

**PRIMING OF THE PRE AND POST ACQUITTAL COVERAGE OF THE ICC
CASES IN KENYA'S PRINT MEDIA: A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF SUNDAY
NATION AND THE STANDARD**

BY

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DECLARATION

DECLARATION BY THE CANDIDATE

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DEDICATION

This project is dedicated to my wife Melody Ringera, for her unwavering support and patience.

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ABSTRACT

Mass media play an influential role in pivoting public opinion around crucial issues of national importance. Such an issue was the Kenya ICC cases which elicited public interest not just because six Kenyans had been indicted by the court, but because two of them had successfully contested for and won the presidency in Kenya. Consequently, news regarding these two and their co-accused elicited passionate attention from readership of print media and viewership of electronic media. Due to this heightened curiosity to follow the goings-on at the ICC, Kenyans depended hugely on reportage, especially as was presented in the leading Kenyan newspapers. This study's main objective was to comparatively analyze how two leading newspapers in Kenya prime ICC Kenya cases news before and after the acquittals. The specific questions that this study sought to answer were: to establish the key ICC case themes and how they are disseminated to the public through print media; who the key voices and agenda-setters are and how were they primed over time; and the geographic diffusion pattern of the media coverage of the ICC Kenya case news. The study reviewed the Priming Theory and the Agenda setting theory. The research design involved content analysis of the literature with a bias towards the following themes: number of articles; size in cm², type of the story, placement, prominence and the main subject that stories are published mostly. Data collection involved collection of news items and articles related to the ICC in the period before Kenyatta's and Ruto's acquittal from the ICC court. The study used the Sunday Nation and the Sunday Standard as its principle data source. These were chosen for their comprehensive review of matters that captured headlines during the week. A total of 128 items were captured to constitute the corpus for this study. Using content analysis, the items were ordered through a coding criterion that identified the thematic content. One major limitation is the fact that the research was based on information provided to a certain portion of the overall Kenyan demographic, and thus the recommendations could be most valid and useful for a similar portion of the Kenyan demographic. Notably, the study evidence suggests the media were more amicable to the vested interests of the political class as they dealt with the ICC issues. The study found that the Standard newspaper published more articles regarding the cases than did the Daily Nation. However, with regard to articles, there was little difference in priming of the issues in both newspapers. In a nutshell, the print media is a powerful tool that has been and can continue to be used to effect sociopolitical change. The ICC cases news was an important and salient issue of the present time. The study recommended that there was need to enhance the levels of framing sensitive news in ways that the media already finds to be compelling; Media houses can increase the number of articles written and published on such issues in the media.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ICC	International Criminal Court
NMG	Nation Media Group
SG	Standard Group

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION OF THE STUDY

1.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the study area, background to the study, the research problem, objectives, research questions, justification, significance of the study, the scope of the study, and the conceptual framework.

1.2 Background of the Study

The International Criminal Court (ICC) Kenya cases constituted the single most significant event that captured the imagination of Kenyans in the last five years. The indictment of Uhuru Kenyatta and five others gained overwhelming media and international attention especially after Kenyatta and Ruto were elected following elections in March of 2013 and the Jubilee Coalition's rise to power. The ICC cases were already influencing opinions and perceptions about the individuals in the cases (both locally and internationally); as well as the direction of foreign policy (Wanyeki, 2012). President Kenyatta and Deputy President William Ruto were on trial at The Hague for serious charges of crimes against humanity directly affecting their own citizens. Media coverage was rife with reportage and commentaries about the national, regional, continental and international credibility and moral legitimacy of the Uhuruto administration (Obala, 2013). However, in late 2015 and early 2016, the cases finally collapsed and the media frenzy around the ICC cases seemed to take on a fizzled nature.

Media coverage of the ICC cases has had an impact on which concepts are activated for evaluation by selecting and emphasizing certain aspects – and ignoring others. Some studies attribute the actual priming effect mainly to frequency. The more prominent the issue is in the media, the greater is its accessibility in a person's memory (Karesa, 2013). This issue will then be more important for making a decision than other issues that might also be relevant.

Obonyo & Nyamboga (2011) argue that the obligation of media houses to their audience is to provide content the audience can relate to. That many an audience wants to relate to the content in a personal way, hence the popularity of local content that research consistently finds rating better than imported content in any given media market. The scholars also suggest that even though local content may be poorly packaged and of low quality, it still has greater resonance with the local public as the audiences can identify with local content both at an ideological level but also in terms of the characters featured, the scenes depicted and the themes of the stories.

Reporters influence how issues are framed, conflicts are resolved, and citizens evaluate the political process (West, 2001). Because they hold this influence, mass media outlets have the power to direct public attention towards (or in many cases, away from) certain issues. This power, often referred to as “agenda setting”, is what makes media outlets able to direct and influence social systems (West, 2005). The media’s primary job involves communication, which often gets manifest through its ability to package and sell goods and ideas. It is important to note that the media is not only powerful in creating

brands and selling goods, it has the power to introduce new ideals into the public's consciousness. The media's power to create popularity can be used in a variety of ways towards a variety of social goods. Since its very beginning, the Kenya cases at the ICC have gained overwhelming popularity and headlined both print and electronic media news. However, the extent to which this priming changed as a result of the acquittal of both President Kenyatta and his deputy, Ruto, needs to be examined in detail to elicit the shift in priming of the cases in print media.

The concept of priming has received a great deal of attention in diverse fields of study such as communication, political science, sociology, psychology, and linguistics in the recent past. In relation to the printed news, media priming is regularly used to package everyday realities, journalists limited by time and space prime news to convey sometimes complex issues in an instantly recognizable format (Entman, 2007). In essence news priming can be seen as a useful, time-saving and common sense approach in the work of journalists.

The concept of priming originates from cognitive psychology and refers to a cognitive situation in which a prior stimulus modifies the propriety and ease of recognition or processing of a later stimulus (Scheufele, 2000). Priming was defined as communication criteria and standards used by recipients to evaluate political reality, which are issues most accessible in the media (most often and intensively reported). Priming would occur because the primed information is "fresh" in memory. In this scenario, the time gap between exposure and decision is crucial. The more time passes before the decision is actually made, the greater the possibility that the primed material fades to long-term

memory, nullifying the priming effect (Coleman, 2010). Priming is often discussed in tandem with agenda-setting theory. The reason for this association is twofold. The first, both theories revolve around salient information recall, operating on the idea that people will use information that is most readily available when making decisions. The second is that priming is the latter part of a twofold process with agenda setting that takes place over time. Once agenda setting has made an issue salient, priming is the process by which mass media can shape the considerations that people take into account when making judgments about political candidates or issues (Mogambi & Nyakeri, 2016).

The use of specific frames can slant a perspective in favor of a specific direction and a preferential outcome, some think it reasonable to suggest that when news clearly slants, those people favored by the slant become more powerful, and freer to do what they want (Entman, 2007). When the objective of a frame is to influence in a certain direction, there is evidence to suggest that it succeeds, as Entman (1993, p.56) proposes —if the text frame emphasizes in a variety of mutually reinforcing ways that the glass is half full, the evidence of social science suggests that relatively few in the audience will conclude it is half empty.

1.2 Brief History of the Kenya ICC Cases

In December 2007/2008, Kenya faced the worst post-election violence (PEV) following a disputed presidential election. For the first time, six Kenyans suspected to bear the highest responsibility for the violence which led to the death of more than 1,100 individuals, injury of at least 3,500 people and forced displacement of about 600,000 citizens from their homes. This violence was also characterized by rape, sexual violation

and destruction of property from more than 100, 000 citizens from six of Kenya's eight provinces.

The ICC 2011 report traces Kenya's political crisis as having been triggered off by the decision of the defunct Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK) to declare Party of National Unity (PNU) presidential candidate Mr. Mwai Kibaki the winner of the presidential poll against Orange Democratic Party (ODM) candidate Raila Amolo Odinga. Following the violence that followed, mediation talks were initiated by the former secretary general to the United Nations Kofi Annan on behalf of the African Union (AU). Among the recommendations by the team was to set up an investigative commission which was agreed upon by the two principals – Raila Odinga and Mwai Kibaki – to be headed by Justice Philip Waki to investigate the violence and particularly the actions of the police during the violence.

Upon completion of their inquiry, the Waki commission passed the report - including a list of the names of those he considered to bear the greatest responsibility in the violence- to the international mediator Kofi Annan with instructions that it be passed to the ICC if progress with the local tribunal was not made. Failure by the Kenyan government to institute a local judicial mechanism to investigate and prosecute the suspected perpetrators of PEV prompted the indictment of six individuals to face trial at the ICC. These were: William Samoei Ruto, Henry Kosgei and Joshua Arap Sang in the first case and Hussein Ali, Francis Muthaura and Uhuru Kenyatta in the second case. On January 23, 2012 Pre-Trial Chamber II confirmed charges against four of the suspects; Kenyatta, Muthaura, Ruto and Sang and declined to confirm the charges against Ali and Kosgey. By

the end of 2012, Muthaura was acquitted hence Kenyatta, Ruto and Sang had their charges confirmed. The accusations facing the trio include inciting masses into murder, rape and forcible transfer of people (Holligan, 2014).

The Hague based International Criminal Court (ICC) has for close to seven years been engaged in attempts to prosecute Kenyan cases. President Kenyatta's charges have since been withdrawn and so have those of Deputy President, William Ruto, and radio journalist, Arap Sang. This study compares the priming of news stories and opinion/commentaries on the ICC hearings that were published in the mainstream select print media i.e. Sunday Nation and Sunday standard of between just before the acquittals began and just after the last acquittals.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

The Kenya ICC cases have dominated media discourses for the last 7 to 8 years. Moreover, issues of political parties (and politicians of course), governance, corruption, violence (this continues to influence the national political narrative after the 2007/2008 postelection violence) and related issues of justice (the International Criminal Court (ICC), reconciliation, civil society and its role in the political processes, and ethnicity among others have come to occupy national socio-political discourses motivated by these cases. The media has generally given prominence because they involved two very prominent personalities in Kenya. These two (the president and his deputy) command fanatical following and so any news regarding the cases was seen as worth priming for public attention as well as sales.

The International Criminal Court seeks to have a positive impact on systems of justice worldwide. The mission statement of the ICC identifies its main goals as putting an end to impunity for the worst crimes that impact the international community and bringing justice to victims and perpetrators. The question of how the ICC impacts individual countries is rarely studied in detail. The ICC is not designed to conflict with State Parties, but rather to affect and influence occurrences within them. However, the Court can directly influence domestic legal situations, increase education about the Court or international law, provides reparations, or provides justice. This has caused a wide range of results including unification, deterrence, stability, and judicial change in Kenya. Yet, to what extent has the reportage of these cases affected the results of the ICC process? Has the priming of news on the ICC cases before and after the acquittals of the President and his Deputy been effective in setting the agenda for discussion of the impact of the ICC cases on the Kenyan sociopolitical scene?

The only contact the Kenyan population had with the ICC was through media reports that were obtained through the print and electronic media. The overwhelming sympathy assigned to President Uhuru and his deputy Ruto, may have emanated, in part, from their indictment at the ICC. Could the media framing and priming of the ICC stories have influenced the public's opinion about these two indictees? A number of studies have been carried out with regard to the Kenya ICC cases. Block (2014) examined The ICC and the Situation in Kenya with regard to the impact of the Kenyatta and Ruto/Sang Trials; Simiyu, (2013) examined the media ownership and framing in the context of the ICC

cases against Uhuru Kenyatta; while Wanyeki, (2012) examined the origins and impact of the ICC cases. Evidently, priming of the news reports on the Kenya ICC cases has not been studied nor has a comparative study on the pre and post trial media reporting periods been done. It is in this regard that the current study seeks to seal this gap in knowledge by examining the priming of the Kenya ICC cases with a view to examining the treatment of these cases in Kenya's two leading newspapers.

1.4 Study Questions

- i. What information about the Kenya ICC cases was communicated to the public before and after the ICC acquittals?
- ii. What key themes, placement, trends and type of content emerged prior to and after the acquittals from ICC?
- iii. Who are the key voices and agenda represented in the media coverage of the ICC cases and how were they primed before and after the acquittals from the ICC?

1.5 Justification of the Study

The Kenyan media has another opportunity to report on the ICC hearings for the confirmed cases involving Radio Journalist Joshua Arap Sang, President Uhuru Kenyatta and Deputy President William Ruto. As at September 2013 the confirmation hearings began for William Ruto and Joshua Arap Sang; while those of President Uhuru Kenyatta were scheduled to begin on 12th November, 2013. Research with regard to the ICC Kenya cases has been scanty and has mostly dwelt on the political and socioeconomic

impact these cases have had. This study provides an alternative view of the cases from the point of view of the publishers and editors of news featuring these cases.

