Or in the words of Grotenhuis: "The state is about a collective objectivity, the nation is about a collective subjectivity" (2016, p. 28).

Besides the concepts of 'nation' and 'state', there is also the concept of the nation-state:

A modern institution, defined by the formation of a kind of state which has the monopoly of what it claims to be the legitimate use of force within a demarcated territory and seeks to unite the people subject to its rule by means of cultural homogenization (Guibernau, 2004, p. 132).

According to Grotenhuis (2016), today one can only speak of the nation in the sense of a nation-state, since it is not logical to refer to them as separate things. This is in contrast with Anderson's idea of imagined communities, since he does not focus on institutions and systems (2006). His notion of imagined communities is important to keep in mind, since this thesis studies media which play a large role in 'imagining' a community. For this thesis, the concept of the nation-state by Grotenhuis (2016) will be most relevant, since it studies institutions and systems (media and the government) as well as culture and identity.

National identity

There are several strategies that can be used to create some sort of national identity. Guibernau (2004) describes five main strategies. Firstly, a certain image of the 'nation' is constructed, usually based on the dominant ethnic group (Guibernau, 2004). This image includes a common history and culture. A second strategy is the creation of national symbols and rituals. Thirdly, citizens are given civil, legal, political and socio-economic rights. These rights make that the citizen will be loyal to the nation-state. Furthermore, through these rights a clear division is created between those who belong to the state and those who do not. Then an important strategy is the creation of common enemies, which is often referred to as 'othering'. Johnson and Coleman (2012) explain that the theory of othering is rather complex and occurs on several levels; not only do nation-states create an external 'other', but this also done on, for example, a regional level. This regional level of othering can be a challenge in order to create or retain one national identity. Schlottman (2008) refers to the concept of othering as 'binarism' and also believes that it is very present all over the world. And last but not least, Guibernau (2004) mentions the establishment of national education and media systems as a strategy to construct a national identity.

Refugees as 'the other'

A common example of 'the other' is the refugee. Since 2015, hundreds of thousands of asylum seekers and refugees have come to Europe and many media have referred to this as 'the refugee crisis'. Volkan (2018) explains that there are serious societal differences in how these western countries deal with refugees: some countries are willing to accept this large number of newcomers, whereas other countries see them as a threat. According to Volkan, this has to do with whether a country is able *'to keep their individual identities away from the impact of large-group sentiments'* or perceives the newcomers as *'opening holes in, thus damaging, their large group's psychological border'* (p. 353). Volkan explains that shared prejudices can be used to maintain this 'large group identity'. Another relevant example Donald Trump's promise to build a wall on the United States-Mexican border. According to Volkan, this idea concretizes the desire of many voters to protect their country's psychological border.

Little research has been done, however, on how African countries respond to large numbers of refugees and to what extent African countries see them as a threat to their psychological border. According to the UNHCR (2019), the UN Refugee Agency, Uganda counted almost 1.4 million refugees and asylum-seekers at the end of December 2018. In comparison: the country's population was estimated at 44.2 million. Almost 75 percent of all refugees were from South Sudan, but there has been an increase of refugees from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) (UNHCR, 2019).

Uganda has a reputation of working hard to include refugees instead of marginalising them (Clements, 2016). Clements (2016) emphasizes that the country upholds their rights to move freely, to go to school and their rights to work. She explains Uganda's refugee policy as being based on equality, sustainable livelihood support and inclusion of refugees in local government managed systems. She argues that Uganda as a country sees refugees as a shared responsibility of governments and development actors, and at the same time as a shared opportunity for refugees and Ugandans. She even goes as far as stating that Uganda's refugee policy is based on the idea that *'the benefits of refugee self-reliance outweigh any associated costs'* (p. 51).

This does not mean, however, that Uganda's refugee policy does not have its flaws. Problems have occurred because of a lack of consultation with affected local communities and refugees have in the past been discriminated against because of the competing interests of local governments (Clements, 2016). Lomo (2006) goes a step further and claims that refugee settlements and camps can be dangerous to the refugees, since they would engender dependency, helplessness and insecurity. Moreover, Lomo argues that Uganda's refugee policy does not actually differ that much from other countries' refugee policies in the region.

2.2 Media and nation building in Africa?

Chapter one made clear what the media landscape in Uganda looks like and the previous paragraph showed what it is the concept 'national identity' entails exactly in the context of this research. This paragraph will explain how these two are connected. It will first take up the concept of 'nation building', after which will be explained what role or roles the media can play in the process of nation building.

Nation building

When it comes to former colonies, the concept of national identity as explained above goes hand in hand with the process of nation-building. Nation-building in this context literally refers to the building of a nation after independence.

Bornman (2013) explains that the term 'nation-building' has become controversial, since the nation-state has become strongly associated with modernity. According to Bornman, "nation-building is perceived as a process of social transformation to bring underdeveloped, poor and parochial groups into a modern state characterised by peace, equal opportunities and economic viability" (2013, p. 433). This means that the situation that existed before independence and before colonialism automatically is considered inferior to the new nation. Bornman claims that this is problematic, since it would undermine the diversity of many African countries. After all, most African countries know a big variety of ethnic groups with separate languages and cultures. Bornman claims that the homogeneity that comes with nation-building and national identity are at the basis of many conflicts that are going on between separate groups on the African continent. Moreover, she states that it also causes that the cultures and languages of many of these groups have been denigrated.

Dersso (2008) affiliates with Bornman, but distinguishes two approaches to nation-building. The first one is based on the concept of the nation-state, as explained in paragraph 1.2. This approach assumes that there should be homogeneity in a country, in the form of one common language and one common culture. The second approach is what Dersso refers to as 'a multi-cultural model of nation-building', which recognizes the various ethno-political groups. In this model the new nation standardizes mechanisms to represent the interests of these groups and thus supports individuality to some extent. Dersso claims that after independence, African leaders generally chose for the first approach for several reasons. First of all, having one national identity was seen as a crucial condition in order to generate a public opinion that is required for democratic government. It was also seen as

an essential requirement to reach the political stability of a 'modern'⁷ constitutional state. Moreover, Dersso states that African ethnicity was in that time seen by many as an obstruction to the process of modernisation and the realization of national unity. Dersso claims that the first approach of nation-building and the process of homogenising have actually completely failed in most African countries.

Some scholars have argued that there should be a radical change and that new borders should be drawn so as to match the ethnic situation (Engel & Nugent, 2010). Dersso (2008) objects this, by arguing that African states should be transformed into multinational and/or multicultural states that prioritize diversity, in accordance with the second approach.

When looking at the situation of Uganda more specifically, the opinions differ as well. Green (2006) claims that the attempt at nation-building in post-colonial Uganda has failed to overcome ethnic divisions. He elaborates this statement by bringing up a conflict between two ethnic groups that had been going on for years at the time of writing in Kibaale district in Western Uganda. Green claims that the conflict was, other than just by population growth, partially caused by poor population policies; first those implemented by the British colonial governments and later those implemented by the independent governments. Green explains that these poor policies led to large and sudden influxes of one of the groups into Kibaale. Secondly, Green blames the conflict on the fact that Ugandan nation-building caused that the migrants did not share the same rights as the 'indigenous' people. Green therefore believes that the conflict has nothing to do with ethnic diversity by itself, but rather with what he refers to as 'nativism'. Hervik (2015) defines this concept very broadly as '*a favouring of established inhabitants over newcomers that eventually leads to the marginalization and exclusion of the latter*' (Hervik, 2015, p. 796).

The role of the media

All of the above leads to the following question: what role do the media play in the process of nation-building and national identity creation? To get to the answer to this question, it is necessary to first understand what the function of the media is and can be. Curran (2002) states that the principal democratic role of the media is to act as a check on the state. But then what is the main function of the media that are largely state-owned, like the *New Vision*? One might assume that the answer to this question is 'propaganda', but Curran (2002) argues that it is not that simple. Curran states that the lines between independent and state-owned media can be blurry, since there are also parties with interests in independent media. Curran explains, for example, that in many liberal democracies the ideal of broadcasting independence is supported by the political elite partly out of self-interest. He does not agree, however, with the idea some scholars adhere that "state-controlled media serve the state, and business-controlled media serve business" (Curran, 2002, p. 223), since this would downplay countervailing influences. Curran explains that the media are situated within very wide relations of power; think about news management, media shareholders and the ideological power of leading groups in society. To state that the function of the media can either be to check the state or to spread propaganda is thus too simplistic.

