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M.A IN COMMUNICATION STUDIES

PRINT MEDIA PRIMING OF TERRORISM ISSUES IN KENYA

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**A research project submitted to the University of Nairobi in partial fulfillment of
requirement for the award of MA Communication Studies.**

2017

DECLARATION

I declare that this research project is my original work which has never been submitted either wholly or in part to any other institution for the award of a degree or diploma.

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This research project has been submitted to the University of Nairobi, School of Journalism and Mass Communication with approval of the university supervisor.

Signed:.....

Date:.....

Dr. Hezron Mogambi

DEDICATION

To my father whose love, guidance and support set the bar high for me to be the best version of myself. To my mother who taught me to always work hard and my siblings who have supported me in my studies.

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I sincerely thank God for guiding, strengthening and bestowing me with the intellectual capacity to draft this thesis. This project would not have been complete without the guidance and love from my mother Cecilia Wanjiku and father James Kiarie. I would also like to thank my siblings, Naomi Waruguru, Catherine Njeri and Sarah Mwhaki who consistently reached out to me to ensure I was not hungry and grumpy as I carried out research.

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ABSTRACT

This study set out to examine how the print media in Kenya primes terrorism issues. The population of this study comprised of 1,142 newspaper articles on terrorism-related stories published in *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard newspaper* from January to June 2015. The research is guided by the priming theory and the agenda setting theory. Using the priming theory, the study sought to identify the patterns of reporting terrorism issues in the print media in Kenya while the agenda setting theory explained how the media sets the agenda by placing emphasis on terrorism issues thus making the public view these issues as important. The research applied retrospective study design to establish the print media coverage on terrorism issues in Kenya. The study used purposive sampling to select articles and data were collected using a content analysis of the stories contained in the leading newspapers that related to terrorism issues. It was then presented using a tabular comparison of graphs, charts and text. Findings of this research indicate that the print media in Kenya lacks consistency in the coverage of terrorism issues. The study found that terrorism issues were allocated more space and published on the prime pages of the newspaper particularly when covering a terror attack, particularly of a large magnitude while smaller stories on terrorism were confined in the inside pages of the newspapers. Media did not put much effort into analyzing and doing in-depth analysis on the issues of terrorism as they used news stories which were reports from reporters in the field and briefs to report on terrorism issues. The study concluded that media priming of terrorism issues in Kenya is inadequate. The print media in Kenya was found to be lacking in consistency in reporting terrorism issues. Media primes terrorism issues particularly when a terror attack resulting to the death of many occurs and does not follow up on coverage. The study recommends that the media becomes proactive in promoting stories that educate and inform the public more on terrorism.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CNN	:	Cable News Network
GTD	:	Global Terrorism Database
GTI	:	Global Terrorism Index
GOK	:	Government of Kenya
IEP	:	Institute for Economics and Peace
ISIL	:	Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant -
KDF	:	Kenya Defence Forces
MCK	:	Media Council of Kenya
NCTC	:	National Counter Terrorism Centre
NTV	:	Nation Television
SLAA	:	Security Laws Amendment Act
UNDP	:	United Nations Development Programme

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Overview

This presents the conceptual and contextual arguments to the subject of this study. It specifically presents the conceptual background where key information about key concepts of the study is discussed. It also presents a contextual argument where reasons for undertaking the study on terrorism in Kenya explained. The chapter then proceeds to outline the statement of the problem by exposing the gaps present in research and study context. It outlines the purpose of the study, objectives, questions, study rationale and significance. The chapter further specifies the scope in terms of time and objectives. It proceeds to provide operational definition of key words used in the study.

1.2 Background of the Study

Terrorism is one of the key challenges facing Kenya and the world at large, denting the economy and threatening security. Terrorism has cost Kenya, with over 900 people killed and over 6,200 people sustaining injuries since year 2000 (Kenya National Counter Terrorism Centre, 2015). Kinyanjui (2014) points out that investor confidence has plunged as a result of the heightened climate of fear and insecurity. Keitany (2012) also asserts that acts of terrorism negatively affect the economic growth of the Kenyan economy as a whole because of its spiral effects on foreign direct investment which assumes a downward trend as terrorism activities intensify.

Terrorism is not a new phenomenon and has been long recognized as a serious foreign and domestic security threat of concern to the international community since November 1937 when the Convention for the Prevention and Punishment of Terrorism was adopted by 24 member states of the League of Nations.

This is largely because of its negative effects to economic development of concerned countries. Terrorism activities majorly revolve around creating fear which is not good for economic development. Not only is terrorism rife in Kenya, it has also rocked the world, causing losses of huge magnitudes and attracting wide media coverage. Globally, various nations have been victims of prominent terror attacks. For instance, in September 11,2001, Al Qaeda ,a militant Sunni Islamist organization, attacked the United States of America (USA) and killed approximately 2,996 people, while injuring many who live with the scars of the incident ever since. In addition, the action destroyed property and key infrastructure necessary for economic development. Cases of terrorism destroy the economic projections of economies making it difficult to achieve set targets as expounded by the Institute of Economics and Peace (IEP).

Hoffman (2016) asserts that this terror attack popularly dubbed 9/11 introduced a new routine to journalist's coverage of national security. He notes that it also introduced the "war on terror" banner, rhetorically-similar to the phrases applied in other policy programs like "war on drugs" or the "war on poverty." This is mainly meant to increase the emphasis on the attention given to the phenomenon. This ensures that the actions are given national and international attention because of their negative effects and potential to hurt economic development.

In another incident during the year 2007, four organized suicide bombs attacks in Yazidi, Iraq, claimed the life of about 500 people while destroying property worth millions of dollars. Additionally, in the year 2013, the occurrence of mass shooting and bombings in Iraq's Central and Northern regions caused more than five hundred deaths and destroyed property on undisclosed magnitude. In the year 1985, an Indian aircraft was bombed mid air by a terrorist group killing 329 passengers. In addition, close home in Africa, the two Nigerian towns (Gamboru and Ngala in the Borno state)

experienced a terror act which led to deaths of more than 336 people following acts of the Boko Haram militia. The militia also abducted innocent citizens in the North Eastern causing them harm. This incidence was widely covered in the media, priming the issue of terrorism.

Kenya has witnessed an increase in incidents of terror attacks which have led to many deaths and destruction of property worth millions of dollars. These terrorist attacks in Kenya have been attributed to the Al Shabaab which is a militant Islamist group based in Somalia.. Incidences of terror attacks have increased in Kenya from the time the country decided to deploy its military to Somalia as part of the African Union peace keeping mission back in the year 2015. In 2015, an analysis in *The Daily Nation* exposed the sudden steady increase in terrorist attacks in Kenya for a period of five years since the year 2011. From the analysis, over a period of forty five months since the Kenyan Defence forces joined their African Peace Missions in Somalia incidences of terrorism attacks had increased nine times to the period preceding the sending of the peace keeping troops. Statistics indicate that the country experienced more than three hundred and forty terrorist attacks since the year 2008 to the years 2015. These attacks were either caused by local or international perpetrators which led to more than nine hundred and eighty six deaths with more than one thousand five hundred injuries since the war broke up in Somalia.

In the year 2016, Kenya was ranked at position nineteen of the nations in the world experiencing the most terrorist activity (Global Terrorism Index, 2017). This is further affirmed by the Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP) which notes that incidences of terrorism have been on the Increase in African Countries especially those facing civil unrest. The report avails detailed information on the trends of terrorism activities across the world since the year 2000.

The report also avails a composite score used for ranking countries in terms of their proneness to terrorism. Among the top countries in the world are Iraq, Afghanistan and Nigeria as at the year 2016. In 2016 alone, Kenya experienced 65 terrorist incidents, 72 deaths and 69 injuries. According to joint report by the Government of Kenya (GOK) and United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), all terrorism acts and incidences occurring in Kenya are acts of Somalia based Al-Shabaab and Al-Qaeda. These are mainly aimed at forcing the withdrawal of Kenyan Defence forces from the war ton Somalia.

Laqueur (1987) states that, terrorism focuses on creating fear in people following its ruthless approaches that contravenes humanitarian provisions. They always thrive on publicity of their harmful acts which lead to massive deaths and destruction of property. According to Shinn (2003), there exists three types of terrorism in the wider Eastern Africa which include; activities perpetrated external organizations in the region, those perpetrated by organizations within the region but aimed at an adjacent country, and those instigated by organizations within a nation against authority. All these have devastating effects on the economy as they cause destruction of life and property. This study analysed how the print media, specifically the two national daily newspapers in Kenya; *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard*, covered terrorism issues by delving into the concept of media priming.

1.3 Terror attacks in Kenya

Kenya has experienced attacks since about the year 1975 but terror attacks became more rampant after Kenya's Defence Forces (KDF) intervention in Somalia. Statistics indicate that the first terrorist attacks in Kenya occurred in the first and second quarter of the year 1975. This was the period that the assailants from Maskini Liberation Front bombed the Starlight Nightclub in Nairobi. In 1980, a bomb attack at the

Norfolk Hotel led to the death of 20 people while 80 suffered injuries. In August 7, 1998, the USA embassy attack in Nairobi by Al Qaeda killed about 213 people. In 2002, bombing of the Paradise hotel, Kikambala, Mombasa led to the death of 13 tourists whilst scores sustained injuries.

Other instances of terrorism attacks in Kenya since September, 2013 include; attack on restaurants and cottages in Mpeketoni on 14th June 2014. In this Mpeketoni attack, a local police Station was also raided. Other attacks have also been continuously reported along the East coast of Kenya. The 2014 Mpeketoni attack caused sixty five deaths and destruction to property ranging from vehicles to buildings. Almost the same date, another attack was orchestrated on Porokomo village along the same East coast of Kenya causing loss of life and property; Since then, there have been numerous Al Shabaab attacks along the Northern Kenya which have caused numerous loss of life and property.

In November 2015, there occurred an attack on a bus travelling to Nairobi from Mandera where majority of its occupants professing Christian faith were killed. In addition, Al Shabaab raided a quarry at Kormey, North-Eastern Kenya and killed many workers who were doing mining.

On the dawn of April 2, 2015, unknown number of masked gunmen from Al Shabaab entered Garissa University College and opened fire to innocent Kenyans killing 147 students. The Al Shabaab gained entry into the learning institution after killing guards at the entrance gate. Reports by the Government of Kenya indicate that one suspect was arrested while leaving the college. The attack caused a lot of fear among the residents and non locals who vowed never to work in such areas again as they relocated to their areas of origin (Mutambo, 2015).

The man behind the Garissa University College attack is believed to be the British born Samantha Lewthwaite. The lady is believed to have planned and executed the attack and other suicide attacks and car bombings in Somalia and Kenya (Whittingham, 2015).

1.4 Statement of the Problem

Kenya continues to be prone to terror attacks primarily targeting civilians with new cases cropping up every now and then. In 2016, the National Counter Terrorism Centre in Kenya released a report stating that since 2000, over 120 terrorist attacks have occurred resulting to the death of over 900 people and injuring over 6,200.

According to a policy brief by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in October 2017, terrorism and violent extremism have caused huge loss to economic development of the Country by destroying the requisite infrastructure needed to spur economic growth. In addition, the activities have led to reduced foreign direct investment as foreign investors prefer other destinations as compared to Kenya.

The report cites an empirical study by Kinyanjui (2014) which found that the occurrence of terrorist activities introduced elements of risk in Kenya which resulted into a decline in the net FDI of 14% of GDP. In another study, Buigut and Amendah (2015), show the extent to which terrorism has affected tourist numbers and arrivals which in turn reduced the ability of the country to earn foreign exchange. From the findings, it is established that a 1 percent increase in deaths caused by terrorism activities led to a decreases in the arrivals of tourists by about 0.132%. This if calculated in monetary terms comes to about an annual loss of Ksh157.1 million revenue from tourism activities for the Country, Kenya.