The ICC case against the Kenyan suspects had far reaching social and political implications to the suspect's political and personal careers. It also had social and political implications for victims as they waited for justice, the internally displaced persons (IDP's) who await compensation and resettlement and the fight against impunity in Kenya and restoration of the country's credibility in the eyes of the international community. The examination of media priming of news regarding the cases before and after acquittals would further inform media houses on approaches to presentation of information such as this with a view to positively influencing public opinion about social and political issues of importance.

Finally, the study is a comparative study that examined two leading newspapers and how they handled the news on ICC Kenya cases before and after the acquittals. The comparison was not only focused on the two newspapers but also on the periods just before and after the acquittals in order to examine the priming of these news. This comparison identified the significant shift in news priming that was conducted by both papers.

1.6 Scope of the Study

The study carried out a content analysis of all the published news, opinions/commentaries, published on the ICC cases in the Sunday Nation and Standard

on Sunday covered between December 13, 2014 and June 5, 2016 will be assessed. The study captured the following indicators for analysis; Name of newspaper, Date of publication, type of story, placement of story, size, fairness/balance/slant of story, and tone/attitude of story/diversity of opinion. The study confined itself to about 42 newspapers published between December 13, 2014 and June 5, 2016. The two select print publications are the major mainstream print media with the highest circulation levels in any week with the Nation and the Standard newspapers having a daily circulation 100,000 to 120, 000 and 80,000 to 110, 000 respectively. The weekend newspapers publish an analysis of significant social, economic as well as political issues of the week, including the ICC case in an in depth manner. It is therefore hoped that this will help in overcoming the above stated limitation.

1.7 Limitations of the Study

The study was limited to content analysis of selected print media namely: the Sunday Nation and Sunday Standard published between December 13, 2014 and June 5, 2016. It ignored content from other media channels such as Radio, Television and Online publications yet they also reported on the ICC case and may have had an influence in the general perception. Analysis from other sub sectors of the media could have added value to the findings of this study but the sample was only selected from the two publications and further ignore daily coverage of the ICC confirmation hearing cases.

Moreover, the study was limited to periods three months before the acquittal and three months after acquittal of both Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto. This was done well

aware that there were other indictees that had been acquitted. However, the study limited itself to these two since they had more political clout and reports on them far outweighed those of the other indictees. This research was based on information provided to a certain portion of the overall Kenyan demographic (namely the educated), and thus the recommendations could be most valid and useful for a similar portion of the Kenyan demographic. Other important limitations to the findings included print-media specific limitations. While the researcher's decision to focus on mass print media was an intentional one, it is important to underscore the fact that the print media is only one of many mass media outlets. The argument can certainly be made that the print media can be used as a proxy for media coverage as a whole, though that certainly has its limitations. Similarly, while this was arguably the most prevalent issue of the time considered in the study, it cannot necessarily be used as a proxy for all other major business issues.

1.8 Assumptions of the Study

The study was carried out on the assumption that:

- i. That the selected media covered the proceedings of the ICC cases in The Hague, Netherlands between December 13, 2014 and June 5, 2016.
- ii. That the coverage was objective in terms of coverage of the thematic areas identified
- iii. That the selected print media accessed the same facts about the ICC proceedings

1.9 Theoretical Framework

This research was based on two theories: the Agenda Setting and Priming theories of media.

1.9.1 Agenda Setting Theory

According to McQuail (2005), “agenda setting theory is a process of media influence (intended or unintended) by which the relative importance of news events, issues or personages in the public mind is affected by the order of presentation (or relative salience) in news reports...” (P.548). The Agenda Setting theory postulates that the media have the ability to choose and emphasize certain topics, thereby causing the public to perceive them as important (Dominick, 2005). An agenda is a list of things to be considered or acted upon, while agenda setting is the process of listing and planning the topics or issues that should be covered in news, information and entertainment. The concept or theory of agenda setting posits that the audience subconsciously becomes more interested in those issues given prominence by the media. Through agenda setting effect, the media directs the audience on what to think about a specific topic by placing the issues prominently to the readers, listeners or viewers many of which without the media could know little or nothing about. Media therefore can be said to have the ability to mentally order and organize the world for its audience. Most studies on the theory focus on information media such as newspapers, magazines, television and radio. Conflict situations, political campaigns or even prominent court cases such as the ICC matter provide the most suitable situation for study of agenda setting by the media because they are usually designed to tactically set the agenda. The theory simply

hypothesizes that the mass media have the ability to transfer the salience of issues on their news agenda to the public agenda (Griffin, 2009).

According to McCombs & Shaw (1972) agenda setting is the idea that there is a strong correlation between emphasis that mass media place on certain issues - based on relative placement or amount of coverage - and the importance attributed to these issues by mass audiences. Price and Tewksbury (1997:184) summarizes it as:

Agenda setting looks on story selection as a determinant of public perceptions of issue importance and, indirectly through priming, evaluations of political leaders. Framing focuses not on which topics or issues are selected for coverage by the news media, but instead on the particular ways those issues are presented.

Price and Tewksbury (1997) argue that agenda setting is based on memory-based models of information processing. The temporal sequences of agenda setting assumes that media can make certain issues or aspects of issues more accessible and thus easily recalled, for people and thereby influence the standards they use when forming attitudes about issues. This assertion was significant in the current study since the ICC Kenya cases were pertinent issues to Kenyans but also influenced their attitude towards the ICC and the Kenyan political landscape given that two of the indictees were politicians.

One of the key aspects of agenda-setting theory is the ability of the media to highlight certain topics or aspects of issues through the processes of agenda-setting. By calling attention to some issues over others, during the election cycle the news media, theoretically at least, form the public's opinion about the most important issues facing the country (Hayes, 2007).

A number of scholars have become interested in the effect of media agenda setting on public opinion and government policy. The focus on the consequences of agenda setting for public opinion (sometimes labeled “priming”) can be traced back at least to Weaver, McCombs and Spellman (1975:471), who speculated in their study of the effect of Watergate news coverage that the media may suggest which issues to use in evaluating political actors, and who did not use the term priming to describe this process (Chebii, 2010). Their speculation was supported a decade later when Iyengar and Kinder (1987), in controlled field experiment, linked television agenda-setting effects to evaluations of the US President in a demonstration of what some cognitive psychologists have called priming - making certain issues or attributes more salient and more likely to be accessed in forming opinions.

Morris (2013) has argued that the theoretical explanations for these correlations, especially between agenda setting and behavior, have not been well developed but the alliance of priming and agenda setting has strengthened the theoretical base of agenda-setting effects by providing “a better understanding of how the mass media not only tell us ‘what to think about’ but also ‘what to think’ ”. This confirms Scheufele’s (2000) assertion that the theoretical premises of agenda-setting (and priming) rely on the theory of attitude accessibility by increasing the salience of issues and thus the ease with which they can be retrieved from memory when making political judgments.

The theory of Agenda Setting is also very important in guiding this study. The Agenda Setting role of the mass media concerns more than just the transfer of news from the media to the public. McCombs elucidates that agenda-setting and priming rely on the

notion of attitude accessibility. Mass media have the power to increase levels of importance assigned to issues by audience members. They increase the salience of issues or the ease with which these considerations can be retrieved from memory (McCombs, 1982). Principally, this theory asserts that the media tell audiences what issues are important by highlighting them in coverage and placement, thereby advancing them on the public agenda.

Agenda setting theory is an influential theory within the mass communications discipline. More than 200 empirical studies have found agenda setting effects (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). Agenda setting has progressed from the idea that the media suggest topics for the public agenda to the recent proposal that the media actually affect the behavior of the audience. Ghanem (1987) established that agenda-setting research was entering a second phase, in which the effects of the media agenda on what the public thinks has been replaced by a research focus on how the public thinks about it. In this regard, once an ICC case news item is placed on the media agenda, a level of legitimacy is conferred as the aspect is evaluated as newsworthy. Media coverage not only reports real-world activities, but also enacts a mandate in which the importance of the news item is conveyed to a larger Kenyan public through the mass media. Hence, the Agenda setting theory and the social construction of reality work in tandem to explain how issues of ICC Kenya cases rise to prominence (McQuail, 2010). Even though this concept has been accepted by many scholars, it is believed that the reverse could be the case, in the sense that the audience's agenda can at times influence the media's issue agenda (Uscinski, 2009).

1.9.2 Priming Theory

Priming theory on the other hand is defined by McQuail (2005) as “the activity of the media in proposing the values and standards by which objects of media attention can be judged...” (P.564). However, Miller (2005) refers to priming as “the effects of a particular, prior context on retrieval and interpretation of information. The media’s content will provide a lot of time and space to certain issues, making these issues more accessible and vivid in the public’s mind.” Priming tells the audience whether the news item is good or bad and also whether it is communicated effectively. For example, if a news item is very important, it will always be given much attention like being placed on the first page, it is given a lot of space and the pictures can be printed in different colors. This will attract the attention of the audience (reader). If media portrays this issue of ICC cases as bad, then that is how the audience will receive the news and for this reason we find in most cases media influences negatively or positively how the audiences perceive things.

These two theories were found relevant to the present study because they provided a background upon which the matters of priming of news on the ICC Kenya cases were done. The newspapers set the agenda through the various priming strategies that were adopted and, in the process, influenced public opinion and focus on the matters that were taking place in the ICC.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

In this study, literature review focused on the concept of priming in mass media, what Media is and its role in society, and newspaper development in Kenya.

2.2 Media Priming

Originating out of the field of psychology, priming is an increase in the speed or accuracy of a decision that occurs as a consequence of a prior exposure to some of the information in the decision context, without any intention or task related motivation (Shulman, 1997). Considered to be an involuntary phenomenon, priming can occur in tasks where memory for previous information is not required. In psychology, it is an implicit memory effect, in which exposure to a stimulus influences a response to a later stimulus. It can occur following perceptual, semantic, or conceptual stimulus repetition (Morris, 2013). One example would be how one person's use of language could be influenced by those with whom he converses regularly (Jacoby and Kelley, 1987). Additionally, people unconsciously use memory for prior parts of a conversation when interpreting what is said later.

Media priming is a theory in which the activation of one thought may trigger related thoughts. Essentially, media information and images stimulate related thoughts in the minds of audience members (Morris, 2013). The mass communication aspect of priming research originated out of agenda setting research, when in 1982, Iyengar, Peters, and

Kinder first identified an added dimension as the “priming effect.” Founded on the assumption that people do not have elaborate knowledge about political matters and do not take into account all of what they do know when making political decisions — they must consider what more readily comes to mind. By drawing attention to some aspects of politics at the expense of others, the media might help to set the terms by which political judgments are reached, including evaluations of political figures. This relates, especially, to the situation in Kenya just before the ICC acquittals, when the indictees were elected president and deputy president despite the criminal charges leveled against them by the Hague court.

As defined in the political communication literature, priming refers to “changes in the standards that people use to make political evaluations” (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987, p. 63). In the news context, priming occurs when news content suggests to news audiences that they ought to use specific issues as benchmarks for evaluating the performance of leaders and governments. There are two reasons for this: (a) Priming is based on memory-based models of information processing. These models assume that people form attitudes based on the considerations that are most salient (i.e., most accessible) when they make decisions (Hastie & Park, 1986). In other words, judgments and attitude formation are directly correlated with “the ease in which instances or associations could be brought to mind” (Tversky & Kahneman, 1973, p. 208); (b) based on the common theoretical foundation, some researchers have argued that priming is a chronological extension of agenda setting (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987).

It is possible that exposure to primed news in the Nation and the Standard may have developed specific attitudes towards the ICC cases and the indictees. Essentially, prominent, frequent, and recent exposure to news stories can develop schemas that are easily primed in subsequent contexts (Morris, 2013). By making some issues more salient in people's minds (agenda setting), mass media can also shape the ideas that people take into account when making judgments about politics or other issues (priming).

2.3 Newspaper Development in Kenya

Newspaper development in Kenya has been closely linked to the social, economic as well as political developments in the country, with the colonial administration using media platforms to consolidate their grip on the country in the early years of the 20th century. According to Karanja Mugambi, media publications reflected the official points of view of the settler community, and sidelined the minority views of indigenous Kenyans and migrant Indians who were building the Kenya-Uganda railway. The late 19th century witnessed the first newspaper in Kenya, where pioneer Christian missionaries published content geared towards spreading the gospel to the natives, and later to document their stories, missionary work and travels. The Taveta Chronicle which was published in 1895 by Reverend Albert Stegal of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) was the first documented newspaper in Kenya; however circulation was limited to the exclusive white population in the country, and also shipped to interested readers in Britain.

