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**Setting the Agenda for Conflict: Newspaper Framing of  
Referendum Campaigns on the Proposed Constitution in  
Kenya**

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**Dedicated to Alice, Natalie and 'Toto'.**

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**DECLARATION**

I DANIEL OKOTH ..... registration number K 50/P/7752/e4 do hereby  
declare that this project has not been submitted for examination in any other university.

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## ABSTRACT

Campaigns for the 2005 referendum on the proposed new constitution in Kenya was marked by violence, acrimony and claims of media bias. This study set out to investigate those claims and to establish whether the media were biased as claimed. Although the results seem to support claims that *Nation* was pro-Hanana and *Standard* pro-Orange, the media were neutral in general terms.

Both newspapers made a reasonable attempt to harmonise the headlines and content of neutral stories. The percentage of neutral headlines and neutral content was almost equal and balanced. The attempt to remain impartial was, however, watered down by cartoons that favoured Orange over the Hanana side.

On conflict, there was little evidence of attempts to frame headlines to reflect orientation towards or against any side. In the 213 headlines depicting conflict, the newspapers did not play up conflict stories above the others. Only 27% of the sampled headlines depicted conflict. Although the study shows that the two mainstream newspapers did not set the agenda for conflict, it does not mean that they did not play a part in it. However, there was evidence of sensationalised stories — those with headlines that hyped certain emotions without supporting content. In that sense, it may be said that the newspapers fuelled the conflict during the referendum campaigns.

In terms of placement, 30 of the conflict headlines in both newspapers were on Page 1 stories. Of the 58 headlines depicting conflict, 51% had the highest priority. Conflict stories had only 1% greater visibility over non-conflict stories. Thus the two newspapers did not set the agenda for conflict through placement of conflict stories.

## 1. BACKGROUND

When colonialism ended in Africa in the 1960s, many countries in the continent modelled their constitutions on the multiparty systems of their former colonial masters. But within a few years, these evolved into single party systems, which dominated the continent until the 1980s and early 1990s after the collapse of communism. With the Cold War ended, agitation for democracy took root, leading to the demise of single-party systems in most countries, including Kenya.<sup>1</sup>

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The agitation for a new constitution in Kenya began in the 1980s after the Constitution was amended in 1982 to change the political system from multiparty to a *de jure* single-party system. Under the independence constitution hammered out at Lancaster, England, Kenya had many political parties, including Kanu and Kadu. From 1964 to 1966, and between 1969 and 1982, Kenya was a *de facto* one-party state. The break between the two periods was marked by the formation of the Kenya People's Union in 1967 and the subsequent detention of the leader, former vice-president Jaramogi Oginga Odinga. Afterwards, only Kanu remained active, and in 1982, Parliament amended the law to make the country a *de jure* a single party system.<sup>2</sup>

The battle for a new constitution was fought in many forums and in various ways, culminating in the proposed constitution, which was to be ratified through a referendum

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1 Institute for Education in Democracy, *Political Party Organisation and Management in Kenya. an Audit*, IED, Nairobi, 1998, p.9.

2 Ibid., pp.18-21.

in November 2005. Numerous newspaper articles have been written on the need for a new constitution. Although the demarcations between opposing groups were not always clear, conflict was always evident throughout the constitutional review debate. Sometimes, it was the government versus the public, at other times it was Kanu versus other parties, and at other times, it was government supporters versus opposition supporters.

As the referendum approached in November 2005, a new conflict emerged between various institutions. For example, the court ruling on the legality of the processes that led to the Wako Draft, caused conflict between supporters of an executive Prime Minister and those for a powerful presidency as enshrined in the present Constitution. Newspaper reports exposed a bitter rivalry between those for a parliamentary system and those supporting a powerful presidency. The conflict emerged when it was proposed in the Bomas Draft that Parliament regulates its own calendar (as opposed to leaving it to the President to prorogue the *National Assembly*)

As the debate on institutional authority progressed, another conflict emerged between supporters of centralised government and those for devolved government. Proponents of the constitutional change wanted a system in which authority and control of resources was devolved from the central government to districts, counties and locations. Some proponents of devolution, especially Bomas Draft supporters, proposed a four-tier system, Wako Draft proponents were content with a two-tier system.

Ghai and Cottrell (2004) argue that major differences arose even within the ruling coalition on how to approach the constitutional review. Although a committee was set up



to try to reach a consensus on the system of government and the issue of devolution, this consensus did not hold, culminating in the rejection of the committee's report by the Bomas delegates.<sup>3</sup>

Newspaper reports of the ruling on a case in which the Yellow Movement went to a constitutional court to stop the referendum also exposed a conflict between the people's right to make a new constitution on one hand, and Parliament's authority to amend the views of the people. Further, there emerged a conflict between referendum supporters and those opposed to the referendum being conducted before Section 47 of the Constitution was amended to allow for it.<sup>4</sup>

Hence the conflict unfolded as:

- a) Parliamentary versus presidential system of government
- b) Centralised government versus devolved government
- c) Five tier devolution (Bomas Draft) versus two tier devolution (Wako Draft)
- d) The people's right to make a new constitution versus the right of constitutionally established institutions to amend the people's views on the constitution.
- e) Conducting the referendum with the present Constitution as it is, and conducting it after amending Section 47 of the Constitution.

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3. Ghai, Y.P. and Cottrell, J., *The Role of Constitution-Building Processes in Democratisation: Case Study Kenya*, paper drafted for International IDEA, Stockholm, 2004, p.12.

4. Agutu, M., Kadida, J., 'Why judges back vote', *Daily Nation*, November 16, 2005.

The four months before the November 21 national referendum on the constitutional review in Kenya have been marked with numerous articles in the newspapers. This study focuses on newspaper articles because they are more permanent (not transient like radio and TV stories). Further, it is assumed that Kenyans take newspapers as more authoritative than the broadcast media.

By the time Attorney General Amos Wako published the proposed new constitution,<sup>5</sup> there had been acrimony in and outside Parliament over the Bomas Draft passed in March 2003 by the national constitutional conference. Parties had been arguing over a Naivasha meeting of political parties Kanu, the *National Alliance Party of Kenya* (NAK) and the *Liberal Democratic Party* (LDP) called to harmonise contentious issues arising from the Bomas Draft. By the time the Naivasha Accord was hammered out, LDP and Kanu were already coalescing together against NAK, whose majority members formed President Kibaki's inner circle. LDP and Kanu joined up to oppose the proposed new constitution under the banner of the *Orange Democratic Movement* (ODM).

The Proposed New Constitution presented by Wako was the one on which Kenyans were to accept or to reject by voting at the national referendum on November 21, 2005. The proposed constitution had a preamble and 21 chapters. One of the journalism's concerns is the role of the media in determining public participation in issues that affect society. Berelson (1948), in his analysis of communication effects, concluded: "Some kinds of

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5. *The Proposed New Constitution of Kenya*, Special Issue of the Kenya Gazette Supplement, No 63, 2005, Government Press, Nairobi.

communication on some kinds of issues brought to the attention of some kinds of people under some kinds of conditions have some kinds of effects.<sup>6</sup>

Agenda-setting theory focuses on the choice news organisations make in prioritising their coverage, their emphasis on certain events and the subsequent perceived ability to define what the public deems as the most important.

## 1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

There were claims of media bias in the coverage of the referendum campaigns.

Politicians and the public claimed that the media helped the Orange team to defeat the proposed constitution. An opinion poll by Steadman Associates released on October 21, 2005, showed that 43 per cent of Kenyans thought that the media was biased in its coverage of the constitutional review.<sup>7</sup>

A study by Peter Oriare (2005) for the Friedrich-Ebert Foundation showed that the public, including journalists, felt that editors slanted stories to suit certain viewpoints.

“However, when each journalist was asked if their individual stories had been changed by senior editors to suit certain editorial or political positions, 55.7 percent said their stories had not been changed while 33.3 percent consented. On further probing, when asked if they knew any reporter whose story had been changed by senior editors to suit certain

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6. Berelson, B. Communication and Public Opinion, in W. Schramm (ed.), *Communication in Modern Society*, University of Illinois Press, Chicago, 1948, p. 351

7. Steadman Opinion Poll, Nairobi, October 21, 2005

editorial or political positions, 56.7 percent said yes while 43.3 percent said they did not know of any such reporter.”<sup>8</sup>

The study also showed that “although most newspapers were equally critical to both sides of the Referendum Campaign, the *Sunday Standard* and *Standard* were more critical to the Yes Side than any other media while the *People* were most critical to the No Side.”<sup>9</sup>

This bolsters the theory that although the media may not operate like the magic bullet, they set the agenda and order the stage on which political battles are fought. This study focused on how newspaper coverage might have influenced voters, thus determining the outcome of the referendum.

Oriare’s study provides a useful analysis of newspaper coverage of the referendum campaigns. However, it does not examine the link between bias and conflict as played out in the newspapers. This study builds on Oriare’s study and seeks to establish whether, by using pro-Banana and pro-Orange stories, newspapers fuelled conflict during the referendum campaigns

### 1.3 IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

In the 1920s and 1930s, a theory emerged that the media were mighty tools of communication. Known as the Magic Bullet Theory, it proposed that the media audience was passive, easily manipulated by media messages. The media messages were viewed as

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8. Oriare, P., Friedrich-Ebert Foundation, *Media Scorecard The Coverage of Referendum Campaigns 2005*. Nairobi, 2005.