As Kenya continues to grapple with the high rate of terrorism that threatens economic growth, focus should be on the way the media has relayed, primed and set the agenda on terrorism issues to the masses. This study set out to establish how the two national newspapers *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* primed terrorism issues by focusing on the period of January to June 2015. The study sought to find out the frequency of articles on terrorism issues published by the print media in Kenya. It sought to establish the placement and prominence given to stories on terrorism issues in the Kenyan print media. It also seeks to examine the type and size of articles that the Kenyan print media published on terrorism.

1.5 Objectives of the Study

The research was built on the following main and specific objectives.

1.5.1 Main Research Objective

The main research objective of this study was to find out how the print media in Kenya primes terrorism issues.

1.5.2 Specific Research Objectives

The specific objectives of the study are:

- i. To analyze the frequency of articles on terrorism issues published by the print media in Kenya.
- ii. To investigate the placement and prominence given to stories on terrorism issues in the Kenyan print media.
- iii. To find out the type and size of articles that the Kenyan print media published on terrorism.

1.5.3 Research Questions

- i. What was the frequency of articles on terrorism issues published by the print media in Kenya?
- ii. What was the placement and prominence given to stories on terrorism issues in the Kenyan print media?
- iii. What were the types and size of articles that the Kenyan print media published on terrorism?

1.6 Rationale and justification of the study

Media priming of terrorism issues in the country is a timely and relevant subject as Kenyans continue to grapple with the threat of terrorism with cases of terror attacks being as recent as in the month of August 2017. Terrorism is a phenomenon that has caused death, injuries, loss of property and engraved bitter marks and wounds in the life of millions of Kenyans.

The way the media in Kenya reports and informs the public on terrorism is important as it can provide information to Kenyans which, in turn, may lead to better means of combating terrorism. This research is very relevant because it investigates how media primes terrorism issues from concept and points out the patterns of coverage of terrorism in Kenya. This study aims at contributing to scholarly literature on media priming of terrorism in Kenya, which will enable a better understanding of how media relays information on terrorism. It will also assist in policy formation on media coverage of terrorism issues. The findings of the study are therefore important to improve professionalism in the coverage of terrorism issues and assist in combating terrorism in Kenya. The study also provides future researchers with information on the priming of terrorism issues in the Kenyan media.

1.7 Significance of the study

Since 2011, Kenya has witnessed a surge in terrorist attacks which have not only led to destruction of key foundation of economic development but consequently affected productivity and economic growth.

Terrorism's upsurge has forced the Kenyan Government to reallocate resources from development investment to national security projects with the security sector's spending increasing to above one point three billion United States dollars every year as compared to zero point six billion united States dollars in the health sector (Republic of Kenya, 2017).

Terrorism's impact in the country has been so huge that it has been felt even at the county levels. A study by Onyango (2017) established that terrorism impacted the economic growth of countries where the incidences occurred. This was more identified in the coast and north eastern regions where the incidences of terrorism were rampant. The effects were mainly manifested in decreased tourist numbers and arrivals following continuous travel advisories and bans issued by foreign countries especially the United Kingdom and the United States.

The media is the primary vehicle of disseminating information on terrorism to the public and thus how it primes this information cannot be downplayed. An analysis of how media primes terrorism issues is lacking in literature. Some of the terrorism related studies in Kenya have focused on the effect of terrorism in Kenya on the tourism sector (Buigut and Amendah, 2015), on the trading in stocks and other investments at the licensed stock markets (Wesley and Lumumba, 2013), the manner in which terrorism affected the flow of external investment into the country (Kinyanjui, 2014) and how Kenya's print media had reported what was seen as

religious community differences in the incidences of terrorism that occurred within Mandera and Garissa (Jamal, 2015).

The findings of the study are therefore important to improve how media primes and covers the issue of terrorism in Kenya in aim of not only understanding the terrorism menace but also improving how the media covers it.

1.8 The scope and limitation of the study

This study chose to focus on print media, narrowing down on two national newspapers; *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard*. These two dailies, were selected as they have the highest number of readership and circulation in Kenya; according to a 2015 survey by Geopoll, an acclaimed mobile survey platform in the world, which reported *The Daily Nation* had an average readership of approximately 4,379,400 per day(40%) while *The Standard* had an average of 2,223,500 per day(20%).

The two newspapers continually set the agenda on the national issues of the day, influencing the public directly by shaping their opinions in various issues including terrorism. They also have considerable impact on policy makers who consume their content.

Publications are noted to influence how other media platforms relay information. Dimitrova & Stromback (2008) point out that elite newspaper have been found to influence other "lower cadre" news organizations as well as the policy makers in each country by inspiring copycat coverage.

1.9 Operational terms

Al Shabaab: A militant Islamic group that has its origin in Somalia

Boko Haram: A terrorist group of Islamic extremist found in North-Eastern Nigeria.

Its activities are mainly focused on Chad, Cameroon and Chad.

Circulation: Number of issues of a newspaper that goes up for sale after publication.

Media priming: the selectiveness of the media in paying attention to some happenings and not others by playing with *The Standards* as evaluated by the audience.

Policy: A direction of set of rules developed to guide the way certain things are to be undertaken within an established Government so as to reach a preset goal.

Terrorism: Actions which are scary undertaken by an organized group whose main purpose is to cause fear and intimidation so that the concerned parties give in to the demands of the group.

Radicalization: The process of influencing a person's thinking and perception of life where they adopt a non humane perception towards committing wrongs in society including taking away the lives of fellow human beings.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Overview

This chapter provides a review of literature that is relevant to the study. Gamson & Modigliani (1989) emphasize that news reporters must time and time again make a choice of the facts they want to include and emphasize on, the news sources they want to use and the more salient issues they want to delve into when reporting a story.

2.2 Media and Terrorism

Schmidt (1983) offers a comprehensive definition that expounds on an act of terrorism. He defines it as the method applied by terrorists with the intention of causing repeated violent action for various reasons ranging from criminal to politics. The point to note however is that the targets of the violent acts are innocent individuals under the leadership of the target regime. The terror groups normally chose their target victims arbitrary and randomly which they use as message generators for the target regime.

According to Bockstette (2008) terrorism aims at inducing psychic fear by violently victimizing those not subscribing to a given radical doctrine so that they can get favour with concerned authorities. The lives and property destroyed in terrorism activities are normally innocent as they are being used so as to get the attention of governments or those in power.

Terrorism activities and actions are aimed at exploiting media to the fullest to pass the message to those in power. They do this with the aim of influencing the perceptions of target audience.

The term terrorism has been defined differently by diverse scholars and researchers. However, key aspects that are prominent from these definitions reveal that terrorism involves the use of violence which in turn evokes variant emotional reactions such as fear and anxiety. These reactions thereon go to influence attitudes and behaviours of the public. The violence is not predictable and is usually directed against symbolic targets. Additionally, the use of violence is aimed at relaying messages and threats in order to gain social control and relay a message. Most acts of terrorism involve use of conventional bomb, nuclear bombs, chemical agent, arson, armed attack, assault on key economic infrastructure of a country with the potential of negatively affecting human life and radiological agents.

In 1985, following the Trans World Airlines Flight 847 hijacking by Hezbollah, an Islamist militant group, the Late Margaret Thatcher, former British Prime Minister famously termed publicity as ‘the oxygen of terrorism’. She advocated for the starving of those involved in incidences of terror and hijacking of the necessary publicity which they highly need to thrive (Apple, 1985). This was informed by the fact that terror groups attracted media houses to gain popularity and increase the level of fear among civilians (Nacos, 2007, p. 175).

Abraham Miller (1982) asserts that terror groupings and the media are interrelated in a more symbiotic relationship where they both gain at the end of the day. Terror groups have the capability of writing any event regardless of its humanness with the aim of attracting the attention from media houses. In fact, it is argued that it is the media that gives birth to terror groupings as it popularizes them making them become bold. It is unfortunate that as the terror groups grow, the media can neither completely ignore nor deny following.

This is largely because media houses are drawn to events and stories that report existence of conflicts and anything that has potential to shock besides being sensational. They always look for stories that will attract large audience for their popularity (Tuman, 2010, p. 196). This led to the conclusion by Walter Laqueur (2002) that the media plays a central role in ensuring that any terrorist operation becomes a success.

The media has a role of informing the public. In Kenya's media coverage of terrorism, we have experienced the tag of war between the media and government, with the government wanting to have full autonomy on information regarding casualties in a terror attack. Winegar (2008) is of the view that the governments with legal mandate and terrorists operating illegally seemed to work hard to build a good relationship with the media for their benefits. This stand is further supported by Hashim (2009) who pointed out that media and terrorism matters need to be perceived from three aspects so as to understand them better; terrorists' and government's objectives on media, and media's own objectives on happenings in the environment that relate to terrorism. From these three angles, all the parties (Government and terrorists) have made a deliberate effort to collaborate with media because of the key role that the media plays in dissemination of information which helps in creating awareness of the developments in society (Aly, 2007). This interrelationship is further reported by Lowenthal (1989) who asserted that failure to collaborate with the media would pronounce the death of terror groups. The media promotes terrorism in a nation through dramatization of terrorist threats and demands. They do this by refusing to condemn them outright thereby creating a moral confusion which tends to romanticize the terrorist and leave his victim forgotten.

Berrebi and Klor (2008) argue that prominent and sensational coverage of terrorism incidences by the mass media dramatically increases fear and anxiety in the population making some members of the public prefer counterterrorism policies that rely on force, even though other policies may be more effective.

2.3 Priming of Terrorism in the Media in Kenya

The Media priming theory was developed by Iyengar, Peters and Kinder in 1982 to help explain how media promotes terrorism activities by not condemning them. These scholars posit that media priming is the discriminatory manner in which media chooses to give attention to some happenings in society and not others thereby prejudicing the manner in which their audience evaluate occurrences around them. When the media devotes a lot of time and resources to communicating a given issue to their audience, the audience becomes receptive and alert to the occurrence. For instance; when the terror attack at the Garissa University College happened, the media primarily focused and prioritized reporting on this tragic event, downplaying other events happening in the country.

Such aggressive reporting grabs the attention of the audience, making it almost impossible for the audience to ignore the incident. The audiences who may have not heard of Al Shabaab or their act of terror at the Garissa University College prior to the reporting by the media are caught up in the moment and end up grasping a few details about this. The details of what they understood from the media's coverage, informs how they interpret the issue.

The media plays an important role in passing information to the general public about what happens in the world, particularly so in the case of a terror attack. As argued by Hoffman (2006), absence of media coverage means that an act of terrorism is wasted as they have not gained much needed publicity. He adds that without the media's coverage, the occurrence remains confined to the immediate victim(s) of the attack rather than the message getting the wider audience and creating fear among them which is their main aim. This is further expounded by Hoffman (2006) that by the media spreading the actions of the terror and outrage to a larger target audience, optimal leverage is gained by the terrorist so as to effect fundamental change

Previous experiences in the manner in which the media have reported issues of terrorism in Kenya have raised many questions. This was laid bare when the Media Council of Kenya (MCK), a statutory body established by the Media Council Act, No. 20 of 2013, to regulate the media and the conduct and discipline of journalists in Kenya, expressed dissatisfaction with the conduct of the media in their coverage of terrorism. This led to the review of what the code of conduct for practicing journalism in the Country which requires media houses to exercise caution when presenting on matters of terrorism so as to come out as glorifying the actions. This was regarded as an anti-social conduct where media acted as though it was glorifying the acts of terrorists. The Act further requires that journalists act in a more accountable manner for their reporting to the public so that they do not cause undesired effect. The journalists are required to act professionally and conduct themselves ethically.

