PRINT MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE FIRST FEMALE CHIEF JUSTICE IN KENYA

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DECLARATION

DECLARATION This Project is my original work and is no way a reproduction of any other work that has previously been presented for award of a degree in any University.
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This Project has been submitted for examination with my approval as a University Supervisor.
Prof. Hezron Mogambi Sign. DATE; 22 II 2022

DEDICATION

I dedicate this study to my two daughters Liz Sintoiya Tialolo & Lyne Nasha Tialolo who consistently inspire and continue to fuel my pursuit for knowledge. It is my solemn prayer that this intellectual piece will ignite their souls to relentlessly pursue their dreams.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This study would not have materialized without the invaluable support, guidance and criticism of my Supervisor. Prof Hezron Mogambi who shaped my thoughts and guided me through this academic sojourn.

ABSTRACT

This study sought to examine print media coverage of the first female Chief Justice in Kenya. It analyzed two of the major dailies in Kenya; Daily Nation and The Standard newspaper. The study aimed at establishing the patterns of coverage, the issues and the effect of priming or not of the issue. A tool was developed and used to establish on content to obtain data from a four months reports on this issue focusing on the type of stories, story placement, size of story, source and nature of story. The study used the priming and agenda setting theories as theoretical framework. This study found that both The Standard newspaper and Daily Nation newspaper does did not give priority to the issues of appointment of first female CJ in Kenya. This is because, most of the articles published on this issue were straight news and were in the inside pages. They were also written by reporters or writers and did not come out of a seminar or other events which could be categorized as reactive. Additionally, both newspapers did not effectively play their role of setting the agenda in most ways that one would think. The study recommended that stakeholder consultations between the media and various sectors could help better offer better coverage on this salient issue. At the same time, the print media could also publish more stories in analytical nature and those focusing on gender as issue in perspective as a way of educating the public on this important issue instead of straight news only. Editors of The Daily Nation and The Standard and other media outlets could as well set the standards for the gender agenda and ensure its promoted aggressively following the agenda setting and priming theories of the media function.

LIST OF ACRONYMS

CJ; Chief Justice

COK,2010; Constitution of Kenya, 2010

KSL; Kenya School of Law

IEBC; Independent Elections & Boundaries Commission

RRI: Rapid Results Initiative

JTI; Judiciary Training Institute

JPU; Judiciary Police Unit

IDC; International Development of Law Organization

NGEC; National Gender & Equality Commission

IAWJ; International Association of Women Judges

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	iv
ABSTRACT	v
LIST OF ACRONYMS	vi
LIST OF TABLES	ix
LIST OF FIGURES	X
CHAPTER ONE	1
INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background	1
1.2 A Profile of the Chief Justice	1
1.3 Justification of the Study	5
1.4 Problem statement	5
1.3 Research objectives	6
1.4 Research questions	6
1.5 Scope of the study	7
1.6 Significance of the study	7
1.7 Limitation of the study	7
CHAPTER TWO	8
LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	8
2.1 Introduction	8
2.2 Balanced Media Reporting	8
2.3 Print Media Coverage patterns	10
2.4 Priming Theory	10
CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY	12
3.1 Overview	12
3.2 Research design	12
3.3 Population and sampling	12
3.4 Data collection instruments	13
3.5 Data collection	13
CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION	14
4.0 Introduction	14
4.1 Frequency of articles by <i>The Standard</i> newspaper on Martha Koome	14
4.2 Story Placement	17
4.3 Story Size in Cm2	19

4.4 Story Prominence on page	21
4.5 Story Theme	23
4.7 Story Source/Voice/Actor	27
CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	32
5.0 Introduction	32
5.1 Summary of Findings	32
5.2 Conclusions	35
5.3 Recommendations	36
5.3.1 Recommendations for further study	37
REFERENCES	38

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Story Type used by <i>The Standard</i> newspaper in reporting of Martha Koome14
Table 2: Story Type used by <i>The Daily Nation</i> newspaper in reporting of Chief Justice Martha Koome
Table 3: Story Placement used by <i>The Standard</i> newspaper in reporting of Martha Koome .17
Table 4: Story Placement used by <i>The Daily Nation</i> newspaper in reporting of Martha Koome
Table 5: Space used by <i>The Standard</i> newspaper in reporting of Martha Koome19
Table 6: Space used by <i>The Daily Nation</i> newspaper in reporting of Martha Koome20
Table 7: Prominence of the stories on Martha Koome by <i>The Standard</i>
Table 8: Prominence of the stories on Martha Koome by <i>The Daily Nation</i>
Table 9: Themes of the stories on Martha Koome by <i>The Standard</i>
Table 10: Themes of the stories on Martha Koome by <i>The Daily Nation</i> 24
Table 11: Main event covered on Martha Koome by <i>The Standard</i>
Table 12: Main event covered on Martha Koome by <i>The Daily Nation</i>
Table 13: Story source on Martha by <i>The Standard</i>
Table 14: Story source on Martha by <i>The Daily Nation</i>

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Story Type used by <i>The Standard</i> newspaper in reporting of Martha Koome15
Figure 2: Story Type used by <i>The Daily Nation</i> newspaper in reporting of Martha Koome16
Figure 3 : Story Placement by $\textit{The Standard}$ newspaper in reporting of Martha Koome17
Figure 4 : Story Placement used by <i>The Standard</i> newspaper in reporting of Martha Koome
Figure 5: Space used by <i>The Standard</i> newspaper in reporting of Martha Koome19
Figure 6: Space used by <i>The Daily Nation</i> newspaper in reporting of Martha Koome20
Figure 7: Prominence of the stories on Martha Koome by <i>The Standard</i> newspaper21
Figure 8: Prominence of the stories on Martha Koome by <i>The Daily Nation</i>
Figure 9: Themes of the stories on Martha Koome by <i>The Standard</i>
Figure 10: Themes of the stories on Martha Koome by <i>The Daily Nation</i> 24
Figure 11: Main event covered on Martha Koome by <i>The Standard</i>
Figure 12: Main event covered on Martha Koome by <i>The Daily Nation</i>
Figure 13: Story source on Martha Koome by <i>The Standard</i>
Figure 14: Photo Story on Martha Koome by <i>The Daily Nation</i>

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

The Chief Justice is the head of the Judiciary and the President of the Supreme Court in Kenya. The Chief Justice provides a linkage between the Judiciary and other arms of Government. The media is a critical stakeholder in the administration of Justice in Kenya. The media plays a pivotal role in informing the public and other stakeholders on matters pertaining to the Judiciary and illuminating public policy, administration and Governance of the Judiciary amongst other matters of public interest. Print media is one of the means within which media disseminates information to target audiences through publications. This study will majorly focus on two mainstream publications; Nation Newspaper and the Standard Newspaper.

Media coverage of issues plays a key role in agenda setting and shaping public perception. This study seeks to establish the patterns, nature and extent of print media coverage of the First Lady Chief Justice in East Africa and the 5th Lady Chief Justice in Africa, It will cover the period preceding her appointment and her tenure in office for the first one hundred days.

1.2 A Profile of the Chief Justice

The Chief Justice (CJ) presides over the Supreme Court which serves as the highest Court of the Land. The Chief Justice is in charge of various Judicial, administrative and Ceremonial duties as guided by the Constitution of Kenya and particular statutes. Some of the duties include policy formulation and implementation, providing judicial advisory and selection and appointment of judges and magistrates.

Some of the ceremonial duties under the charge of the CJ include presiding over the swearing in to office of the president, the Deputy President and other Government Officials as guided by the Law. The CJ also administers the oath to newly qualified lawyers before their admission to the Roll of Advocates.