2.3.1 Standard Newspaper

Odero & Kamweru (2000) posit that The East African Standard which started publication in 1902 is the oldest newspaper among the mainstream newspapers today. It was started by Alibhai Mulla Jeevanjee, a prominent Indian businessman during the construction of the Kenya Uganda railways. Jeevanjee employed an expatriate editor for his publication which was targeting primarily civil servants and businessmen in the coastal town (Mombasa) that in the turn of the 20th century was the capital of Kenya. In 1905, he sold it to Rudolf E Mayer and A.G.W Anderson who renamed it the *East African Standard*.

Other local publications arose from the need to find a public outlet for the dissenting voices of Africans, Indian and other interest groups in the country opposed to the European rule. Publications such as Gujerati, The Indian Voice for Indians, Tangazo which was edited by the late Harry Thuku, and the East African Chronicles were started to serve this purpose. In the 1920s and 30s, Thuku's Tangazo and KCA's Muigwithania (1928) edited by Jomo Kenyatta were part of a steadily growing alternative voice to the official government point of view.

2.3.2 Nation Newspaper

What was to become the country's most successful daily newspaper, the Sunday Nation, started in 1958 as Taifa-The Nation which was owned by the East African Press Exchange Limited, and later was bought by the Aga Khan, leader of the Ismaili Muslim Sect. He re-launched the Sunday Nation in March 20, 1960 as the weekly Sunday Nation, and in October the same year launched the Sunday Nation, and later followed the

county's first Kiswahili daily newspaper Taifa Leo. The publications are now part of the strongest brands of the Nation Media Group (NMG), of which the Aga Khan is the principle shareholder. The NMG also owns the East African, a pan-regional paper, and the Monitor, a daily in Uganda. Adoption of state of the art production and printing technology has reportedly given the pioneer tabloid format Nation various advantages over the Standard which however now appears to respond to the changing times. Standard remained broadsheet well into the 1970s and launched its Sunday Standard later in 1979.

During independence in 1963, Kenyan leaders were optimistic that the political freedom would be useful to Kenyans in mapping their own destiny, especially in regard to the freedom of the press, which had been inhibited by colonialists. The euphoria of the day propelled the circulation of the Nation group of newspapers-*Sunday Nation*, *Sunday Nation* and *Taifa Leo*, which were judged by readers to be sympathetic to nationalists aspirations while lights were dimming at the then *East African Standard*, regarded as pro-colonial newspaper along with its dynamic Swahili edition- *Baraza*. The Nation Group took advantage of this euphoria and in a rush, in 1960, launched three newspapers in a span of three years, and has since grown to become the biggest newspaper group in East and Central Africa and one of the most successful on the continent. However, until early 1960s, *East African Standard* was the dominant mainstream newspaper. Currently there are more technological advancements in the Nation Media Group, its production capacity has increased tremendously, and circulations are much expanded as compared with the past years (Mbeke, 2008).

At the moment, both Nation Media and The Standard Groups also have extensive online versions of their dailies and weekly newspapers that are updated continuously. No overview of a newspaper group would be complete without reference to editorial freedom and integrity. A documented Nation policy is that the Editor has complete editorial control within the policy guidelines laid down by the Board of the newspaper Company. In recent years, there has been a growing demand for print media in Kenya, especially that dealing with political news and coverage, and a recent survey concluded that most people (75%) consider the media as a source of credible information (Sunday Nation, 2006).

2.4 Role of Media in Society

The role of media in society is basically to keep its readers well informed about local, national and international events and affairs so that they can think intelligently and form their own opinion about social, economic and political matters. Studies of newspaper publications reveal that the general areas of activity as; a) They present news reports as complete as possible in view of the limited space and time available for their processing and publishing; b) They publish expert opinions, news analysis, correspondence and columnists commenting on topical issue; and c) They state their stand or opinion piece in an editorial page which depicts the position the newspaper is taking for a specific social, economic and political matter.

The influence of widely read newspaper editorials may be quite great for people who depend on comments, especially if they do not have facts upon which to base their

decisions. (Mbeke, 2008) argues that Kenya enjoys a plural, sophisticated and a vibrant media and communication sector which serves competing political, social, economic, cultural and technological needs of diverse interest groups. He posits that the local media scene currently is comprised of over eight daily newspapers and over ten weekly newspapers, with Kenyan audiences fragmented along the various media channels. Quoting the Steadman Group (2008), Mbeke says about 2.2 million people living in urban areas (Compared to 2.6 in rural areas) read newspapers daily, and that readership stands at 23 per cent of the population. The scholar also suggests that over 39 per cent of Kenyans watch Television, over 90 per cent listen to radio; nearly 3 million use Internet services, over 14 million use mobile phones while 23 per cent read newspapers.

The traditional roles of Media which are information dissemination, education and entertaining have in recent years been changing as societies are confronted with a diversity of emerging social, economic and political challenges. The media, reputed to be the fourth estate, after the parliamentary, executive and judiciary is increasingly playing a watchdog role over the decisions and activities of the three arms of government. There is also new thinking that the media be classified as the fifth estate, with arguments that it must play additional roles in society as a defender/destroyer of tyrants, entertainer, explainer, clarifier, researcher, and arbiter, and agenda setter, conscience of society, healer and pacifier of tyranny among many others.

Laplante (2010) quoting Benjamin Page (1986) suggests that media can play a crucial role in mediation and resolution of conflict situations in society. She argues that in modern societies public deliberations are largely mediated, with professional

communicators through mass media of communications. Benjamin Page (1996) argues that the media's need to interpret the facts and events must not be underestimated because it is essential for democracy as it ensures that the public's policy preferences are informed, enlightened, and authentic as a basis for democratic decisions. Consequently, it is pointed out that media plays a critical role in setting the tone for social, economic and political discourses in a country, and should therefore be used as a constructive force working towards peaceful coexistence and subsequently national healing and reconciliation (Sharma and Rakesh, 2006).

The Kenyan mass media has played a significant role in economic, social, political and educational issues affecting the nation thus contributing immensely towards development. The most important role according to Mutua (2001) was acting as a voice for the voiceless in the society. This was done through highlighting of injustices during the conflict to the international community for intervention thus providing public awareness of impending conflict and post conflict situation. However, this has come with disgust especially in political issues resulting into violent conflicts (Ibrahim & Jenner, 1997). The invisible role of media in Kenya cannot be assumed given its influential power. For instance, mass media could have played a positive role during the 2007 and 2013 general elections by supporting the efforts of the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission of Kenya (IEBC) towards the realization of free and fair elections. Indeed, the media shaped national and global public opinion, attitudes and practices towards various political parties, presidential candidates and critical issues during election campaigns in Kenya through their extensive coverage and broadcasts, (UNDP, 2008). In addition, mass media could have also played a critical role as a tool for

education by supporting the civic education programs conducted by various civil society organizations (Mbeke, 2009).

Apart from the positive roles, media could have played negative roles towards the cause and escalation of election violence. This role is perhaps witnessed more recently in the standoff in the 2007 and the 2017 general election coverage. Media portrayed a volatile political environment marred with abhorrence, violence, and a stiff race between two protagonists through biased coverage (Chebii, 2014). Furthermore, major media houses such as NTV and KTN predicted a flawed and highly manipulated election to favor the ruling party. Therefore, the perceived attempt to bungle the vote tallying exercise by IEBC only served to confirm the prediction of the media (KNCHR, 2017). Therefore, the media could have laid the foundation for a high-stakes political duel that stimulated ethnic emotions and passions through representation or misinterpretation of facts.

Some of the perceived media's shortcomings in its reporting and analysis of the Kenyan conflict were double standards reporting, misrepresentation, encouraging hate speech that elicited ethnic hatred and animosity, absence of professional conduct, creating emotional appeal to audience through misrepresentation of facts and selection of songs played during conflict among others. Lastly, Heiber (2001) showed that mass media effects to the audience depend on various factors such as social class, ethnicity, social context, age, sex, personality, marital status, nationality, political party affiliation among others, which also forms the background of the study.

Media may also capture images can perpetuate stereotypes through the use of framing. Framing in the social sciences refers to a set of concepts and theoretical perspectives on

how individuals, groups, and societies organize, perceive, and communicate about reality. Framing is commonly used in media studies, sociology, psychology, and political science. Framing is based on the assumption that how an issue is characterized in the news can have an influence on how it is understood by audiences. Framing theory has background in both sociology and psychology (Pan & Kosicki, 1993). Goffmann (1974) argued that to process new information efficiently, people apply interpretive schemas or “primary frameworks” to organize information and interpret it meaningfully (p. 24).

Due to this argument, Scheufele (1999) found framing to be both a macrolevel and microlevel construct. As a macroconstruct, the term “framing” refers to approaches people use to present information in a way that reverberates with existing underlying schemas among other individuals (Sheafer and Gabay, 2009). When framing is applied to media, it refers to the way journalists and other communicators present news and other information to the public. This presentation is usually done in a way to make information fit within an audience member’s cognitive schemas or body of knowledge such that it will make sense. When this happens, a frame is created for that topic.

Media frames are meant to organize the world for reporters and news consumers (Mazzarella & Pecora, 2007). Journalists do not necessarily frame material in such a way as to deceive their audiences, but rather it “is a necessary tool to reduce the complexity of an issue, given the constraints of their respective media related to news holes and airtime (Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007, p. 12). In other words, frames become invaluable instruments for presenting relatively complex issues resourcefully. The topics are presented in a way that makes them comprehensible to audiences because of how they

work with the person's existing mental schemas. Media creators have specific audiences in mind as they build frames. Thus, frames are carefully chosen with their audiences' knowledge, interests, demographics, and socioeconomic statuses in mind. Even though the present study did not examine media framing, the notion of framing was however important in the discussion of placement of news items regarding the ICC Kenya cases in the print media.

Mass media actively set the frame of reference the recipients then use for interpreting and discussing topics. Journalists give a story or topic a "spin," taking into account their organizational and modality constraints, professional judgments, and certain judgments about the audience (Brantner, Lobinger, & Wetzstein, 2011). At the same time, schemata or preexisting meaning structures influence the recipients' information processing and interpretation. When this happens, a frame set by the media can affect the interpretation of the topic by the recipient. Indeed, ICC Kenya cases news was framed by the newspapers to elicit a predetermined response by the editors. The editors seem to have worked around the political atmosphere existing at that time to influence the framing and priming of the news items.

Articles, magazines, news shows, and other forms of media often incorporate different types and pieces of information to describe a problem or issue (Brosius, 2003). Journalists use these exemplars, or "personal descriptions by people who are concerned or interested in an issue," as a device to "illustrate particular assertions about the state or urgency of particular social problems" (Brosius, 2003, page 179). In the news, exemplars and their distribution can exert a clear influence on the way recipients (i.e. news

consumers) think about facts and issues and on the judgments they make. Journalists might durably affect the perception of an issue or the population's opinions through the choice and/or distribution of exemplars (Brosius, 2003).

2.5 Media Coverage of the ICC cases

The release of the Waki Report on October 15, 2008, generated a significant national debate at all levels of society about the fate of the ICC suspects, victims, internally displaced persons (IDP's), and dominated local media coverage for months on end. Majiwa, (2011) even posed the question as to whether the Kenyan media is losing its agenda setting platform in its coverage of the ICC case. She noted that although media must be lauded for its extensive coverage of the ICC process as well as the evolution and maturity of the press since its coverage of the 2007/08 PEV, it should be criticized for becoming progressively embroiled in the politics and losing sight of the main issues. Some of the criticism leveled against the media included: The lack of media of memory has meant that politicians have and continue to be allowed to behave badly – going back on promises, and flip-flopping on issues with no one to hold them to account for earlier utterances, particularly with regards to their initial support of and subsequent withdrawal of support for the ICC process; and, because the media had become so caught in the politics, they have become a platform for the theatrics of politicians thereby emboldening impunity rather than being a voice of truth.

Ngugi, T. (2011) argues that the Kenyan media today largely continues to operate in a philosophical framework that is inconsistent with that envisaged in the constitution. And a media survey sponsored by the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung in 2010 noted the following

developments: That Media freedom had expanded exponentially in Kenya, a fact verified by the proliferation of electronic, print and online media outlets, and there being no official opposition in parliament, media, through reportage that exposed corruption and other malpractices, had assumed that critical role. He said that findings from the report indicate that politics still enjoyed an overwhelming share of coverage, and reporting on women continued to perpetuate gender stereotypes. Ngugi posits that these two latter tendencies clearly violate, not one, not two, but all the values the new constitution proposes as the guiding principles of all actions. Even though Ngugi's opinions may be valid, the present study did not delve into the implicatures contained in the content or implied by the priming of news items on ICC Kenya cases.