Some scholars argue that one of the key functions of the media in a democracy is to actually build a community (Tandoc & Thomas, 2015). According to Tandoc and Thomas (2015), the individual and the community are intertwined and democracy therefore requires "a culture that encourages dialogue on the pressing concerns of the day" (p. 245). They argue that the media play an important role in this sort of communication. According to Baker (1998), to fulfil this role the media should be discursive and inclusive. This thesis hence will give an indication to what extent a largely government-owned newspaper like the *New Vision* fulfils this role.

⁷'Modern' is in quotation marks, because it is considered a subjective word.

Yao and Haggard (2016) argue that the media facilitate the construction of a national identity largely from three perspectives. First of all, Yao and Haggard claim that for a national discourse to be possible in the first place, one standardized language is needed. The media create this common standard language. Secondly, the Yao and Haggard (2016) argue that the mass media play a part in the construction of a national identity, because they also inform people who have never really travelled within the country. The media thus help them to, so to speak, imagine the nation. The last perspective Yao and Haggard mention is the fact that media expose all consumers to a common mediated political culture, which again builds social bonds among these individuals. Guibernau (2004) states that this feeling of national identity is slightly attenuated by the international contents that many media carry. After all, this makes people aware of the fact that their nation, and therefore their national identity, is only limited in size.

Nassanga (2009) believes that the media have partially caused an alienation of Africans from their cultural norms, values and customs. She states that the standardization of language by the media, which often are colonial languages like English or French, is at the cost of marginalizing indigenous languages. Many academics share this view and claim that colonialism survives in the dominance of former colonial languages (Wolff, 2016; Phillipson, 1992; Nabea, 2009). On the other side of this discussion, scholars claim that the dominance of these languages does not alienate Africans from their cultural customs. They argue that these languages should now be considered African languages as well and that they can actually help to unite people since they help to create national as well as regional identities (Hnizdo, 2007; Bisong, 1995; Davies, 1996). This thesis will also show how the *New Vision* positions itself in regard to this language question.

According to Rodríguez (2009), there has been a growing consensus on the idea that journalists should play a role in educating the consumers about living with multicultural differences. This has to do with a general increase in migration. Bornman (2013) then describes the media as ‘a double-edged sword’; the media can create a discourse of embracing diversity, but they can also cause divisions within a population.

In line with Dersso’s (2008) idea of the multi-cultural model of nation building, Zayani (2011) believes that “the celebration of difference does not preclude the valuation of a common cultural core and the assertion of a common humanity which brings people together in spite of their differences” (p. 48). He refers to this as “unity in diversity”. Frahm (2012) uses the same term in the context of post-independence South-Sudan. He studied debates about national identity in the media of South-Sudan, and found that the main debate concerns the question of how “tribal identities” should be balanced with “the national supra-identity” (Frahm, 2012, p. 39). He explains that writers have come up with several options on how to do this, one of them being the option of ‘unity in diversity’. He explains this principal as the idea that South-Sudan should do without a common identity and that the country’s national identity should instead constitute of ethnic, tribal, regional and religious identity. This is in accordance with Dersso’s (2008) second approach to nation-building, ‘a multi-cultural mode of nation-building’ (see previous paragraph).

One of the few scholars that links national identity to both immigration and discourse, as briefly introduced above, is Harald Bauder. In his book *Immigration Dialectic: Imagining Community, Economy and Nation* (2011) he compares the impact on national identity as imagined through media-based discourse in Canada and Germany. He considers Canada a ‘settler society’, whereas in Germany, he argues, identity is defined in more ethnic terms. According to Bauder, ‘*the material practices and circumstances of immigration and abstract national identity engage in a dialectical relationship*’ (p. 200). He explains this assertion by stating that media present immigration in a way

that reflects national identity, while at the same time national identity is shaped by the representations attributed to immigration.

Bauder concludes by stating that Canada as well as Germany construct a positive image of 'the self' by forming negative depictions of immigrants. However, the ways in which these countries construct their national identities with regard to the representation of immigrants differ significantly. Canada portrays immigration as a danger inextricably linked with violence, organized crime and terrorism, whereas Canada as a country is portrayed as the opposite and as being very compassionate by welcoming refugees. Bauder also argues that very typical to the Canadian immigration debate is the idea that 'deserving' immigrants are eventually being absorbed into the nation; the opposing immigrant and national identity are sublated. In Germany, on the other hand, media focus on the economic aspect of immigration. Moreover, asylum seekers and refugees are not represented as being absorbed into the nation, so they do not become Germans. Instead, they are portrayed as 'permanent Others' who will eventually go back to their countries of origin. In the discussion at the end of this thesis will this conclusion be compared to the outcome of the discourse analysis of the articles on refugees by the *New Vision*.

This thesis will clarify to what extent the *New Vision* contributes to the creation of one national identity and to what extent its focus is on diversity. It will thus also show whether refugees are absorbed into the nation or if they stay 'permanent Others'.

3. Methodology: How news articles say more than you think

As explained in the introduction, three methods were used to find the answer to the central research question: participatory research in the form of an internship at the *New Vision*, a critical discourse analysis of text and a critical discourse analysis of pictures. Below will be explained and motivated how these methods were carried out.

3.1 Internship

The foundation for this research was laid during the internship at the *New Vision*. The internship was extremely important for this study, since I was able to place the articles I studied and the discourse analysis itself in a context. Machin and Mayr (2012) also emphasize the importance of “adding an ethnographic dimension to the analysis of newspaper discourse” (p. 217). A problem with critical discourse analyses is that it can be conceived as being subjective; a critical discourse analysis can in some cases just reveal the ideas or ideology of the analyst (Widdowson, 1995). By doing an extensive study of the context the articles are written in, this can actually be avoided. After all, the analyst then will realize what the views of the reporters are and it will therefore be more complicated to solely follow his own interpretation.

The internship at the *New Vision* was carried out in a ten-week period starting from mid-January 2019. I worked at the office for four days a week. I made quite long days, starting at 7.30am and usually finishing at 5 or 6pm. These long days make that I got to understand the way the *New Vision* works rather well, as it gave me the opportunity to really participate, observe and interact with the journalists. The fifth day I used to organize my data and work on the critical discourse analysis. During the internship I worked as a journalist myself, which was a very informative experience. I retrieved data from this participatory research by simply making notes of interesting conversations, and writing short summaries of what I saw and what I considered remarkable on a daily basis. A more detailed description of the internship activities will be discussed in the next chapter, since these go hand in hand with the results or information I gathered during the internship.

3.2 Discourse analysis

The second method then used to find the answer to the central research question is a critical discourse analysis. This paragraph will first elaborate on what exactly is meant with the term ‘discourse’ and why the choice for this particular method is made in this research. Lastly will be described and motivated how the analysis was executed.

Discourse

The word ‘discourse’ can be interpreted in different ways. Potter and Wetherell (1987) describe discourse in the context of social psychology as “all forms of spoken interaction, formal and informal, and written texts of all kinds” (p.7). Parker (1990) has a more complex understanding of the concept of discourse and describes it as “a system of statements which constructs an object” (p. 5). He explains this by stating that discourses in fact make that we can focus on things that are not ‘real’. When one of these unreal objects gets demarcated by statements (discourses), this object will namely be seen as if it is real. This is in line with Foucault’s (1972) understanding of discourse, who describes the concept as “practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak” (p. 49). Moreover, it is important to realize that discourses can be seen as of being of a higher order than the

written sentences; one can find solely pieces of discourse in a text and not a full discourse (Parker, 1990). The definitions of Parker and Foucault might sound rather abstract, but the bottom line is that certain statements create one generally accepted idea. Besides, discourses should always be seen in their historical context, since they are not static (Parker, 1990).

Frahm (2012) emphasizes the influences of discourses by stating that our knowledge and understanding of the world is actually generated by discourses. The decision to link the subjects of media and national identity to a discourse analysis, was therefore rather obvious. After all, this also means that national identity is generated by discourses.

Critical discourse analysis

According to Wodak and Meyer (2003), a critical discourse analysis is meant to study structural relationships of, for example, dominance and power as it appears in language. This view is shared by Kimani and Yeboah (2011), who also argue that it is crucial to be aware of the fact that media editors determine who is in the news and in what way. A critical discourse analysis therefore differs from a regular discourse analysis in the sense that the focus is not only on language, but also on the relationship between language and power (Wodak & Meyer, 2003). After all, power relations are very important when it comes to media; the individuals who decide what will be in the news, have a huge influence on how people see the world. Parker (1990) does explain, however, that it is important to keep distinguishing language from power, since it is not always the case that a discourse involves power. If this were the case, it would be pointless to even refer to this power.