The Chief Justice is deputized by a Deputy Chief Justice, and is also in charge of the President of the Court of Appeal, The Principal Judge of the High Court and the Registrar. The Office of the Chief Justice is in charge of access of information on governance and administration of Judiciary and is expected to issue an annual report to the nation covering the state of the

Judiciary and administration of Justice in Kenya being the highest Court its ruling binds all other lower Courts, it is the highest Court of Appeal.

The Office of the Supreme Court where the Chief Justice serves from is established under Article 163 of the Constitution. It is made up of a team of Seven Judges; The Chief Justice, the Deputy Chief Justice who serves as the Vice President of the Supreme Court and five other judges. The Court is physically located at the Supreme Court Building and can only administer its constitutional duties when fully constituted for the court to issue a ruling the five members of the bench must be present.

The Supreme Court is the final arbiter and interpreter of the Constitution its main objective is to assert the Supremacy of the Constitution and the Sovereignty of the People of Kenya and to develop a rich and robust jurisprudence and improve access to Justice.(Judiciary.go.ke,2021).

Before enactment of the Constitution of Kenya, 2010 the Chief Justice was a Presidential appointee who was appointed without a competitive process and thus did not enjoy security of tenure a status that conflicted the independence of the Judiciary as an Independent arm of the Executive and was largely seen just as an appendage of the Executive. With the enactment of the Constitution the Chief Justice is now appointed through a merit based competitive process overseen by the Judicial Service Commission injecting transparency into the process.

The Judicial Service Commission is an independent Commission mandated to interview candidates for judicial positions and make recommendations for appointment to the bench, (Article 171, COK, 2010). The Commission also handles complaints brought against the judges and manages the Judges register of registrable interests it is also the body mandated to provide the state with advisory on matters related to the Judiciary.

Lady Justice Koome is not only the First Female Chief Justice in the East African Region but also one of the Five Lady Justices in Africa. In Kenya She is also the first Chief Justice to have undergone a public interview and vetting process before assumption of office. She comes into office as the 15th Chief Justice to serve the Republic of Kenya as a Chief Justice and the Third Chief Justice to serve after the inauguration of the 2010 Constitution in the new Constitution dispensation.

Her predecessors in this new Constitutional era are Justice Willy Mutunga who served from June,2011-June,2016 and Justice David Maraga whose tenure ran from January 2012-May 2021. (www.kenyalaw.org).

Justice Koome was appointed as the Chief Justice of Kenya in May,2021. The Lady Justice has had an illustrious career in the legal Profession and Civil Society Work spanning over 33 years both in private legal practice and on the bench as a Lawyer, a Magistrate and a Judge serving the Country at different fronts. She has persistently affirmed herself as an advocator of human rights and matrimonial and family law.

Lady Justice Koome was admitted to the bar in 1987, She has a Post Graduate Diploma in Law from the Kenya School of Law (1987). Bachelor of Arts from the University of Nairobi (1986) and a Masters of Law from the University of London (2010).

Some of the notable rulings under her belt include; The Repeal of Section 2A of the Constitution which made Kenya a one party state, Martha Koome was then part of the lawyers that advocated for this Constitutional amendment

A ruling by the Court of Appeal that reversed a High Court decision that had declared Returning Officers hired by the Independent Elections & Boundaries Commission (IEBC) to manage a repeat of the Presidential Election on 26th October,2017 were unlawfully appointed.

Others include Petition 15& 16 of 2015 which was heard by the Supreme Court that challenged the death penalty. Justice Koome has also been a defendant in a matter where During her tenure two High Court judges - Muchelule and Said Chitembwe – were arrested for alleged corruption and consequently the Judiciary developed a protocol framework for handling judges found on the other side of the law.

Justice Koome is on record saying that her focus during her tenure in office is to enhance access to Justice and to clear the case backlog. In the period from July to October, 2021 the Supreme Court Already had Twenty one cases before it (19 appeals and two References), Daily Nation, R. Munguti, 2021.

The First hundred days of Justice Koomes tenure have seen the implementation of Rapid Results Initiatives (RRI) largely touching on improvement of access to Milimani law courts, Securing of 55 Acres of land in Ngong for Construction of a Judiciary Training Institute, Establishment of a Judiciary Police Unit and progress towards operationalization of the Judiciary Fund.

The media as a public watchdog plays a critical role in ensuring accountability and transparency in dispensation of Justice by the Judiciary. The Print Media through its publication of governance, administration and judicial proceedings is able to articulate matters of public interest to key stakeholders and even inform the Judiciary for self-reflection. The media and the Judiciary have been known to enjoy a complimentary yet sometimes conflicting relationship in the discharge of their distinct mandates.

The complexity of this paradoxical relationship is anchored on the fact that politics, justice, economics and the media are intrinsically intermixed with society and culture, (Media & Justice, M. Afaya,2009). This is further fueled by the contrast in the tools of power used by this two whereas the media uses forms of persuasion and influence the judicial system uses the law to affirm its position.

Made (2008) notes that women in governance and leadership positions are portrayed by the media as women who have stepped out of their gender norms of being private. In the Kenyan context, Hon. Martha Koome is the first woman to rise up the Judiciary ranks and hold the position of Chief Justice. The International Development of Law Organization (IDO) in partnership with National Gender and Equality Commission released a report in 2020 to assess some of the challenges that hinder women from acquiring equal and meaningful participation in the Justice system.

The report indicated that gender stereotypes and social norms played a huge role in excluding women from pursuing careers in the justice field. However it was noted that by 2018, women made up 48% of the Judiciary. The report also showed that despite the rise, there is no balanced equity for instance the top positions and echelons of Judiciary have been male dominated. Notably the office of the chief justice, president of the court of appeal and even president of the Supreme Court have perennially been held by a male. Despite the increase compared to years back, the report indicated that female judges, advocates and even magistrates are underpaid compared to their male counterparts.

Imperatively, the National Gender and Equality Commission (NGEC) in collaboration with the International Association of Women Judges (IAWJ)-Kenya Chapter with support from the International Development Law Organization (IDLO) (2021) facilitated an introspective institutional audit of the Judiciary on the principles of gender and inclusion as key

constitutional imperatives. The audit revealed that the Judiciary is progressively accepting gender equality and non-discrimination.

Tuchman (1978) asserts that the media can influence how people think, their opinions on certain issues. According to him, certain issues stressed by the media becomes important in the eyes of the public. This then indicates that if the media portrays Hon. Martha Koome from her gender affiliation, and not her contribution to jurisprudence and administration of justice, then the public will consume that and forms their opinions on her from that perspective.

Braden (1996) argues that while in every democratic society the media strives for objectivity in their reporting, they may be hindered by the culture and stereotypes present in the society. There has been considerable print media coverage of justice Koome from the time the assumed office. This paper thus seeks to establish the issues covered, how they were primed, prominence on coverage and media patterns in the two main dailies.

1.3 Justification of the Study

The appointment and ascension of Justice Martha Koome to the helm of the Judiciary in Kenya has marked many historic firsts, that will be archived in the history of the Judiciary in Kenya. Some of the notable firsts include the fact that her appointment marks the first-ever ascension of a female Chief Justice to the judiciary's helm.

The appointment also positions the Judiciary as the first arm of Government to be compliant with the gender parity rule that seeks to address affirmative action and address inequalities in access to opportunities. Justice Koome was also the first judge to opt for public sessions for her interviews with the Judges and Magistrates Vetting Board in May 2012. The appointment of Justice Koome was also hotly contested by the Law Society of Kenya the Professional Body regulating the lawyer's profession in the Country.