Haron (2012), asserts that it would be difficult to divorce the coverage of the ICC from politics given the context since five of the suspects are prominent political figures, two of the suspects are also members of the cabinet, three are also members of parliament and two of the six have declared their intention to run for presidency in the forthcoming general elections. However, Haron (2012) notes that media coverage and reporting of the ICC process and about the six suspects made heroes out of persons who are suspected to have committed grievous human rights violations, hence impacting negatively on the image of the country.

CHAPTER THREE: STUDY METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with the methodology adopted for the current study. In this chapter, the research design, target population, sampling procedures and sample size, research instruments, data collection, and summary of data analysis procedures.

3.2 Research Design

The study adopted qualitative descriptive research design. According to Sandelowski (2000); and Lambert & Lambert (2011), qualitative descriptive research is a categorical alternative for inquiry; is less interpretive than an 'interpretive description' approach because it does not require the researcher to move as far from or into the data; and, does not require a conceptual or highly abstract rendering of the data, compared to other qualitative designs. In addition, qualitative descriptive studies are the least encumbered studies, compared to other qualitative approaches, by a pre-existing theoretical or philosophical commitment. Qualitative descriptive studies tend to draw from naturalistic inquiry, which purports a commitment to studying something in its natural state to the extent that is possible within the context of the research arena. The present study did not delve into the content of the articles present in the newspapers other than looking at the titles and placement in the newspaper. This was in tandem with lamberts description of qualitative descriptive research. In using the qualitative approach, the study assessed the issues covered in the selected print media in terms of breadth or spectrum of coverage of the thematic areas and how the specific themes that formed the researcher's analysis were

primed (Kim, Sefcik, & Bradway, 2016). Moreover, the study identified how many news and opinion articles/commentaries were published by each newspaper, the placement of articles, determine prominence in terms of headlines, lead stories, the tone of the articles, and whether in the inside pages (in their size in centimeters and content) were both elaborative and conclusive.

3.3: Target Media Houses

Print media (newspapers) coverage was selected for analysis rather than television or radio for two main reasons. Firstly, newspapers are generally considered as opinion leaders and set the news agenda for other mass media such as television and radio news. The second reason was simply that daily newspapers provided the highest volume and accuracy of data obtainable as compared with television and radio. The Sunday Nation and The Standard newspapers were chosen because of their prominence and extensive readership, and their ties with large media conglomerates. Furthermore, these two sources were picked because of their reputation among independent news media as being credible and authentic.

3.4 Target Population

In this study, individual ICC stories, articles, opinions, adverts, and letters to the editor covered by the two mainstream weekly newspapers - the Sunday Nation and Sunday Standard - over a five month period from December 13, 2014 and June 5, 2016 formed the target population.

3.5 Sampling Procedure

This study employed a non-probability consecutive sampling technique in all the Sunday Nation and Sunday Standard Newspaper published between December 13, 2014 and June 5, 2016, while purposive sampling technique was used to identify the selected print media. These two papers were selected because of their wide readership in the country and their in- depth publication of analytical news and feature articles on important social, economic and cultural issues.

3.6 Sample Size

The study analyzed a total of 48 weekly editions of both newspapers, namely: 24 Sunday Nation and 24 Sunday Standard published over the three month duration before acquittal (December 13th 2014 – March 12th 2015) and three months after acquittal(march 14th 2015 –may 14th 2015) with regard to Uhuru Kenyatta; and three month duration before acquittal (January 5th 2016 – April 4th 2016) and three months after acquittal(April 6th 2016 –June 5th 2016) with regard to William Ruto and Joshua Sang. The sample size fulfills reliability and flexibility and it was found to be adequate to carry out a comparative analysis of the thematic areas as earlier identified, it considering the limited time and resources available to undertake the research project.

3.7 Data Collection Methods

The study used textual content analysis to collect data. The study considered all the articles published in Sunday *Nation* and the Sunday *Standard* newspapers. Under this approach, each and every item or unit constituting an article was selected for data

collection. In this case, all the stories, articles, and information ICC Kenya cases were considered for analysis.

3.8 Research Instruments

The main research instrument was a tally sheet where all the appropriate data was entered. The information was then tabulated and presented in frequency distribution charts and simple tables to determine similarities or differences in the coverage of the ICC matter in the two mainstream publications.

3.9 Data Analysis Procedure

The study used content analysis of secondary data which involved analysis and coding of articles on ICC confirmation hearings published by the selected print media over the stated duration. Secondary data was derived from information already collected by others for purposes that are different from the study. The units of measure were individual news stories, features, opinion/commentary, editorials, and letters to the editor, or advertisements that touched on the. The content analysis captured the following indicators for analysis: i. Name of newspaper, ii. Date of publication, iii. Type of article (news story, opinion/commentary, editorial) iv. Size in square centimeters (cm²) v. Placement (front page, page 2, page 3, special feature or back page), vi. Prominence (edition lead, page lead, main editorial, or opinion piece/commentary), vii. Diversity of opinion to assess balance/objectivity viii. Main actor (William Ruto, Uhuru Kenyatta, Joshua Sang) ix. Tone of the story (whether the story was critical of any side such as the suspects, victims, ICC or government) x. Main subject (Theme) xi. Number of articles over the study period.

After data was collected, it was appropriately coded by the identified variables and all qualitative data were entered into the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) IBM 22 for analysis. Descriptive analysis of the Mean, Median and Mode were conducted as well as inferential analysis of the correlation and association of particular viewpoints and themes from specific columnists or newspapers. The results obtained were presented in frequency distribution tables, charts and graphs.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses the findings of the study. The study was to investigate the priming of ICC Kenya case in print media. The analysis of data collected and its interpretation was in relation to the objectives and research questions of the study. The researcher was guided by the following research questions: which are the information about the Kenya ICC cases was communicated to the public before and after the ICC acquittals; What key themes, placement, trends and type of content emerged prior to and after the acquittals from ICC; and who were the key voices and agenda represented in the media coverage of the ICC cases and how they were primed before and after the acquittals from the ICC. The data was analyzed qualitatively and quantitatively. There were a total of 128 articles published in six months in the two types of newspapers. The Standard had 72 articles which was equivalent to 56.25% while the Nation newspaper had 56 articles which was equivalent to 43.75%.

4.2 Findings of the study

In this section, the study examines the findings with regard to the first study question regarding the news items featured in the Sunday Nation and the Sunday Standard on the ICC Kenya cases relating to Uhuru Kenyatta, William Ruto and Joshua Sang. The analysis examines the news items in the periods 3 months before and 3 months after their acquittal from ICC.

4.2.1 Content analysis

This analysis examines the presentation of articles and news items in the Sunday Nation and the Sunday Standard 3 months before and 3 months after the acquittal in the two newspapers. The presentation examines each of the cases separately presenting data regarding the Kenyatta case then data regarding the Ruto/Sang cases. This data is presented in table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Presentation of Uhuru Kenyatta ICC case between 13/12/2014 – 12/3/2015

	Sunday Nation	Sunday Standard
	Number of items	Number of items
News	13	18
Feature	8	3
Photo	7	10
Articles	15	13
Cartoon	2	3
Total	45 = 35.15%	47 = 36.71%

In this pre-acquittal period, the articles published were few as compared to other case mention periods prior to this one. The areas most covered were news and photos. In the Sunday Nation, the feature stories were covered more while in the Standard, the news items were featured more. The ones covered on news were detailed as they captured the events at the court and the arguments presented by the prosecution and the defense. These seemed to heighten as the acquittal became close. This finding corroborates the assertion by Mazzarella & Pecora, (2007) that journalists do not necessarily frame material in such a way as to deceive their audiences, but rather it “is a necessary tool to reduce the complexity of an issue, given the constraints of their respective media related to news

holes and airtime. Hence, the reduction in news items towards the acquittals may have been deliberate with regard to time and space constraints and also the waning interest in the cases. In total, the Sunday Standard published more news items on the ICC case as compared to the Sunday Nation newspaper. However, the Sunday Nation had more articles analyzing the events in The Hague than did the Sunday Standard.

Table 4.2: Presentation of Uhuru Kenyatta ICC case between 14/3/2015 – 14/5/2015

	Sunday Nation	Sunday Standard
	Number of items	Number of items
News	8	7
Feature	8	5
Photo	7	10
Articles	7	9
Cartoon	0	0
Total	30 = 23.43%	31 = 24.21%

The data in table 4.2 shows a significant decline in the coverage of the ICC case concerning Uhuru Kenyatta in the wake of his acquittal. In fact, the greater number of news items and articles regarding the cases were found in the two issues of the newspapers within two weeks of the acquittal. Thereafter, little was discussed regarding the case. Data in table 4.2 shows that the Sunday Nation and the Sunday Standard had an almost equal coverage of news and features regarding, especially, the collapse of the Kenyatta case and its implications on the local politics. While the Nation had 23.43% coverage, the Standard had 24.21% which places them almost at par in terms of coverage.

Table 4.3 and 4.4 show the total presentations of items in the Sunday Nation and the Sunday Standard with regard to the Ruto and Sang Cases.

Table 4.3: Presentation of Ruto/Sang ICC case between 5/1/2016 – 4/4/2016

	Sunday Nation	Sunday Standard
	Number of items	Number of items
News	9	15
Feature	8	6
Photo	8	10
Articles	12	16
Cartoon	1	3
Total	38 = 29.68%	50 = 39.06%

Data in table 4.3 shows that the Sunday Standard had higher news coverage, photographic presentations, and analytical articles of the Ruto/Sang case than did the Sunday Nation. However, the Nation had more feature items than the Standard. However, in comparison with the Kenyatta case, there were more articles regarding the Ruto/Sang cases in both the papers. The issues being dealt with were with regard to the implications of the Kenyatta acquittal on the remaining cases. This led to a multiplicity of analyses that contributed to the higher number of articles. This finding corroborates Brantner, Lobinger, & Wetzstein, (2011) in their opinion that mass media actively sets the frame of reference the recipients then use for interpreting and discussing topics. They further assert that journalists give a story or topic a “spin,” taking into account their organizational and modality constraints, professional judgments, and certain judgments about the audience. Hence, the multiplicity of analyses that were realized may have resulted from the media locating the focus of news items around the ICC related news and articles. The increase in articles may have been a reflection of the heightened concern regarding the cases; and a measure of the media’s level of influence with regard to this topical area.

Table 4.4: Presentation of Ruto/Sang ICC case between 6/4/2016 – 5/6/2016

	Sunday Nation	Sunday Standard
	Number of items	Number of items
News	13	18
Feature	10	8
Photo	6	7
Articles	15	10
Cartoon	4	2
Total	45 = 35.15%	47= 36.71%

The presentation of news items in the Ruto /Sang cases dominated the items in the post acquittal period. There was an almost euphoric reaction to the acquittals and news items and analytical articles filled the papers especially in the three weeks following the acquittals. Data in table 4.4 shows that the Sunday Standard had a higher number of news items while the Sunday Nation had a higher number of articles relating to the cases. Overall, the Nation had 35.1% coverage while the Standard had 36.7% coverage of the Ruto/Sang cases in the period following their acquittal from the ICC cases. Obviously, the media had played its role in setting the tone for political discourses in the country. Benjamin Page (1996) argues that the media's need to interpret the facts and events must not be underestimated because it ensures that the public's policy preferences are informed, enlightened, and authentic as a basis for democratic decisions. Consequently, the plethora of reactions to the acquittal through the media provided the media with an opportunity to set the tone for discussion of the collapse of the cases at The Hague.

4.3 Placement of Kenyatta pre-acquittal issues in the Sunday Nation

Figure 4.1 shows the number of items placed in both newspapers with regard to Kenyatta's case.