According to Fairclough (2010), even though there does not exist one definition or guideline to what a critical discourse analysis entails exactly, the term 'critical discourse analysis' is not always used in the right context. He therefore claims that it is critical to be aware of what a critical discourse analysis is and perhaps more importantly what it is not. In his eyes, the objective of the method of critical discourse analysis is to analyse language and study how it is involved in the workings of contemporary capitalist societies (Fairclough, 2010).

The problem with (critical) discourse analyses, however, is that there is not one clear guide-line on how to execute one. Potter and Wetherell (1987) state explicitly that there is no analytic method for discourse analysis and that intuition plays a very significant role. Not all scholars agree to this, however, and some have actually attempted to outline a sort of guideline. Goodman (2017), for example, describes the following steps to conduct a discourse analysis as used in discursive psychology:

1. Deciding on an appropriate question for discourse analysis
2. Picking appropriate data sources for analysis
3. Generating a corpus
4. Transcribing the data
5. Preliminary reading of the data - Searching for the action orientation
6. Generating results - Discursive devices and Rhetorical/Interactional strategies
7. Building a case to support the findings
8. Report writing (p. 144)

Even though this thesis is not written in the context of discursive psychology, the basic idea of discourse analysis is the same and the steps above can to a large extent still be applied. Fairclough (2010) also more or less follows these steps, but ties them to questions of power. This is after all how a critical discourse analysis differentiates itself from a regular discourse analysis. After having determined certain discourses, it is in this case necessary to show how these discourses relate to

“processes of strategic struggle” (p. 1993) and how they occur across different social fields, among others.

Another important scholar in the field of discourse analyses is Teun Van Dijk (1993). Van Dijk (1993) explains that discourses often come forward in the form of ‘us vs. them’ representation. He adds that it is very relevant to look at the different discourse structures come with this representation. He mentions six different structures, which will also be referred to in the analysis in the next chapter (see figure 3). He refers to the first structure as ‘argumentation’; there is a negative evaluation, that is substantiated by facts. Secondly, Van Dijk mentions the use of rhetorical figures. He explains that, in this case, negative actions of ‘them’ and positive actions of ‘us’ are shown in an exaggerating way, through euphemisms or denials of ‘our’ negative actions, for example. Next, Van Dijk (1993) mentions the choice of certain words that imply either negative or positive evaluations as a discourse structure: the lexical style. Fourthly, storytelling can be a way in which discourse is created and fifth Van Dijk (1993) mentions the structural emphasis of the negative actions of ‘them’, in for example headlines. Last but not least, a discourse structure is the quoting of credible witnesses, like quotes by experts in news articles.

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- (a) Argumentation: the negative evaluation follows from the ‘facts’.
 - (b) Rhetorical figures: hyperbolic enhancement of ‘their’ negative actions and ‘our’ positive actions; euphemisms, denials, understatements of ‘our’ negative actions.
 - (c) Lexical style: choice of words that imply negative (or positive) evaluations.
 - (d) Story telling: telling above negative events as personally experienced; giving plausible details above negative features of the events.
 - (e) Structural emphasis of ‘their’ negative actions, e.g. in headlines, leads, summaries, or other properties of text schemata (e.g. those of news reports), transactivity structures of sentence syntax (e.g. mentioning negative agents in prominent, topical position).
 - (f) Quoting credible witnesses, sources or experts, e.g. in news reports.

Figure 3

An important basis for the discourse analysis that is carried out in this thesis is the book ‘*How to Do Critical Discourse Analysis: A multimodal introduction*’ by David Machin and Andrea Mayr (2012). They describe a couple of linguistic phenomena that are worth studying when looking for discourses. First of all, they mention word connotations, which simply means the basic choice of words. Then they bring up the term ‘overlexicalization’. As examples, they give the phrases ‘male nurse’ and ‘female doctor’ (p. 37), so overlexicalization in fact means that words are used while they could have also been left out. As opposed to this, they mention the phenomenon of the absence of certain terms that we might expect when considering the context. They refer to this as suppression or lexical absence. Fourthly, Machin and Mayr explain that through the lexical choices or the genre of communication authors can indicate some sort of authority. They can claim, for example, to have specialist knowledge and therefore to have an educational role for the reader. Lastly, the duo notes that it is important to be aware of the fact that it is challenging to critically analyse a text that is in line with the ideological ideas of the researcher (Machin & Mayr, 2012). Fairclough (2010) shares this view and even indicates that one of the main useful aspects of a critical discourse analysis is the reflexivity that is needed.

As has already been made clear, literature on discourse analysis with regard to national identity is very scarce. Frahm (2012) is one of the few researchers who has done a similar study. In the previous chapter was described how his study of debates about national identity in the media of South-Sudan shows that one of the main discourses was that South-Sudan should actually do without one

common identity and should find 'unity in diversity'. Moreover, he found that the majority of the articles tend to focus on what national identity is not supposed to look like. Lastly, he found that there was a visible tension between either using the past in order to construct a feeling of solidarity, or forget this past. In the analysis these findings were kept in mind and they were compared to the discourses that were found in this study.

Approach to critical discourse analysis used

In order to detect true patterns and draw valid conclusions, it is first of all necessary to focus on one central topic. In this study, the appropriate question as mentioned in step one by Goodman (2017) is the sub-question: How is 'the Ugandan' portrayed as opposed to 'the refugee'? For this study, the choice was made to pick solely articles on refugees, since this is a topic that often goes hand in hand with nationalism in one way or another. Moreover, the fact that Uganda is one of the largest refugee-hosting nations in the world makes it a very broadly-discussed topic. This means that the articles that cover news regarding refugees are many.

The second step in the process of conducting a critical discourse analysis, is making a selection of texts. The choice was made to analyse only articles that appeared on the website of the *New Vision* for a couple of reasons. First of all, searching for articles on a certain topic is much easier online than in print; one can simply type in 'refugees' and relevant articles will appear. Due to the limited size of this research, articles with refugee-related topics that did not directly mention the word 'refugee' were left out. Secondly, online articles are more simple to save and also to analyse. They allow you to select pieces of text, for example, whereas this is not the case with scans of printed newspapers. The articles were then selected by searching with the term 'refugee' in the search bar, and results were filtered by selecting the category 'news' and the period of 2018/2019. Only articles that were written with regard to Uganda were picked, so international news was left out. The texts did not appear in a chronological order and the selection therefore consists of articles from a rather large period of time. A total of 20 articles was selected and analysed.

Step three and four as described by Goodman (2017) are to generate a corpus and transcribe the data. For this thesis, the texts were first scanned roughly. A general overview of the articles and their topics and the perspectives they were written from was made, after which discursive statements and words were written down. Step five, according to Goodman (2017), is a preliminary reading of the data. In the case of this particular study, this meant reading the discursive statements carefully and organizing them. Afterwards, conclusions could be drawn and results were generated (see step six). Step seven, building a case, is carried out by picking the best examples for every pattern that was detected and linking these to the literature that was studied prior to the actual analysis. Lastly, step eight was carried out and all the findings were merged into the final report that is shown in Chapter 4. The critical part of the analysis will follow under 'Discussion', where the findings will really be linked to the concept of national identity formation. The findings will also be linked to the literature that was discussed in the first two chapters.

3.3 Critical discourse analysis of pictures

Besides a critical discourse analysis of text, a critical discourse analysis of the accompanying pictures will be carried out, however less extensively. Discourse analyses of pictures are surprisingly scarce and the same goes for literature on this research method. Since they write about multimodal ways of doing critical discourse analysis, the book of Machin and Mayr (2012) will again be used as an important guideline. Machin and Mayr (2012) write about several levels pictures can be analysed at. These will be explained below.

First of all, the duo explains that the analyst should answer the following two questions (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 49/50):

1. What does the picture denote⁸?
2. What does the picture connote⁹?

Question one, in other words, is meant to find out simply which people or places, for example, are shown in the picture. The second question then is more abstract and is meant to generally find out which ideas and values are communicated through the picture.

Secondly, Machin and Mayr (2012) claim that the researcher should look at the attributes that are shown in the picture and how these are pictured, so that can be determined which discourses they communicate. The same can be done for the setting the picture portrays. Lastly can be looked at which aspects of the picture stand out. One can think about, for example, the occurrence of potent cultural symbols, which is particularly relevant when studying national identity. Moreover, aspects like differences in size, colour and focus have a large influence on the salience of certain objects or people.

Wang (2014) adds on this by explaining that there are multiple discursive processes when it comes to news pictures. He states that the first discursive process is the production, so how the pictures are presented by the photographer. Secondly, the distribution is a discursive process as well; “i.e., how visuals prepare the readers/viewers to accept the ideologies encoded by the producer” (Wang, 2014, p. 274). Then the consumption, or how the viewers interpret the pictures, is a discursive process as well.