1.4 Problem statement

Media play important roles in society especially on salient issues which are important for all. The Kenyan media, like others across the world, can mobilise citizens with regard to various issues, reproduce predominant culture and society, and entertain (Llanos and Nina, 2011). This is why the media can be an important actor in the promotion of gender equality, and other inequalities, both within the working environment (in terms of employment and promotion of female staff at all levels) and in the representation of women

and men (in terms of fair gender portrayal and the use of neutral and non-gender specific language).

Analyzing how the print media covered the first female Chief justice in Kenya during her first 100 days in office is important because media play an important role in how people form their identities, social norms and values in relation to gender. Despite, the media outlets in Kenya developing guidelines that eliminate gender discrimination against women, they have not put into consideration attention given to women equal to men (Nzomo, 2003). The media has constantly been accused of showing bias in how it represents women. This is despite the 2010 constitution under article (34) calling for a balanced media coverage.

Since Hon. Martha Koome is the first female Chief justice in Kenya, this study seeks to establish what kind of priming was accorded to the Chief Justice by the print media specifically by *Daily Nation* and the *The Standard* newspaper. This is specifically so because research data indicates that men are far more likely to be visible as journalists, experts and subjects than women, and also to be portrayed in a way that values their opinions, experiences and professions. This study attempted to unravel whether media showed more balanced, inclusive and diverse portrayals of gender, thereby contributing to a more just society in Kenya.

1.3 Research objectives

The general objective of this research study is to examine print media coverage of the first female chief justice in Kenya and level of prominence given by the print media in their coverage.

The specific objectives of the study are as follows:

- 1) To determine show issues related to the appointment of the first female chief Justice were primed and given prominence by the print media
- 2) What issues related to the appointment of the first female chief justice were primed and given prominence by the print media in Kenya?
- 3) Establish the patterns of Coverage of the first Female Chief Justice in Kenya's print media, The Daily Nation and The Standard newspapers;

1.4 Research questions

The following are the research questions for this study:

1) How the print media did covered the first female chief justice in Kenya?

- 2) What issues related to the appointment of the first female chief justice were primed and given prominence by the print media?
- 3) What are the patterns of coverage of the first female chief justice?

1.5 Scope of the study

This study will examine newspaper coverage of Hon. Martha Koome during her first one hundred days in office as the first female chief justice. Mendes (2011) states that newspapers have daily publication, circulates to a wide variety of audiences and are timely. This makes them a good option for content analysis for this study since it will be easy to access dated information. Newspapers also contain different styles of writing including features, news stories, editorials, letters to the editor, etc. which makes them a good resource to access different genres of news items. These two newspapers were selected based on the fact that they are the leading newspapers in Kenya in terms of readership and circulation.

1.6 Significance of the study

Although some research, albeit not enough, has been carried out on the way the media covers Chief Justices, few of these studies place emphasis on female chief justices in Africa and none so far has been conducted in Kenya given that Hon. Martha Koome is the first female chief justice in Kenya and the 5th in Africa. The Judiciary is the first public institution to achieve the one third gender rule in the Country's pursuit to achieve affirmative action. The media patterns, issues covered by the media and how they were primed then becomes important as they shape the public perception of the highest court of the Land in the Country.

Empirical evidence from this study will inform policy on media coverage of governance and leadership and in-house editorial policies. The study also contributes to increasing knowledge in the field of gender, media and politics

1.7 Limitation of the study

Hon. Martha Koome is the first female chief justice in Kenya. There is not enough literature on this to contrast how other Chief Justices were covered. Earlier studies have paid so much attention to media coverage of women in politics and not in positions such as the Chief justice.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

Several scholars have conducted studies on how women have been portrayed in the print media especially women in politics. In my research I did not encounter any study that has been done on print media coverage of the first female chief justice in Kenya. The studies conducted before have indicated that women are often under-represented compared to their male counterparts. Issues of gender inequality have been witnessed by these scholars. This study thus seek to establish how the first female chief justice has been covered in the print media and the implications the coverage has on future women who may wish to rise up the ranks and occupy such positions in the country. Gallagher (1981) notes that across developed countries such as the USA, women are often under-represented by the media. She argues that they are portrayed in domestic and maternal roles.

2.2 Balanced Media Reporting

In 1995, during the women's Beijing conference, Gallagher argued that the media should be balanced in representation of women and use non-stereotyping images as the media influences people's perceptions, opinions and even attitudes. Gallagher's study provides a background to this study as it asserts that women are under-represented in coverage by the print media. However, it does not provide the implications the representation may have on future women who may wish to occupy authoritative positions. Mtambalike (1996) established that media portrayal of women through messages and images may shape the perceptions, attitudes and values people will have on them and the offices they hold.

A Kenya government policy document (Kenya Government, 2006) is in line with these thoughts. The document agrees that the media plays a huge role in not only educating the public, entertaining but also in providing useful information on pertinent issues in the country that may concern security, human rights, governance and so on. According to the document (Kenya government, 2006) the Kenyan media has contributed immensely in how the public view women as it has portrayed women in a negative trajectory.

Global Media Monitoring Project (1995) indicated that women are often portrayed as victims of circumstances for instance rape, domestic violence and even female genital mutilation. These thoughts are echoed by the Mediterranean Institute of gender studies (2005) which argue that in most cases women are portrayed as sex objects and also as victims of violence.

The study reiterate that in as much as women receive positive connotations when portrayed as caregivers, it still leads to stereotypes as they are not perceived in terms of what they can do and achieve in life outside home.

Tuchman (1978) established that women lack political, social and economic equality compared to their male counterparts. This then leads to a lack of coverage in the media. It explains why we do not see many women making news. Creedon (1989) also conforms to these ideas as he established that very few women have the resources to own and manage media institutions therefore lacks a platform to tell their stories and experiences truthfully.

Sen and Grown (1987) argue that in most cases, women are not involved in development. This may be a reason as to why they do not access equal opportunities as men in terms of social, economic and political spheres. By enhancing women participation in development through access to resources, employment opportunities and so on, it can lead to better portrayal of them in the media.

Alexander and Hanson (2001) notes that the media unintentionally portray women as sex objects through advertising, where physical appearances are emphasized rather than other attributes. They argue that not only are women are portrayed as sex objects but also as victims of violence or war.

Several studies that have been done in Kenya have also echoed that women have been portrayed as victims of violence. Nzomo and Kameri-Mboto (2004) established that the Kenyan traditional laws are not in line with the international laws with respect to human rights. The Kenyan traditional laws are male oriented whereby women are not supposed to have a voice in the society whereas international laws provides protection of both genders.

Ruth (1998) conducted a study and found out that the print media portrays women as inferior, little, evil and incompetent. She further argues that the reason why men have dominated over women is because women have also been portrayed as lacking moral responsibility. She argues that women even in the bible were seen as a cause of trouble explains why Eve took the forbidden fruit. Thus, women should be controlled less they do more harm.

Mtambalike (1996), Mwangi (1992) and Cherogony (2002) have all argued that women have been portrayed negatively in the media. However, these studies have not provided detailed information on the implications of the negative coverage on women. This study seeks to

analyze the print media coverage of the first female chief justice and the implications the coverage has on perception of women in governance and leadership.