9 Ibid

magic bullets that struck all members of the audience equally and created uniform effects among them. But critics of the Magic Bullet Theory, e.g. Paul Lazarsfeld, argued that the media only had limited effects and affected different members of the audience in different ways.<sup>10</sup>

The study attempts to advance knowledge on mass communications and how media messages work during political campaigns. It is important to government as it shows how media campaigns can be used to sway opinions in society. It is also important to politicians, showing them how newspapers sway votes during elections.

The Electoral Commission and election monitoring bodies may also find this study useful as a guide for establishing media bias during campaigns, especially in public organisations like the Kenya Broadcasting Corporation, which by law is supposed to remain politically neutral. Scholars may also find the study useful in showing how media campaigns work and why they are perceived to be powerful. For the public, this study gives a glimpse into how government, politicians and the media may manipulate public opinion.

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10. McQuail, Denis, *Mass Communication Theory*, Sage Publications, London, 2002.

## **1.4 GENERAL OBJECTIVE**

This study examines whether newspaper coverage of the referendum campaigns on the proposed constitution set the agenda for conflict. It gives a glimpse into how conflict, as portrayed in newspaper articles during the campaign period, might have led to the defeat of the proposed new constitution

### **1.4.1 SPECIFIC OBJECTIVES**

1. To find out how the mainstream newspapers reported conflict during the referendum campaigns.
2. To establish the priority given to conflict reports in the mainstream newspapers during the referendum campaigns.
3. To establish the nature of bias in the two selected mainstream newspapers in the coverage of referendum campaigns.
4. To identify the indicators of agenda-setting in newspaper coverage of the referendum campaigns.

## 1.5 DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

The following are definitions of key terms and concepts as used in this study:

**Agenda-setting:** A mass media theory that attempts to explain the correspondence between the rate at which media cover a story and the extent that people think the story is important

**Agenda-building:** The process through which the policy agenda of political elite is influenced by a variety of factors, including media agenda and public agenda

**Banana group:** Politicians, political parties, civil society groups and individual voters who openly supported the proposed new constitution. Political parties included the *National Party of Kenya (NPK)*, *Ford Kenya*, *Ford People* and the *Democratic Party (DP)*. Also known as the 'Yes group'.

**Bias:** Not being open-minded and neutral about the facts, lack of dispassion and impartiality, having an agenda and shaping the news to fit it, and favouritism to a particular social or political group, or all of these. In this study, indicators of bias include placement of stories, choice of words in headlines and body text, the use of pictures, and the satirisation of the antagonists through cartoons.

**Conflict:** A state of opposition, disagreement or incompatibility between two or more people or groups of people, which is sometimes characterized by physical violence. In this study, indicators of conflict include the use of words like: *Violence*, *Clash*, *Fight*,

Attack, Battle, Fracas, Havoc, Chaos, Dispute, Argue, Disagree, Divide, Polarise, Threaten, Outrage, Rival, and Showdown, in newspaper headlines and body text

**Event:** A discrete happening that is limited in space and time.

**Framing:** The process of calling attention to some aspects of reality while obscuring others, which might lead to different reactions; the selection of a restricted number of thematically related attributes for inclusion in the media agenda when a particular object is discussed. While framing has been associated more with television, it also occurs in newspapers. In this study, lack contextualization of some conflict stories during the referendum campaigns is an indicator of framing.

**Need for orientation:** A willingness to let the media shape one's thinking arising from high relevance and uncertainty.

**Issue:** A series of related events that fit together in a broad category involving cumulative news coverage.

**'No' group:** Those who voted against the proposed new constitution. Also referred to as the Orange group (below).

**Orange group:** Politicians, political parties, civil society groups and individual voters who opposed the proposed new constitution. Political parties included the Kenya African National Union (Kanu) and the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) operating under the banner of the Orange Democratic Movement.



**Priority:** Placement of news and the use of supporting material (e.g. pictures and illustrations) for a newspaper article. Front Page lead stories with supporting material are considered as having the highest priority, while inside-page stories with no supporting material have the lowest priority.

**Referendum:** A direct vote in which an entire electorate is asked to either accept or reject a particular proposal.

**'Yes' group:** Those who voted for the proposed new constitution at the referendum. Also referred to as the Banana group.

## 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1 AGENDA-SETTING AND CONFLICT

The Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English defines conflict as "a state of disagreement or argument between people, groups, countries etc". Conflict is sometimes characterised by physical violence. Conflict has been a news determinant by journalistic tradition. Michael Roloff argues that "communication can cause conflict, be symptomatic of conflict, and may be an effective mode of conflict resolution."<sup>11</sup>

Roloff further argues: "Given conflict is a pervasive phenomenon in society, it is not surprising that it is frequently described in newspapers, news magazines, and TV stories... Members of the news media prefer stories containing conflict and especially those affecting large groups of people. Stories containing conflict have increased chances for publication or broadcast. Furthermore, consumers of the news share this interest in stories of wide-ranging conflict."<sup>12</sup>

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The constitutional review debate, especially in the lead up to the national referendum, were sometimes characterised by violence. Newspaper reports on the campaigns employed the language of conflict. There were headlines like "MPs *clash* at rally, Town under *siege* as mob attacks Hanana group, MP's car burnt as *violence* intensifies...". While the use of certain words might have been unavoidable, editors' and reporters'

11. Roloff, E. Michael, 'Communication and Conflict,' in Berger, Charles R. and Chaffee, H. Steven (Eds ), *Handbook of Communication Science*, Sage, London, 1987, p485.

12. *Ibid.*, p501

choice of certain words over others constitutes the framing and symbolism that defined the conflict during the referendum campaigns.

Kodi Barth argues the media gave MPs from Nyanza, especially Raila Odinga and Raphael Tuju, more coverage than other politicians. He says the two got a "free forum" to escalate their rivalry. He also argues that the media appear to be obsessed with conflict and prominent personalities and suggests that they can help resolve conflict. "Why is no one blowing the whistle when media run clips where leaders carelessly refer to their political rivals with the combat term 'enemy'? What does it achieve to call a press conference to vent out unchecked emotion? ... But shouldn't the media know better than (to) keep fanning indecency?... Conflict and prominent names rank high in picking news. But if people should die as a result, it would help if the media went down on bended knees."<sup>13</sup>

This study examined agenda-setting and portrayal of conflict in newspaper coverage of the referendum campaigns. The assumption is that newspapers conveyed a sense of high priority of certain information to readers, particularly those over which politicians were portrayed to be fighting over. The implication was that such issues, given the importance newspapers attached to them, were more important than those hidden elsewhere.

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13. Barth, K., 'Is the Media Guilty of Incitement?' in *The Sunday Standard*, November 6, 2005.

## 2.2 NEWSPAPERS AND AGENDA-SETTING

The number of times an issue is covered, its placement in the newspaper (front page) and treatment (illustration, use of pictures and background stories), give salience to an issue. Although the theory of agenda setting has been around for at least 70 years, the term "agenda setting" was first used in a 1972 study by Maxwell E. McCombs and Donald L. Shaw, when they interviewed 100 undecided voters in chapel Hill, North Carolina, ahead of the 1968 presidential election. The study showed that agenda-setting by the media does take place and that media focus on certain issues determines their salience in the eyes of the public.

There's a follow-up on Bernard Cohen's earlier argument that the media "may not tell us what to think but they are highly effective in telling us what to think about".

McCombs and Shaw (1977) argue that "the general notion of agenda setting — the ability of the media to influence the salience of events in the public mind — has been part of our political culture for at least half a century. Recall that the opening chapter of Walter Lippmann's 1922 book *Public Opinion* is titled, 'The World Outside and the Pictures in Our Heads.' As Lippmann pointed out, it is, of course, the mass media which dominate in the creation of these pictures of public affairs."<sup>14</sup>

Although McCombs and Shaw's agenda setting remains in communication lexicon to date, subsequent research did not always support their assertions. Berger C.R and Chaffee S.H (2000) argue that agenda-setting applies "only to people with a high need for orientation". They also support the hypothesis that coverage of issues by a newspaper

14. Shaw, D.L., & McCombs, M. (Eds.), *The Emergence of American Political Issues*, St Paul, MN: West, 1977, p.5.

corresponds strongly with the issues voters use in deciding how to vote. "As a simple two-construct prediction, it is certainly parsimonious, and in its matching of the orders of the two sets of issues it is internally quite consistent ... it has been heuristically provocative; many studies have been organised around the idea. So it has fairly strong predictive power. It is falsifiable, in that several studies have searched for agenda setting effects and not found them ... We know how to look for agenda-setting effects, and we can organise them clearly when they occur, but we do not know much yet about how or why they occur — or why they do not"<sup>15</sup>