For instance, the media is accused of going overboard when reporting on the terror attack on the Westgate for the purposes of maintaining harmony in the society. Some of the clips posted by the media on the unfolding of the event posted to the perception that the media was in some way glorifying the action. For instance, NTV was accused

of airing word for word comments made by some people suspected to be Al Shabaab sympathizers without editing them so as not to create fear among the public.

Left on their own, media is capable of providing useful tools that would serve as terror propaganda to embolden their activities (Yonah, 1978). Terrorism coverage tends to inspire a mix of other emotions and attitudes as well, regarding both the acts themselves and the media's framing of them. In general, the coverage tends to inspire feelings of anger (Shoshani & Slone, 2008; Wicks, 2006), although the target of such feelings can vary.

Another observation by Chartier and Gabler (2001) argues that drama is ordinarily the mainstay of media coverage. They focus on creating drama so that they can have more audience. They do this without paying keen attention as to the legitimacy of their sources of information. They do not do thorough vetting of their sources to ascertain the legitimacy of information instead provide some information which may seek to glorify the acts of terrorism (Altheide, 2006; Cohen, 2002).

Many of the harshest anti-crime regulations of the 1990s, such as three-strike laws or mandatory minimum sentencing, can be linked to a moral panic: the media and the political right continued to fuel public fears of crime even as crime rates fell (Tonry, 1999).

Further, this study is informed by the analysis of Kenya's decision to send its troops to Somalia as part of African Peace Keeping Mission in 2011. This followed the increased insurgency of Al-Shabaab militants into the country which brought many negative effects. For instance, Maina (2014) evaluated the manner in which *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard* Newspaper handled the *Operation Usalama Watch* in April 2014 and notes that, in *The Daily Nation*, news emanated from Al Shabaab stories as

supported by (71%) while in *The Standard* 79% of the stories made news. This means that the media houses gave more weight to direct quotations of Al Shabaab operative which gave them space to voice their concerns and what they are driving at.

Maina goes ahead to point out that both the Nation newspaper and *The Standard* placed a lot of Al Shabaab stories on the first 5 pages of their papers . *The Daily Nation* had 43% and *The Standard* had 36%. *The Daily Nation* had 9% of Al Shabaab stories on the last 4 pages of their paper while *The Standard* had only 1% on the last 4 pages of their paper.

2.4 *The Daily Nation and The Standard Newspaper*

In pursuance of establishing how the media primed terrorism issues, the research focused on using *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard*. These two dailies, were selected as they have the highest number of readership and circulation in Kenya; according to a 2015 survey by Geopoll, an acclaimed mobile survey platform in the world, which reported *The Daily Nation* had an average readership of approximately 4,379,400 per day(40%) while *The Standard* had an average of 2,223,500 per day(20%).

The Daily Nation which is the largest independent media house in East and Central Africa has a far reaching influence and stands as one of the most trusted sources of information. Therefore by picking some of these quotes directly, it is reaching a lot of people and telling them to learn how the Al Shabaab operatives network and conduct their activities. The Group is headquartered in Nairobi with offices all over the world. The media house has print, radio, television and online divisions which are all used in passing information. This study however paid keen attention to the print media.

The Standard Newspaper is a product of *The Standard* Media House established in 1902. All these are owned by *The Standard* Group whose headquarter is on Mombasa Road, and it also has some offices at the I & M building in Nairobi.

2.5 Theoretical Framework

2.5.1 The Priming theory

This theory is premised on that one thing happening can activate the happening of another, in that the availing of information to the general public influences the way they evaluate it. Since the media selects what information it makes available to the general public independently, they shape the manner in which the general public evaluates the information provided (Fiske and Taylor, 1984).

This theory centers on notion of developing ideas in the thinking and day to day lives of audiences and making the idea to dominate their thinking and reasoning. Priming is a key concept in media because it is the media that determines what information to feed their audience and the depth of the information. They therefore shape and influence the thinking and general reasoning of their audience.

This concept of priming was introduced by Iyengar and Kinder (1987) with the aim of bringing to the fore the manner in which the media could go beyond telling people how to interpret situations for their benefit. The two scholars posit that priming refers setting the new standards used by people in evaluating political standing. This mainly occurs in circumstances where contents of news point to a certain direction that it intends its audiences to adopt. The media makes use of certain benchmarks to prejudice the evaluation of audiences especially with regard to performance of their leaders. This is largely true because of the key role that media plays in dissemination of information.

This mainly occurs whenever the media deliberately decides to make some issues and happenings in the society more salient than others thereby setting the pace for the society. Priming occurs in such circumstances as the media tries to guide its audiences on what to think about depending on what is made available to them. Priming in media resoundingly points out that the media can selectively decide what it wants the consumer focusing on, by using physiological cues. Priming occurs mainly because the primed information is 'fresh' in memory (Higgins, 1996).

Miller and Krosnick (2005) argued that priming occurs whenever media attention to a given issue makes people put more emphasis on it when coming up with conclusions about their political leaders. For instance, this is mainly common in the case of presidential job performance. Perceiving the priming effect in the context of election communication and its consequences for making election decisions is a particularly important line of thought. This is further supported by Miller and Krosnick (2000) who acknowledge the dependency on the media among societal members for information on emerging issues as and when they emerge. In circumstances where the media pays more attention to some happenings and not others, the audience interprets that the news which the media has allocated more precocious time and space are more important than those talked about in passing. This informs the way they form their judgement and perceive those happenings.

Krosnick and Brannon (1993) add to this perception by arguing that ordinarily individuals do not normally make judgement based on all relevant knowledge stores in memory but instead adopt a strategy of evaluating the situation based on information which can be easily retrieved which in most cases is one that was fed into the memory recently.

Priming has mostly been understood to be an extension of the agenda setting goal theory largely because of the effects being based on memory models of information processing and the two theories assuming that people develop attitudes depending on the circumstances surrounding their situations when making the decision. The two scholars work from the background where people do not use all gained knowledge in reaching final decision because they lack adequate time to process all information in their memory. They therefore form assumptions that people rely on bits and pieces of information that can be easily retrieved from their memory. According to Williams (2003) the strength of the media in influencing the societal thinking and the general public is derived from the agenda setting theory with the defining criteria being the underlying judgement from the public.

Brewer et al (2003) while researching on how media influences attitudes of citizens towards foreign countries established that people of American origin drew negative association between war and drugs. This is due to media's active role in priming of the issue (Marsh, 1991). When researching on media priming of an issue, these are some of the factors that are explored.

McCombs, Llamas et al. (1997) explored the two theories to get a deeper understanding of how they are used when media primes terrorism issues. Iyengar posits that the media can prime an issue by selecting what it wants the consumer to focus on and by controlling how audiences interpret information. For example, in the case of a terror attack of a large magnitude in Kenya, for instance; the April 2015 Garissa attack, the media can ensure priming occurs by foregrounding the issue.

2.5.2 Agenda setting theory

This school of thought was developed by Lippman (1922) who held the opinion that the world in which we live is too complicated and out of reach hence the need to rely on the media if we have to understand it. It is noted that news media are almost the sole source of information which is used to influence the images that individuals construct in their memories and use to form agendas for their lives and society at large. This view is further supported by McCombs & Shaw (1972) who established that general public opinions are shaped by media which emphasizes certain issues over others. This therefore means that the extent to which attention is paid to media influences the importance with which members of society attach to certain happenings in society.

This is further hypothesized by McCombs and Shaw (1972) that it is not always the case that whatever is set by the media as an agenda that public perceives as the general agenda. There may be deviations which may create the desired impact. This situation arises mainly because of the element of dissonance between media agenda and the public agenda. According to Williams (2003), agenda setting is more concerned with enticing people so that they can adopt a certain perception of things as they happen in society. This is mainly achieved in the media through highlighting certain issues, topics or aspects as more important by giving them more precious time and space (Hayes, 2007).

Hayes (2007) further argues that attracting attention to some happenings in society over others in periods of electoral activities, the news mediatises to shape the general thinking of the public especially as regards the achievements of the government. According to Price & Tewksbury, (1997) agenda setting process encompass putting a lot of emphasis on certain issues over others.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Overview

This chapter discusses various methods that were adopted by the study to ensure exhaustive response to the study questions. It covers the following areas: research design and methodology, research population and research instruments. This study uses media priming as the guiding theory. Further, validity and reliability of research instruments, data collection techniques, data analysis and presentation are also examined at the end of the chapter.

3.2 Research Approach

This study employed a quantitative approach to realize the study objectives, answer research questions and data analysis and presentation.

Creswell (2002) observed that quantitative research involves a process of collecting, analyzing, interpreting, and writing the results of a study using statistical or computational techniques.

The study used content analysis as a research technique. According to Kerlinger (1973) content analysis is concerned with the observations opposed to asking people to provide responses to questions which takes communications produced by people. It is also viewed as the method where information is interpreted within the context in which it is collected so as to retain its meaning (Nachmias and Nachmias, 1976).

It used the retrospective study design, as it is looking back at events that have already taken place for study and analysis.

The research relies on secondary data by retrieving stories on terrorism issues that occurred from January 2015 to June 2015 and published in *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspaper.

3.3 Research Population

Population refers to the entirety of elements, members bearing similar observable characteristics on which the study wishes to collect data on or from (Parahoo, 1997). The population of this study comprised 1,142 newspaper articles on terrorism issues in Kenya from both *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers published from January 2015 to June 2015.

3.4 Sampling method and sample size

A sample refers to a subset of the population which is small and normally selected from a larger population for the purpose of a survey (Kombo and Tromp, 2006). On the other hand, sampling is a process applied in the selection of a group of elements to include in the study for the purposes of collecting data (Burns & Groove, 2001). This study used purposive sampling method to select articles published by *The Daily Nation* and *Standard* on terrorism in Kenya from January 2015 to June 2015. The research carried out in a six month period, gives a well detailed analysis of how the media covered the issue of terrorism over 6 months. Not only did several terror attacks take place in the months under study but also several measures were put into force by the Kenyan government in an effort to curb terrorism.

The study involved a sample of 1,142 articles from *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers, which carried stories and information on terror attacks from January 2015 to June 2015.

The two newspapers were chosen upon because of their high readership levels in the country besides their wide circulation. Another reason for choosing them is the fact that they contained stories on terrorism which was the focus of this study

3.5 Data Collection Method

The researcher visited both the Jomo Kenyatta Library at the University of Nairobi and Standard Media Group library to collect data from January 2015 to July 2015.

At the time of the study, the researcher worked at *The Standard Media* and had unlimited access to *The Standard* media library.

According to Rife et al (1993), two constructed weeks of news content is considered statistically sufficient to allow for reliable estimates of stories in a year's worth of newspaper content.

The procedure for collecting data was through content analysis. The researcher embarked on close reading of the articles to select those that had direct references to terrorism issues. The total sample of print news articles were organized chronologically across the period and a coding sheet (**Appendix 1**) was developed related to the objectives and research questions of the study.

The instrument to extract data was established after first identifying the precise information that was needed from the articles to meet the research objectives and answer the research questions.

3.6 Data Analysis and Presentation

The research used content analysis where the data collected was interpreted in the context of terrorism and the media to make sure that the meaning was not lost. The data was arranged in key thematic areas for analysis so that it could flow well. The data analysis process entailed identification of the diverse stories covered;

categorizing them into key thematic areas like, news item, an editorial, a feature story, opinions and editorial letters. In addition, the amount of space allocated to this newspaper articles was measured in words and the placement and prominence given to a story in the newspapers was determined.