2.3 Print Media Coverage patterns

Over the years there has been growing interest by the media to highlight court matters and particularly the office of the Chief Justice and its role in administration of Justice. A quick reflection from the inauguration of the Constitution of Kenya, 2010 spotlights the Office of the Chief Justice from the first chief Justice under this new dispensation to the incumbent. This affirms that the media has an incomparable power and influence in shaping the information landscape, public perception and attitudes towards matters in the public discourse. (George Gerbner,1980) Our exposure and consumption of media shapes our worldview.

This study intends to analyze print media patterns in covering the First Lady Chief Justice. The Study zooms its lens on leading topics on the print media coverage, the tone and angle of the articles, placement of articles in the two main dailies and length of articles published. The placement of stories in the print media either primes a story or shows its significance in terms of prominence, length of the articles is also another element that signifies the prominence attached to the news story as it indicates depth of information provided. The study will also check whether media coverage of the chief justice has been gendered.

2.4 Priming Theory

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

What this means is that media information and images stimulate related thoughts in the minds of audience members. The mass communication aspect of priming research originated out of agenda setting research, when in 1982, Iyengar, Peters, and Kinder first identified an added dimension as the "priming effect." Founded on the assumption that people do not have elaborate knowledge about political matters and do not take into account all of what they do know when making political decisions — they must always remember what more readily comes to mind from their exposure or priming in their minds.

Essentially, priming refers to "changes in the standards that people use to make political evaluations" (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987, p. 63). In the news context, priming occurs when news content suggests to news audiences that they ought to use specific issues as benchmarks for evaluating the performance of leaders and governments. There are two reasons for this:

(a) Priming is based on memory-based models of information processing. These models assume that people form attitudes based on the considerations that are most salient (i.e., most accessible) when they make decisions (Hastie & Park, 1986). In other words, judgments and attitude formation are directly correlated with "the ease in which instances or associations could be brought to mind" (Tversky & Kahneman, 1973, p. 208); (b) based on the common theoretical foundation, some researchers have argued that priming is a chronological extension of agenda setting (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987).

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Overview

This research study will adopt a qualitative approach. Dornyei (2007) argues that a qualitative study involves data collection procedures that seek to establish meaning and result in non-numerical data. For example content analysis. As mentioned, a qualitative research endeavors to develop an in-depth understanding of meaning. To examine print media coverage of the first female chief justice in Kenya, this study will use content analysis where two dailies will be analyzed; Standard newspaper and Daily nation.

3.2 Research design

As mentioned, this paper will adopt content analysis as a research design. Content analysis is used to determine the presence of concepts or certain words in a text. Text(s) can be in the form of articles, newspaper headlines, books, conversations, book chapters and so on. In order to conduct content analysis of any text, the text is broken down into phrases, theme, and sentences and so on.

Imperatively, using the first newspapers at the end of 19th century, analysis was done manually by measuring the numbers of lines and space given a subject. However, with the rise of common computing facilities like PCs, computer-based methods of analysis are growing in popularity. Content analysis enables the researcher to examine large amounts of textual information and systematically identify its properties, for example, the frequency of used keywords by determining the more important structures of its communication content.

Klaus Krippendorff (2004), argues that six questions must be addressed in every content analysis. They include: Which data is analyzed? How is the data defined? What is the population from which the data is drawn? What is the context relative to which the data is analyzed? What are the boundaries of the analysis and what is the target of inferences?

3.3 Population and sampling

The population for this study will be the total sum of articles covering the first Lady Chief Justice in Kenya that were published in the two newspapers during the period under review; Daily nation and Standard where articles covering Hon. Martha Koome since she assumed office on 21st May 2021 for the next one hundred days will be analyzed. The stories will be selected purposively by the researcher.

3.4 Data collection instruments

The newspaper copies to be analyzed will serve as an instrument by which data will be collected from, that is to say, the thematic articles on coverage of the first female chief justice in Kenya will be obtained.

3.5 Data collection

The newspapers which were sampled were those between 21st may 2021 to 28th August 2021 will be obtained online or in the specific media houses where the dailies are produced.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis and interpretation of the data collected from the two newspapers (*The Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspaper) covering a period of three months i.e. April 1st 2021 to June 31st 2021 just after Kenya's first lady Chief Justice was installed . The data collected was specifically relating to reporting of Martha Koome (CJ) by the two leading newspapers in Kenya.

4.1 Frequency of articles by The Standard newspaper on Martha Koome

Table 1: Story Type used by The Standard newspaper in reporting of Martha Koome

	News	Editorial	Feature	Comment	Advert	Letter to
						editor
April	3 (33.33%)	0	0	0	0	0
May	2 (22.22%)	0	0	0	0	0
June	4 (44.44%)	0	0	0	0	0
Totals	9 (100%)	0	0	0	0	0
Grand Tot	al	9 (100%)				

Table 1 clearly elaborates the story type used by *The Standard* newspaper in reporting of CJ Martha Koome. Straight reported news is seen to be the story type most dominant in terms of reports as it is the only type used (100%) with the other story types – namely editorial, features among others garnering no representation (0%). The lowest frequency of News used as a story type was in the month of May (22.22%) while the highest was on the month of June (44.44%), perhaps because most of the reports were after Kenya's first female chief justice was sworn into office on 21 May 2021.

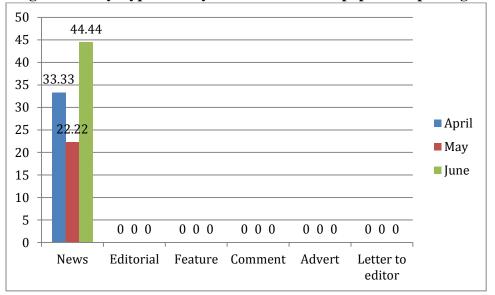


Figure 1: Story Type used by The Standard newspaper in reporting of Martha Koome

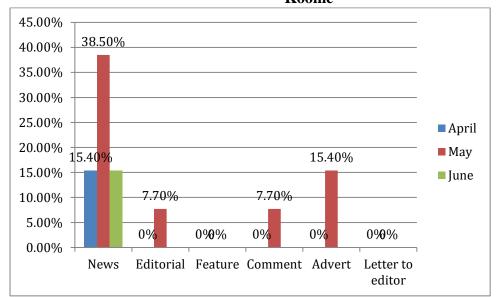
Similarly, Daily Nation also reported on Martha Koome as summarized below:

Table 2: Story Type used by *The Daily Nation* newspaper in reporting of Chief Justice Martha Koome

	News	Editorial	Feature	Comment	Advert	Letter to
						editor
April	2(15.4%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
May	5(38.5%)	1(7.7%)	0(0%)	1(7.7%)	2(15.4%)	0(0%)
June	2(15.4%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
Totals	9(69.2%)	1(7.7%)	0(0%)	1(7.7%)	2(15.4%)	0(0%)
Grand Tota	al	13 (100%))			

Unlike in *The Standard* Newspaper, as seen in table 2, *The Daily Nation* newspaper used more of a variety of story types to report on Martha Koome. Despite the fact that News (69.2%) was most prominent story type just like was for The Standard, Editorial, Comments and Adverts were additionally used. The highest incidence of News as a story type was in May (38.4%) while the lowest was in April and June (15.4%) which garnered the same representation in incidences of reports.

Figure 2: Story Type used by *The Daily Nation* newspaper in reporting of Martha Koome



The data above clearly shows that coverage of story type is different in representation in the two newspapers with *The Standard* focusing on news only and *The Daily Nation* using news, editorial, comment and adverts as story types. It is also clear that the most prominent story type of the ones used in both newspapers is straight news reporting. The frequency of use of news differs between the two newspapers with the month of May being most frequent in *The Daily Nation* and at the same time being least frequent in *The Standard* newspaper.