Harris Gunter (2000) argues that researchers conceptualise the mass media agenda, the public agenda or the policy agenda as a dependent variable to explain how it is influenced by other factors. He says the mass media have been identified as "omnipotent communication systems that link the public to policy makers". He argues that political parties and the public are linked to each other through the mass media in what has been referred to as "media dependency".<sup>16</sup>

Rogers and Dearing (1988) identified two main research traditions in agenda research: (1) Agenda-setting, a process through which the mass media communicate the relative importance of various issues and events to the public, and (2) agenda-building, a process through which the policy agendas of political elites are influenced by a variety of factors, including media agendas and public agendas.<sup>17</sup> This study follows the first approach, which has been the main concern for communication scholars. In the Kenyan case, the

15. Berger, C.R and Chaffee, S.H 'What Communication Scientists Do' in *Handbook of Communication Science*, Berger, C.R and Chaffee, S.H (Eds.), Sage, London, 1987, p. 105

16. Gunter, B., *Media Research Methods*, Sage, London, 2000, p193.

17. *Ibid.*

role of the media was seen in similar light, since the media was blamed for bias and for fanning animosity during the referendum campaign

But not everyone attributes political change to mass communication. Although they say "society cannot exist without communication," Lewis A. Dexter and David M. White (1964) argue that "communication cannot occur outside the social system", implying that what happens in society dictates the kind of communication that takes place. They say, "We find credit given to mass communicators for changing the course of history and we find attacks on mass communicators for failing to use their 'tremendous influence,' as the critic would like, but very little effort to determine whether, taking into consideration the whole set of social circumstances, mass communications would be at most more effective than the flea who sat on the elephant's back and chanted, 'how powerful am I!'"<sup>18</sup>

Dexter and White (1964) say that although mass communication is important, significant and even influential, one cannot attribute societal change to the media directly. "It is well to be cautious and to evaluate the whole social situation before attributing too much influence to one factor (mass communications) in a total social complex. Nowadays, a great many people do overemphasise this one factor because mass communications are more visible (easier to watch and study) than for instance, interpersonal communications or collective self-images."<sup>19</sup>

While there were many actors in the referendum campaigns, including politicians, civil society, State agents and the voting public, the media were singled out as having the

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18. Dexter, A.L. and White, D.M. (Eds.), *People, Society and Mass Communication*, Free Press, NY, 1964, p711

19. *Ibid.*

greatest influence, perhaps because of their pervasiveness. Much of what voters see in the news eventually shapes their attitudes. Although they may not be directly involved in politics, the media play an integral part in that since politicians, State agents and the voting public communicate to each other through them. In the words of T.V Smith (1963), "they also serve who only articulate"<sup>20</sup>

Further, Herbert Hyman argues that when political actors and the public interact through the media, they (media) serve as packages of information that influence communication significantly. He says: "In pondering the significance of patterns or packages of communication content for political socialisation, the relations between core political content and non-political wrappings, one soon realises that the wrapping alone may make some contribution by itself."<sup>21</sup>

Newspaper reports have perceived and actual bias. Perceived bias can be seen in the October 2005 Steadman Opinion Poll, for example, in which 43 percent of respondents felt that the media were biased in their coverage of the referendum campaigns. Due to limitations of space and time, it is not possible for newspapers to record every event or issue. Even for a specific issue like the referendum campaigns, not every related event was covered. Even then, certain issues and events get prominent treatment, for instance, Page One placement. If an issue appears on Page One of a large circulation newspaper for a while (presumably at the expense of other issues that deserve similar treatment), readers may be justified to think the newspaper is biased.

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20. Pys, L.W. (Ed.), *Communications and Political Development*. Princeton University Press, NJ, 1963, p 58.

21. Hyman, Herbert. 'Mass Media and Political Socialisation: The Role of and Patterns of Communication' in *ibid* , p129.

Dexter and White justify this selectivity. "No communicator can avoid selecting what to emphasise and what to minimise, and such selection is always made, in part, in terms of the publisher's editor's, writer's view as to what is important, desirable, and fair. In part, it is also made in terms of the tradition of the particular newspaper or station or medium; and in part in terms of the conception of truth value..."<sup>22</sup>

In newspaper reports, it is important to distinguish between issues and events. According to Shaw (1977), "events" are "discrete happenings that are limited in space and time." "Issues" are defined as those "involving cumulative news coverage of a series of related events that fit together in a broad category".<sup>23</sup>

According to Barrie Gunter, "one of the main reasons for interest in agenda-setting research appeared to offer an alternative to the scholarly search for direct media effects on attitude and overt behaviour change." But communication research has shown that there is no clear connection between attitude and behaviour. Further, the media's role in either has not been demonstrable. But agenda-setting research, while not concerning itself so much with whether the media shape attitudes directly, shows that the way issues are portrayed in the newspapers affect their perceived salience in the minds of readers.

According to Gunter (2000), "agenda-setting rejected persuasion as the central (media) effect of concern. Rather than having their attitude reshaped as a consequence of

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22. Dexter, A.L. and White, D.M. (Eds.), *People, Society and Mass Communication*, Free Press, NY, 1964, p22.

23. Shaw, D.L., *The Press Agenda in a Community Setting*, in Shaw and McCombs (Eds.) *The Emergence of American Public Issues: the Agenda-setting Function of the Press*, St Paul, MN: West, pp19-31, quoted in *ibid*, p194.



exposure to media, the alternative assumption was that people acquired information about the salient events and issues of the day from the media.<sup>4</sup>

Since agenda setting research is based on Cohen's statement that "the mass media do not tell people what to think but what to think about", the concept of "thinking about something" can be operationalised to give an indication of how the media influence what a newspaper audience "thinks about". According to Gunter (2000), "a casual relationship is presumed to exist between the amount of coverage the media give to an event, and how prominent it is in the public consciousness. The act of judging the salience of an issue is deemed to be equivalent to, or an operationalisation of, the concept of 'thinking about' something. For McCombs and Shaw (1972), agenda-setting embraces the psychological processes of 'attention' and 'learning'. People not only learn about an issue through the mass media, they also judge how much of coverage it has recently been given by the media"<sup>5</sup>

McCombs argues that studies on agenda-setting should explore the question, "Who set the media's agenda". He suggests that the media's agenda is set by political, business, and government leaders along with their public relations personnel, the various media (e.g. wire services), the culture of news organisations, and the personal characteristics of journalists. He adds to the list the practices and norms of journalism as a profession. "A parsimonious hypothesis about the influence that patterns of news coverage have on the

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24 Gunter, B., *Media Research Methods*, Sage, London, 2000, Op. cit., p195

25 Ibid , p196

salience of issues among the public has evolved into a detailed theory about the practice of journalism and the focus of public attention."<sup>26</sup>

According to Dexter and White, what newspaper editors and writers believe about their readers also influences the content of their articles. "Writers, broadcasters and political speakers all select what they are going to say and decide how they are going to say it in terms of their beliefs about the audience.... And likewise, there is a tendency for some general newspapers to stress controversy, excitement and conflict on the basis of the probably well-founded belief that the sensational does attract readers and sell newspapers."<sup>27</sup>

But how does communication, particularly newspapers, influence public opinion if at all? One way is influencing attitudes and behaviour through information that seems to satisfy readers' needs. W. Phillips Davison (1964) argues: "The communicator can influence attitudes or behaviour only when he is able to convey information that may be utilised by members of his audience to satisfy their wants or needs. If he has control of some significant aspect of his audience's environment, his task may be an easy one. All he must do is tell people about some environmental change or expected change that is important to them."<sup>28</sup>

Although Shapiro and Gentzkow (2006) argue that media firms try to avoid being seen as biased, evidence of slant still comes through in newspaper articles. They say: "...media

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26. McCombs, M., 'Myth and Reality in Scientific Discovery: The Case of Agenda-Setting Theory,' in Dervin, B., Chaffee, S.H., Foreman-Wernet L. (Eds.), *Communication, a Different Kind of Horse Race: Essays Honouring Richard F. Carter*, Hampton Press, NJ, 2003, p27

27. Op cit., p19.

28. Davison, P.W., 'On the Effects of Communication' in Dexter, A.L. and White, D.M. (Eds.), *People, Society and Mass Communication*, Free Press, NY, 1964, p86.

firms desire to maintain a reputation for accuracy in reporting. The high costs firms are willing to incur to gather information provide strong evidence of such an incentive, as does the response of media firms whose reports are revealed to have been inaccurate”<sup>29</sup>

The results by Oriare confirm this theory by Shapiro and Gentzkow.

Robert C. Sorensen (1964) argues: “Above all, the measurement of communications effectiveness is the payoff.”<sup>30</sup> Proponents of agenda setting may argue that the payoff from newspaper stories on the referendum in Kenya was in trying to influence votes for or against the proposed new constitution.

### 2.3 NEWSPAPERS AND CONFLICT

During the referendum, newspapers conveyed information on the referendum. On one hand, they showed that although a new constitution was necessary, rejecting the proposed one would challenge the Kibaki administration and shift the political base from his ‘Mt Kenya mafia’ seen to be behind Kenya’s political woes. Accepting it, on the other hand, would perpetuate the Kibaki administration and pull the rug from under his enemies’ feet. In line with Davison’s argument above, newspapers had control over the information that reached readers. The expected change in political leadership or the perpetuation of the existing one (if the proposed constitution were passed) made their task of getting “the payoff” an easy one.