Why participatory research, critical discourse analysis of text and critical discourse analysis of pictures were the three best fitting methods for this research, has been explained in this chapter. The results will now follow in the next chapter.

⁸‘To denote’ is a semiotic term. The question asked, in other words, means: What is depicted in the picture?

⁹ This question in other words is the following: “What ideas and values are communicated through what is represented, and through the way in which it is represented?” (Machin, Mayr, 2012, p. 50)

4. Results: The messages the *New Vision* sends

This chapter will start off by giving the results of the participatory research. Next, an extensive overview of the textual critical discourse analysis will follow. This will be done by showing which discourses occurred most and by giving more details of these discourses. In the last paragraph, the results of the discourse analysis of the pictures will be presented.

4.1 Internship

The main purpose of the internship was, besides achieving personal development on multiple levels, to be able to draw a detailed image of how the newspaper and the journalists more specifically work. Moreover, a goal of the internship was to understand how the journalists feel about certain issues.

The sub-question asked for this part of the research was: "How do reporters at the *New Vision* work?". The outcome of this internship will be discussed below.

First of all, it is relevant to describe what a typical day of the internship looked like for me. Every day the internship started with a meeting at 7:45am with all the writers, photographers, editors and interns of the newsroom. In this meeting, the stories that would be written that day were discussed and the writers were assigned to write a certain story. Afterwards the main news editor (and my main supervisor) usually assigned me to go with one of the reporters for the day, or I could choose who to go with myself. Then the reporter I would work with and I would read about the subject, find information and make some calls and send some emails, after which we would go to 'the field'. I have been to several press conferences of, for example, political parties and the Ministry of Health and I have been to universities, police stations and numerous events. After going to the field, we would return to office and write a story. This could mean we would both write half or I wrote the first version of the story and the reporter adjusted it into the house style of the *New Vision*.

The initial plan was to take interviews in order to learn more about the details of how a newspaper like the *New Vision* works and how it positions itself with regard to national identity. I found, however, that in practice interviewing was not the best method. The journalists were holding back when being asked to get interviewed and direct questions did not lead to useful and clear answers. This also had to do with the fact that Uganda has a so-called 'high-context' culture (Hall, 1977). In practice, this means that Ugandans tend to communicate in a very implicit and indirect way. The meaning should for a large part be derived from the context of the conversation. I, on the other hand, am from a country with a low-context culture, that is the Netherlands. This cultural difference caused that I probably did not always get the message the journalists tried to send, especially in the beginning of the internship. I therefore decided to focus on having casual conversations.

In Chapter 3 was explained that I made relatively long days. Compared to the average working day of 8 hours in the Netherlands, it was not unusual for me to be at office and in the field for 10 hours or more. This did not mean, however, that the productivity was higher. Throughout the internship I learned to understand that Ugandans greatly value social relations. A lot of time was spent on maintaining these relationships with colleagues, as well as with their contacts. I found that these social relations also were of great importance for the work of the journalists, since their work was for a large part dependent on their contacts. This was a very interesting and significant realization, since it is a huge difference from the Dutch way of working I am used to. It is important background

information, because it partially shows how these reporters gather their information the articles are based on.

One topic I tried to find out more about through these conversations was corruption. One thing that became clear was that the differences among the journalists were rather big. Some of them convincingly indicated that they would not accept bribes, since they believe this is unethical. One journalist made clear, however, that he would *'help a friend out'* by not writing bad things about him in exchange for some money. This particular journalist explained that this money could simply mean a huge difference for him¹⁰ in many ways. This might not be ground-breaking information, but it does help to realize who are responsible for what finally ends up in the news stories. The statement above proves that subjects of these stories, for example politicians, also somehow have a role in creating discourses. It also shows once again how important social relations are in Uganda and what influence they can have.

A second topic I was interested in to find out more about was the safety and freedom of the journalists. I felt that this was a very sensitive topic and that most reporters felt very uncomfortable talking about it, even in one-on-one conversations outside of the office. One reporter told me that he had been arrested, without specifying too much about what had happened. The general reticence on this topic showed that, even though articles are sometimes critical towards the Ugandan government, this is not always without consequences.

This also has everything to do with the role of the editors. In the end, they are the ones who decide what is appropriate to appear in the newspaper. Since I fully participated in the writing process, I also got a very good idea of which adjustments the editors make. I found that they attempt to protect the reporters by attenuating or removing critical notes. The editors are the ones who decide which perspective the story is written from and their huge role in creating discourses should therefore be kept in mind while reading the conclusions of the research conducted for this thesis. After all, when talking about the discourses through which *'the New Vision'* constructs a national identity, one should realize that it is in fact the editors who construct a national identity through these discourses.

When talking to the reporters about refugees, the overall view matched the overall discourse in the *New Vision*: refugees should be helped at all times. They were generally proud of Uganda's refugee policy, although there were also some critical notes. It is necessary to keep in mind, however, that the refugee settlements are far away from the head office of the *New Vision* in Kampala. There are also refugees in Kampala and its surroundings, but this is not comparable to the situation in Northern Uganda. The overall view might be different there. It is notable, however, that the articles that were analysed were also written by reporters who are not based in Kampala and the general discourse is still positive.

4.2 Discourse in articles

The first part of this chapter will answer the following sub-question: *"Which discourses can be found in the selected articles on refugees?"*. Before getting into the deeper linguistic analysis, it is necessary to outline a context. Below in paragraph 4.2.1 will therefore firstly follow an overview of the main discourses and the first patterns and conclusions that can be drawn from this. Afterwards, a more close-up analysis will follow. Paragraph 4.3 will then cover the visual discourse analysis.

¹⁰In order to guarantee the privacy of the reporters, gender will not be specified. All reporters will be referred to as being male.

4.2.1 Discourse in subjects

After the first rough scan of the articles, the main topics of the texts were divided into the following five categories: 1. *Focusing on problems as result of refugees*, 2. *Critical towards refugee policy*, 3. *Positive towards refugee policy*, 4. *Compassionate/apologetic towards refugees* and 5. *Other*. These categories are based on the main discourses in the articles and they do therefore not exclude other discourses. These main discourses can in most cases already be derived from the titles. In the table in Appendix I, the titles for every category are shown. The table shows that the amount of articles in every category are rather equal. Whether the small differences actually mean something, could only be confirmed with further research that includes a larger selection of articles.

An important first conclusion that can be drawn from these main discourses is that the second category – ‘critical towards refugee policy’- shows that some of the articles, interestingly enough, are indeed critical towards the Ugandan government, as was explained in the previous chapter.

Then it is important to look at the sub-discourses, since these might show a different pattern than the main discourses. The sub-discourses that were recognized are shown in Appendix II. The most common sub-discourses will be discussed below.

Government is doing everything in its power

Many articles discuss problems that occur in the refugee settlements. Among these issues are problems with food distribution, corruption of officials, epidemic diseases, sex trafficking, unemployment among refugees and dissatisfaction in host communities. This last matter is by far the most frequently mentioned issue. Striking about the coverage is, however, that the big majority of the articles focuses on the fact that the government is fixing these problems. The articles are therefore generally rather optimistic of nature.

This pattern in some cases already gets clear when solely looking at the titles. Look at the following title, for example: *‘Uganda launches sh367.6bn health response plan for refugees’*. The focus in this title is clearly on the fact that action is being taken to solve existing health problems in refugee settlements. This title gets even more interesting when taking into consideration the principle of national identity creation. First of all, it is noteworthy that ‘Uganda’ is the subject of the sentence. Secondly, the choice of the word ‘Uganda’ is striking. After all, it is in fact not the country that launches the plan, but the government or a ministry. This personification of Uganda can have as an effect that Ugandans feel more connected to these actions and can therefore contribute to a feeling of belonging to the nation. By choosing these particular words and this sentence construction, the *New Vision* can as a result steer the social perception of what Uganda as a country is like. Another comparable title that clearly focuses on the solution of a problem is *‘Govt set to certify refugees for job opportunities’*. A big difference is that this title does not give a personification of Uganda, but instead has the government as a subject. The titles are similar, however, in the sense that they both emphasize what the government is doing to help refugees.