A code sheet for analyzing the priming of terrorism issues in Kenya in *The Standard* and *The Daily Nation* Newspapers, from January 2015 to June 2015 was prepared. The code sheet focused on the units of analysis, where an individual story's content was analysed (**Appendix 1**).

The unit of analysis was an individual story (news story, feature, and editorial, letter to editor or commentary) whose content was examined in terms of;

- Number of articles
- Size of the articles (in words)
- Type of article (whether news, opinion, feature, editorial or letter to editor).
- Placement of the article (front page, other inside pages or back page)
- Prominence a story was given (page lead, main editorial or special commentary).

The data from the content analysis of the newspaper articles was presented through a combination of tables and graphs.

3.7 Ethical consideration of the study

The study first got approval from the University of Nairobi, School of Journalism to continue with the research after meeting all the requirements. First the researcher was given the Certificate of Fieldwork (Appendix II) to proceed to collect data. Secondly, to prove that the work is originally the researcher's, the researcher was awarded the Certificate of Originality (Appendix III) and lastly a Certificate of Correction (Appendix IV) to show that all the recommendations given to the researcher by the Examining Panel were followed and corrections done appropriately. The research relied on secondary data, herein an analysis of *The Daily Nation* and Standard newspapers. The authors of some articles that were analyzed were not identified including the dates and pages of publication of their articles so as not to potentially compromise their safety.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 Overview

This chapter discusses the findings of the study and makes interpretations of data collected from *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspaper.

The study explored how print media primed terrorism issues in Kenya. The researcher identified stories on terrorism carried out in *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspaper in the period of January 2015 to June 2015. The stories were then classified into various respective categories with regard to the research objectives.

This chapter is divided into several sections that are pertinent to the objectives of the study.

4.2 Frequency of articles on terrorism issues in Kenya

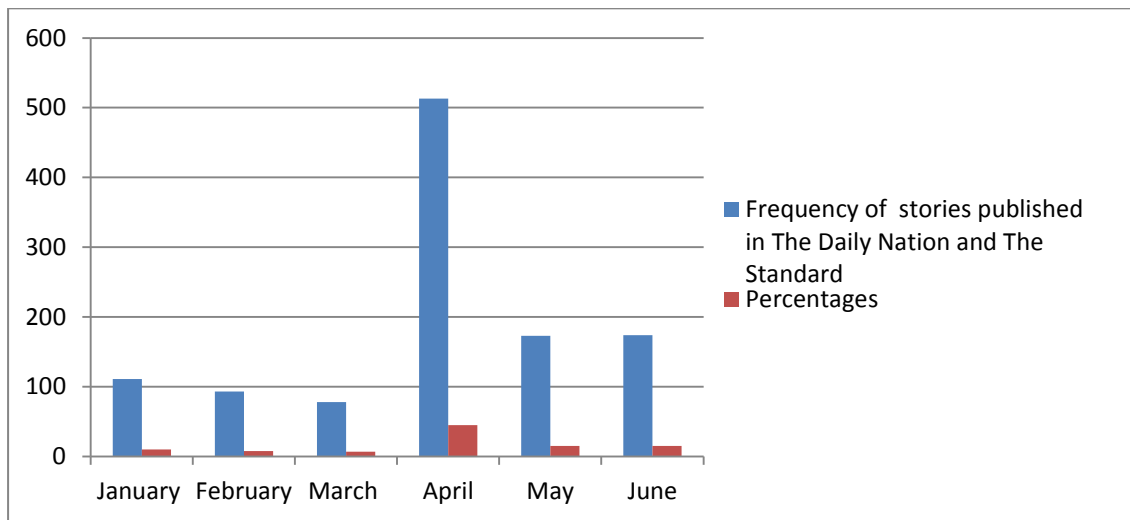
By frequency, this study referred to the number of times each article on terrorism issues in Kenya appeared in the print media.

Table 1: Frequency of publishing articles on terrorism issues in Kenya in *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspaper

Month	Frequency of stories published in both <i>The Daily Nation</i> and <i>The Standard</i>	Percentage
January	111	10
February	93	8
March	78	7
April	513	45
May	173	15
June	174	15
TOTAL	1142	100

Source: Researcher (2015)

Figure 1: Frequency of publishing articles on terrorism issues in Kenya in *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspaper



Source: Researcher (2015)

As Table 1 and Figure 1 show, 1142 articles were published in both *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspaper in the period of study. This shows that both publications attached a considerable amount of weight on the issue. Table 1 and Figure 1 show the frequency of stories on terrorism issues in the six months under study. The month of April saw the highest number of articles published on terrorism issues, 553 stories, in the newspapers. The high number of stories published during this month can be explained by the terror attack on Garissa University College in April 2, 2015 reported to have killed 148 people and injuring scores. The incident received massive coverage and was cited as the second highest attack to result to the deaths of civilians since the 1998 bombing of the USA embassy which killed over 200 people.

The researcher, based on one of the supporting theories of the study, agenda setting theory, deduced that the media set the agenda by consistently covering the issue of terrorism in the month of April. The media, judging from the reaction they got from the public, primed the terror attack at the University by consistently reporting on it. The month of May saw another incidence crop up. Kenyan police were ambushed by Al Shabaab as they were rushing to aid a colleague who had been hit by a landmine explosion in Yumbis Village, Garissa County. This perhaps, explains why the month of May also had a significant amount of coverage with 143 articles published.

The month of June saw 174 stories on terrorism issues in Kenya published in *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard*. During this month, the media primed the issue of terrorism by reviving the conversation on ongoing measures to curb terrorism. For example; the *nyumba kumi* initiative urged Kenyans to be keen on knowing their neighbours and report to the police of any suspicious activity they came across. An example of an article reported on the initiative reported the *Nyumba Kumi* initiative chairman Joseph Kaguthi challenging teachers to play their role in enhancing security in schools even as they piled pressure on the Government to secure their institutions. This followed the Garissa University College terror attack that had instilled fear and revealed a security threat in institutions of learning (*The Standard*, June 16, 2015, p.13).

In January, a total of 111 stories were published in both newspapers. Although a terror attack did not happen during this month, in the month preceding it; several parts of the country had experienced terror attacks. This reveals that the media continued to prime issues of terrorism by carrying forward the incidences that had followed the previous month.

In February, a total of 93 stories were published in both newspapers. March experienced the lowest coverage on terrorism issues with only 78 stories published in *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard*. This can be attributed to the fact that the country did not experience a terror attack in this month. This reveals that there was a decline in media coverage of terrorism issues in the month that the country did not experience a terror attack.

Iyengar & Kinder (1987) state that priming of news has an agenda-setting effect on the audience. Deducing from the findings above, it is evident that the subject of terrorism did not dominate in the agendas the media was setting for its audience in the month of February and March.

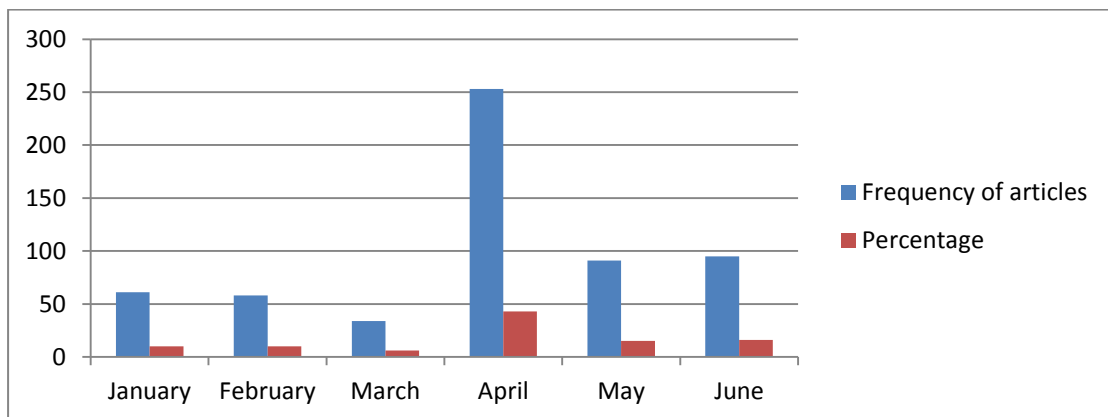
Tenets of media priming theory are evident as when the media perceives an issue to be of importance, it frequently covers that topic as well as allocates substantial amounts of space for them.

Table 2: Frequency of publishing articles on terrorism issues in Kenya in *The Daily Nation*

Month	Frequency of articles	Percentage
January	61	10%
February	58	10%
March	34	6%
April	253	43%
May	91	15%
June	95	16%
Total	592	100%

Source: Researcher (2015)

Figure 2: Frequency of publishing articles on terrorism issues in Kenya in *The Daily Nation*



Source: Researcher (2015)

Table 2 and figure 2 are crucial as they go a step further in establishing the number of articles published by the Newspaper in the period of study. This reveals the attention this particular newspaper gave to the issue of terrorism in the six months of research. The newspaper published 592 articles in the six months of study. As can be seen in Table 2 and Figure 2, in the month of April, *the Daily Nation* reported 253 articles, which translates to 43%.

As explained following Table 1 and Figure 1, this is attributed to the occurrence of the tragic terror attack at the Garissa University College. In the month of March, when the country did not experience any terror attack or threat of it, the reporting of terrorism issues went down with only 34 stories, 6% of the total stories published in the period of study. In January, 61 stories were published, in February 58 stories, in May 91 stories while in June 95 stories were published on terrorism.

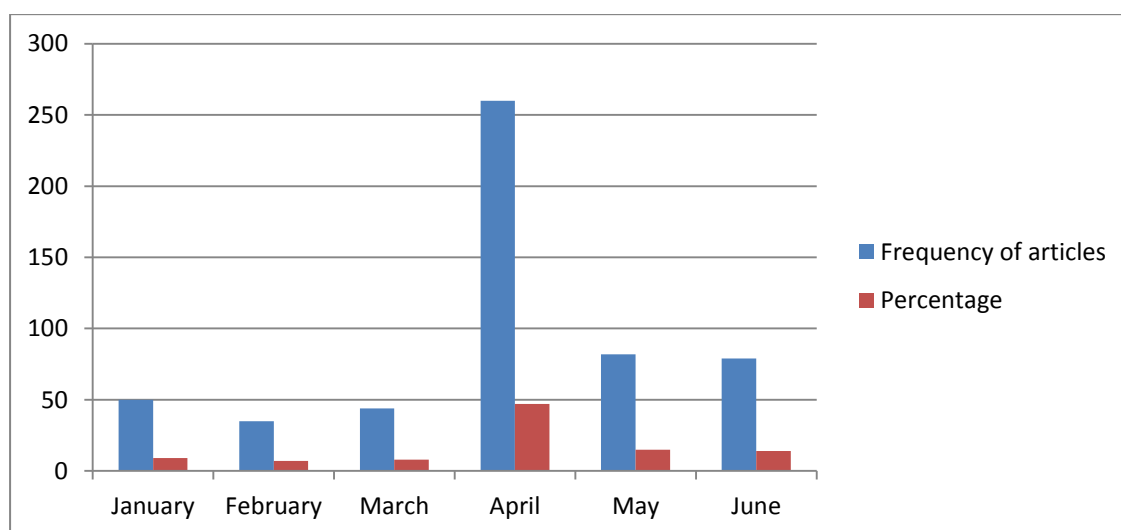
Media production of news influences *The Standards* by which focus is given to some issues while others are ignored (Goidel et al. 1997). *The Daily Nation* downplayed the issue of terrorism until a terror attack of a large magnitude occurred or an opinion leader revived the conversation on it.