29. Gentzkow, M., and Shapiro, J.M., ‘Media Bias and Reputation,’ *The Journal of Political Economy*, 2006, 114(2), pp 280-316.

30. Sorensen, C.R., ‘Media Research and Psychological Warfare’ in Dexter, A.L. and White, D.M. (Eds.), *People Society and Mass Communication*, Free Press, NY, 1964, p451

More than 11.5 million registered Kenyans voted on November 21, 2005. In the lead-up to the vote, editorial policies of the mainstream Kenyan newspapers, *The Standard* and the *Nation*, tried to remain neutral although there were claims that the *Nation* subtly supported the Banana side. In the end, *The Standard's* support for the Orange Democratic Movement was one of the major factors that helped defeat the proposed constitution. Thus *The Standard* succeeded in defeating the proposed constitution by setting the agenda against it.<sup>11</sup>

Literature on agenda-setting and conflict are based on western media systems and political campaigns. For example, Shaw and McCombs based their research that gave rise to the term "agenda setting" on an American public. But detailed empirical studies on how newspapers in Africa influence voting are almost non-existent. Socio-economic differences between Africa and the West may mean that despite demonstrable agenda-setting in previous studies, the theory works differently in Africa. According to Berger and Chaffee (1987), "one can replicate (agenda setting studies) across societies. For example, does agenda-setting work in countries other than the United States, where it was originally tested? Agenda-setting might be a peculiarly American phenomenon."<sup>12</sup>

No studies exist on agenda-setting by newspapers during political campaigns or a referendum in Africa. Further, no studies have been done to show the link between agenda-setting and conflict as reported in Kenyan newspapers. Yet still, no studies have been done on African newspapers and agenda-setting during political campaigns as

11. Friedrich-Ebert Foundation, *Media Scorecard: The Coverage of Referendum Campaigns 2005*, Nairobi, 2005.

12. Berger, C.R and Chaffee, S.H. 'What Communication Scientists Do' in *Handbook of Communication Science*, Berger, C.R and Chaffee, S.H. (Eds ), Sage, London, 1987, p278.

significant as a referendum on a developing country's proposed constitution. Notable socio-economic differences exist between Africa and the West. This study examines agenda-setting by newspapers in Kenya with possible general application in other African countries.

### 3. METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1 SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The study covers newspaper articles in the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* in the period from August 1, 2005 to November 20, 2005, the last three months before the national referendum on the proposed constitution. Due to limitations of time and financial resources, the newspapers were sampled for an indication of their coverage of the referendum campaigns.

Since it builds on the study by Oriare (2005) authoritatively showing that "most newspapers were equally critical to both sides of the referendum campaign, this study focuses on the use of pro-Orange and pro Banana stories."<sup>33</sup> Since Oriare clearly establishes the balance of stories critical to the Banana and Orange sides, no attempt was made to duplicate that aspect, hence no statistics on anti Orange and anti Banana stories were collected in this study

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#### 3.2 CODING AND PRIORITY INDICATORS

Since this study focuses on agenda setting and conflict, the prioritisation of conflict-related news was used. The unit of analysis was whole articles focusing on the

<sup>33</sup> Oriare, P., Friedrich-Ebert Foundation, *Media Scorecard: The Coverage of Referendum Campaigns 2005*, Nairobi, 2005.

referendum. The use of the following key words in headlines and body text were analysed:

**Violence, Clash, Fight, Attack, Rattle, Fracas, Havoc, Chaos, Dispute, Argue, Disagree, Divide, Polarise, Threaten, Outrage, Rival, and Showdown**

A prioritisation index was set to show how other news that appear to be as important as those on Page 1, for example, are relegated to lower priority positions in favour of the lead story.

**Table 1: Coding index:**

Placement	Code	Priority
Page 1 lead story with picture	1	High
Page 1 second story with picture	2	"
Editorial	3	"
Main article in Letters Page	4	"
Page 3 main story	6	Medium
Page 3 second story	7	"
Main back page story	5	Low

Depending on their placement, conflict stories in the selected newspapers were labelled as "high", "medium" or "low" priority. In the index above (Table 1), to indicate agenda setting for conflict, Code 1 is used to signify placement on Page 1 where referendum-related stories with a conflict motif are given priority over equally weighty stories.

Placement of a story on Page 1, accompanied by a picture or an illustration, is considered the highest indicator of prioritisation. This is because the majority of potential voters,

including those who do not necessarily buy the newspaper, read the articles. In this study, the length of Page 1 stories included the continuation on inside pages. The message in a newspaper story is bolstered by the use of a picture or an illustration. Garcia and Stark (1991) point to pictures and graphics as the main "entry points" for pulling the reader's eye into a newspaper page.<sup>14</sup>

The next level of prioritisation represented by Code 2, is one in which a conflict-related article is placed as second story on Page 1. At the third level of prominence is the editorial represented by Code 5, as they are considered to be the voice of the newspaper. The tone of the editorial, being the "voice of the newspaper", is also a good indicator of bias.

The fourth level of prominence is that of the main article in the 'Letters to the Editor' (represented by Code 4). 'Letters to the Editor' is the only page in a newspaper where readers give direct feedback to the editor in their own words. They give a reasonable indication of what readers are "thinking about". Letters pages, in the newspapers under study, come immediately after the editorials.

Next in the level of prominence is the Page 3 main story, followed by the Page 3 second story. Hack Page stories (Code 5) are considered to be the next level of prominence, since many readers are assumed to pay more attention to them than stories in the inside pages.

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<sup>14</sup> Garcia, M.R. and Stark, P., quoted in *The Role of Local Design Factors for Newspaper Reading Behaviour*, Holmqvist K., Wartenberg C., Lund University Cognitive Studies, 127, 2005, p. 2.



According to Low and Williams (2000), a cartoon is “a drawing, representational or symbolic, that makes a satirical, witty, or humorous point”.<sup>35</sup> Editorial cartoons use symbolism, exaggeration, labelling, analogy and irony to make a point. While this study did not engage in a detailed analysis of cartoons, those that appeared in the selected newspapers were categorised in terms of bias towards the protagonists and portrayal of violence.

As the Chinese proverb goes, a picture is worth a thousand words. A press photographer may choose to highlight certain aspects of an event or the persons pictured. She chooses the angle to take it from, the moods to play up and what to play down. A picture of crowds may show the numbers as huge or small depending on various factors. Further, selection, editing and cropping of pictures sends a message. In this study, Page 1 pictures were analysed for signs of bias and whether they depicted violence.

### 3.3 TARGET POPULATION

The study focuses on newspaper articles carried in the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard*. The reports covered various political parties, to which 220 MPs belonged. At the time of the referendum campaigns, there were five parties represented in Parliament: the *National Rainbow Coalition* (Narc), *Kanu*, *Ford People*, *Sisi Kwa Sisi* and *Safina*. As far as the referendum was concerned, there were three major divisions: those supporting the

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35. Low, David and Williams, R. E., *Political Cartoon, The American Presidency*, Grolier, 2000.

proposed constitution (also known as the Wako Draft in the newspaper articles), those opposing it and neutral MPs.

Political stories in newspapers focused on leaders (including the President), the Constitution of Kenya Review Commission and the Electoral Commission as major players in the national referendum. Further, newspaper articles focused on the 21 chapters of the proposed constitution. *The Standard* and *Daily Nation* stories during the campaigns form the target population.

### 3.4 RESEARCH DESIGN

The research was done through content analysis. Berelson (1948) describes content analysis as "a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication."<sup>36</sup>

Content analysis, according to Wimmer and Dominick (1994), has five main purposes

1. To describe patterns or trends in media portrayals
2. To test hypotheses about the policies or aims of media producers
3. To compare media content with the real world
4. To assess the representation of particular groups in society

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36. Gunter, B., *Media Research Methods*, Sage, London, 2000, p58.

## 5. To draw inferences about media effects<sup>37</sup>

In this study, content analysis, particularly discourse analysis, was used mainly to describe the patterns of media portrayal of conflict and to test the agenda-setting theory by newspapers. To a lesser extent, he used to assess the representation of the main actors in the referendum campaigns and to draw inferences about the effect of newspaper stories.

The unit of analysis was entire articles carried in the selected newspapers. On discourse analysis, Fowler argues that "news is a representation of the world in language — it imposes a structure of values, social and economic in origin on whoever is represented. News is a representation in the sense of construction; it is not a value-free reflection of 'facts' ... each particular form of linguistic expression in a text — wording, syntactic option, etc. — has its reason."<sup>38</sup>

In the content analysis of newspapers, articles were examined for the space dedicated to conflict stories, and the tone of words (indicating bias towards any of the protagonists). Reactions by readers, through 'Letters to the Editor' and commentaries in the two newspapers, were analysed for their focus on conflict to give insights into whether newspaper coverage of the constitutional review affected perception of the salience of issues.