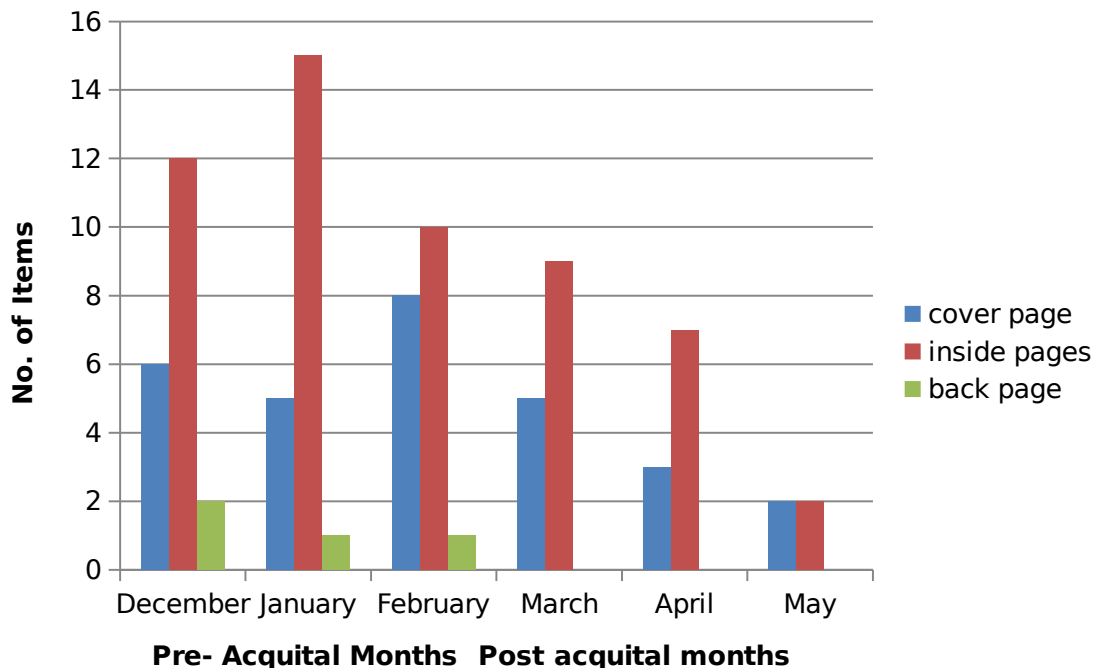


Figure 4.2: Number of items on Kenyatta ICC cases between December 2014 and May 2015 in The Sunday Nation

Data in figure 4.1 shows that in the month of December, 6 items were presented on the cover page while 12 items were presented in the inside pages; 5 and 15 in the month of January; 8 and 10 in February; 5 and 9 in March; 3 and 7 in April; and 2 and 2 in May. clearly, there is a steady decline in news items after the acquittals. When it comes to the placement of articles in the Sunday Nation, we find that between the month of December and May, the articles covered in this newspaper were placed on the inside page and as short items. Even though that is the case, in January, the articles appeared as short items only. There were also more items placed on the inside page as compared to short items and this is evident in that amongst the six months, four months had more number of appearance in the inside page as compared to short items. These were the months

preceding and immediately following the acquittal. However, for this newspaper, there were not as many articles placed as headline and on the back page.

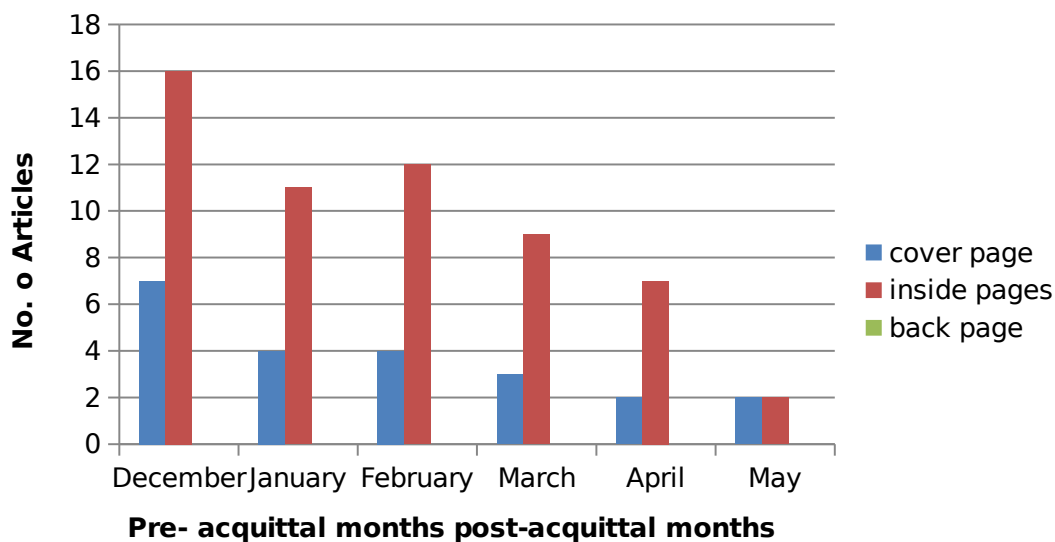


Figure 4.2: Total number of distribution of placement of Kenyatta ICC Kenya case issues in the Standard Newspaper between December 2014 and May 2015

Figure 4.2 shows that the distribution of placement of was done mostly in the inside pages where critical issues regarding the case were discussed in various articles. According to the data, the Standard published 16 items in the inside pages and 7 items on the cover page in December; 11 and 4 in January; 12 and 4 in February; 9 and 3 in March; 7 and 2 in April; and 2 and 2 in May. Evidently, more news items were published in the pre acquittal period than was done in the post acquittal period. Moreover, data shows a continuous decline in coverage with the greatest commentaries appearing just before and immediately after the acquittal. Only few articles were placed on the headline and none at the back page of the standard newspaper for the six months. This finding affirms the assertion made by Brosius, (2003) that journalists use these exemplars, or

personal descriptions by people who are concerned or interested in an issue, as devices to illustrate particular assertions about the state or urgency of particular social problems. The significantly large number of articles in the inside pages indicated the editor's desire to engage people who were concerned with the ICC Kenya cases before and after the acquittal of Uhuru Kenyatta. The social role performed by Kenyatta (President) attracted more importance than did issues relating to the other indicted Kenyans. This may explain the ubiquity of articles regarding Kenyatta.

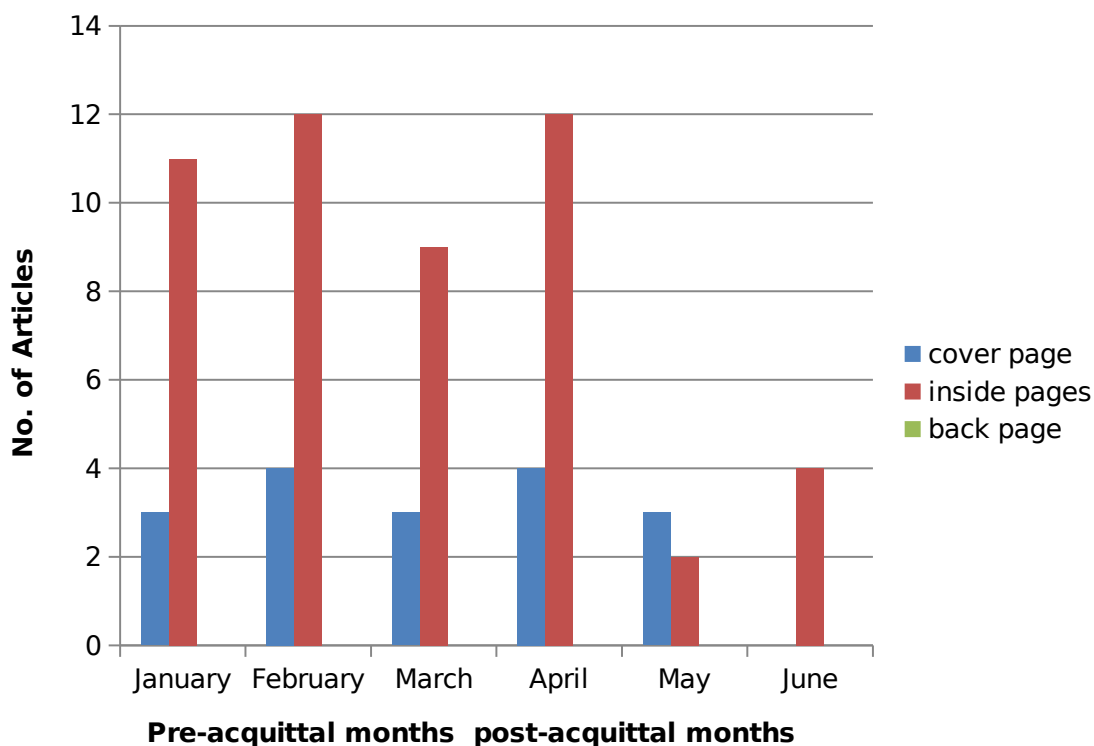


Figure 4.3: Number and placement of Ruto/Sang issues in the Sunday Nation Newspaper from 5/1/2016 – 5/6/2016

Figure 4.3 shows the placement of Ruto and Sang issues in the Sunday Nation newspaper. In January, 3 items were placed on the cover page while 11 items were placed on the inside pages; in February 4 and 12; in March 3 and 9; in April 4 and 12; in may 3 and 2;

and in June 0 and 4. It is worth noting that immediately after acquittal, there were more cover page stories than were inner page items. Then in the subsequent month there were no cover page stories on the Ruto /Sang case. There was a sudden closure to the issues at the ICC in terms of reporting. In the Sunday nation newspaper, the articles covered were generally placed on the inside pages. According to the data, February, April and January had the most issues covered in the inside pages. This was perhaps motivated by the political agitation for Ruto's acquittal following rumors of fallout. There were more items covered as short items than those placed on the inside page and this is because amongst the six months, three months more items covered as short items as compared to the two months where there was a lead on items placed on the inside page. However, there were some items placed as headlines but none on the back page. What becomes evident from the findings is that there is a shift in the priming of news items regarding the ICC Kenya cases. The period just before and just after the acquittals received cover page placement more than the period after the acquittals. This finding corroborates the assertion by Morris (2013) that media priming is deliberately designed to stimulate related thoughts in the minds of audience members. In this regard, the media ceased to prime news on the ICC cases after acquittal perhaps to bring the matter to a close and redirect audience attention to other issues in the country. Iyengar & Kinder, (1987) further assert that priming changes in the standards that people use to make political evaluations. In the news context shown through the data presented above, the news content suggests to news audiences that they ought to use specific issues as benchmarks for evaluating the status of their leaders in the face of acquittal from the criminal cases.

Having examined the placement of news items regarding the ICC cases in the Sunday Nation, the study went on to examine the placement in the Sunday Standard. The findings in this regard are presented in figure 4.4.

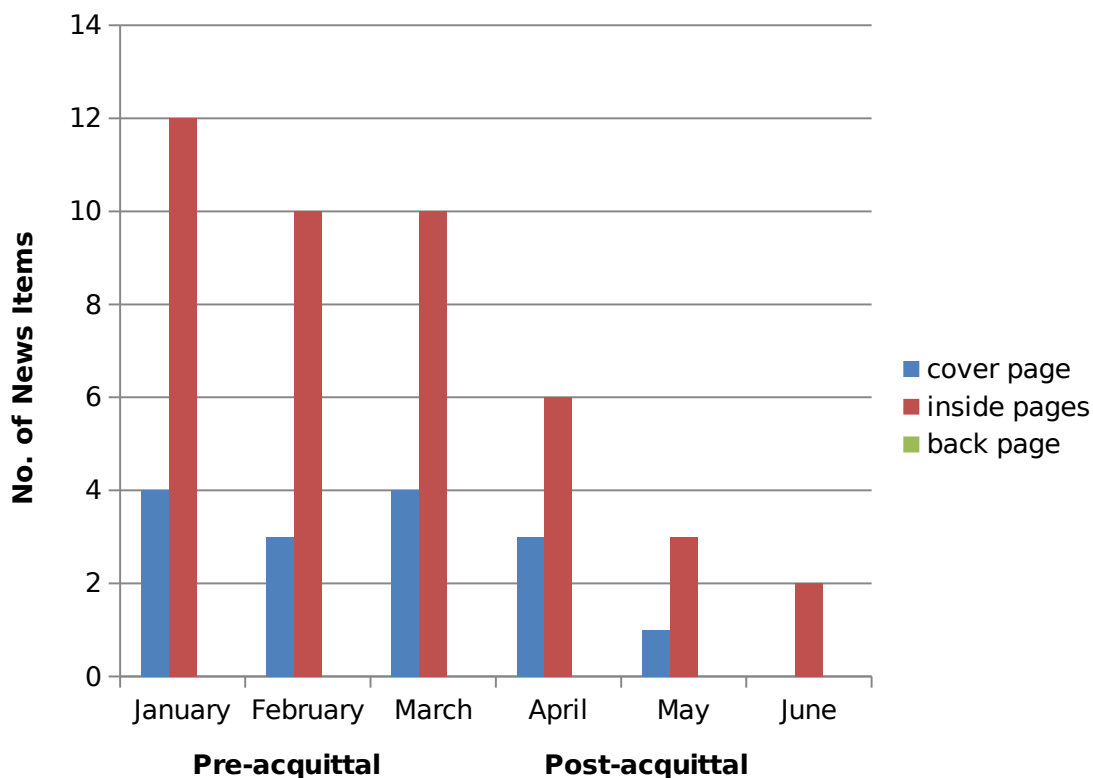


Figure 4.4: Total number of distribution of placement of the Ruto/Sang issues in the Sunday Standard Newspaper between 5/1/2016 – 5/6/2016

Figure 4.4 shows the findings with regard to the placement of items regarding the Ruto/Sang cases at the ICC. According to the data, in January, there were 4 items on the cover page while 12 items were in the inner pages; in February, 3 and 10; in March, 4 and 10; in April, 3 and 6; in May, 1 and 3; and in June 0 and 2. Figure 4.4 shows an almost equal distribution of the placement of articles covered on the Ruto and Sang cases in the headline news between January and April while no headlines were made in June. The

month of January had the highest number of articles in the inside pages but this seemed to decline continuously towards acquittal and even more after acquittals were made. Just as had been noticed in the placements in the Sunday nation, there were news reports and articles before acquittal than were after acquittal. Before acquittals, a cumulative total of 32 items were featured in the inner pages and 11 on the front pages compared to 11 and 4 respectively for the cover pages.