Table 3: Frequency of publishing articles on terrorism issues in Kenya in *The Standard*

Month	Frequency of articles	Percentage
January	50	9%
February	35	7%
March	44	8%
April	260	47%
May	82	15%
June	79	14%
Total	550	100%

Source: Researcher (2015)

Figure 3: Frequency of publishing articles on terrorism issues in Kenya in *The Standard*



Source: Researcher (2015)

Table 3 and Figure 3 show how *The Standard* newspaper reported on issues of terrorism in Kenya. *The Standard* published 550 articles on terrorism issues in the month under study. In January, the newspaper reported 50 stories, in February 35 stories, March 44 stories and June 79 stories.

Most articles under review on terrorism were reports following the occurrence of a terror attack or press conferences held on the issue by various opinion leaders in the society. The variation in the frequency of coverage on terrorism issues during the period under the study is an indication that the print media organizations in Kenya lack a clear editorial policy on the coverage of information on the phenomenon.

4.3 Types of stories

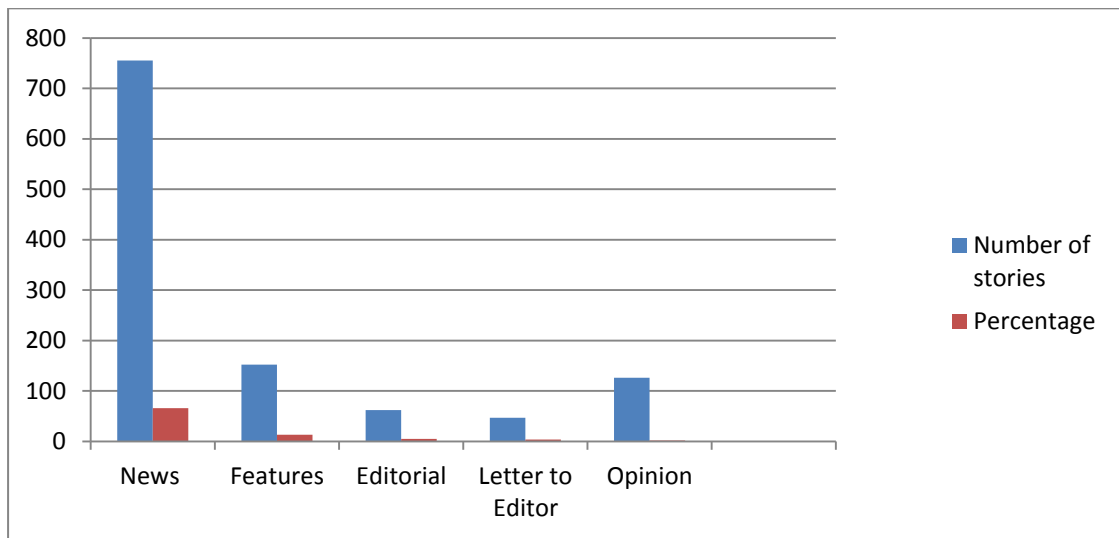
A newspaper publishes stories in various forms to relay information to the public. This study classified the stories into news, features, editorials, letter to the editor and opinion stories.

Table 4: Types of stories on terrorism issues published in *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard* Newspaper

Type of stories	Number of stories	Percentage
News	755	66
Features	152	13
Editorial	62	5
Letter to editor	47	4
Opinion	126	11
Total	1142	100

Source: Researcher (2015)

Figure 4: Types of stories on terrorism issues published in *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard Newspaper*



Source: Researcher (2015)

Newspapers focus on two main types of news stories; hard news and soft news (Curran, Douglas, & Whannel, 1980). Hard news are presented in a straight forward manner and focus on the events of the day and generally delve into news of events which affect large numbers of people, prominent individuals such as government officials, or information of national or international significance.

On the other hand, soft news gives a wider perspective on the facts and makes insightful observations and include; human interest stories, news about personalities or celebrities. As seen in Table 4 and Figure 4, the study found the total coverage of the different types of articles as news 66%, features 13%, editorial 5%, and letter to the editor 4% and opinions 2%. News items accounted for 66% of all the sampled articles in the two dailies. This is noteworthy as it shows that the journalists in the media house strove to publish as many news items as possible during the period under review.

Most of the news items were reports from reporters in the field and delved into answering the who, what, where, when, why and how of an incident or event. This incidence revolved around a terror attack, interview with victims or their relatives, security policy issues being fronted by the government or interviews with opinion leaders or government officials.

An example of a news story covered during this period focused on the County Commissioner of Mandera Mr Alex Ole Nkoyo, who addressed journalists and said the construction of a wall along the Kenya-Somalia border to curtail the movement of non-Kenyans was expected to start in a few day's time. He expounded that it was part of the government's strategy to monitor movement and contain attacks by Al Shabaab militants from Somalia. (*The Daily Nation*, March 25, 2015).

This story did not delve into expounding how the construction would happen, who would carry out the task amongst other important details. This perhaps implies that news stories do not analyze or interpret news on terrorism as they did not give much depth into covering them. The study found that only 13% of the news articles were features. Features, which dig deeper into a story and are accorded a substantial amount of space, have a greater impact on public education. Deducing from this, the study found this type of coverage worrying as the media did not effectively prime the issue of terrorism. Opinion articles represented 11 % of the sampled articles. Articles in this category included commentaries by guest writers and articles by writers of the particular media house.

Arguably, guest commentators' views do not represent those of the media house. However, it is also acceptable to argue that by sanctioning a publication, the editor, by implication, indicates that she or he agrees with it, and consequently, takes

responsibility of the contents thereof (Mogambi et al 2013). Opinions are crucial in priming of issues as they may offer readers a different perspective on an issue and by encourage them to critically examine news situations in particular contexts.

The low number of opinion articles used could be an indication that the readers are not interested in discussing issues of terrorism thus unwilling to share their opinions on the subject. It also could be that the editor, based on his judgment on the content of the letters to the editor or the balance of the stories, did not find it fit to publish these opinions. Editorials are articles written or approved by the editor, which gives a newspaper's views on a current topic. Editorials are typically separated from news reports so that readers can know when they are reading a factual new report that tries to be objective and when they are reading the opinion of the editors of the newspaper.

They are effective in the agenda setting theory of the mass media. With only 5% of the articles being editorials during the period under review, it is evidently clear that the two print media house has not done enough in giving its views and position on the issue of terrorism.

Deducing from the study, it was found that letters to the editor accounted for only 4% of all the articles on terrorism. Letters to the editor offer reader opinions about the content of news stories and are crucial as they offer a platform for the audiences to air their views on issues regarding terrorism. However, the editor is not obliged to publish all the letters received in regard to that subject. The editor therefore selects and publishes only some of them highlighting in their entirety or the gist thereof. The Code of Conduct for the Practice of Journalism as entrenched in the Media Act 2013 stipulates that the editor should make an honest attempt to ensure that what is published is objective and offers a balanced perspective.

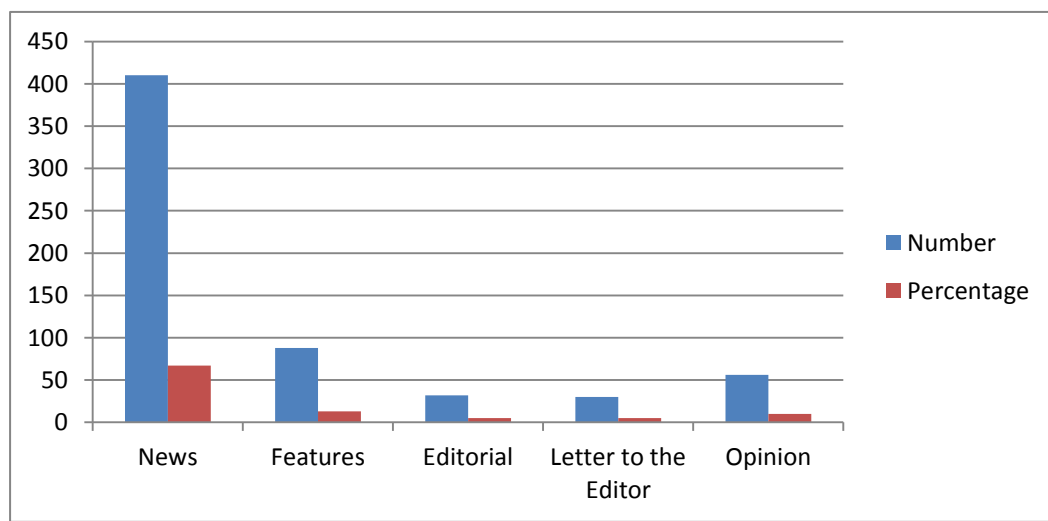
It adds that the editor should have the discretion to decide at which point to end the debate in the event of a rejoinder by two or more parties on a controversial subject. Letters to the editor used are therefore considered insufficient because the public views on the phenomenon are crucial if the war on the terrorism is to be won. The low number of articles published could also imply that the readers do not view the subject to be interesting enough for them to respond to it. In addition, their contribution through this type of articles, might have lacked a balanced perspective.

Table 5: Types of stories on terrorism issues published in *The Daily Nation*

Types of Stories	Number of stories	Percentage
News	410	67%
Features	88	13%
Editorial	32	5%
Letter to the editor	30	5%
Opinion	56	10%
Total Publications	616	100%

Source: Researcher (2015)

Figure 5: Types of stories on terrorism issues published in *The Daily Nation*



Source: Researcher (2015)

According to Table 5 and Figure 5, the type of stories that dominated *the Daily Nation* was news, accounting for 67%. The researcher observed that news stories were relaying information on what had happened or been communicated to the media by authorities in a short span of time. An example of a news story was the reporting of the government’s plan to close the Dadaab Refugee camp after a terror ambush on a police convoy at Yumbis, five kilometres from Dadaab (Daily Nation, May 31, 2015). 13 % of the stories were features, editorials 5 %, letter to the editor 5 % and opinions 10 %.

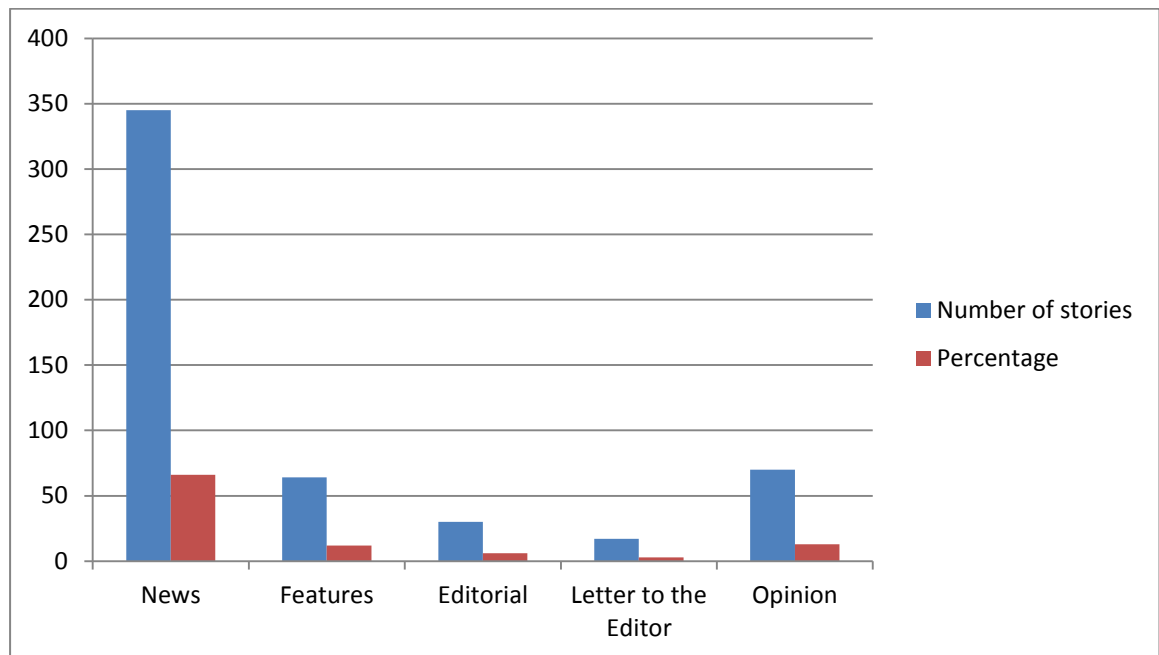
Opinion stories revealed the audience was keen and interested in the subject. For instance, in an opinion, Godwin Murunga stated that it was important for the state to understand and deal with the dilemma of terrorism (*Daily Nation*, May 29, 2015). This pattern of reporting is worrying as it shows that *Daily Nation* did not analyse or interpret issues on terrorism, noting that news stories accounted for 67 % and the rest of the type of stories were not given significant attention.