<sup>37</sup> Winnet, R.D. and Dominick, J.R. (1994) quoted in *ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> Gunic (2000), p87-88.h

### 3.5 SAMPLING METHOD

Since the study focuses on mainstream newspapers in Kenya, *The Standard* and the *Nation* were purposively sampled out of a possible six daily newspapers. This is partly because of their wide readership and perceived influence. Because of limitations in time and finances, it was not possible to study all Kenyan daily newspapers that carried articles on referendum campaigns.

The *Nation* has an average circulation of about 100,000 a day (on weekdays) and about 120,000 on Sundays. *The Standard* has an average circulation of about 80,000 a day. The difference is not wide enough to warrant weighting selected stories by circulation size. A straight random sample of the two newspapers, which are read by similar audiences, gave a selection that "rings true" to the news content on any chosen day to suit this study.

In the study, newspaper articles were chosen from referendum stories in the news pages and "Letters to the Editor". The population of newspapers between August 24, 2005 — when the proposed new constitution was presented to the Attorney General — and the referendum date, November 21, 2005, is shown below:

**Table 2: Population of newspapers**

Month	Number of days
August 24-31	8
September	30
October	31
November	25
<b>Total</b>	<b>96</b>

This gives 96 newspaper editions, with one for each day of the referendum campaigns. Since this study focuses on two newspapers, *The Standard* and *Nation*, the total number of newspaper editions came to 192. The table of daily newspaper editions between August 24 and November 25 is shown below:

**Table 3: Population of daily newspaper editions**

Aug 24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	Sept 1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	Oct 1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	Nov 1
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
22	23	24	25						

From this table, 24 days were drawn in a random sample, giving a total of 48 editions of both the *Nation* and *The Standard*. Computer generated random numbers gave the following editions of *The Standard*:

**Table 4: Editions of Newspapers Sampled**

Month	Edition Date								
August	30	12	7	18					
September	30	29	14	21	27	24	7	12	30
October	4	6	26	5					
November	21	17	8	6	2	11	19		

A second set of random numbers gave the following editions of *Nation* newspapers.

**Table 5: Editions of Newspapers Sampled**

Month	Edition Date									
August	31									
September	1	24	25	10	19	8	6	30	28	20
October	24	30	27	18	23					
November	19	15	8	13	20	24	9	4		

Although Stempel and Westley (1981) argue that days of the week sampled out of a population of newspapers may affect randomness<sup>19</sup>, in this study, the referendum remained a consistent issue in newspapers throughout the campaigns. Almost all days of the week during the campaign period carried at least a news story or a letter to the editor related to the referendum, including weekends. Hence the selection of days in the sample does not compromise reliability or validity of results.

### 3.6 DESCRIBING BIAS

There are many indicators of bias in newspaper stories. One can measure the extent by assigning values to bias by looking at: story selection, omission, placement, headlines, selection of sources, spin, labelling, and endorsement or condemnation. Lee and Solomon (1990) give the following eight categories of analysis:

1. Bias through selection and omission. What stories, events or perspectives are included or not included.

<sup>19</sup> Stempel, G.H. and Westley, B.H., *Research Methods in Communication*, Prentice-Hall, NJ, 1981, p 125.

called intros) and picture captions. A smaller number of readers go through the average story all the way through to the end, if it is captivating enough.

As Lee and Solomon imply, Page 1 stories have the biggest impact not only because they are so prominently placed but also because of the headline size. Since they are often supported with colour pictures or graphics, the impact is more than that of other stories elsewhere in the same newspaper. Pictures can be used to support or convey an emotion or to illustrate a story.

Names of groups or individuals and their designation may also indicate bias on the part of an editor. In campaigns where political rallies are common, crowd numbers can indicate an editor's bias. Large crowds in a certain rally may be used to depict the politician involved as popular. Small crowds give the opposite message.

Quoting certain sources in a story and confers status on their messages. The use of "experts" may give the impression that the information is reliable, authoritative and final.

Word choice in a headline and the text, giving it a "spin" or framing of stories may also indicate bias.

## 4. DATA COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS

The study generated both qualitative and quantitative data. Qualitative data came mainly from the content analysis of the mainstream newspapers, while the in-depth questions generated quantitative data

### 4.1 CODING SHEETS

(See Appendix II)

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Key to coding marks:

x — Negation sign. Means the newspaper article in question did not match the suggested indicator, e.g. on Aug 31, the Page 1 other story was on the referendum campaign but the headline was not pro-Banana

√ — Agreement sign. Means the newspaper article in question matched the suggested indicator, e.g. on Sept 20, the Page 1 lead story in the *Nation* had a pro-Banana headline.

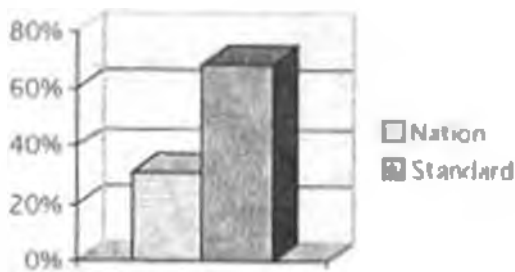
— — Means no article matched either of the suggested indicators, e.g. in Coding Sheet 1A, no referendum campaign story was used as the lead story on page 1 in the *Nation* newspaper on Aug 31.



## 4.2 DATA ANALYSIS

### Pro-Banana Headlines

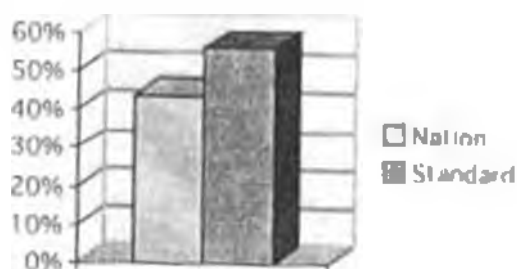
There were 23 headlines with pro-Banana words in the sampled newspapers. Out of that number, 16 were carried by the *Standard* and 7 by the *Nation*. Thus the *Standard* had 69% of the pro-Banana headlines. *Nation* had the remaining 31%.



Of the *Standard* headlines, 8 were on Page 1, making a figure of 30.7% of pro-Banana headlines. The *Nation* had 3 Page 1 such headlines, giving 13% of the pro-Banana headlines in the sample. Editorials had no pro-Banana headlines, while there were 2 main letters to the editor with pro-Banana headlines. Of these, the *Standard* and the *Nation* had 1 letter to the editor each. The *Nation* carried no pro-Banana headlines on the Back Page lead stories, while the *Standard* had 1. On Page 3 of both newspapers, there were 6 pro-Banana headlines.

### Pro-Orange Headlines

On the other hand, there were a total of 32 pro-Orange headlines in the two newspapers. Of these, the *Standard* carried 18 (representing 56%) while the *Nation* carried 14 (representing 44%).

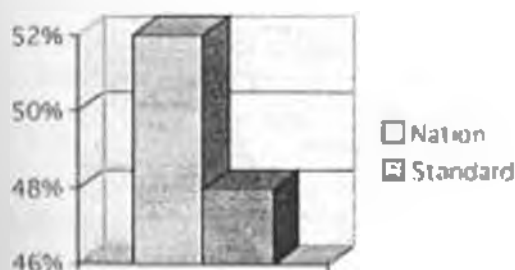


Of the pro-Orange stories, 14 (representing 44%) were on Page 1, with the two newspapers carrying 7 each. Only 1 editorial headline in the *Standard* carried pro-Orange words. There was no pro-Orange word in the *Nation* editorial headlines in the sampled newspapers. Both the *Standard* and the *Nation* carried 1 letter to the editor with pro-Orange words, while there was no Back Page story with such words. On Page 3, there were 15 pro-Orange headlines, with 9 in the *Standard* and 6 in the *Nation*.

Thus the two newspapers carried more pro-Orange headlines (58%) than pro-Banana ones (42%). The *Standard* carried more pro-Orange headlines (56%) than the *Nation* (44%). Of the 21 pro Banana headlines, the *Standard* carried 69%, while the *Nation* carried 31%.

## Neutral Headlines

Of the sampled two newspapers in the study period, there were 116 neutral headlines, i.e. those neither favouring Orange nor Banana sides. This is more than twice the number of headlines that favoured either side (55). Of the neutral headlines, 56 were carried by the *Standard*, representing 48%, while the *Nation* carried 60, representing 52%.

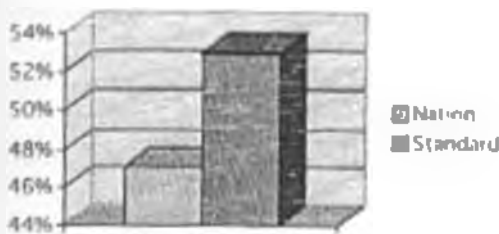


The *Nation* carried 16 neutral headlines on Page 1 lead stories, 8 on the Page 1 second stories, 4 in the editorials, 7 in the main letters to the editor, 3 in the Back Page lead stories, 12 on the page 3 lead stories, and 10 on the page 3 second stories.