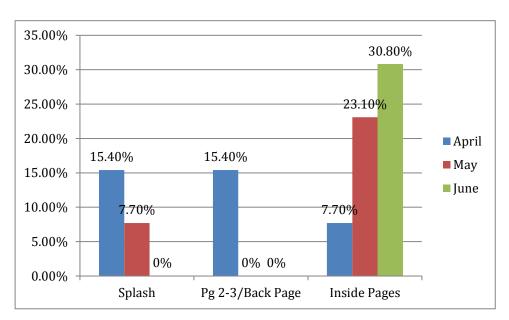
4.2 Story Placement

Under the analysis, sections of the newspaper where reporting on Martha Koome was done were looked at. This included the front page, back page and inside pages.

Table 3: Story Placement used by *The Standard* newspaper in reporting of Martha Koome

Month	Front page	Pg 2-3/Back Page	Inside Pages
April	2 (15.4%)	2(15.4%)	1(7.7%)
May	1 (7.7%)	0 (0%)	3 (23.1%)
June	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	4 (30.8%)
Totals	3 (23.1%)	2 (15.4%)	8 (61.5%)
Grand Total	13(100%)	-	-

Figure 3 : Story Placement by *The Standard* newspaper in reporting of Martha Koome



According to the data, *The Standard* newspaper on story placement during this period, most articles were tucked and placed in the inside pages (61.5%) while the front page and back page accounted for 23.1% and 15.4% respectively. What this means is that the coverage was mostly through news reports and inside pages of the newspaper. The reports on the front page and back page were minimal, 23.1% and 15.4%. It can be deduced that the weight given to the reports on appointment of the first lady Chief Justice in Kenya was low.

Table 4: Story Placement used by *The Daily Nation* newspaper in reporting of Martha Koome

	Front page	Pg 2-3/Back Page	Inside pages
April	2(15.4)	3(23.1%)	0(0%)
May	1(7.7)	0(0%)	4(30.8%)
June	2(15.4%)	0(0%)	1(7.7%)
Totals	5(38.5%)	3(23.1%)	5(38.5%)
Grand Total	13(100%)	-	-

In the *Daily Nation* placement was relatively equally distributed, with the inside and front page pages having exactly equal proportions of 38.5% and the back page having a similar but lower distribution of 23.1%. This differed from *The Standard* whose placement was majorly in the inside pages. This essentially shows the differences in reporting between the two leading newspapers in Kenya. While The Standard mostly reported news and in the inside pages, The Daily Nation had a significant reports on the front page and page 2 and 3 which are also important segments of the newspaper. Specifically, the fact that Daily Nation had 38.5% reports in front page is telling on this issue. This means they gave more importance to the appointment that The Standard. Additionally, The Daily Nation balanced stories on the important pages of the newspaper and the inside pages showing that they balanced their reporting on this issue.

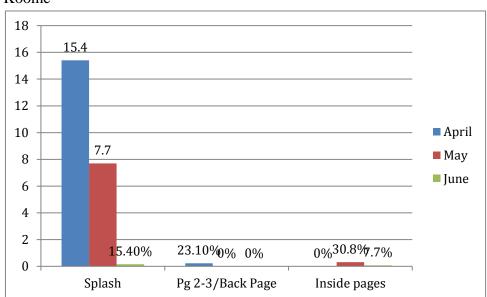


Figure 4 : Story Placement used by *The Standard* newspaper in reporting of Martha Koome

4.3 Story Size in Cm2

Table 5: Space used by *The Standard* newspaper in reporting of Martha Koome The sizes of the articles were categorized depending on their length in cm2. This information was scrutinized and presented as below

	More than 25cm	Less than 25cm	Other
April	4 (36.4%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
May	1 (9.1%)	2 (18.2%)	0 (0%)
June	1 (9.1%)	3 (27.3%)	0 (0%)
Totals	6 (54.5%)	5 (45.5%)	0 (0%)
Grand Total	11(100%)	-	-

Figure 5: Space used by *The Standard* newspaper in reporting of Martha Koome As seen in the data provided above, majority of the stories on Martha Koome in *The Standard* newspaper were allocated large space (more than 25cm) which accounted for 54.5% with minority having a small space (less than 25cm): 45.4% with no representation in other measurements. What this means is that Standard newspaper gave more space to the issue of getting into office by the first female Chief justice of Kenya by allocating larger space for such stories.

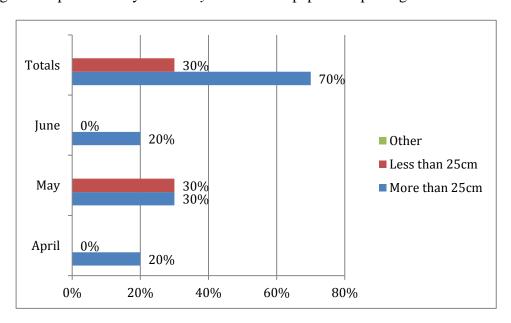
Table 6: Space used by The Daily Nation newspaper in reporting of Martha Koome

	More than 25cm	Less than 25cm	Other
April	2(20%)	0(0)	0(0%)
May	3(30%)	3(30%)	0(0%)
June	2(20%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
Totals	7(70%)	3(30%)	0(0%)
Grand	10(100%)	-	-
Total			

Table 6 shows that, most of the stories (70%) on Martha Koome in The *Daily Nation* newspaper were allocated large space (more than 25cm) with 30% having a small space (less than 25cm) with no representation of the stories seen in other measurements.

What is seen from this data comparatively is that *The Standard* gave less coverage(54.5%) compared to the Daily Nation (70%) especially those stories which were big(more than 25cm) meaning that the *Daily Nation* dedicated more space and pages to the reports on Martha Koome compared to The Standard.

Figure 6: Space used by *The Daily Nation* newspaper in reporting of Martha Koome



The findings of space used by stories on Martha Koome in both newspapers are congruent. The stories were majorly given large space in both newspapers and the small space allocated accounted for few of the stories in both newspapers.

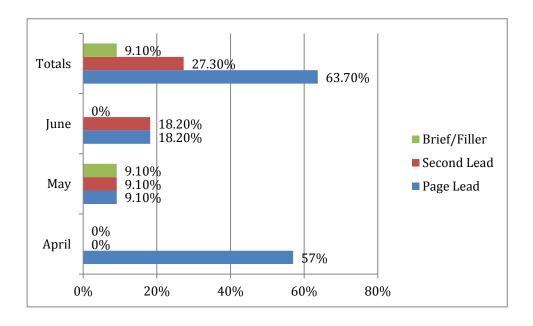
4.4 Story Prominence on page

This relates to how the stories or articles were laid out on whichever page that they finally appeared. This was determined by looking at different levels of headlines which was guided by font size. For the purpose of this study, stories were grouped into four categories; page lead, second story, third story and brief. The data mined is as below:

Table 7: Prominence of the stories on Martha Koome by *The Standard*

	Page Lead	Second Lead	Brief/Filler
April	4 (57%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
May	1 (9.1%)	1(9.1%)	1(9.1%)
June	2 (18.2%)	2(18.2%)	0 (0%)
Totals	7(63.7%)	3(27.3%)	1(9.1%)
Grand Total	11(100%)		

Figure 7: Prominence of the stories on Martha Koome by *The Standard* newspaper



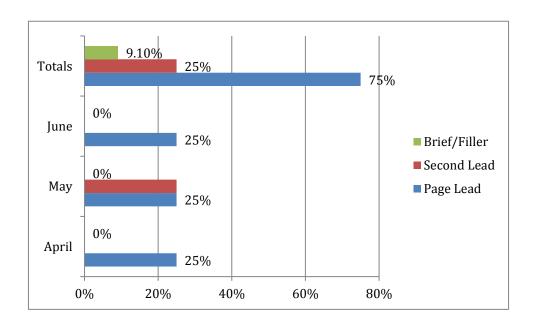
The data above indicates that most articles were covered in the lead page in *The Standard* (63.7%) while few of the articles were covered in the brief (9.1%)

Table 8: Prominence of the stories on Martha Koome by *The Daily Nation*

	Page Lead	Second Lead	Brief/Filler
April	2(25%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
May	2(25%)	2(25%)	0(0%)
June	2(25%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
Totals	6(75%)	2(25%)	0(0%)
Grand Total	8(100%)		

In table 8, *The Daily Nation* has the highest number of stories covered in the page lead (75%) and the least in the second lead (25%) while no article is covered in the brief section.