Table 6: Types of stories on terrorism issues published in *The Standard*

Type of Stories	Number of Stories	Percentage
News	345	66
Features	64	12
Editorial	30	6
Letter to editor	17	3
Opinion	70	13
Total	526	100

Source: Researcher (2015)

Figure 6: Types of stories on terrorism issues published in *The Standard*



Source: Researcher (2015)

As seen in Table 6 and Figure 6, out of a total of 526 stories analysed from *The Standard* newspaper, 66 % were news stories. This compares unfavourably as letters to the editor has 3 %, editorial 6 % features 12 % and opinions at 13 %. The researcher observed that the focus on most stories was directed at reporting terror attacks but not analyzing or interpreting issues on terrorism. Opinions also increased when the media primed a certain issue that the public deemed important or shocking, for instance the radicalisation of youths into joining Al Shabab.

When *The Standard* reported that one of the perpetrators of the Garissa University terror attack was Abdirahim Abdullahi, a young University of Nairobi law student who joined Al Shabaab, many opinion articles were published in *the Standard*.

For instance, lawyer Kethi Kilonzo wrote on the issue asserting that Abdirahim Abdullahi's actions are a sign that there are deeper problems within the social fabric of Kenya.

Kethi stated that Kenya was bleeding internally and urged the government to critically look into the issue of terrorism as one of the solutions to combat terrorism. (*The Standard*, April 19, 2015). This trend of the types of stories used is similar to that from *The Daily Nation*. The study found that the two newspapers majorly used news stories to report the issue of terrorism, as indicated in Table 4 and Figure 4. Generally, news stories employ a concise approach to report on issues, sometimes failing to dig deep and offer the reader a deeper perspective on an issue. The researcher thus found that the media focused on informing the public on the issue of terrorism but did not adequately play its role of educating and advocating for various issues that would have led to the government combating terrorism.

4.4 Placement of stories

Placement is concerned with how the various write ups on a given issue of subject are positioned in the arrangement of the newspaper. This is an important aspect when allocating space to a story to ensure it gets the right attention from the target audience. This has been supported by Shoemaker and Cohen (2006) who argued that the prominence of a story is affected in its quantity and weighted by its placement within the medium. Key attractive stories are used to capture the attention of audiences which is important in determining whether they decide to pursue a given reading or not. This knowledge is used by editors in deciding the headlines of their dailies to ensure that they remain appealing to their readers to want to know more about unfolding events.

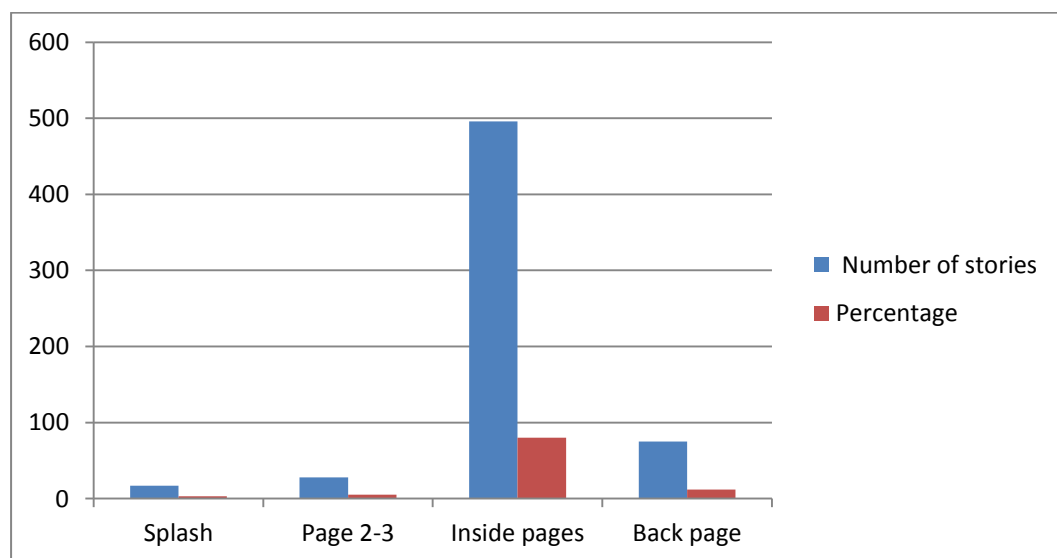
Tuchman (1972) states that when placing a news story in a newspaper, an editor looks at several issues. These include, the value attached to the write up, and the size of the population affected by a news story. They also consider proximity in terms of story to the target audience. In addition, timing wherein, new or at least current events are considered to have more importance than past events. Prominence - events happening to popular individuals such as politicians, celebrities, or other famous people are considered to be more newsworthy.

Table 7: Placement of stories on terrorism issues in *The Daily Nation* Newspaper

Story Placement	Number of stories	Percentage
Splash	17	3
Page 2-3	28	5
Inside page	496	80
Back page	75	12
Total	616	100

Source: Researcher (2015)

Figure 7: Placement of stories on terrorism issues in The Newspaper



Source: Researcher (2015)

As observed in Table 7 and Figure 7, 75 % of stories were placed on the inside pages of *Daily Nation*. 3 % of the stories were placed on the first page herein referred to as splash. 5 % of the stories were placed on the second and third page of the newspaper and 12 % of the stories were placed on the back page of the newspaper.

These findings are in line with the prescriptions of Buckler & Travis (2005) that the headlines and heading for subjects determine the way audiences perceive the news contained in it. This explains why editors are keen to use captivating headlines to ensure they capture the attention and curiosity of readers to want to read a given article so as to get more information. The researcher observed that *Daily Nation* only used splashes in reporting incidents on terrorism that had highly impacted a large number of people, new details emerging from a terrorist attack and also when the government implemented new initiatives or security policies in aim of combating terrorism.

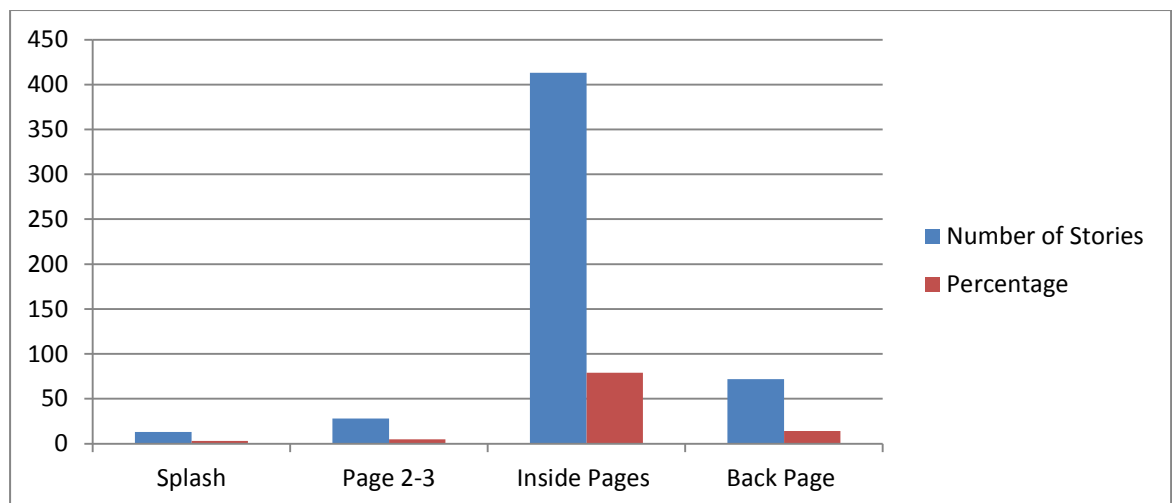
For example, the story on the April 2, 2015 Garissa terror attack was covered on as a splash and so was a follow up story when the perpetrators of the attack were identified. Many stories were confined in the inside pages of the newspaper. From Table 7, it is evident that articles on terrorism were not adequately placed in the pages considered to be prominent in *Daily Nation* during the period under study. This was a serious omission on the part of the newspaper given the importance of the subject under discussion.

Table 8: Placement of stories on terrorism issues in *The Standard* Newspaper

Story Placement	Number of stories	Percentage
Splash	13	3
Page 2-3	28	5
Inside page	413	79
Back page	72	14
Total	526	100

Source: Researcher (2015)

Figure 8: Placement of articles on TIs in *The Standard* Newspaper



Source: Researcher (2015)

As seen in Table 8 and Figure 8, *The Standard* placed 78 % of stories on terrorism on the inside pages of the newspaper. *The Standard* placed 3 % of stories on terrorism issues as splash. 5 % of the stories were placed on the inside pages while 14 % of the stories on terrorism were placed on the back page.

In addition, the researcher observed that articles on terrorism issues were only placed as splashes in reporting incidents on terrorism that had highly impacted a large

number of people, new details emerging from a terrorist attack and also when the government implemented new initiatives or security policies in aim of combating terrorism.

The similarity in coverage between the two newspapers reveal that most stories were confined on the inside pages of the newspapers. According to Shoemaker (1991), competition for front-page story slots is among the fiercest fights for space at any given newspaper, and when a story makes it there, it means it is more likely to receive attractive packaging, good placement, or repetition. However, when a story is placed in the inside pages, it is likely to be overlooked by readers. The researcher thus found that with most stories on terrorism tucked in the inside pages of the newspaper, the reader might have missed some crucial information reported on terrorism.

4.5 Story prominence on page

Prominence herein refers to how the stories were laid out in whichever page of the newspaper that they appeared.