In the sampled *Standard* newspapers, there were 12 neutral headlines in the page 1 lead stories, 3 on page 1 second stories, 12 in the editorials, 11 in the main letters to the editor, 4 in the Back Page lead stories, 8 in the page 3 lead stories, and 6 in the page 3 second stories.

## Pro-Banana Content

In the sampled newspapers, the size of stories that seemed to favour the Banana side was 5,641cm<sup>2</sup>. This size includes their continuation on subsequent pages, also referred to as the 'turn'. Stories carried in the *Nation* came to 2,654.5cm<sup>2</sup> representing 47%, while those in the *Standard* were 2,986.5cm<sup>2</sup> representing 53%.

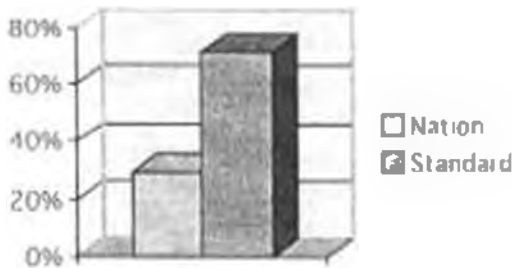


In the *Nation*, Page 1 lead stories with pro-Banana content amounted to 1,345cm<sup>2</sup>, while page 1 other stories with such content came to 560cm<sup>2</sup>. There were no editorials with manifest pro-Banana content, while letters to the editor with such content amounted to 316cm<sup>2</sup>. There were no Back Page stories with such content. Page 3 main stories with pro-Banana content amounted to 254cm<sup>2</sup> and Page 3 second stories 179.5cm<sup>2</sup>.

In the *Standard*, Page 1 stories with pro-Banana content came to 1,043cm<sup>2</sup>, while Page 1 second stories with such length came to 869cm<sup>2</sup>. There were no editorials with manifestly pro-Banana content. The letters to the editor amounted to 67.5cm<sup>2</sup>. Back Page lead stories 295cm<sup>2</sup>, Page 3 lead stories 388cm<sup>2</sup>, and Page 3 second stories 324cm<sup>2</sup>.

## Pro-Orange Content

Stories that had pro-Orange content amounted to 11,373.5cm<sup>2</sup>. Of these, stories in the sampled *Nation* newspapers took 3,278cm<sup>2</sup>, representing while the *Standard* took 8,095cm<sup>2</sup>.

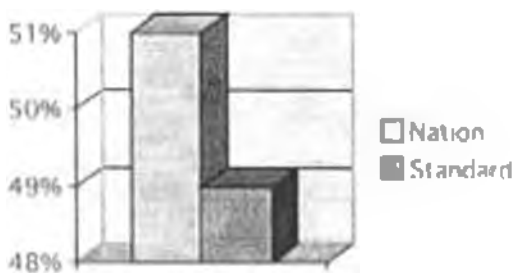


The *Nation* had 1,229cm<sup>2</sup> of pro-Orange stories on Page 1 and 774cm<sup>2</sup> of such stories as Page 1 second stories. There was no manifestly pro-Orange editorial, neither was there a Back Page lead story with such content. However, there was 481cm<sup>2</sup> of letters to the editor, 382.5cm<sup>2</sup> of Page 3 lead stories and 411.5cm<sup>2</sup> of Page 3 second stories.

In the *Standard*, there was 443cm<sup>2</sup> of Page 1 lead stories with pro-Orange content, 870cm<sup>2</sup> carried as Page 1 second stories, and 318cm<sup>2</sup> of editorials with such content. There was 137cm<sup>2</sup> of main letters to the editor, 0cm<sup>2</sup> of Back Page stories, 1,163cm<sup>2</sup> of Page 3 lead stories, and 270cm<sup>2</sup> of Page 3 second stories.

### Neutral Content

The size of stories in the two newspapers that favoured neither Orange nor Banana contenders was 15,752cm<sup>2</sup>. Of that, *Nation* contributed 8,095cm<sup>2</sup>, representing 51%, while *Standard* contributed 7,657.5cm<sup>2</sup>, representing 49%.

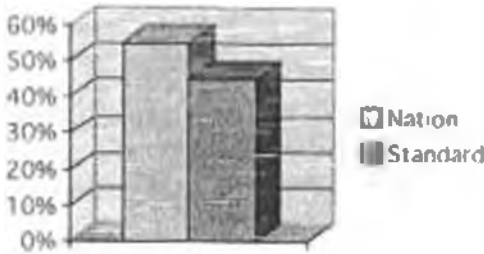


In the *Nation*, Page 1 lead stories with neutral content took 3,212cm<sup>2</sup>, Page 1 other stories took 1,269cm<sup>2</sup>, editorials 848cm<sup>2</sup>, and main letters to the editor took 831cm<sup>2</sup>. Back page lead stories took 415cm<sup>2</sup>, Page 3 lead stories 1,888cm<sup>2</sup> and Page 3 other stories took 463.5cm<sup>2</sup>.

The *Standard* had 3,527cm<sup>2</sup> of neutral stories carried as Page 1 leads. Page 1 other stories took 731cm<sup>2</sup>, and editorials took 112.5cm<sup>2</sup>, while main letters to the editor took 1,750cm<sup>2</sup>. Back page lead stories took 236cm<sup>2</sup>, Page 3 leads 650cm<sup>2</sup> and page 3 other stories took 651cm<sup>2</sup>.

### Headlines Depicting Conflict

There were a total of 58 headlines that depicted conflict. Of these, 26 were in the *Standard* and 32 in *Nation*.



In the *Nation*, 12 of the conflict headlines were Page 1 main stories, five on Page 1 other stories, none in the editorials, five on the main Letters Page, 4 on Page 3 lead stories, 1 on a Back Page lead story and 5 on the other Page 3 stories. In the *Standard*, 11 of the conflict headlines were on Page 1, two on Page 1 other stories, 5 in the editorials, none in the Letters to the Editor, 1 on a Back Page lead story, 5 on Page 3 lead stories, and 2 on Page 3 other stories.

### Stories Depicting Conflict

The total size of stories depicting conflict was 11,732.5cm<sup>2</sup>. Of these, stories in the *Nation* contributed 6,199.5cm<sup>2</sup>, representing 53%. Stories depicting conflict that were carried in the *Standard* took 5,533cm<sup>2</sup>, representing 47%.



*Nation* had 3,098cm<sup>2</sup> of such stories as Page 1 lead stories, while the *Standard's* Page 1 lead stories took 2,918cm<sup>2</sup>. Of the Page 1 second stories, *Nation's* took 1,062cm<sup>2</sup> while *Standard's* took 2,918cm<sup>2</sup>. In the *Nation*, Page 1 second stories took 1,062cm<sup>2</sup>, while those in the *Standard* took 518cm<sup>2</sup>. While the *Nation* had no editorial depicting conflict, the *Standard* had stories amounting to 614cm<sup>2</sup>.

*Nation* carried 767cm<sup>2</sup> of main letters to the editor depicting conflict, while the *Standard* had none. The *Nation* had 1 Back Page main story of 165cm<sup>2</sup> depicting conflict, while the *Standard* had 2 stories taking 303cm<sup>2</sup>. On Page 3 main stories depicting conflict, the *Nation's* stories took 632.5cm<sup>2</sup>, while the *Standard's* took 954cm<sup>2</sup>. Page 3 second stories in the *Nation* took 475cm<sup>2</sup>, while those in the *Standard* took 226cm<sup>2</sup>.

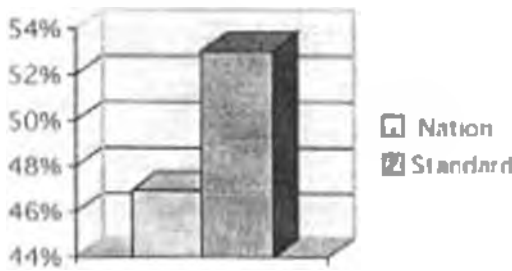
### Stories Depicting No Conflict

Stories carried by the sampled newspapers during the referendum campaign period amounted to 17,266cm<sup>2</sup>. Of these, stories in the *Nation* contributed 8,044cm<sup>2</sup>, representing 47%. Stories carried in the *Standard* contributed 9,222cm<sup>2</sup>, representing 53%.



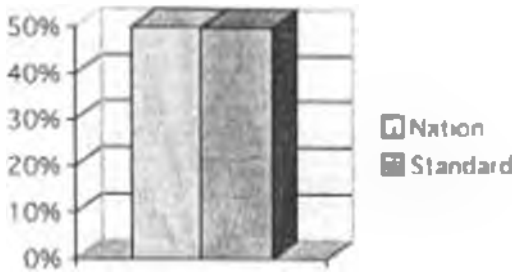
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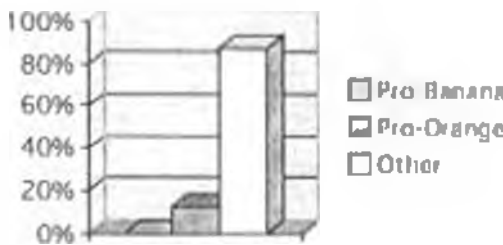
Page 1 lead stories in the *Nation* took 2,335cm<sup>2</sup>, compared to the *Standard's* page 1 stories of 2,065cm<sup>2</sup>. Page 1 second stories in the *Nation* took 1,652cm<sup>2</sup>, while Page 1 other stories in the *Standard* took 1,754cm<sup>2</sup>. The *Nation's* editorials no depicting conflict took 720.5cm<sup>2</sup>, while those in the *Standard* were almost double at 1,342cm<sup>2</sup>.