Figure 8: Prominence of the stories on Martha Koome by *The Daily Nation*



A comparative analysis between the two newspapers reveals that majority of the stories on Martha Koome were on placed on the page lead in both newspapers

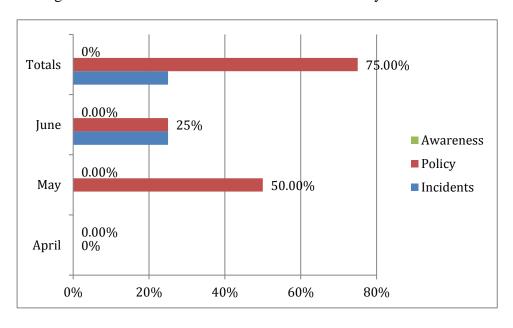
accounting for 63.7% and 75% for *The Standard* and *Daily Nation* respectively. It should also be noted that the brief did not account for story prominence in *The Daily Nation* while in *The Standard* it accounted for the least representation (9.1%). This therefore means most stories on this topic were allocated prominence (page) at *The Daily Nation* compared to *The Standard* newspaper.

4.5 Story Theme

Table 9: Themes of the stories on Martha Koome by The Standard

	Incidents	Policy	Awareness
April	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	4(36.4%)
May	0 (0%)	1(9.1%)	3(27.3%)
June	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	3(27.3%)
Totals	0 (0%)	1(9.1%)	10(91%)
Grand Total	11(100%)		

Figure 9: Themes of the stories on Martha Koome by The Standard



From the data above it can be deduced that most prevalent theme of the stories on Martha Koome *in The Standard* was awareness (91%) followed by policy (9.1%) and with the story theme of incidence recording no coverage.

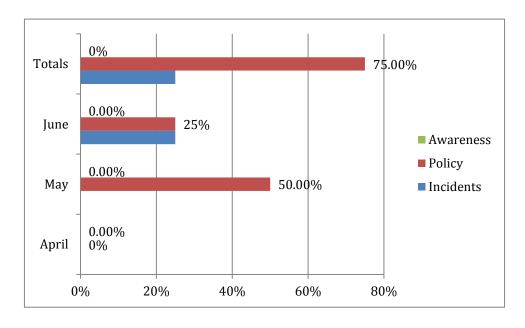
Table 10: Themes of the stories on Martha Koome by *The Daily Nation*

	Incidents	Policy	Awareness
April	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
May	0(0%)	2(50%)	0(0%)
June	1(25%)	1(25%)	0(0%)
Totals	1(25%)	3(75%)	0(0%)
Grand	4(100%)		
Total			

In table 10, *The Daily Nation* is seen to have the highest number of stories based on the theme of policy followed by incidence and with no story with the theme of awareness.

Therefore, from the data we can conclude that in terms of themes, what appears to be the trend on this topic was that awareness was more important for both newspapers than policy issues and incidents.

Figure 10: Themes of the stories on Martha Koome by The Daily Nation



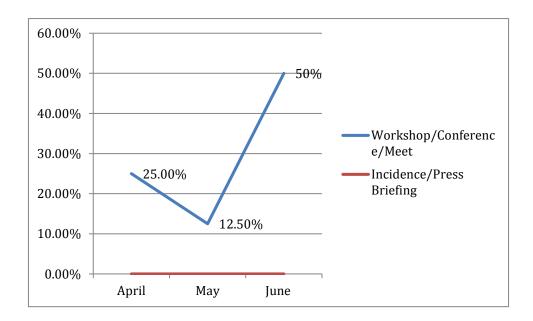
Upon comparison between *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard*, it is seen that most prevalent theme of the stories on Martha Koome in The Standard was awareness (91%) while in The Daily Nation, awareness was not even used as a theme in these stories. The most prevalent story theme in The Daily Nation is policy (75%) which garnered a small percentage in use in *The Standard* (9.1%). Incidence was a theme covered not in the stories by The Standard but it was covered in *The Daily Nation* by a small percentage (25%).

4.6 Main event/occasion

Table 11: Main event covered on Martha Koome by The Standard

	Workshop/Conference/Meet	Incidence/Press Briefing
April	3(37.5%)	0 (0%)
May	1(12.5%)	0 (0%)
June	4(50%)	0 (0%)
Totals	8(100%)	0 (0%)

Figure 11: Main event covered on Martha Koome by *The Standard*



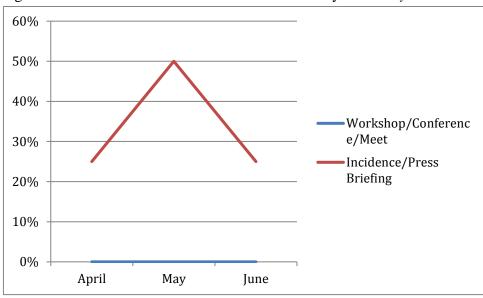
From the table and figure above it can be deduced that press briefings did not record representation in events covered on Martha Koome by *The Standard*, workshops were seen to be adequately covered with the highest coverage in June, accounting for 50% and the lowest coverage in May accounting for 12.5%. This means the news was covered as news events and not anything more, like say analysis, in terms of coverage.

Table 12: Main event covered on Martha Koome by The Daily Nation

	Workshop/Conference/Meet	Incidence/Press Briefing
April	0(0%)	2(25%)
May	0(0%)	4(50%)
June	0(0%)	2(25%)
Totals	0(0%)	8(100%)

As seen in table 12, from the list is seen workshops did not record representation in events covered on Martha Koome by *The Daily Nation*. The press briefings were seen to be covered with the most being covered in the month of May (50%) and the lowest in April and June with equal coverage of 25%. This confirms an earlier assetion that most of the stories were covered as news items and not anything else.

Figure 12: Main event covered on Martha Koome by *The Daily Nation*



The difference between main event coverage of Martha Koome in *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard* is that press briefings were not covered, instead workshops were covered in the former while press briefings were covered in the latter and workshops were not covered. Main event coverage in *The Daily*

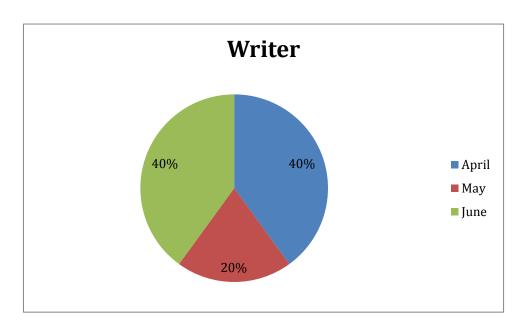
Nation was highest in May accounting for 50% while in The Standard it was highest in June (50%).