As a summary of the placement of articles on the leading newspapers, we find that the articles covered were only placed on the inside page and as short items only. This implies that there were few items placed as headlines and none on the back page. However, both the Sunday Nation and the Sunday Standard had more articles as short items on the inside page. There is an equal distribution of the placement of articles on the front pages on both newspapers with the Standard having slightly more headline stories on the ICC cases both before and after acquittals. Evidently, the number of items increased closer to the acquittal days and immediately after but they drastically reduced afterwards.

4.4. Thematic Analysis

Several interesting themes came through the content analysis of print media news and articles about priming of the ICC Kenya cases news before the acquittal and after the acquittals. In order to more fully understand the themes that this coding process uncovered and use these themes to come up with accurate conclusions and meaningful recommendations, the researcher first had to understand the context in which the articles were published – a context in which the ICC Kenya cases issues were enjoying increased momentum and prevalence on the public's consciousness. The study explored this

context by examining the frequency with which the ICC Kenya cases articles appeared, as well as understanding the events that happened during the time in which the articles were published. In this section, the study examines the articles published between 13th December 2014 and 14th May 2015 (regarding the Kenyatta case); and 5th January 2016 and 5th June 2016 (regarding the Ruto/Sang cases) in depth, through the lens of the themes that came through across all or most of the mentions.

Particularly important and interesting themes that came through include: that the articles tend to frame ICC Kenya cases news in international policy shift ways; that many complex characters and stakeholders are mentioned and portrayed throughout the articles; that when one victim is mentioned in an article, other victims tend to be lumped together and mentioned alongside them; that the ICC cases affected media freedom; that the cases had a bearing on the political landscape in Kenya; and that the solutions offered are again politically-framed, most often directed specifically towards Kenyan politicians and the elite. Using these themes, the study was able to come up with the conclusions and recommendations that conclude this project.

4.4.1 The priming of ICC Kenya cases news

Despite the fact that the events being considered in this analysis happened at different times throughout the review period, examining the number of articles published by month did not result in much notable differentiation.

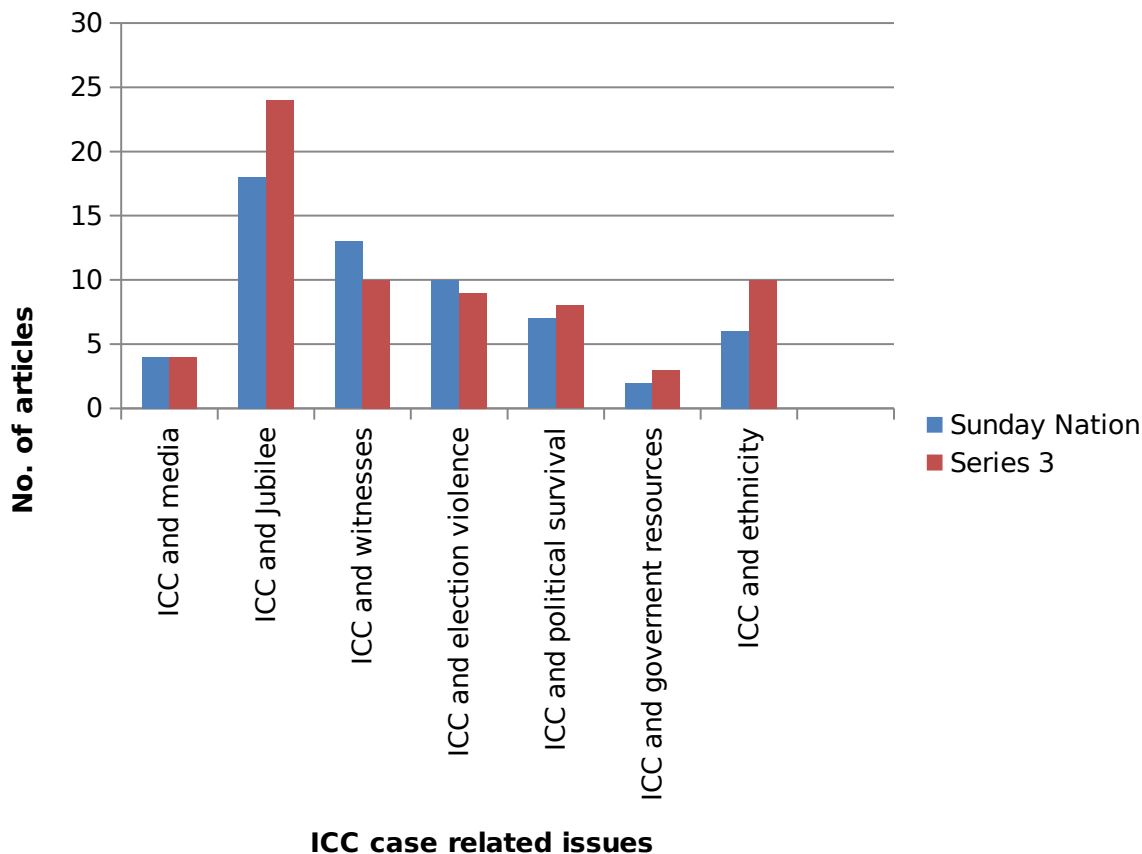


Figure 4.5: number of items on ICC case issues in the Sunday Nation and Sunday Standard between December 2014 and June 2016

As seen in Figure 4.5, news and articles relating the ICC cases to the political existence of the *Jubilee* coalition was predominant with reference to the study period. A total of 42 news items and articles were published in both papers. The relation of the cases with witnesses had 23 articles; election violence 19; ethnicity 16; political survival 15; media 8 and government resources 5. The amount of print media attention ICC Kenya cases news received was relatively similar throughout the review period. The largest spike in ICC Kenya cases related articles happened in December 2015 and in March 2016 when President Kenyatta and William Ruto were acquitted respectively. The turn of events following the acquittals had significant ramifications for the country especially the ruling

coalition which had had a difficult time dismissing rumors of imminent fallout due to delays in acquitting Ruto after Kenyatta acquittal. This assertion is proven by the large number of articles and news items relating to ICC and *Jubilee* party. Nation had 17 while the Standard had 24 items. This finding seems to capture what Brantner, Lobinger, & Wetzstein, (2011) refer to as setting the frame of reference for the recipients then use for interpreting and discussing topics. The newspapers seem to set focus on the political ramifications, real or imagined, of Kenyatta being acquitted before Ruto.

4.4.2. Theme One: Authorship and Article Characteristics

In terms of authorship, it is interesting to note that over 15% of the articles (19 out of the 128), to be exact – were co-authored by two or more people. Aside from the prevalence of co-authorship, however, the authorship of those articles followed few reliable patterns. Some authors were cited in the bylines of many articles, but for the most part, an author having written one ICC Kenya cases news related article did not seem to indicate that an author was necessarily going to be writing a lot of ICC Kenya cases news related articles in the future.

While not every person who published one article on ICC Kenya cases news was likely to publish another, a small cohort of journalists came up time and time again on the bylines of the articles. Macharia Gaitho of the Sunday Nation authored or co-authored the most of anyone in this sample set. His name can be found in the bylines of most of the articles. Also from the Sunday Nation, Macharia Munene or co-authored several articles, Makau Mutua authored sixteen articles, and Mwenda Wa Micheni, Waga Odongo, Lilian

Ochieng', Tomas Chamoro, and Benjamin Muindi, all of the *Sunday Nation*, authored or co-authored several articles apiece. From the *Standard*, the authors with the most ICC Kenya cases news related bylines were Peter Kimani, Kipkoech Tanui, Clay Muganda, Keith Kilonzo, Andrew Watila, Tobias Chanji, Kenan Miruka, and Kipkoech Tanui, all of whom authored or co-authored at least six ICC Kenya cases news related articles. With these notable exceptions, the majority of the articles were written by authors who only published one ICC Kenya cases news related article over the six-month study period.

Between December 2014 and June 2016, both the *Sunday Nation* and *The Standard* had fairly even numbers of people cited as writing more than one ICC Kenya cases news related articles. While it is noteworthy that certain authors come up again and again on the bylines of ICC Kenya cases news related news articles, there are several fold more authors whose names only appeared on one ICC Kenya cases related article. Thus, on the whole, article authorship varied greatly, with the few notable exceptions listed above. It is important to note, however, that while most articles that published the words - ICC Kenya cases news - were articles primarily about ICC Kenya cases news, the length, and therefore the depth of engagement, of the articles varied considerably. On average, each ICC Kenya cases news related article contained 983 words. The lowest number of words in an article was 194, while the largest number of words in an article came to 5,149. About one third (38 out of 128) of the articles included graphics of some sort, 22 of which included photographs specifically. Other types of common graphics included, (in order of popularity from most frequently used to least frequently used): drawings, graphs, and photographs.

4.4.3. Theme Two: Geographic focus of the articles

Geographically, the focus of the articles overwhelmingly tended to be national. My coding methods primarily involved noting in Excel spreadsheets the major ways in which the articles framed ICC Kenya cases news with regards to certain categories. For example, if an article talked about ICC Kenya cases news as an issue that a country (for example, Kenya or Rwanda) had to deal with on a national level, it got coded as – National- Kenya or -National – Rwanda. respectively. If an article framed ICC Kenya cases news as an issue that many countries (for example, Kenya and Sudan) had to deal with together, it got coded as - International.

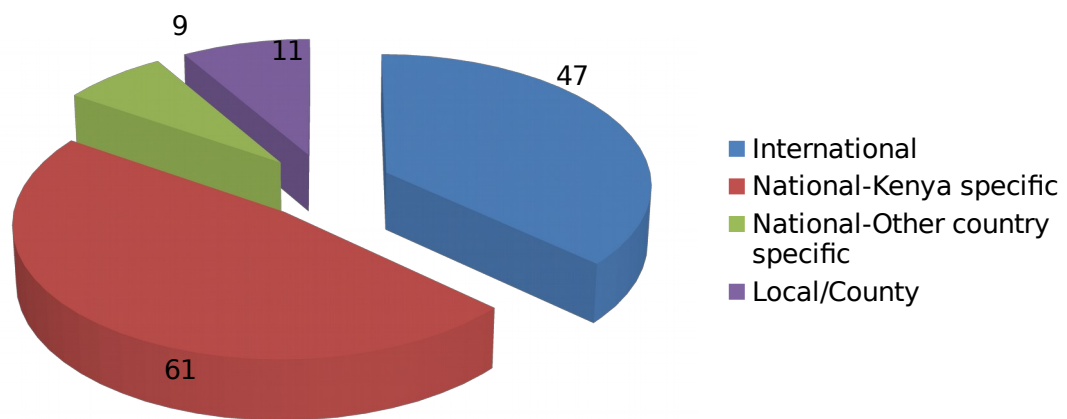


Figure 4.6: Geographic focus of article content

Geographically speaking, the majority of the articles framed ICC Kenya cases news related issues in a very Kenyan-centric way. Of the 128 articles that focused on ICC Kenya cases news related issues, 81 focused specifically on Kenya. 47 articles approached ICC Kenya cases news as an international issue that needed specifically international attention. While an international focus represents the second highest geographic focus, most internationally-focused articles pales in comparison to the total articles that focused on ICC Kenya case news as an issue that must be dealt with at the national level. A minority of articles (only 11) framed ICC Kenya case news as being an issue that particularly impacts counties or regions, though many more articles cited counties and/or regions as being the front-runners in ways of dealing with ICC related information to the citizens.

4.4.4. Theme Three: Placement of Articles

Examining where, in each publication, ICC Kenya cases news related articles tend to appear the most, frequently reveals a distinct pattern. The majority of the articles containing the words - ICC Kenya cases news- up to 53% appeared in the 'B' section of newspapers. Many of the 'C' section articles were commentaries 39, and 22 more ICC news items also appeared in the 'C' section of the papers. 18 of the 128 articles appeared in the 'A' section (cover page). In order to fully understand the implications of where all these articles appeared, it is important to understand which sections of newspapers are typically used for what purposes.