In the letters to the editor, *Nation* carried stories amounting to 952cm<sup>2</sup>, while the *Standard* carried stories amounting to 1,551cm<sup>2</sup>. Back page stories in the *Nation* that depicted no conflict took 250cm<sup>2</sup>, while those in the *Standard* took 411cm<sup>2</sup>. Page 3 lead stories in the *Nation* took 1,524cm<sup>2</sup>, while those in the *Standard* took 1,260cm<sup>2</sup>. The *Nation's* Page 3 second stories that depicted no conflict took 610.5cm<sup>2</sup>, while those in the *Standard* took 839cm<sup>2</sup>.



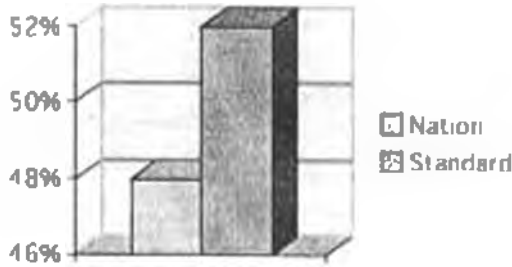
There were no pro-Banana cartoons on Page 1 of both papers. The *Nation* carried 4 pro-Orange cartoons, while the *Standard* had 3. The *Nation* had 8 neutral cartoons, while the *Standard* had 5. The number of cartoons depicting violence was 10, representing 30%. Of the *Nation's* cartoons, 3 had references to violence, compared to 7 in the *Standard*.

In terms of bias in both newspapers, there were 0% of cartoons favouring the Banana side, while the ones favouring Orange came to 13%.



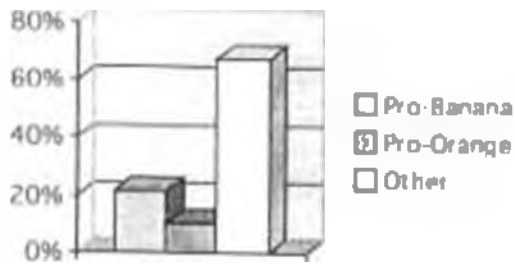
## Main Pictures

There were a total of 31 Page 1 pictures on the referendum campaigns. The *Nation* carried 15 such pictures on Page 1, representing 48%, while the *Standard* carried 16, representing 52%.



There were 4 pro-Banana pictures on Page 1 in the *Nation*, compared to 3 in the *Standard*. There was no pro-Orange Page 1 picture in the *Nation*, while there were 3 in the *Standard*. The *Nation* carried 9 neutral Page 1 main pictures, while the *Standard* carried 8. Of the Page 1 main pictures on the referendum, 4 were violent, with 2 in the *Nation* and the *Standard* each.

In terms of bias, there were a total of 7 pro-Banana pictures compared to 3 pro-Orange ones. Hence pro-Banana pictures represented 22%, pro-Orange 10% and the others 68%.



## 4.3 DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

### HEADLINE BIAS VERSUS CONTENT BIAS

While Oriare's study found that most newspapers were equally critical of both sides of the referendum campaign,<sup>41</sup> the results of this study show that in the headlines, *Nation* had less pro-Banana headlines (31%) than the *Standard* (69%). This indicates that although the number of stories was roughly the same for both sides, the *Standard* headlines worked in favour of the Banana side. On the side, 53% of the content of referendum stories in the *Standard* were pro-Banana. This implies that *Standard* headlines could have pulled in those seeking pro-Banana stories but disappointed them with an unequal measure of content.

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The reverse seemed true for *Nation*. According to the results, 31% of the newspaper's referendum headlines were pro-Banana. However, 47% of the stories had pro-Banana content. This implies that a pro-Banana reader could have been pulled in by the headlines but found the content more favourable than expected.

Similarly, pro Orange headlines in the *Standard* were 56% of referendum stories. On the other hand, pro-Orange content was 71%. In the *Nation*, pro-Orange headlines were 44% compared to 29% of content. The results support claims that *Nation* was pro-Banana and *Standard* pro-Orange.

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41. Oriare, P., Friedrich-Ebert Foundation, *Media Scorecard: The Coverage of Referendum Campaigns 2005*, Nairobi, 2005.

The discrepancy between headlines and the corresponding content of stories is not evident in the analysis of neutral headlines and neutral content. While 52% of the *Nation's* referendum stories favoured neither Orange nor Banana sides, 51% of their content was neutral. The slight difference is a reasonable figure. The *Standard*, too, had 48% neutral headlines and 49% neutral content. This indicates that neutral stories matched the standards of impartiality on the referendum campaigns.

Ordinarily, headlines accurately reflect the content of stories. This was not the case with biased referendum (pro-Banana and pro-Orange) stories carried in the two newspapers. The apparent disconnect between headlines and body text of stories in both newspapers indicates an attempt to set the agenda, while at the same time trying to keep within the tenets of impartiality. In the case of *Nation*, the results imply that the content was largely pro-Banana while the headlines tried to tone this down. Unlike 'Letters to the Editor' and editorials, news articles are handled by both reporters and editors, who edit the stories and insert headlines. This might explain the difference between the tone of story content and the headlines.

On conflict, 55% of the *Nation's* referendum headlines had an element of conflict, compared to 53% of stories. The *Standard*, on the other hand, had 45% of its referendum headlines depicting conflict. Its content depicting conflict was about 47%. The figures for both newspapers compare reasonably with the headlines. This implies that as far as conflict stories were concerned, there was little or no attempt to frame headlines to reflect a certain orientation. However, considering that there were 58 headlines out of 213 depicting conflict, it can be argued that newspapers did not play up conflict stories above the others. The figures show that only 27% of the headlines depicted conflict.

In terms of placement, 30 of the conflict headlines in both newspapers were on Page 1 stories. Since there was a total of 58 headlines depicting conflict, this shows that 51% of the stories had the highest priority (Page 1 placement). This shows that conflict stories had only a 1% chance of visibility over non-conflict stories.

## 5. SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### SUMMARY

The results seem to support claims that *Nation* was pro-Banana and *Standard* pro-Orange. In the *Nation*, pro-Orange headlines and content were 44% and 29%, respectively. Pro-Orange headlines and content in the *Standard* were 56% and 71% of referendum stories, respectively. Although *Nation* had less pro-Banana headlines (31%) than the *Standard* (67%), 47% of the stories had pro-Banana content. While it seemed to carry more pro-Banana headlines than the *Nation*, the *Standard* made up for the difference with a greater percentage of content dedicated to the Orange side.

Both newspapers made a reasonable attempt to harmonise the headlines and content of neutral stories. Thus the percentage of neutral headlines and neutral content was almost equal and balanced. The attempt to remain impartial was, however, watered down by cartoons. Virtually no cartoons depicted the Banana side in good light, while there were 11 out of 30 cartoons favouring the Orange side, representing about 30%.

On conflict, there was little evidence of an attempt to frame headlines to reflect orientation towards or against any side. Considering that there were 58 headlines out of 213 depicting conflict, it can be argued that newspapers did not play up conflict stories above the others. Only 27% of the sampled headlines depicted conflict.



In terms of placement, 30 of the conflict headlines in both newspapers were on Page 1 stories. Since there was a total of 58 headlines depicting conflict, this shows that 51% of the stories had the highest priority. This shows that conflict stories had only 1% greater visibility than non-conflict stories. The results, therefore, indicate that the two newspapers did not set the agenda for conflict through placement of conflict stories.

## CONCLUSION

From the data, it has emerged that there were 23 pro-Banana headlines (13%) compared to 32 pro-Orange ones (19%). There were 116 neutral headlines (68%). This means that although there was a tendency to favour Orange, the larger majority of the headlines tended to be neutral.

On the content of the sampled newspapers, pro-Banana stories amounted to 5,641cm<sup>2</sup> (representing 17%), compared to 11,373cm<sup>2</sup> pro-Orange (representing 35%) and 15,752cm<sup>2</sup> neutral content (representing 48%). This also means that although the newspaper content was largely neutral, there was a bias towards Orange.

In terms of conflict, stories that depicted violence or disagreement took 11,732.5cm<sup>2</sup> (40%) compared to neutral stories that took 17,266cm<sup>2</sup> (60%) of newspaper space. Hence the stories that depicted conflict took more space than those that depicted violence. One can therefore, conclude that the two newspapers did not set the stage for violent confrontation during the referendum.

About 30% of the cartoons in the sampled newspapers depicted violence, while those that depicted no violence were 70%. In terms of bias, 0% were pro-Banana while 13% were pro Orange. This means that although less of the cartoons focused on violence, they were mostly pro-Orange

On the main Page 1 pictures, 22% were pro-Banana, compared to 10% pro-Orange and 68% neutral. About 13% of the pictures depicted violence compared to 87% that were non-violent.