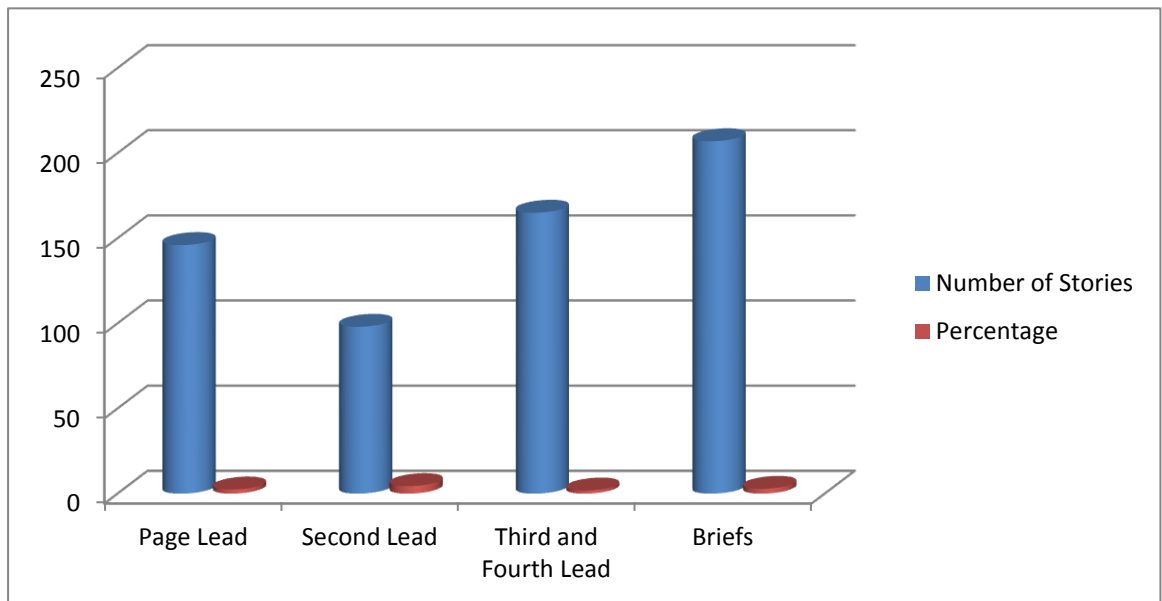
The study explored the precise position they were laid out in and grouped them into page lead, second lead, third and fourth lead and briefs.

Table 9: Prominence of stories on terrorism issues in *The Daily Nation* Newspaper

Story Prominence	Number of stories	Percentage
Page lead	146	23
Second lead	98	16
Third and fourth lead	165	27
Briefs	207	34
Total	616	100

Source: Researcher (2015)

Figure 9: Prominence of stories on terrorism issues in *The Daily Nation* Newspaper



Source: Researcher (2015)

As observed in Table 9 and Figure 9, 23 % of stories on terrorism were page leads. 16% were second lead, 27 % were third and fourth lead while 34 % were briefs.

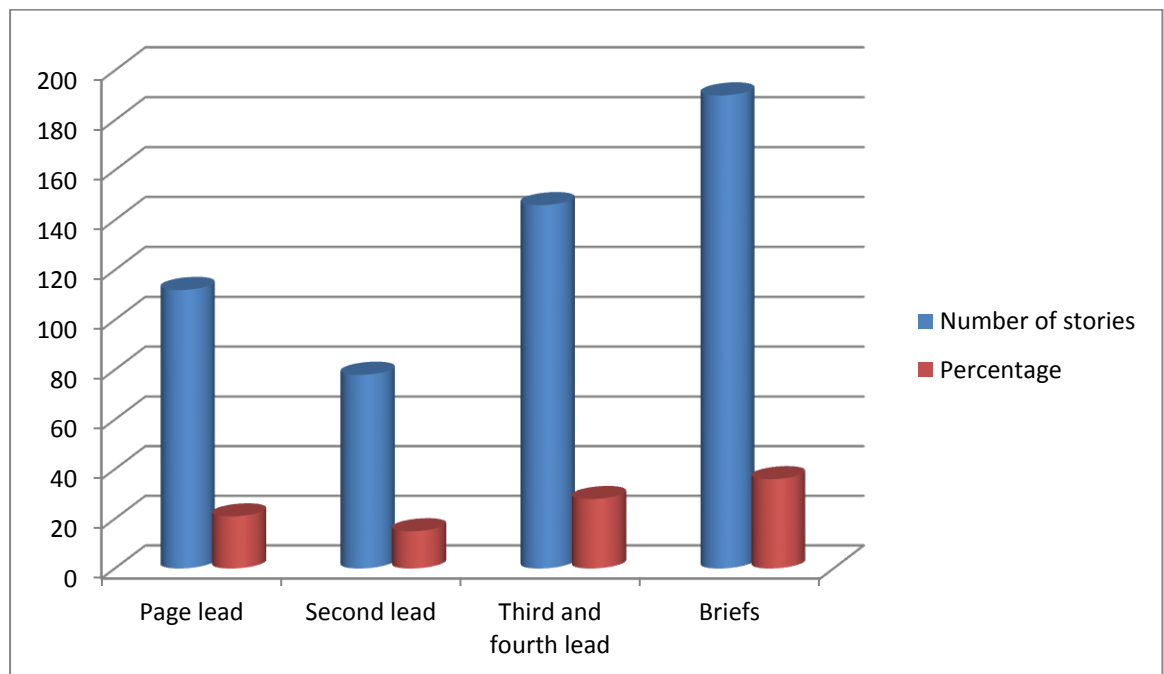
Fang (1991), asserts that newspapers place the most important facts first because readers habitually scan newspapers headlines early in the morning. If the headline indicates a news story of interest, the reader looks at the first paragraph. If that also proves interesting, the reader continues. He argues that a reader is likely to ignore stories placed as briefs and focus on those that are treated with big and bold headlines. A story that is published as a brief does not project itself clearly from the page and is therefore easily bypassed by a reader. This perhaps may have negatively affected the story capturing the reader's attention.

Table 10: Prominence of stories on terrorism issues in *The Standard* Newspaper

Story Placement	Number of stories	Percentage
Page lead	112	21
Second lead	78	15
Third and fourth lead	146	28
Briefs	190	36
Total	526	100

Source: Researcher (2015)

Figure 10: Prominence of stories on terrorism issues in *The Standard* Newspaper



Source: Researcher (2015)

As observed in Table 10 and Figure 10, 21% of stories on terrorism were page leads.

15 % were second lead, 28 % were third and fourth lead while 36 % were briefs.

The study found that when stories on terrorism were page leads in *The Standard*, they were reports from reporters that did not endeavour to dig deep or educate the public on the issue of terrorism.

A news story, primed as a page lead of *The Standard* newspaper reported on how the government had increased the amount of money allocated to defence, security and intelligence services. A total of Sh223.9 billion was allocated to security agencies out of which the Ministry of Defence and National Intelligence Service (NIS) were set to receive Sh112.5 billion (*The Standard*, June 12, 2015). The pattern of coverage is similar to *The Daily Nation*'s revealing that the two newspapers did not adequately prime and set the agenda on the issue of terrorism.

4.6 Story size

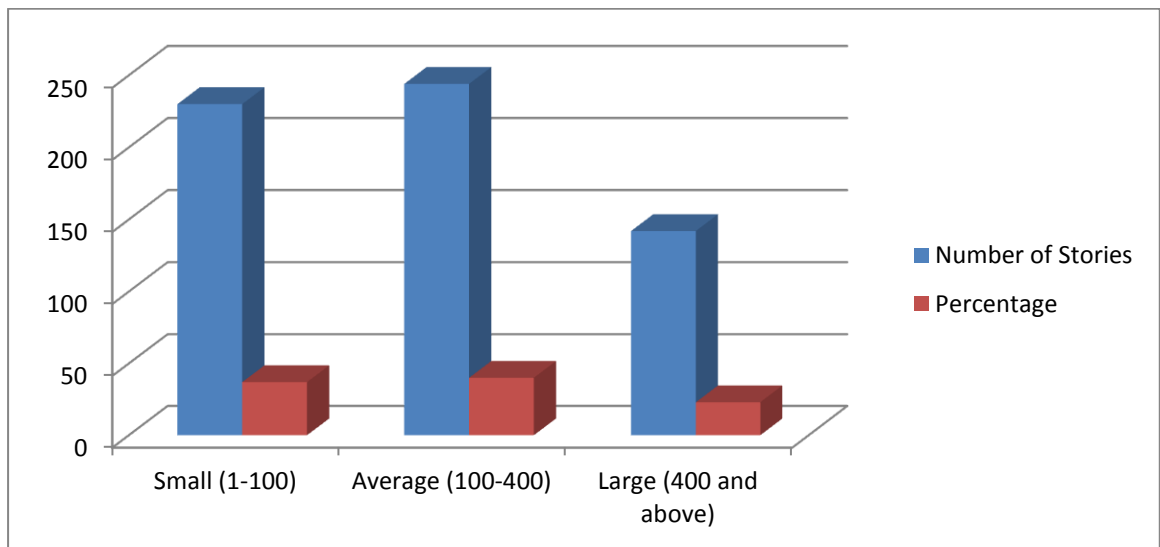
According to Cissel (2012), there is a significant relationship between length of the news article and its perceived importance. The researcher analyzed the story length and grouped them into three categories. Stories with 1 to 100 words were classified as small stories. Stories with 100 to 400 words were classified as average stories and stories with 400 and above words were classified as large stories. The size of a story reflects some policy about the significance given to an issue and thus some sense of editorial policy of the news organization on the subject.

Table 11: Size of stories on terrorism issues in *The Daily Nation*

Size of articles (words)	Number of stories	Percentage
Small (1-100 words)	230	37
Average (100-400 words)	244	40
Large (400 & above)	142	23
Total	616	100

Source: Researcher (2015)

Figure 11: Size of stories on terrorism issues in *The Daily Nation*



Source: Researcher (2015)

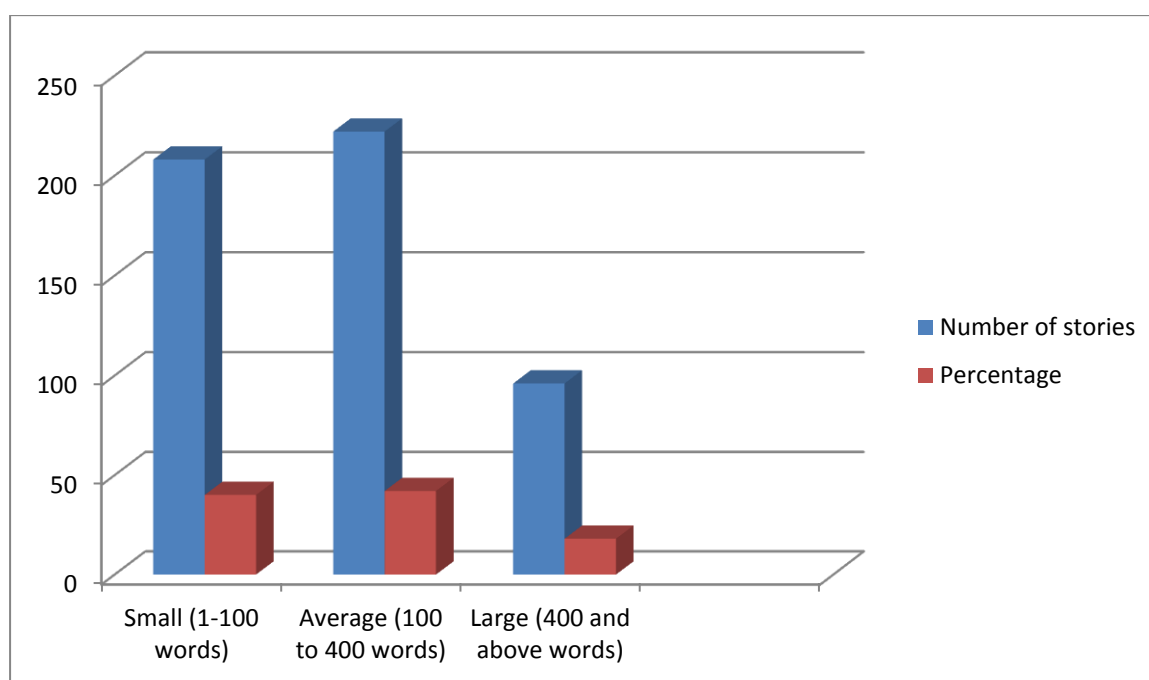
As seen on Table 11 and Figure 11, 37 % of stories on terrorism issues had 1 to 100 words. Stories on terrorism issues that had 100 to 400 words were 40 % while stories that had 400 and above words were 23 %. *Daily Nation* mostly used small and average articles to cover the issue of terrorism. The small stories were mostly briefs as indicated in Table 9 and Figure 9. When the newspaper allocated over 400 words, translating to three quarters of a page, it was mostly when a terror incident of high magnitude occurred like in the case of the April 2 attack at the Garissa University College or security issues put forward by the Government in aim of combating terrorism in the country.