4.7 Story Source/Voice/Actor

Table 13: Story source on Martha by *The Standard*

	Writer	Government	Other
April	4(40%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
May	2(20%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
June	4(40%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)
Totals	10(100%)	0 (0%)	0 (0%)

Figure 13: Story source on Martha Koome by The Standard



From the figures above, the only story source in stories on Martha Koome by *The Standard* that is shown used is writer while government and other story sources shown are not used with the stories being most frequent in April and June(40%) and least frequent in May (20%). What this essentially means is that reporters seem to have been the main source of stories about the issues than anything else.

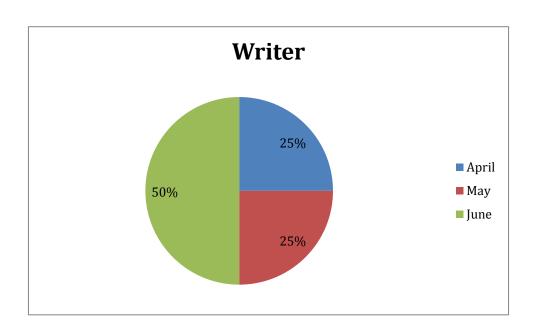
Table 14: Story source on Martha by The Daily Nation

	Writer	Government	Other
April	2(25%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
May	4(50%)	0(0%)	0(0%)

June	2(25%)	0(0%)	0(0%)
Totals	8(100%)	0(0%)	0(0%)

From the figures above, the only story source used in stories on Martha Koome by *The Daily Nation* that is writer. Government and other story sources are not used with the stories being most frequent in May(50%) and least frequent in April and June (25%) just like is with *The Standard* newspaper.

Figure 14: Story source on Martha Koome by *The Standard*



The only story source used in stories on Martha Koome in both *The Standard and The Daily Nation* is writer with both government and other sources not getting representation in terms of story source. The difference between the two newspapers was that the stories were most frequent in April and June (40%) and least frequent in

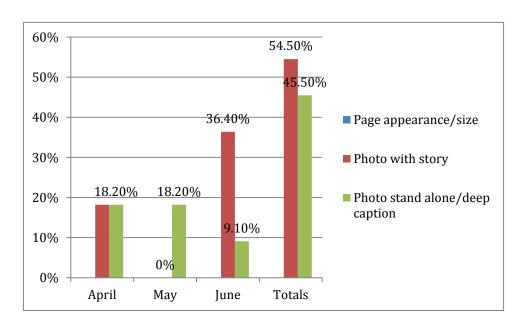
May (20%) in *The Standard* while in *The Nation* stories were most frequent in May(50%) and least frequent in April and June (25%).

4.8 Photo Story

Table 13: Photo Story on Martha Koome by The Standard

	Page	Photo with story	Photo stan
	appearance/size		alone/deep caption
April	0 (0%)	2 (18.2%)	2(18.2%)
May	0 (0%)	0 (0%)	2(18.2%)
June	0 (0%)	4 (36.4%)	1(9.1%)
Totals	0 (0%)	6 (54.5%)	5(45.5%)
Grand Total	11(100%)		

Figure 13: Photo Story on Martha Koome by *The Standard*



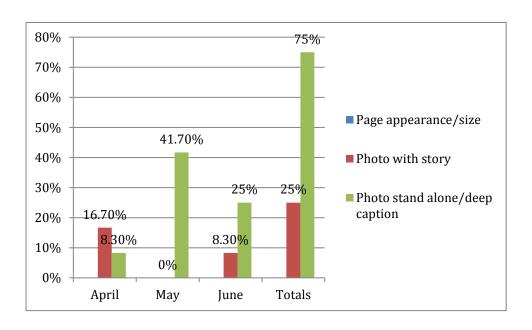
From the figures above, photo with a story represents majority of the stories on Martha Koome (54.5%) by *The Standard* followed by photo stand alone (45.5%). Page appearance did not feature when assessing the stories on Martha Koome. It appears to be a fair representation of the stories or articles because, stories with pictures tell more detailed information in media news.

Table 14: Photo Story on Martha Koome by The Daily Nation

	Page appearance/size	Photo with story	Photo stand alone/deep caption
April	0(0%)	2(16.7%)	1(8.3%)
May	0(0%)	0(0%)	5(41.7%)
June	0(0%)	1(8.3)	3(25%)
Totals	0(0%)	3(25%)	9(75%)
Grand Total	12(100%)		

As seen in table 14, Photo stand alone type was the most frequently used in stories on Martha Koome in *The Daily Nation* (75%) followed by photo with story (25%) and page appearance that made no contribution to the statistics above.

Figure 14: Photo Story on Martha Koome by The Daily Nation



Majority of the stories on Martha Koome in *The Standard* were photo with story which accounted for 54.5% of the stories which is in contrast The *Daily Nation* which had majority of the stories (75%) as photo stand alone.

From the data both from *The Standard* and *The Daily Nation* newspapers, its is clear that stand alone photos were used more than a mixture of story and photos. This may have been because of lack of enough space and the fact that a picture (photo) is worth a thousand words, as they say in news.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter is a summary of findings, recommendations and conclusions of the study on media priming of the appointment of Chief Justice Martha Koome, first female CJ in Kenya.

5.1 Summary of Findings

Various issues came out of the data and study in general as relates to the priming of Martha Koome as the first female Chief Justice of Kenya. First, data showed that straight reported news was seen to be the story type most dominant in terms of reports as it is the only type used (100%) with the other story types – namely editorial, features among others garnering no representation (0%). The lowest frequency of News used as a story type was in the month of May (22.22%) while the highest was on the month of June (44.44%), perhaps because most of the reports were after Kenya's first female chief justice was sworn into office on 21 May 2021. Unlike in *The Standard* Newspaper, as seen in table 2, *The Daily Nation* newspaper used more of a variety of story types to report on Martha Koome. Despite the fact that News (69.2%) was most prominent story type just like was for The Standard, Editorial, Comments and Adverts were additionally used. The highest incidence of News as a story type was in May (38.4%) while the lowest was in April and June (15.4%) which garnered the same representation in incidences of reports.

The data above clearly shows that coverage of story type is different in representation in the two newspapers with *The Standard* focusing on news only and *The Daily Nation* using news, editorial, comment and adverts as story types. It is also clear that the most prominent story type of the ones used in both newspapers is straight news reporting. The frequency of use of news differs between the two newspapers with the month of May being most frequent in *The Daily Nation* and at the same time being least frequent in *The Standard* newspaper.

According to the data, *The Standard* newspaper on story placement during this period, most articles were tucked and placed in the inside pages (61.5%) while the front page and back page accounted for 23.1% and 15.4% respectively. What this means is that the coverage was mostly through news reports and inside pages of the newspaper. The reports on the front page and back page were minimal, 23.1% and 15.4%. It can be deduced that the weight given to the reports on appointment of the first lady Chief Justice in Kenya was low.

In the *Daily Nation* placement was relatively equally distributed, with the inside and front page pages having exactly equal proportions of 38.5% and the back page having a similar but lower distribution of 23.1%. This differed from *The Standard* whose placement was majorly in the inside pages. This essentially shows the differences in reporting between the two leading newspapers in Kenya. While The Standard mostly reported news and in the inside pages, The Daily Nation had a significant reports on the front page and page 2 and 3 which are also important segments of the newspaper. Specifically, the fact that Daily Nation had 38.5% reports in front page is telling on this issue. This means they gave more importance to the appointment that The Standard. Additionally, The Daily Nation balanced stories on the important pages of the newspaper and the inside pages showing that they balanced their reporting on this issue.