The front page, or 'A' section, in trendsetting newspapers like those used in this study is typically reserved for major national and international news (McDonogh, Gregg, & Wong, 2001). Along with major national and international news headlines, editorials are

usually included in this front page, or ‘A’ newspaper section. Sometimes editorials also appear in the ‘B’ section of newspapers. Editorials are articles by a publication’s editor, editorial board, or publisher that express the opinions of the editor, editorial board, or publisher as appropriate (Wikipedia, Editorial, 2008). An op-ed, called such because it is short for —opposite editorial, is printed across from editorials. Op-eds are similar in content and form to editorials, but they represent the opinion of an individual, who may or may not be affiliated with the newspaper itself (Wikipedia, Editorial, 2008). The remaining sections of newspapers – those that do not only publish articles about current events and political happenings – have been added to major newspapers over time as a way for them to compete with their other print media competition (McDonogh, Gregg, & Wong, 2001). These sections typically labeled with letters — ‘C’ and later, bearing names like —Lifestyle and Finance or Business, deliver features and articles focusing on topics of local concern as well as topics such as home improvement, sports, finance, and science (McDonogh, Gregg, & Wong, 2001). Given these conventions about where certain articles are placed in the newspaper, one can have a general idea of how articles are framed by looking simply at where in each newspaper an article is placed.

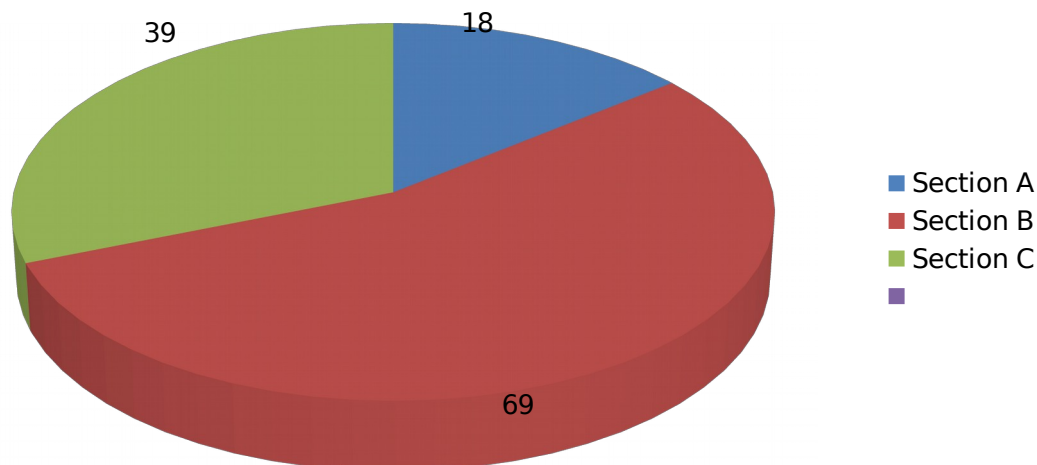


Figure 4.7: How many articles appeared in each section?

Figure 4.7 shows that the bulk of articles (69) appeared in section B. The fact that so many articles were published in the B section of the newspapers is evidence of the fact that the frames used in these articles were most often of national interest. The A and B sections of papers are typically the prime sections of the newspapers. Speaking further still to the fact that these articles frame ICC Kenya cases news specific ways, implies a deliberate effort to ensure better priming through coverage in A and B sections. The prevalence of editorials shows that ICC Kenya cases news is not only policy related, but also salient to the general public. The prevalence of articles in these sections speaks to the fact that ICC Kenya cases news is not seen as an issue that is isolatable – instead, it permeates through many layers of intersecting areas of everyone’s lives. The fact that 18 news items examined ICC Kenya cases news from specifically prime news (A-section) lens further illustrates how ICC Kenya cases news had become more of significant for many people as compared to political news which for instance constituted 98% of the A-section news during the entire 6-month review period.

4.4.5. Theme Four: Individuals Repeatedly Mentioned

The names of several individuals were mentioned repeatedly throughout the articles. When these names were cited it was to illustrate the individual in question both thinking that ICC Kenya cases related issues is a problem as well as actively helping to solve the ICC Kenya cases related issues. The findings are presented in figure 4.8.

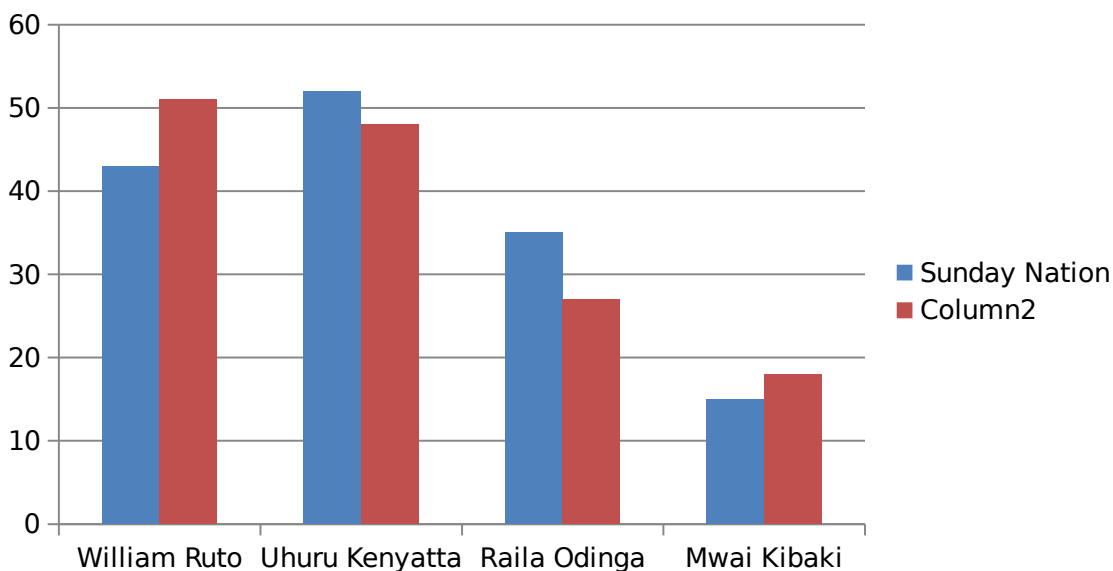


Figure 4.8: How many articles appeared in each section?

Most articles mentioned Willian Ruto and Uhuru Kenyatta as actors in one way or the others as relates to the mentioned ICC Kenya cases news. The two were mentioned as persons who think ICC Kenya cases news were important issues and also as people who are actively working to deal with the challenges (both personal and national) related to ICC Kenya cases. Hon. Kibaki, Hon. Raila are the other political leaders mentioned in most of the articles with each receiving at least 15 mentions. They were mentioned as people who were the genesis of the ICC cases since the two had formed a coalition government following the 2007/8 election violence.

Current and former politicians overwhelmingly dominate the media coverage of actors engaged in issues relating to ICC Kenya cases related news. Of the political actors mentioned, Kenyan leaders were most often cited as specifically trying to ‘fix’ the ICC Kenya cases’ challenges, although substantial number of the political class were also cited as impediments to resolution in the ICC Kenya cases. On the whole, the Sunday Standard was the publication most likely to publish articles that specifically mention the Kenyatta administration’s ICC Kenya cases sector related stances and policies in a negative light. Just as many of these articles mentioned individuals and groups actively helping to solve ICC Kenya cases related challenges, many articles mentioned the names of individuals and groups that are actively halting or slowing the process of solving ICC Kenya cases. The coverage of the latter groups and individuals was similarly politician-heavy.

4.5. Conclusion

The primary conclusions that can be drawn from coding and analyzing all the articles include: that ICC Kenya cases news coverage is increasing in prevalence as well as in complexity of the way it is covered, that much of the current ICC Kenya cases news coverage is very Kenyan-based and Kenyan-focused, that stakeholders are mentioned often and are generally not differentiated within their umbrella category, and that the same names of responsible parties (most often, politicians) are continually mentioned. Overall, the major frames in which ICC Kenya cases news tends to be covered are largely political.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This study set out to examine the ICC Kenya cases and how the news regarding these cases was primed in Kenya's two major newspapers: the nation and the standard. In this chapter a summary of the findings made in chapter four was done followed by conclusions and recommendations. The discussion of the findings is done following the research questions the study sought to answer.

5.2. Summary of Findings

This summary of findings briefly lays out the findings of the study and discusses the implication of these findings with regard to the study questions that the study sought to answer.

5.2.1 What information about the Kenya ICC cases was communicated to the public before and after the ICC acquittals?

With regard to information published in the newspapers, the study examined two time periods: pre-acquittal and post acquittal. The study found that in the pre-acquittal period, more news items and photos were published compared to articles. The Sunday Nation presented more feature while in the Standard had more news items featured during the pre-acquittal period. The news items were detailed as they captured the events at the court and the arguments presented by the prosecution and the defense. The prospect of an acquittal, especially for Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto, seemed to heighten the

interest in the gongs-on at the court. These were presented as news items. The articles during this period also seemed to capture the heightened anticipation of an acquittal. This was found to occur more with regard to William Ruto since his acquittal came after Kenyatta's. This framing of the news items and the editorials and articles captures what Mazzarella & Pecora, (2007) express about journalists do not necessarily frame material in such a way as to deceive their audiences, but rather it "is a necessary tool to reduce the complexity of an issue, given the constraints of their respective media related to news holes and airtime. Hence, the reduction in news items towards the acquittals may have been deliberate with regard to time and space constraints and also the waning interest in the cases. In total, the Sunday Standard published more news items on the ICC case as compared to the Sunday Nation newspaper. However, the Sunday Nation had more articles analyzing the events in The Hague than did the Sunday Standard.

The presentation of news items in the Ruto /Sang cases dominated the items in the post acquittal period with the Sunday Standard having more cover page news than the Sunday Standard. Conversely, the Sunday nation had more inner page articles and commentaries on the Ruto sang case. In both papers, there was an almost euphoric reaction to the acquittals and news items and analytical articles filled the papers especially in the three weeks following the acquittals. Both the Sunday Nation and Sunday Standard seemed to use this placement of news to not only appeal to its target audiences, but also play its role in setting the tone for political discourses in the country (Page, 1996).

5.2.2 What key themes, placement, trends and type of content emerged prior to and after the acquittals from ICC?

The thematic analysis of the content in the two newspapers constituted the second objective of this study. With regard to theme of authorship and article characteristics the study found that most articles were authored by individuals (75%) and only 15% of the articles (19 out of the 128), were co-authored by two or more people. The Sunday nation had the most co-authored articles with Macharia Gaiho emerging as the author who wrote most articles (either alone or with others). The Sunday Standard, on the other hand, had most of its articles written by individuals and did not have co-authored articles. This perhaps signals the editorial policy adopted by the respective newspapers at that time. It is notable that the government had placed strict accountability rules regarding reportage. Hence, the editors may have desired, especially in the case of the Standard, to have individual authored articles. Some authors were cited in the bylines of many articles, but for the most part, an author having written one ICC Kenya cases news related article did not seem to indicate that an author was necessarily going to be writing a lot of ICC Kenya cases news related articles in the future.

Between December 2014 and June 2016, both the *Sunday Nation* and *The Standard* had fairly even numbers of people cited as writing more than one ICC Kenya cases news related articles. While it is noteworthy that certain authors come up again and again on the bylines of ICC Kenya cases news related news articles, there are several fold more authors whose names only appeared on one ICC Kenya cases related article. Thus, on the whole, article authorship varied greatly, with the few notable exceptions listed above.

The second theme was the Geographic focus of the articles in the two newspapers. The focus of the articles overwhelmingly tended to be national. The majority of the articles framed ICC Kenya case news in a very Kenyan-centric way. The editors seemed to concentrate on the impact the cases were having locally. Two reasons may have caused this: the political implications of having a sitting president and his deputy being indicted; and the pertinent rift the cases had brought especially between the ruling Jubilee coalition and the opposition. In this regard, the underlying issues were local and they were very significant to the political future of the country. It may be conjectured that the two newspapers sought to stamp their position as agenda setters with regard to the local political discourse. Of the 128 articles that focused on ICC Kenya cases news related issues through the lens focused specifically on Kenya. 47 articles approached ICC Kenya cases news as an international issue that needed specifically international attention. While an international focus represents the second highest geographic focus, most internationally-focused articles pales in comparison to the total articles that focused on ICC Kenya cases news as an issue that must be dealt with at the national level.