Table 12: Size of stories on terrorism issues in *The Standard*

Size of articles (words)	Number of stories	Percentage
Small (1-100 words)	208	40
Average (100-400 words)	222	42
Large (400 & above)	96	18
Total	526	100

Source: Researcher (2015)

Figure 12: Size of stories on terrorism issues in *The Standard*



Source: Researcher (2015)

As seen in Table 12 and Figure 12, 40 % of stories on terrorism issues had 1 to 100 words. Stories on terrorism issues that had 100 to 400 words were 42 % while stories that had 400 and above words were 18 %.

The researcher was analysing the content of the stories of terrorism, she found that when an incidence of a high magnitude had not happened, most articles on terrorism were not primed but treated just as normal stories competing for space with others. In *The Standard*, most of the small stories comprised of remarks by Members of Parliament on the issue of terror attacks and follow up stories on impact of the attack. Larger stories were majorly comprised of initiatives to curb the attack and accounts of terror incidences.

This is supported by the findings of Miller and Krosnick (2000) that in circumstances where the media provides more attention to some news instead of others, the audience perceives such news given more time and space as is more important than those allocated limited time and spaces. The coverage of the issue on terrorism became more pronounced when a terrorism incident of a large magnitude happened implying that this is when priming of terrorism mainly occurred.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Overview

This chapter provides the summary of the findings, recommendations and conclusion on print media priming of terrorism issues in Kenya. This research sought to find out how the two leading newspapers in Kenya prime terrorism issues.

5.2 Summary of Findings

Firstly, deducing from the data on the frequency of coverage of terrorism issues in Kenya in the period under review, it is clear that terrorism issues received a considerable amount of media attention. This is evident as the study found 1,142 stories relevant to the research, published in the two newspapers from January 2015 to June 2015. *Daily Nation* performed rather better than *The Standard* as 54 % of stories on terrorism were published in *Daily Nation* while 46 % of these stories were in *The Standard*.

Secondly, a notable trend was that media reported issues on terrorism in a reactionary manner. In the months where there the country did not experience a terror attack, the media reported very few stories on terrorism. For instance, in the months of January, February and March 2015, both newspapers gave the issue of terrorism the least coverage. In the month of January, February and March only 10%, 8 % and 7% respectively of the total news coverage by *The Daily Nation* was on terrorism issues. In the month of January, February and March only 10%, 10% and 6% respectively of the total news coverage by *The Standard* was on terrorism issues. However, when a terror attack happened, the media house increased its coverage on the issue.

This is evident as in the month of April, following the Garissa University terror attack that left 148 dead, the coverage on terrorism issues increased. In addition, the terror attack in Yumbis in May also led to an increase in coverage on terrorism issues. In the month of April, May and June, 45%, 15 % and 15 % respectively of the total news coverage by *The Daily Nation* was on terrorism issues. In addition, in the month of April, May and June, 43%, 15 % and 16% respectively of the total news coverage by *The Standard* was on terrorism issues. This fits well into what Marsh (1991) observed that news values related to impact, proximity, prominence, relevance, and human interest are all important in determining how much significance a news story is accorded by a particular media.

Thirdly, information on terrorism only made it to the prime pages when there was a terror attack involving the death of many. For example, in the month of April, following the Garissa University terror attack that left 148 dead, the media covered terrorism issues over three times more than in the month of May when one person died. This can be seen as in April, the frequency of stories published on terrorism issues in *The Standard* was 47% while in May it was 17% and *The Daily Nation* published 43% of stories on terrorism issues in April and 15% in May. This implies that the media gave more attention to issues of terrorism when a terror attack had a greater impact; herein affecting more people. This clearly reveals media bias. It also supports the tenets of agenda setting theory, one of the three theories building into this study by showing that the media focuses attention to the things that it considers to be of importance. It also supports the gate keeping theory that is premised on the media filtering the information reaching out the media by weighing its news worthiness. These findings are consistent with the argument by According to Hastie & Park (1986), that the behaviour of media where it constantly primes certain aspects of

events makes people form judgements, attitudes and perception on what they are meant to think is more silent as compared to others. Priming limits the abilities audiences to make informed decisions which are not prejudiced by the time allocated to pieces of information aired or circulated in print media.

The study observed that had the media persisted in covering terrorism issues even when there was no particular incident of a terror attack, the policies formulated to combat terrorism might have been well thought out and implemented earlier, minimising cases of terrorism in the country. An analysis of the specific stories covered by the two newspapers provides an interesting perspective. For instance, it was established that both newspapers applied news as the key form of disseminating data collected on terrorism in Kenya with *The Daily Nation* being at 67% while standard stood at 66%. As it can be seen the percentages are so close indicating that both media relied on news which is a key hit. News referred to stories that beg to ascertain more information on a phenomenon under study in terms of: where, what, why, who, when, and how. These stories are so direct that they need no further probing so as to understand and digest the situation at hand.

The media did little in analyzing the data collected so as to extract underlying meaning and intentions of the statements. The media failed in carrying out an in-depth analysis on the issues of terrorism as features, which take more time and resources. The media does not only play the role of disseminating information but also plays an educative and advocacy role. The researcher observed that when reporting on security policy initiatives set out by the Government to combat terrorism, the newspapers did not delve deeper to find out what implications this initiatives would have in the country in the long run.

Balanced stories with deep insights on particular issues surrounding terrorism would have been achieved by features. Letters to the editor, opinions and editorials were the type of stories that were least utilised while reporting on terrorism issues.

Based on the data observed on placement of articles on terrorism issues in Table 8, Figure 8, Table 9 and Figure 9, both newspapers used a splash when a terror attack happened. This augments Tuchman (1978), research which posits that readers consume newspaper articles following the order of the pages from the beginning to the end. This explains why newspapers generally place the articles they consider most interesting and most important on their earliest pages beginning from the front page.

Reports on terror attacks were more commonly written by on-the-ground reporters, with little formal background on the aspects of terrorism. Further, most stories on terrorism were small stories. The researcher studied their content and found that majority of the small stories would have been scaled up and explored by the media houses to make larger stories with a bigger impact. For example, the story on the construction of a wall along the Kenya-Somalia border to curtail the movement of Al Shabaab in the country was reported by *The Standard* as a small story. Instead of the reporter directly relaying the information as directly explained by the government, they should have probed further. For example, they should have sought to find out how the government would sustain the project, its impact on the bulging economy and case studies of similar actions by other countries (if any) in the past.

The media outlets did not seem to have similar figures of the number of people who had died during the attacks. On April 2, *The Daily Nation* reported 148 people had died following the attack on Garissa University College while *The Standard* reported 147 people had died. Further, the Red Cross was giving different figures from those

the Government of Kenya was giving. This study found that there was need of clear guidelines on the right source to be quoted to give the precise credible details once a terror attack happened.

5.3 Recommendations

After analysis of the articles in *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard* in their coverage of terrorism issues from January to June 2015, this study notes that there are various areas of improvements.

There is need for the media to promote articles and stories that educate and inform the public more on issues on terrorism. This is crucial as the study observed that most of the stories on terrorism issues were news that primarily focused on covering the issues as reported by the reporter on the ground. These stories can range from how the media can contribute to fight the war against terrorism and even advise the public on how to react in the unfortunate event of a terror attacks.

Following the observation that most issues of terrorism were covered after a terror attack, the study recommends that the media should endeavor to revive the conversation on terrorism even when the country is not experiencing terror attacks. Since terrorism is undeniably a salient issue, the study observed that the media should implore to cover issues such as the country's preparedness to tackle terror attacks and its response rate when a terror attack happens among others to keep the conversation going. The media should also continually prime terrorism issues by following up on initiatives set out by the government to combat terrorism and report on how they are fairing. For instance, a media house can explore topics such as the latest progress on the pre-university basic military training that was set to instil Kenyans with basic defence tactics in case of an attack.

In depth analysis on the impact of terrorism in Kenya should be carried out to help the audience understand how serious the issue of terrorism is. The research observed that updated data on the socio-economic impact of terrorism in Kenya is not available.

Media houses should be professional in the images they use when reporting on issues of terrorism. Herein, the media should strive to adhere to the Code of Conduct for the practice of journalism in Kenya by refraining from using grotesque images to attract the attention of the audience to purchase a newspaper.

5.4 Recommendations for Further Study

Extensive research is required to create an understanding of the complex relationship between media and terrorism. This will help improve the way media reports on terrorism occurrences. Another area of interest would be on how Kenyan media coverage of terrorism issues plays in furthering the agenda of terrorists. Further, a study on the impact of terrorism on Kenya's development would provide deeper insight on the scale of terrorism in Kenya.

5.5 Conclusion

Overall, the study concluded that by and large, media priming of terrorism issues in Kenya is inadequate. The print media in Kenya was found to be lacking in consistency in reporting terrorism issues. Media primes terrorism issues particularly when a terror attack resulting to the death of many occurs and goes silent thereafter. Coverage of the menace was also sparked by government announcement of policy measures aimed at combating terrorism and issues and features on the victims of the attacks. This points to the lack of good will among print media in Kenya to get to the root cause of this so that it can be sorted out once and for all.

Majority of stories on terrorism were from 100 to 400 words and placed in the inside pages of the newspaper. They were also placed as third and fourth leads and briefs. However, when a terror attack happened, the articles were given prominence and placed at the front pages and as main leads.

It established that news make up the largest component of stories on terrorism. Focus of articles was directed on reporting of terror attacks rather than on educating the public. From the findings, this study conclude that print media can play an imperative role in priming terrorism issues by publishing more articles on policy as opposed to focusing on terror attacks only.

The media could also probe the government on its plan to combat terrorism and follow up on initiatives introduced to combat terrorism thus putting it into account and hence media would act as a forum to educate the public on terrorism issues.

Further, increasing the media's role in highlighting terrorism could be accomplished by improving dialogue between the government, security experts and media practitioners, as well as by considering specific measures.

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APPENDIX 1
Code Sheet for analyzing print media priming of terrorism issues in
Kenya in *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard Newspaper*

Month/Year		Date of Publication								Totals
Story Type	News									
	Feature									
	Opinion									
	Editorial									
	Letter to the editor									
Story Placement in newspaper	Splash									
	Page2-3									
	Inside pages									
	Back pages									
Story prominence on page	Page lead									
	Second lead									
	Third lead									
Story size(in words)	Small (1-100 words)									
	Average (100-400 words)									
	Large (400 words and above)									

APPENDIX II: CERTIFICATE OF FIELD WORK



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REF: CERTIFICATE OF CORRECTIONS

This is to certify that all corrections proposed at the Board of Examiners meeting held on 5/12/2017 in respect of M.A/PhD. Project/Thesis defence have been effected to my/our satisfaction and the project/thesis can be allowed to proceed for binding.

Reg. No: K50169993/2017

Name: Kiane Lillian Wangiri

Title: MEDIA PRIMING OF TERRORISM ISSUES

DR HERRON MUGAMBI
SUPERVISOR

[Signature]
SIGNATURE

11.12.2017
DATE

ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

SIGNATURE

DATE

DIRECTOR

SIGNATURE/STAMP

DATE