As seen in the data provided above, majority of the stories on Martha Koome in *The Standard* newspaper were allocated large space (more than 25cm) which accounted for 54.5% with minority having a small space (less than 25cm): 45.4% with no representation in other measurements. What this means is that Standard newspaper gave more space to the issue of getting into office by the first female Chief justice of Kenya by allocating larger space for such stories.

On story placement, the data showed that, most of the stories (70%) on Martha Koome in The *Daily Nation* newspaper were allocated large space (more than 25cm) with 30% having a small space (less than 25cm) with no representation of the stories seen in other measurements.

What is seen from this data comparatively is that *The Standard* gave less coverage(54.5%) compared to the Daily Nation (70%) especially those stories which were big(more than 25cm) meaning that the *Daily Nation* dedicated more space and pages to the reports on Martha Koome compared to The Standard.

The findings of space used by stories on Martha Koome in both newspapers are nearly the same. The news stories were majorly given large space in both newspapers and the small space allocated accounted for few of the stories in both newspapers.

In terms of placement, a comparative analysis between the two newspapers reveals that majority of the stories on Martha Koome were on placed on the page lead in both newspapers accounting for 63.7% and 75% for *The Standard* and *Daily Nation* respectively. It should also be noted that the brief did not account for story prominence in *The Daily Nation* while in *The*

Standard it accounted for the least representation (9.1%). This therefore means most stories on this topic were allocated prominence (page the stories appeared) at *The Daily Nation* compared to *The Standard* newspaper.

The themes which were covered by the stories show from the data above that most prevalent theme of the stories on Martha Koome *in The Standard* was awareness (91%) followed by policy (9.1%) and with the story theme of incidence recording no coverage. *The Daily Nation* is seen to have the highest number of stories based on the theme of policy followed by incidence and with no story with the theme of awareness. Therefore, from the data we can conclude that in terms of themes, what appears to be the trend on this topic was that awareness was more important for both newspapers than policy issues and incidents Comparatively, when one looks at the two leading newspapers in Kenya, *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard*, it is seen that most prevalent theme of the stories on Martha Koome in The Standard was awareness (91%) while in *The Daily Nation*, awareness was not even used as a theme in these stories. The most prevalent story theme in *The Daily Nation* is policy (75%) which garnered a small percentage in use in *The Standard* (9.1%). Incidence was a theme covered not in the stories by The Standard but it was covered in *The Daily Nation* by a small percentage (25%).

This means the news was covered as news events and not anything more, like say analysis, in terms of coverage. Workshops did not record representation in events covered on Martha Koome by *The Daily Nation*. The press briefings were seen to be covered with the most being covered in the month of May (50%) and the lowest in April and June with equal coverage of 25%. This confirms an earlier assetion that most of the stories were covered as news items and not anything else.

Looked at more interpretatively, the difference between main event coverage of Martha Koome in *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard* is that press briefings were not covered, instead workshops were covered in the former while press briefings were covered in the latter and workshops were not covered. Main event coverage in *The Daily Nation* was highest in May accounting for 50% while in The Standard it was highest in June (50%).

Looking at the sources of the stories which were published by the two newspapers on the subject, the only story source in stories on Martha Koome by *The Standard* that is shown used is writer while government and other story sources shown are not used with the stories being most frequent in April and June(40%) and least frequent in May (20%). What this essentially means is that reporters seem to have been the main source of stories about the

issues than anything else. From the figures above, the only story source used in stories on Martha Koome by The Daily Nation that is writer. Government and other story sources are not used with the stories being most frequent in May(50%) and least frequent in April and June (25%) just like is with *The Standard* newspaper. On the other hand, the only story source used in stories on Martha Koome in both The Standard and The Daily Nation is writer with both government and other sources not getting representation in terms of story source. The difference between the two newspapers was that the stories were most frequent in April and June (40%) and least frequent in May (20%)in *The Standard* while in *The Nation* stories were most frequent in May(50%) and least frequent in April and June (25%). In terms of use of photos and stories together, from the data, photo with a story represents majority of the stories on Martha Koome (54.5%) by *The Standard* followed by photo stand alone (45.5%). Page appearance did not feature when assessing the stories on Martha Koome. It appears to be a fair representation of the stories or articles because, stories with pictures tell more detailed information in media news. Majority of the stories on Martha Koome in The Standard were photo with story which accounted for 54.5% of the stories which is in contrast The *Daily Nation* which had majority of the stories (75%) as photo stand alone. It also emerged that *The Standard* and *The Daily Nation* newspapers, stand alone photos were used more than a mixture of story and photos. This may have been because of lack of enough space and the fact that a picture (photo) is worth a thousand words, as they say in news.

5.2 Conclusions

This study tried to analyze how important issues is packaged and disseminated to the audience by print. Media in Kenya. The study used *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspaper in analyzing how print media primed the issue of appointment of Martha Koome as the first female CJ in Kenya. This study found that both *The Standard* newspaper and *Daily Nation* newspaper does did not give priority to the issues of appointment of first female CJ in Kenya. This ie because, most of the articles published on this issue were straight news and were in the inside pages. They were also written by reporters or writers and did not come out of a seminar or event which could be categorized as reactive. This study used two theories; Agenda-setting theory and Priming theory. From the data, both newspapers did not effectively play their role of setting the agenda in most ways that one would think. This means that the theories cannot and did not work in this instance of in influencing public opinion on an issue of importance like gender, being historic in Kenya as it happened in this case.

Priming theory deals with making certain issues most accessible to many peopole through the media. The issue of making and bringing the gender agenda to the fore by pushing stories of appointment of first female CJ in Kenya. Having stories on this case in the inside pages, given low spaces and generated by reporters only did not help to set the agenda. In this respect therefore, the newspapers did not prime this agenda adequately in Kenya. The study also found that the focus of articles was straight news reporting on accident than on issues on policy and educating the public. In the case priming stories on appointment of first

issues on policy and educating the public. In the case priming stories on appointment of first female CJ, and reporters tend to favour stories with perceived high magnitude and consequences in terms of deaths and serious injuries. This was confirmed by this study where only stories on news events which were carried as lead stories on the pages they appeared in the respective newspaper.

The study concludes that there is need for media to be more proactive in reporting major incidences in the country like the one under investigation. In conclusion, this study highlighted that the Kenyan print media can play an important role in promoting proactive media coverage and priming important issues in the country. This is because increasing the media's role in focusing on such issues could be achieved through multi stakeholder consultations, as well as by looking at sector specific measures.

5.3 Recommendations

Agenda setting and priming of important issues in any society or country is very important in development and media. The findings indicate not a proactive in reports on the issue of appointment of the first female CJ in Kenya as most of the stories were buried in te inside pages and where they were not, not considerable space was given to the coverage. Stakeholder consultations between the media and various sectors can help better coverage. At the same time, the print media could also publish more stories in analytical nature and those focusing on gender as issue in perspective as a way of educating the public on this important issue instead of straight news only.

Editors of The Daily Nation and The Standard could as well set the standards for the gender agenda and ensure its promoted aggressively following the agenda setting and priming theories of the media function.

5.3.1 Recommendations for further study

The media have the potential to bring important issues in any society to the fore and bring public attention to it, and thereby literally "sell" the agenda. Industry stakeholders could use this yardstick towards ensuring the issues which are of public interest and concern are raised and adequately addressed through setting such agenda. In this respect, it is important to understand how the public views the gender agenda messaging in general with a view of developing better strategy to improve reporting and media agenda setting and priming ion important societal issues and vice-versa.

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