The third theme related to the Placement of Articles in the Sunday Nation and Sunday Standard. The study found that the majority of the articles containing the words - ICC Kenya cases news- up to 53% appeared in the B section of newspapers. Many of the C section articles were commentaries 39, and 22 more ICC news items also appeared in the C section of the papers. 18 of the 128 articles appeared in the A section (cover page). In order to fully understand the implications of where all these articles appeared, it is important to understand which sections of newspapers are typically used for what purposes. The fact that so many articles were published in the B section of the

newspapers is evidence of the fact that the frames used in these articles were most often of national interest. The A and B sections of papers are typically the prime sections of the newspapers. Speaking further still to the fact that these articles frame ICC Kenya cases news specific ways, implies a deliberate effort to ensure better priming through coverage in A and B sections. The prevalence of editorials shows that ICC Kenya cases news is not only policy related, but also salient to the general public. The prevalence of articles in these sections speaks to the fact that ICC Kenya cases news is not seen as an issue that is isolatable – instead, it permeates through many layers of intersecting areas of everyone’s lives. The fact that 18 news items examined ICC Kenya cases news from specifically prime news (A-section) lens further illustrates how ICC Kenya cases news had become more of significant for many people as compared to political news which for instance constituted 98% of the A-section news during the entire 6-month review period. This finding clearly indicated that the newspapers sought individual and expert opinions with regard to the cases at ICC. This provided the variety of subjective opinion which helped shape the loci upon which the papers set the agenda for their respective audiences. This view is shared by Brantner, Lobinger, & Wetzstein (2011) who see media priming as influencing schemata or preexisting meaning structures of the recipients’ information processing and interpretation. When this happens, a frame set by the media can affect the interpretation of the topic by the recipient. Indeed, ICC Kenya cases news was framed by the newspapers to elicit a predetermined response by the editors. The editors seem to have worked around the political atmosphere existing at that time to influence the framing and priming of the news items.

The fourth theme regarded individuals repeatedly mentioned in each of the newspapers. Most articles mentioned Willian Ruto and Uhuru Kenyatta as actors in one way or the others as relates to the mentioned ICC Kenya cases news. These two were president and deputy president and, as such, commanded a near fanatical following from the constituencies they commanded. In order for the paper to sell, it was only obvious that the news regarding the cases affecting these two would gain prominence. Moreover, the two were mentioned as persons who think ICC Kenya cases news were important issues and also as people who are actively working to deal with the challenges (both personal and national) related to ICC Kenya cases. Current and former politicians overwhelmingly dominated the media coverage of actors engaged in issues relating to ICC Kenya cases related news. Significantly, Raila Odinga and Mwai Kibaki were most often cited as specifically trying to ‘fix’ the ICC Kenya cases’ challenges, although substantial number of the political class were also cited as impediments to resolution in the ICC Kenya cases. On the whole, the Sunday Standard was the publication most likely to publish articles that specifically mention the Kenyatta administration’s ICC Kenya cases sector related stances and policies in a negative light. Just as many of these articles mentioned individuals and groups actively helping to solve ICC Kenya cases related challenges, many articles mentioned the names of individuals and groups that are actively halting or slowing the process of solving ICC Kenya cases. The coverage of the latter groups and individuals was similarly politician-heavy. This finding affirms the assertion made by Brosius, (2003) that journalists use these exemplars, or personal descriptions by people who are concerned or interested in an issue, as devices to illustrate particular assertions about the state or urgency of particular social problems. The social role

performed by Kenyatta (President) and William Ruto attracted more importance than did issues relating to the other indicted Kenyans. Both the Nation and the Standard covered these two personalities in equal measure. This finding confirms the assertion made by Heiber (2001) that mass media effects to the audience depend on various factors such as social class, ethnicity, social context, age, sex, personality, marital status, nationality, political party affiliation among others. It is in this regard that Ruto and Kenyatta command the attention they receive due to their political affiliation.

5.2.3 Who are the key voices and agenda represented in the media coverage of the ICC cases and how were they primed before and after the acquittals from the ICC?

The issue of key voices and agenda represented in the media coverage of the ICC Kenya cases constituted the third objective of the study. Despite the fact that the events being considered in this analysis happened at different times throughout the review period, examining the number of articles published by month did not result in much notable differentiation.

The key agenda in the newspaper articles was the political existence of the *Jubilee* coalition. A total of 42 news items and articles were published in both papers regarding *Jubilee* party. Issues revolved predominantly around rumours of imminent fallout especially after Kenyatta was acquitted and Ruto was left at the ICC. This, perhaps, accounts for the large number of news items and commentaries that are witnessed in December and January which was the period just after Kenyatta's acquittal. The other issues that hit the agenda were the ICC witnesses which had 23 articles; election violence

19; ethnicity 16; political survival 15; media 8 and government resources 5. The amount of print media attention ICC Kenya cases news received was relatively similar throughout the review period. The turn of events following the acquittals had significant ramifications for the country especially the ruling coalition which had had a difficult time dismissing rumors of imminent fallout due to delays in acquitting Ruto after Kenyatta acquittal.

5.3 Conclusions

Having engaged in the discussion of findings, the study can make the following conclusions:-

With regard to the presentation of news and articles regarding the ICC Kenya cases, the news coverage increased in prevalence as well as in complexity especially as the cases reached close to acquittal. The study concludes that after Kenyatta's acquittal, there was anxiety as to whether or not the deputy president would also be acquitted. In both the Nation and the Standard, carried more articles than news items. It may be concluded that the editors of the two newspapers sought to set the agenda towards a conversation on the collapse of the cases and to gather public opinion regarding the implications of the collapse of the cases on the Kenyan political landscape.

Regarding the priming of ICC Kenya case news, the study concluded that priming was done on news and articles that touched on issues that were typically Kenyan or affected Kenyans. Most of the news coverage was very Kenyan-based and Kenyan-focused, that stakeholders are mentioned often and are generally not differentiated within their umbrella category, and that the same names of responsible parties (most often,

politicians) are continually mentioned. Overall, the major frames in which ICC Kenya cases news tends to be covered were largely political.

News priming is the most pressing – as well as the most salient – media issue of the present time. In many ways, priming of ICC Kenya cases news has been the trending issue in the mass media sector. ICC Kenya cases and the acquittal from The Hague issues are often understood to be the representative perspective of the entire ICC Kenya cases. We may conclude that the priming of the ICC related news was primed in order to gain support for issues and further social movements especially within the political realm. In many ways, the media seemed to further social and political discourse by acting as an educational tool, communicating the facts about the relevant issues and illustrating why those issues are important to a broader audience.

The study also concludes that the predominant placement of news articles and commentaries in section ‘B’ of both the Nation and the Standard represented a symbiotic and reflective of the dominant discourse of government, business and political elites because as Van Dijk (1996) argues, news media generally do not act as major opponents of political or corporate policies and interests not because of their powerlessness, - but because of the fundamental similarities of their ideological positions. In general this research suggests that the print media priming of the Sunday Nation is reflective of the editorial ethos at the Nation Media Group which is aimed at system maintaining rather than system challenging. The research findings raise issues as to how the media, in general, report and analyze the ICC Kenya cases news. The evidence suggests the media were more amicable to the vested interests of the political class.

With regard to thematic concerns, the study concludes that the themes generally revolved around the ramifications of the ICC cases with regard to the media freedom, political existence of the Jubilee coalition, witness protection, election violence, political survival of leaders aligned to Uhuru and Ruto, use of government resources and the issues of ethnicity. By pitching their results in ways that fit into the frames, mass print media houses affected greater opinion of their target audience. The Sunday Standard has specifically shown this through its overwhelming dependence of individually authored commentaries and articles which, for all purposes, are usually subjective and biased towards one political side.

While conducting this study of the current priming of ICC Kenya cases news in the mainstream print media (Sunday Nation and the Standard), one theme that emerged was that few articles published currently include anything that explains or complicates the basic knowledge behind the cases. Rather, the media's current priming of ICC Kenya cases issues was heavy on policy and implication. Most aspects of the primed ICC Kenya cases news tend to be written about from a policy-based frame. While most of the news covered and or primed were issue-related, the priming of these news was fairly superficial. Few articles went into depth about what the socioeconomic and political related news they are advocating for really looked like; or what would really need to be done in order to make these potential news actual, successful realities.

5.4 Recommendations

Based on the discussion of findings and conclusions made above, the following recommendations can be made:

1. Having read all the articles about ICC Kenya cases news printed over the course of the study period, carefully coding the content of each article, ultimately revealing the themes that came across throughout all the articles. In doing so, I came to understand how the mass print media is used to covering banking news. By pitching their results in ways that fit into the frames that the mass print media is already used to using, the ways that the mass media find easiest to write in, media houses can affect greater print media coverage of important issues affecting the lives of citizens.
2. There is need to enhance the levels of framing sensitive news in ways that the media already finds to be compelling.
3. Media houses can increase the number of articles written and published on such issues in the media.
4. Further research: Lessons by the electronic media reporting from the ICC for similar presidential petitions like in 2013 and 2017

5.4 Suggestions for future research

The researcher suggests future research on the priming of ICC Kenya cases in the

electronic media.

Another interesting spin-off study would be to duplicate the exact methods adopted for the present study, but with different publications – for example, focusing on *The People Daily* and *Business Daily* instead of the *Sunday Nation* and *The Standard*. In a similar vein, it would be interesting to see how print media outlets cover ICC Kenya cases issues using more casual wording than the -ICC Kenya cases news priming that this study chose to use.

I also think it would be particularly interesting, given the current, rapidly-growing internet culture, to do a study similar to this one that focuses entirely on new media outlets, like blogs and other online mediums. New media and digital media are particularly interesting topics for several reasons. For one, they are relatively new mediums, and thus have not been researched as extensively as print media outlets and other more established mediums. Thus, there are ample opportunities for new research focusing on priming of ICC Kenya cases news on digital and new media outlets to be conducted and published. Also, unlike print media and other more conventional mass mediums, there are no intermediaries with digital media. With digital mediums, there are no editors deciding what gets published and what does not. Through digital and online mediums, any individual has direct access to the masses. While this fact makes digital mediums more difficult to fact check and reference in an academic setting, it also makes them much more accessible and arguably therefore gives them a different kind of power over the masses.

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APPENDIX I

CONTENT ANALYSIS OF MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE CODE SHEET

(INSTRUMENT OF ANALYSIS)

This instrument of analysis will assess coverage of the Kenya ICC cases between December 13, 2014 and June 5, 2016. All the applications are Sunday newspaper.

SECTION A: General information about the article (Tick/Fill where appropriate)

- 1) Name of Publication.....
- 2) Date of publication.....
- 3) Month of publication.....
- 4) Week.....
- 5) Type of article (Tick)
 - a) News.....
 - b) Opinion/Commentary/Feature.....
 - c) Editorial.....
- 6) Placement of article (Tick)
 - a) Headline.....
 - b) Front page.....
 - c) Back page.....
 - d) Inside pages.....
- 7) Size of article (Cm²).....Cm²(Fill)

SECTION B:

1. Who is the main actor in the article? (Tick where appropriate)
 - a) William Samoei Ruto.....
 - b) Uhuru Muigai Kenyatta.....

- c) Joshua Arap Sang.....
- d) ICC.....
- e) PEV victims.....
- f) Politicians.....
- g) Civil society groups.....
- h) Religious organizations.....
- i) International community.....
- j) Others (specify).....

SECTION C:

What is the main theme of the article in relation to the ICC confirmation matter?

- a) Perceived innocence of the suspects
- b) National healing and reconciliation.....
- c) Justice for IDP's/PEV victims i.e compensation and resettlement.....
.....
- d) The 2013 presidential race/General elections.....
- e) Withdrawal of the ICC case and transfer to the EAC Court of justice.....
.....
- f) others(Specify)

What is the attitude of the article to the ICC confirmation hearing?

- a) Supportive
- b) Not supportive /Critical.....
- c) Non committal/ Neutral.....

APPENDIX II

Guidelines coding content analysis and instructions on how to fill the instrument

Note: Each article will be assessed individually and so each will use a copy of the instrument

Headline/front page placement-means the publication considers the issue important enough to get audience attention.

Editorial page-editorial serves as the voice of the publication, so publication in this page is considered positive for the issue being discussed.

Back page- The publication considers the issue very important, but not as important as the headline, front page or the editorial.

Inside pages-The publication considers the issue important enough to publish it, but not very important as to warrant headline news or editorial.

Size of article-The bigger the space allocated to the article the more important the publication considers it.

Sources-Diversity of sources for a story is considered an important measure of journalistic impartiality because this achieves balance by incorporating all sides of the issue, particularly important for conflict stories such as the ICC matter

Separation of fact from opinion for impartiality to be achieved in news coverage, the journalist must clearly state whether the article is his or her personal opinion or facts as presented.

Choice of articles to publish-The attitude of the publication towards an issue can also be discerned from what articles get space on a particular day, its placement and size in the publication.

The number of articles from each category will be tabulated and presented in graphs and charts.