The articles that were given as examples above are in the category ‘positive towards refugee policy’, but also many of the articles in the other categories show optimism and stress the actions that are being taken by the government to change the current situation. In the article named *‘15.000 refugees enter Uganda’* the emphasis is on the fact that many refugees enter the country every day, which makes it difficult to provide everyone with basic humanitarian aid. The article closes with the following quote, however:

Prime Minister Ruhakana Rugunda said this week *Uganda* will continue to do “everything possible to make refugees feel at home”, as well as continue to engage relevant authorities in the region and beyond to try and restore regional peace. (Agaba, 2018)

A couple of conclusions can be drawn from this. Firstly, by stating that the government is doing everything it can, one could interpret this as if the problems are not fully the responsibility of the Ugandan government. This interpretation gets confirmed by the rest of the article, in which a finger is pointed to the international community. More on this will be explained below. Then, again, there is the personification of the country Uganda, which is again how this statement can be linked to the construction of a national identity. ‘Uganda’ is portrayed as being helpful and welcoming towards refugees, Uganda being put in quotation marks to stress that it concerns the construction called ‘Uganda’.

The discourse as explained above does not occur as clearly in all of the articles, however. Some of the articles are critical towards the Ugandan refugee policy, without attenuating the responsibility of the Ugandan government at first sight. The clearest example is the article with the title ‘*Report finds cracks in Uganda’s refugee policy*’ (Kasujja, 2018). As the title makes clear, this article shines a light on the downsides of Uganda’s refugee policy, on its implementation in particular. The report the article talks about states that the policy often does not reflect the situation on the ground. The examples given are that the policy excludes refugees in urban settings and that local communities should be consulted more, among others. When looking more closely, this article nevertheless also has some phrases that could indicate that the problems are not fully the responsibility of the Ugandan government. A finger is pointed towards the international community, for example, as shown in the following quote: ‘*director at IRRI recommended that international donors need to deliver on their promise of significant financial support*’ (Kasujja, 2018). A second attenuating statement is the following:

“... the intention of the paper is not to belittle the progress made by Uganda, but to ensure that there is a robust critique to enable it to become much better.” (Kasujja, 2018)

One could interpret this statement as saying that Uganda indeed made a big progress and that the policy is not that bad at all, but there is space for improvement, as is the case with all policies. When considering these two quotes, the pattern as explained above again gets confirmed: even though there are problems and the Ugandan refugee policy could get better, the Ugandan government does do its best.

Finger pointing to international community

The discourse that points a finger to the international community as shown in the example above, occurs more often. This is very relevant when studying national identity creation, since it says something about how the *New Vision* portrays Uganda with respect to other countries. The article named ‘*Govt calls for increased funding for refugee response*’ is the clearest example, as the title already suggests. An example as clear as this one is not seen in any of the other titles, but it is in the contents of the texts. This will therefore be discussed in paragraph 4.2.2.

Rare discourses

Besides discussing the frequently occurring discourses, looking at the discourses that do not or barely occur will also add valuable information. The literature also suggested, for example, that ‘demonizing’ other states is also a way to contribute to national identity creation. The first level of analysis showed that this discourse does occur, but only very rarely. When it does occur, the other states are mostly ‘demonized’ by suggesting that they do not do enough to help refugees in

comparison to Uganda. There are a few articles in which this is done rather directly, but there are also articles in which this is done more discretely. Some examples have already been given in the context of the main occurring discourses as explained above, but it is also noteworthy to study this discourse separately. An example that shows this 'demonization' occurs very clearly is the following quote by the minister of state for refugees and disaster preparedness Musa Ecweru:

"The developed world, which is shutting its doors to keep away refugees fleeing death in their countries has no right to dictate on Uganda how to handle the 1.4 million refugees in the country." (Kakembo, 2018)

This is clearly a very strong statement, which does not need a lot of explaining; the 'developed world' is being accused of not helping people in need. Uganda, on the other hand, is actually doing its best. The fact that the article starts off with this quote makes this statement all the more relevant, since this contributes to the strength of the discourse. The quotation continues as follows:

"If anything, they ought to consult us on how we handle refugees," argued Ecweru. "With our meager resources, we give children and mothers a shoulder to cry on, instead of having them deported or drowning in the sea." (Kakembo, 2018)

Like this, the accusation gets more specific: the 'developed world' is letting people get deported and drowned. A significant question to ask, however, is: what does the fact that it is a quote by a minister mean? They are not the words of the *New Vision* reporter, so does it then still count as an important discourse marker? According to Van Dijk's (1993) category F, 'quoting credible witnesses, sources or experts' (see 'Method'), the answer to this last question is yes. Journalists have the task to pick which quotes they finally present in their articles. By choosing certain quotes, the writer therefore always has a role in creating the discourses. Moreover, by placing the quotes the journalist can also influence the discourses. So, when the writer decides to start off with a strong statement like the one above, the reader automatically considers this statement important.

Another clear example from a different article in which the West is accused of not doing enough is the following:

"Although among the world's poorest countries, Uganda has welcomed refugees, giving them land and the opportunity to work, in stark contrast to many richer nations." (AFP, 2018)

These words are not part of a quotation in the article, which means that they are solely the words of the reporter. This statement could hence be interpreted as rather subjective and clearly contributing to the discourse that the western world is not doing enough to help refugees. In line with the previous example, the fact that Uganda is a poor country is again emphasized.

Besides these accusations towards the 'developed world', there is also some finger pointing to the countries the refugees come from. Take the following quote by Prime Minister Ruhakana Rugunda in the article 'Govt commits sh184b for refugee hosting communities':

"Stop these embarrassing and costly conflicts and opt for peaceful resolution of the same to allow our people settle down and engage in meaningful development of their lives and their countries. We are all losers whether directly in these conflicts or not," Rugunda said. (Mutegeki, 2018)

By calling the conflicts 'embarrassing' and 'costly', the Prime Minister actually talks in a belittling way about the conflicts and therefore the countries that take part in these conflicts. Rugunda does not choose a side, but one could say that with these words he places Uganda above the countries the

refugee flees from. This quote is for this reason a significant discourse marker; it says something about Uganda's global and national identity. Besides using words like 'embarrassing', it is very noteworthy that the Prime Minister talks about 'our people' and 'we'. By using the phrase 'our people', he in fact sends a message that he considers Ugandans as being equal to refugees. This is a discourse that turned out to come up a lot more often, but this will be discussed under the heading 'we vs. them'. The same goes for the phrase 'We are all losers...'

As the literature showed, talking negatively about other countries is merely one way of contributing to national identity creation. Another discourse that is very similar, puts an emphasis on Uganda as being an example to the rest of the world:

"We should not tire of repeating that Uganda is a beacon as concerns its progressive refugee policy which provides a beautiful *example* to the world," Boutroue said. (Ssemakula, 2019)

"I'm impressed with the generosity extended to refugees by the government of Uganda regardless of where they come from, it is a unique leadership, extraordinary and a good *example* to the rest of the world." (Ssejjoba, 2018).

"If anything, they ought to consult us on how we handle refugees," argued Ecweru. (Kakembo, 2018)

The article by Mubiru (2018) also suggested a clear religious discourse. The articles show, however, that religion is hardly a matter of subject. In the selected articles, only one has a clearly religious discourse: '*SDA Church fundraises for Congolese refugees*'. The most significant phrase in this article with regard to national identity is the following by the director for communication at the concerning Church: "*As Christians, we must help those in need*" (Mubiru, 2018). Since the big majority of Ugandans is Christian, this can be interpreted as saying that Ugandans have a religious motivation to help refugees, among others. The fact that this the only article even mentioning a church or Christianity in general is far more remarkable, however.

Although Uganda is presented as being very open towards refugees in most articles, many articles do also emphasize the large number of refugees. As explained in the beginning of this Chapter, these notions often go hand in hand with an emphasis on the fact that the government is doing everything it can. It is nevertheless necessary to discuss this discourse separately as well, since it comes back in many of the articles. The emphasis on the large number of refugees is seen in the following titles, for example: '*Over 100 DRC refugees cross to Zombo*', '*Government cautioned on more refugees*' and '*15000 refugees enter Uganda*'.

4.1.2 Discourse in language

The findings above are solely from the first level of analysis. In this sub-paragraph, a closer look will be taken at a linguistic level. Like this, certain patterns will be exposed and links will be made.

Titles

A few titles have already been discussed in the previous paragraph, though very generally. The linguistic analysis will start off by analysing the titles more closely, after which the articles themselves will be examined on a more linguistic level. Since this research is all about national identity, the titles that mention 'Uganda' will be discussed first. The word 'Uganda' is mentioned in the following four titles:

1. '*Uganda launches sh367.6bn health response plan for refugees*'
2. '*15000 refugees enter Uganda*'

3. *'Report finds cracks in Uganda's refugee policy'*
4. *'Uganda investigates refugee fraud allegations'*

In both the first and the last title, Uganda is the subject. The first title has already been discussed earlier; the title clearly focuses on the good things 'Uganda' is doing for the refugees. The last title shows that the article is about problems – that is to say fraud – that come with the refugee policy, but the focus at the same time is at the fact that Uganda is investigating this in order to solve it. This is thus in line with the earlier discussed optimistic discourse. In the second title (*'15000 refugees enter Uganda'*) the refugees are put as the subject. For this reason, there is a clear focus on the number of refugees. A very comparable title is: *'Over 100 DRC refugees cross to Zombo'*. Again, the emphasis is on the number of refugees, but a big difference is that the name of the district is mentioned, instead of the country. This is significant, because it shows that there is indeed a regional and a national level of coverage. Whether Zayani's (2011) 'unity in diversity' discourse appears, will be shown later. Even though the large number of refugees is discussed in many of the articles, this does not come forward in the rest of the titles.

In the third title, 'Uganda' is solely mentioned as a possessive. The word 'Uganda' could have also been left out, however. This word can be seen as part of the process of national identity creation, since one could argue that by adding this word, 'Uganda's refugee policy' becomes a sort of concept. Secondly, it is remarkable that the title talks about a report as the subject instead of the International Refugee Rights Initiative (IRRI) which carried out the research.

To find the patterns, it is also relevant to look at the titles in every category as shown in the previous paragraph. The titles in the category 'problems as result of refugees' were the following:

1. *'Government cautioned on more refugees'*
2. *'15000 refugees enter Uganda'*
3. *'Adjumani health system limping under weight of refugees'*
4. *'Water crisis at Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement soon ending'*

One thing that is clear at first glance, is that three of the four titles focus on the large number of refugees. In the third title, Van Dijk's category of 'argumentation' can be detected; the negative evaluation that the health system is limping, follows the 'fact' that the refugees are the cause. Other possible causes, like lack of funding, are ignored in this title. In contrast to what was shown earlier, there is no optimism reflected in these titles. The last title, on the other hand, does show this optimism.

The following titles were in the category 'critical towards refugee policy':

1. *'Congolese refugees charged for stay'*
2. *'Report finds cracks in Uganda's refugee policy'*
3. *'Kyegegwa gets sh6b for livelihood projects'*

Noteworthy about the first title is the fact that the Congolese refugees are the subject, which makes that the attention of the reader goes to the fate of the refugees instead of to the deeds of the corrupt officials. This could be interpreted as a confirmation of the discourse of Uganda as being very understanding towards refugees. In the second title, the choice of the word 'cracks' is a relevant discourse marker as well, since this word suggests that 'Uganda's refugee policy' was considered rather perfect before the publication of the study. Furthermore, the word 'cracks' could be interpreted as downplaying the actual problems the report talks about. The fact that the refugee policy is not as perfect as it seems is clearly brought in a subtle way.

The articles that showed an overall positive discourse with regard to Uganda's refugee policy were the following:

1. *'Uganda launches sh367.6bn health response plan for refugees'*
2. *'Govt commits sh184b for refugee hosting communities'*
3. *'Uganda investigates refugee fraud allegations'*
4. *'Govt set to certify refugees for job opportunities'*
5. *'Men in refugee camps to play role in family planning'*
6. *'Mungula refugee camp gets classroom boost'*

In the first four titles, either Uganda or the government are the subject and in the last two titles neither are mentioned. In these first four titles, the government or Uganda are both pictured actively doing something good and are therefore pictured rather positively. This matches Van Dijk's category B, since they are clear examples of 'hyperbolic enhancement' of 'our' (that is to say Uganda's) positive actions. The fifth title seems more neutral, in the sense that there is no mentioning of who caused this change of men starting to play a role in family planning. The same goes for title number six; the Ugandan government is the actor that provides the 'classroom' boost, but this is not explicitly mentioned. The next five titles were categorized as 'compassionate towards refugees':

1. *'Over 100 DRC refugees cross to Zombo'*
2. *'Isingiro district leader apologizes over refugees'*
3. *'Refugees strike over lack of food'*
4. *'SDA Church fundraises for Congolese refugees'*
5. *'Urban refugees want free education, health services'*

Remarkable is that none of Van Dijk's category seem to be clearly applicable to these titles. There is something to be said about applying category C, choice of words that imply negative evaluations, to the third title, since the word 'strike' can by some be interpreted as implying something negative. The words 'lack of food' undercut this argument, however, because this suggests that the refugees have a very understandable reason to strike. This title can be linked to title five, because both focus on what the refugees want. The choice of the word 'want' is quite strong in this case and it implies that the refugees actually have a voice. The demands of the refugees seem to be taken seriously, which can then also be seen in the second title. When linking this to the construction of national identity, this can be seen as a core value: refugees should be heard and be taken seriously. Interesting enough, the word 'apologize' actually even puts the Ugandan subject ('Isingiro district leader') in a bad light. After all, this implies a negative evaluation of the actions he performed before (see category C). The titles that remain are:

1. *'Marathon for refugees in offing'*
2. *'Govt calls for increased funding for refugee response'*

A very significant pattern that these two titles both are a part of, is the regular occurrence of the phrase 'for refugees'. In 5 titles, this phrase more or less occurs. This means that refugees are in these cases pictured as passive subjects that receive help from the country Uganda or the Ugandan government. This is in line with the titles that use the word 'gets'. The refugee settlements are in these cases the subject and they receive help ('Kyegegwa gets sh6b for livelihood projects' and 'Mungula refugee camp gets classroom boost'). Even though the government is not mentioned in most examples, it is clear where the help comes from.

Othering

The literature showed that media often create a national identity by creating discourses that emphasize differences between Uganda or Ugandans and other countries or nationalities. In the previous paragraph this discourse and to what extent it occurred has been discussed in a general way, mostly with regard to global identity and the demonization of other states. Below the discourse will be looked at on a linguistic level.

The broad analysis above showed that the 'we vs. them' discourse did barely occur with 'them' being refugees. It did occur in some articles, however. One of these articles is 'Isingiro district leader apologizes over refugees' (Mutegeki, 2018):

Last year, Isingiro residents attacked refugees in Nakivale Refugee Camp, accusing *them* of encroaching and stealing their land.

However, on Thursday, Kamurari came out and apologised to the refugees and promised never to incite the locals against *them*.

"This is the first time since *we* started hosting refugees that *we* have also benefited. *We* are going to start working with *them* very well. I would now like to apologise for the fighting I have had with the refugees," Kamurari said.

"For a long time, Uganda has been hosting refugees, but host communities have never had any program dedicated to improvement of their lives."

The 'we vs. them' discourse partially matches Van Dijk's category E: structural emphasis on 'their' negative actions. The discourse can be seen in the literal use of the words 'we' and 'them', as can be seen in the examples that are put in italics. The strongest words that are used to emphasize 'their' negative actions are 'encroaching' and 'stealing', which criminalize the deeds of the refugees. One would expect that a clear positive representation of 'we' would be put directly opposite this negative picture of 'them', but this is not the case. With the word 'apologise' appearing several times, guilt for the (wrong) accusations is admitted. Accordingly, there are also negative actions on the side of 'us'. The district leader downplays this by giving a reason for his/'our' actions, though: there has not been enough support for the host communities. Like this, an indirect finger is pointed to the Ugandan government.

The fact that the one article analysed above is the only article in which the 'we vs. them' (with 'them' being refugees) discourse occurs shows that this discourse turned out to be negligible in *New Vision's* coverage of news regarding refugees. After all, this one time it did occur was not that strong either.

In strong contrast to this, a discourse of refugees actually being equal to locals turned up much more frequently. This contradicts most existing literature and is therefore very significant. This discourse will be referred to as 'we are them'. A very clear example is the following quote by a co-founder of 'Rise-up for Refugees' (Mutesi, 2018):

"Let government integrate refugees into their economy, so that they too can enjoy their fundamental rights like right to education *just like the rest of the Ugandans* do. This will also help to reduce on the high levels of unemployment in the country," Ojok said.

The words 'just like the rest of the Ugandans do' indicate that the refugees are considered to be Ugandans as well. After all, the word 'rest' always means 'the remaining part of something'. In this case this 'something' consists of Ugandans and the refugees are considered as being part of this something. Moreover, there are many examples of refugees and Ugandans being mentioned at once as being in the same situation:

The report further states that *many Ugandans and refugees* have neither the economic resources nor sufficient political leverage to influence the policies that are meant to benefit *them*. (Kasujja, 2018)

“It is a unique integrated arrangement where *nationals and refugees converge in the same place* to receive...” (Ssejjoba, 2018)

The 2014 National Population Census put *the population* [refugees and locals combined] of the district at 225,251. (Nakajubi, 2018)

All of these examples show that Ugandans and refugees are mentioned at once. This insinuates that they somehow belong to one and the same group, or at least are equal in many respects. This idea gets underpinned by, for example, the use of the word ‘them’ in the first sentence.

International discourse

The ‘we vs. them’ discourse did come forward a lot more often, however, with ‘them’ being the international/Western community, as already pointed out in 4.1.1. The examples given were the following:

“*The developed world*, which is shutting its doors to keep away *refugees fleeing death* in their countries has no right to *dictate* on *Uganda* how to handle the 1.4 million refugees in the country.” (Kakembo, 2018)

“If anything, they ought to consult *us* on how *we* handle refugees,” argued Ecweru. “With our *meager resources*, we give *children and mothers* a shoulder to cry on, instead of having them *deported or drowning* in the sea.” (Kakembo, 2018)

“Although *among the world’s poorest countries*, *Uganda* has welcomed refugees, giving them land and the opportunity to work, in *stark contrast to many richer nations*.” (AFP, 2018)

Earlier was already pointed out that these quotes emphasize the idea that Uganda is a relatively poor country, but still does a lot more than many richer countries. The choice of phrases like ‘the developed world’, suggest that Uganda is not or less developed. This gets confirmed with the phrases ‘meager resources’ and ‘among the world’s poorest countries’. These phrases are combined with words like ‘us’ and ‘we’ (see the second quote) and personifications of ‘Uganda’, which are important markers of national identity construction. Interesting is that Uganda’s poverty is in no case hidden or played down, but is instead used in the country’s advantage: Uganda is poor and welcomes refugees with open arms.

Core values

The literature showed that one way to construct a national identity in news coverage is to underline certain core values. In the analysed articles, one core value came forward the most: refugees should be welcomed and helped. How this core value gets put forward can be seen in the examples below.

“*In Uganda*, we look at refugees as an *opportunity as opposed to a burden*. Nobody chooses to be a refugee until *unavoidable circumstances* prevail.” (Semakula, 2019)

Urwiny called on residents to *welcome* the refugees and report them by taking them to authorities as soon as they arrive. (Okethwengu, 2018)

Francis Guvoni, another resident *condemned* the act of extorting money from refugees, calling such behavior *inhumane*. (Kasooha, 2018)

“Being a refugee is not a choice, people are *forced* to move. I’m so grateful to the people of Isingiro for being good to *our brothers and sisters*. Thank you chairman for this gesture and promising to work with the refugees,” Rugunda said. (Mutegeki, 2018)

“As Christians, we must help those in need.” (Mubiru, 2018)

Prime Minister Ruhakana Rugunda said this week *Uganda* will continue to do “everything possible to make refugees *feel at home*.” (Agaba, 2018)

The important discourse markers have again been put in bold. The phrases ‘unavoidable circumstances’ and ‘forced’ show that there is a discourse of refugees as simply being helpless victims who are in an inescapable situation. This is presented as being the reason for the idea that refugees should be welcomed. Also the disapproving tone with regard to corruption as seen in the third cite supports the core value that refugees should be welcomed. This core value also gets brought up in a more subtle way, however. This gets clear when looking at the angle from which the article ‘Refugees strike over lack of food’ (Ariaka, 2018) is written. The words in bold give a clear picture of this angle:

“He said even when they guided the food distributors not to immediately implement the new policy; *they refused causing the mess that resulted into violence.*” (Ariaka, 2018)

This citation makes clear that the food distributors get the blame for the violence on the side of the refugees, so the emphasis is not on the damage the refugees have caused. This matches the core value, because the refugees are again pictured as victims.

Imagining the nation

Next, there is the question to what extent the selected articles help readers to ‘imagine the nation’. The articles mainly help to imagine the nation in the sense that they describe the situation in the refugee settlements. So the image that people who have never been to these areas have of these areas is in fact created by these articles. The same goes for the image of the people who live in these areas and how they position themselves with respect to refugees.

Negative discourse

By now it has been made clear that the dominant discourse emphasizes the hopeless situation refugees are in and Uganda’s open attitude. However, there are also a few cases in which is spoken about refugees in a negative way:

“With Uganda hosting thousands of nationals from the Rwanda, South Sudan and DR Congo, there is no doubt that several of these immigrants will *join the race for resources* and the factors of production that are bound to drive the *disgruntled indigenous citizens* into a conundrum,” Osinde told reporters at a weekly press briefing. (Kiva, 2018)

“As local people we are *neglected* and all the attention is directed to the refugees. It hurts us and makes us feel bad to see that the *refugees are more supported than us,*” Ndebesa says. (Mutegeki, 2018)

These quotations show that the few times this discourse comes forward, it is quite strong. Ugandans are referred to as 'disgruntled' and 'neglected' and the government is criticized for favouring refugees over locals.

All in all, a lot of conclusions have been drawn in the analysis above. The question this paragraph attempted to answer was the following: *Which discourses can be found in the selected articles on refugees?* The main finding was that a lot of the articles focus on the government fixing the refugee-related problems. When looking at the concept of 'othering', it became clear that 'the other' was actually most often not the refugee, but the international community. The international community was in these cases often accused of not doing enough to help refugees. A last important finding was that one core value came forward most: refugees should be welcomed and helped at all times.

4.3 Discourse in pictures

Next, a brief analysis of the pictures will follow. The sub question that will be answered is: *“Which discourses can be found in the pictures that complement the articles about refugees?”*. The results will show whether the images strengthen the discourses as shown in the previous paragraph, or show new discourses.

Two main subjects can be distinguished in the pictures that go with the selected articles: refugees and government officials. In total there were 38 pictures, of which 19 show solely refugees and 11 show solely government officials. The rest of the pictures show both refugees and government officials and other people, like the people from organisations like Rise-Up for Refugees. Accordingly, all of the images show people in one way or another, as is often the case with news pictures. There are no pictures of merely objects.

Next, it is relevant to look at how these people are portrayed in order to detect certain patterns. One thing that is seen in practically all photos in which refugees are shown, is the fact that they are not actively doing something. They are either just sitting or standing somewhere and in most cases, it looks as if they are waiting, see the three pictures below:



Picture 1 (In: ‘15,000 refugees enter Uganda’)



Picture 2 (In: 'Adjumani health system limping under weight of refugees')



Picture 3 (In: 'Refugees strike over lack of food')

Noteworthy about these pictures is also the fact that mainly women and children are shown. According to Machin and Mayr (2012), attributes can be an important part of discourses in pictures. In the pictures of refugees who are walking, these attributes were mainly bags and belongings. For examples, see picture 4 and 5 below.



Picture 4 (In: 'Report finds cracks in Uganda's refugee policy')



Picture 5 (In: 'Govt cautioned on more refugees')

The conclusion can be drawn that refugees are portrayed as being helpless victims; this sends the message that there is nothing they can do to change their situation. This is supported by the fact that no less than 18 of the pictures of refugees are taken outside. Through these images, the fact that many refugees do not have a home or fled their home is emphasized. There is only one picture that only shows refugees that is taken inside, that is in the article titled *'Urban refugees want free education, health services'*.

In stark contrast, of the pictures of government officials only 4 pictures are taken outside. 6 of the pictures are taken inside. Moreover, in all of these 11 pictures the government officials are shown either talking, whether or not in a microphone, or launching or inspecting something:



Picture 6 (In: 'Marathon for refugees in offing')



Picture 7 (In: 'Kyegegwa gets sh6b for livelihood projects')



Picture 8 (In: 'Mungula refugee camp gets classroom boost')



Picture 9 (In: 'Govt calls for increased funding for refugee response')

This means that in all images they are actively doing something. Hence, whereas refugees are portrayed as 'passive victims', the government officials are mainly pictured as 'active helpers'.

Then the question was asked to what extent national symbols were shown in the pictures. In total, six pictures clearly showed national symbols or colours. In most of these cases, the national symbols were seen very clearly. These national symbols were mainly the colours of the Ugandan flag being shown on, for example, the background of the picture. See the following pictures for examples.



Picture 10 (In: 'Marathon for refugees in offing')



Picture 11 (In: 'Mungula refugee camp gets classroom boost')



Picture 12 (In: 'World marks Refugee day: How it went down')

The pictures show that the colours of the Ugandan flag are regularly used at official events. The fact that they are shown in a rather prominent place in the pictures, reflects the role of the photographer.

The central question in this paragraph was the following: *Which discourses can be found in the pictures that complement the articles on refugees?* In short, the pictures have proven to show a big difference between the portrayal of refugees and the portrayal of government officials. Whereas refugees are portrayed as passive victims, the government officials are pictured as active helpers. Moreover, clear national symbols and colours were visible in six of the pictures. The discussion on the next page will now link the results presented in this chapter to the literature discussed in the beginning of this thesis.

Discussion

In the previous chapter was discussed which discourses were seen in the selected texts. How these findings relate to national identity will be discussed in this section, answering the following sub-question: *“How can these discourses be interpreted with regard to national identity construction?”*. In the next section the overall conclusion will follow answering the central research question.

One of the main findings was that many articles do discuss the problems that come with the large number of refugees coming into the country, but at the same time emphasize the fact that the government is doing everything in its power to fix these problems. This is a very significant result, since the government in a way actually represents the country. It therefore draws an image of the country Uganda doing everything in its power to fix these problems. This discourse is supported by the fact that ‘Uganda’ is used as a personification several times.

Secondly, the act of ‘othering’ was an important issue. Guibernau (2004) described ‘othering’ as ‘the creation of common enemies’. The previous chapter showed that a finger was pointed to the international community for not doing enough in a couple of different articles. In one article, the countries the refugees come from are also criticized. This means that othering does indeed play a role in the construction of a national identity in the *New Vision*.

Johnson and Coleman (2012) explained that othering can occur on a national, as well as on a regional level. It could be a challenge to retain one national identity when this othering on a regional level occurred; to what extent was this the case with the *New Vision’s* coverage of refugees? A very straightforward answer can be given: there was barely a question of othering on a regional level. Green (2006) claimed that ethnic divisions were still very clear in post-colonial Uganda, but this is not reflected in the articles that were analysed. The ‘multi-cultural mode of nation-building’ as referred to by Dersso (2008) seems more applicable. Even though the names of districts are mentioned, the reflected attitudes towards these districts and their various ethnic groups is similar. This can either mean that the situation has changed and ethnic divisions have decreased since the time of writing of Green’s article (2006), or it means that the ethnic divisions are just not reflected in the news coverage but still exist.

The third important finding has to do with religion. As explained in Chapter 1, Bompari and Brown (2015) found that many Ugandan journalists indicated that their religious beliefs had a direct impact on their work. Chapter 4 showed, however, that there was only one article that showed a religious discourse. Religious aspects therefore, at first sight, do not seem to form a clear part of the national identity formation by the media. However, they do explain the absence of sensitive topics in the newspaper in general. That is, topics that are taboo according to religious beliefs, like sexuality. Even though religion does not seem to be clearly reflected in the articles, it probably does play a role in the way issues are covered. The fact that Uganda is reflected as being welcoming to refugees probably also has to do with the Christian core value that those in need should be helped. In short, this means that religion actually probably does play a role in national identity formation, however indirectly.

Then it is necessary to look at the comparison that was made between the findings of the critical discourse analysis in this thesis and Frahm’s (2012) study that focused on discourse in newspapers in South-Sudan. Frahm found that one main discourse was that South-Sudan should find unity in diversity. He also found that most articles focused on what national identity should not look like and that there was a tension between either using or forgetting the country’s turbulent past. The ‘unity in diversity’ discourse has just been discussed. This thesis showed that there was no emphasis on what

national identity should not look like. Moreover, it was striking that there was no mentioning or referencing to Uganda's past. It therefore seems as if the *New Vision* made the choice to 'forget' Uganda's past. It can also mean that the editors simply do not see a relevant link between the refugee-related topics and the history. In any case, it does mean that history is not used to create a feeling of solidarity as a part of national identity construction.

The first of Guibernau's (2004) steps of nation-building as pointed out in Chapter 2 was the construction of a certain image of the 'nation', which includes a common history and a common culture. Yao and Haggard (2016) explained this by arguing that media help people to imagine the nation, especially people who have not travelled much within the nation. All of the aspects mentioned above contribute to the construction of this image and therefore to the construction of a national identity.

Lastly, it is interesting to compare these findings to those of Harald Bauder (2011). Bauder concluded that both Canada and Germany portray immigration as a danger, whereas Canada and Germany as a country are portrayed as being very compassionate by welcoming refugees. This study has shown that the *New Vision* does also portray Uganda as very welcoming towards refugees, but immigration is considered a danger to a much lesser extent. Then Bauder showed that in Canada immigrants are eventually being absorbed into the nation, whereas in Germany they are portrayed as 'permanent Others'. The fact that 'othering' turned out to mostly occur with the other being the international community, shows that Uganda's situation is more similar to that of Canada.

Conclusion

The aim of this thesis was to give an idea of how a newspaper can create a common feeling of belonging to a nation. In Chapter 1 a general context was established, in which is explained how Museveni's liberalization of the media formed the basis of Uganda's current media landscape. It also included background information about the New Vision and showed that there is still a lack of press freedom in Uganda. The second chapter elaborated upon the concept of 'national identity' and pointed out the role of the media. Chapter 3 focused on the methodology and Chapter 4 finally gave the results of the three methods used. This chapter showed which discourses showed up in the selected articles and pictures, and showed with which valuable information the internship has contributed. The central research question in this thesis was the following:

"How does the New Vision contribute to the construction of a national identity in Uganda in its coverage of news on refugees?"

The answer to this question has proved to be manifold. The New Vision contributes to the creation of a national identity in Uganda by portraying 'the Ugandan' as very welcoming and open towards refugees. This is done by the creation of several discourses, from finger pointing towards the international community to emphases on the Ugandan government doing everything in its power to help refugees. Moreover, the hopelessness of the situation refugees are in, is emphasized in text as well as in pictures. This goes hand in hand with the core value that is reflected that refugees should always be welcomed and helped. Another factor is the appearance of national symbols in the pictures. Considering the fact that Ugandan newspapers are shared among many and the popularity of their websites, as shown in Chapter 1, it can be concluded that these discourses indeed play a large role in national identity construction.

Discourse analyses often go hand in hand with words like 'suggest' and 'indicate', since words are open for interpretation; other analysts might interpret the same words in a different way. Another risk of discourse analysis is that a researcher always has certain expectations beforehand, which might unconsciously have an impact on the final results. Moreover, it is important to be aware of the fact that my European background might influence the way I interpret certain words or articles in general. In order to confirm the conclusions drawn from the analysis in this thesis, more articles would therefore need to be analysed by researchers from different backgrounds. Due to its limited size, this research is solely an indication and therefore forms an opening for new research.

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Appendix I: Titles sorted by category

Problems as result of refugees	Critical towards refugee policy	Positive towards refugee policy	Compassionate towards refugees	Other
9. Government cautioned on more refugees	3. Congolese refugees charged for stay	1. Uganda launches sh367.6bn health response plan for refugees	2. Over 100 DRC refugees cross to Zombo	8. Marathon for refugees in offering* * the 'developed' world cannot dictate on Uganda how to deal with their refugees
10. 15000 refugees enter Uganda	11. Report finds cracks in Uganda's refugee policy	13. Govt commits sh184b for refugee hosting communities	4. Isingiro district leader apologizes over refugees	15. Govt calls for increased funding for refugee response** ** call for more international funding
12. Adjumani health system limping under weight of refugees	18. Kyegegwa gets sh6b for livelihood projects	14. Uganda investigates refugee fraud allegations	5. Refugees strike over lack of food	
17. Water crisis at Kiryandongo Refugee Settlement soon ending		16. Govt set to certify refugees for job opportunities	6. SDA Church fundraises for Congolese refugees	
		19. Men in refugee camps to play role in family planning	7. Urban refugees want free education, health services	
		20. Mungula refugee camp gets classroom boost		

Appendix II: Overview presence sub-discourses

Sub discourse	Number of articles the subdiscourse occurred in
- Big number of refugees is a problem	IIIIIIII
- Funding from other countries is necessary	III
- International community does not give enough money	II
- Other countries do not do enough to help refugees	I
- Humanitarian aid is dominated by international actors, this is not good	I
- Access of local actors to international funding should be strengthened	I
- Problems in refugee policy	II
- Uganda is an example to the world	I
- Discourse of crisis	I
- Refugees are welcome	II
- Problems with food distribution	I
- Refugees strike, but this is understandable	I
- Corruption in camps	I
- Denial of corruption in camps	I
- Frustration of host communities	III
- Host communities should be consulted more	II
- Hope of solving problems for host communities	II
- Ugandan government does not do enough.	I
- Ugandan government does everything it can.	I
- Refugees bring challenges, but those are dealt with by the Ugandan government	IIIIIIII
- Refugees flee for violence	I
- Refugees in urban setting are excluded	I
- Not good that repatriation is left as only solution	I
- Epidemic diseases in refugee settlements	I
- Neighbouring countries should stop conflicts	I
- Host community apologizes for fighting with refugees	I

- **Problems with sex trafficking** |
- **Helping refugees find jobs is good for country** |
- **Refugees are having problems finding jobs** |
- **Not enough water sources in refugee settlements** |
- **Fighting between refugees and locals** |