Comparing the two newspapers, 31% of the headlines favouring Banana were in the *Nation* compared to the *Standard*'s 69%. About 44% of the headlines favouring Orange were in the *Nation* compared to 56% in the *Standard*'s. The *Nation* carried more neutral headlines (52%) than the *Standard* (48%).

In terms of comparing the content of the two newspapers, about 47% the content favouring Banana was carried in the *Nation* compared to the *Standard*'s 53%. About 29% of the content favouring Orange was in the *Nation* compared to 71% in the *Standard*. The *Nation* carried 51% of the neutral content compared to the *Standard*'s 49%. Although the study shows that the two mainstream newspapers did not set the agenda for conflict, it does not mean that they did not play a part in it. By sensationalising stories — giving headlines that hyped certain emotions without backing it up with supporting content — it may be said that they fuelled the conflict during the referendum campaigns.

The *Nation* carried more stories depicting conflict (53%) compared to the *Standard*, which had 47%. The figures were reversed in terms of stories depicting no conflict, with the *Nation* carrying 47% and the *Standard* carrying 53%.

But it is in the pictures and cartoons that significant differences emerge between the two newspapers. While both carried the same number of cartoons on the referendum campaigns, none favoured the Banana side. About 13% of the pro Orange cartoons were carried in the *Nation* compared to 10% in the *Standard*. On pictures, 12% of those carried on the *Nation*'s Page 1 favoured Banana compared to the *Standard*'s 10%. None of the *Nation*'s pictures favoured Orange while 10% of the *Standard*'s favoured the 'No' side.

Overall, although there was a tendency by the two mainstream newspapers to be neutral, the figures indicate that headlines, story content, cartoons and pictures tended to favour the Orange side. The bias was mainly through illustrations (editorial cartoons and pictures) that tended to cast the Orange side in good light.

Since the Orange side won the referendum, one might conclude with hindsight that the two newspapers, *Standard* and *Nation*, through their use of headlines that did not match the stories, attempted to set the agenda for voters. One might conclude that the newspapers correctly reflected the mood of the voters and had their hand "on the people's pulse". In that sense, the newspapers fulfilled their mandate of being the people's voice.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

Although the study shows that the two mainstream newspapers did not set the agenda for conflict, sensationalised stories may be said that they fuelled the conflict during the referendum campaigns. Further study should be conducted to find out how readers react to stories whose headlines do not match the content. Such studies may seek answers to the following questions:

- How prevalent are sensationalised stories during political campaigns? Are they prevalent at other times?
- Do readers know they are being taken for a ride or do they take the newspaper stories as "gospel truth"?
- How do editors and writers of the newspaper stories feel about their role as gatekeepers?
- What do they aim at by sensationalising some stories?

Further study should also be conducted on how Kenyan readers respond to specific media during campaigns. For example, do they listen more to TV than radio, or do they read newspapers more? Additionally, more research should be conducted to find out the role of opinion leaders and other demographic factors like tribe, economic status, age, residence (town or rural), education level etc., to establish whether they also influence on voting decisions

Longitudinal studies should be conducted to find out whether Kenyans make decisions on how to vote, whether they selectively seek media messages that support their positions, and whether they change their decisions with time as media messages reach them.

In terms of policy, the fact that the study shows that the two newspapers were largely neutral indicates that the Kenyan media can remain non-partisan even in a charged atmosphere. The newspaper stories were within the bounds of the Journalists Code of Conduct, which emphasises accuracy, fairness, objectivity and neutrality.<sup>42</sup> It means calls for State intervention to regulate the media would not be justified since media players understand their role in society — acting in the public interest. Thus the study supports calls for self-regulation rather than State intervention in the operations of the media.

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## 7. APPENDICES

### APPENDIX E: CODING SHEETS

#### CODING SHEET 1A

Headlines with pro-Banana words

Newspaper Nation

Date	Pg 1 lead	Pg 1 other	Editorial	Letters Main	Back Lead	Pg 3 Lead	Pg 3 other
Aug 31	-	x	-	-	-	x	x
Sept 1	x	x	-	x	-	x	x
Sept 6	x	-	x	x	-	x	x
Sept 8	x	x	-	x	-	x	x
Sept 10	x	-	-	-	-	x	x
Sept 19	x	x	-	x	-	x	√
Sept 20	√	-	-	-	-	x	-
Sept 24	x	-	-	-	-	x	x
Sept 25	x	x	-	-	-	x	x
Sept 28	x	-	x	x	-	x	x
Sept 30	-	x	-	-	-	x	x
Oct 18	x	x	-	-	-	-	√
Oct 23	x	x	-	-	-	x	-
Oct 24	x	-	-	-	-	x	x
Oct 27	√	-	-	x	-	x	x
Oct 30	x	x	-	-	-	x	-
Nov 4	x	-	-	-	x	-	-
Nov 8	x	x	x	√	x	-	x
Nov 9	x	x	-	x	-	√	x
Nov 13	x	x	-	-	-	-	-
Nov 15	√	x	-	x	x	-	x
Nov 19	x	-	x	x	-	x	x
Nov 20	x	-	-	-	-	x	x
Nov 21	x	-	-	-	-	x	x
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>

Total: 7 headlines



**CODING SHEET 2A**

Headlines with pro-Orange words

Newspaper Nation

Date	Pg 1 lead	Pg 1 other	Editorial	Letters Main	Back Lead	Pg 3 Lead	Pg 3 other
Aug 31	-	x	-	-	-	x	x
Sept 1	√	x	x	x	-	√	x
Sept 6	x	-	x	x	-	x	x
Sept 8	√	x	-	x	-	√	x
Sept 10	x	-	-	-	-	√	x
Sept 19	x	x	-	x	-	x	x
Sept 20	x	-	-	-	-	x	-
Sept 24	x	-	-	-	-	x	√
Sept 25	x	√	-	-	-	x	x
Sept 28	x	-	x	x	-	x	x
Sept 30	-	√	-	-	-	x	√
Oct 18	x	x	-	-	-	-	x
Oct 23	√	x	-	-	-	x	-
Oct 24	x	-	-	-	-	x	√
Oct 27	x	-	-	x	-	x	x
Oct 30	x	√	-	-	-	x	-
Nov 4	x	-	-	-	x	-	-
Nov 8	x	x	x	x	x	-	x
Nov 9	x	√	-	√	-	x	x
Nov 13	x	x	-	-	-	-	-
Nov 15	x	x	-	x	x	-	x
Nov 19	x	-	x	x	-	x	x
Nov 20	x	-	x	-	-	x	x
Nov 21	x	-	-	-	-	x	x
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>

Total: 14 headlines

# CODING SHEET 3A

Headlines with neutral words

Newspaper Nation

Date	Pg 1 lead	Pg 1 other	Editorial	Letters Main	Back Lead	Pg 3 Lead	Pg 3 other
Aug 31	-	√	-	-	-	√	√
Sept 1	x	√	x	√	-	x	√
Sept 6	√	-	√	√	-	x	x
Sept 8	x	√	-	x	-	x	x
Sept 10	√	-	-	-	-	x	√
Sept 19	√	√	-	√	-	√	x
Sept 20	x	-	-	-	-	√	-
Sept 24	√	-	-	-	-	√	x
Sept 25	√	x	-	-	-	√	x
Sept 28	√	-	x	√	-	√	√
Sept 30	-	x	-	-	-	√	x
Oct 18	√	√	-	-	-	-	x
Oct 23	x	√	-	-	-	√	-
Oct 24	√	-	-	-	-	x	x
Oct 27	x	-	-	√	-	√	√
Oct 30	√	x	-	-	-	-	-
Nov 4	√	-	-	-	√	-	-
Nov 8	√	√	√	x	√	-	√
Nov 9	√	x	-	x	-	x	√
Nov 13	√	√	-	-	-	-	-
Nov 15	x	x	-	√	√	-	√
Nov 19	√	-	√	√	-	√	√
Nov 20	√	-	√	-	-	√	x
Nov 21	√	-	-	-	-	√	√
<b>TOTAL</b>	16	8	4	7	3	12	10

Total: 60 headlines

## CODING SHEET 4A

Size of stories (in cm<sup>2</sup>) with pro-Banana content

Newspaper Nation

Date	Pg1 lead	Pg 1 other	Editorial	Letters Main	Back Lead	Pg 3 Lead	Pg 3 other
Aug 31	-	-	-	-	-	x	72
Sept 1	x	x	x	x	-	x	x
Sept 6	x	-	x	x	-	x	x
Sept 8	x	x	-	x	-	x	x
Sept 10	x	-	-	-	-	x	x
Sept 19	x	x	-	x	-	x	25
Sept 20	392	-	-	-	-	x	-
Sept 24	x	-	-	-	-	x	x
Sept 25	x	x	-	-	-	x	x
Sept 28	x	-	x	163	-	x	x
Sept 30	-	x	-	-	-	150	-
Oct 18	x	x	-	-	-	-	22.5
Oct 23	x	x	-	-	-	x	-
Oct 24	x	-	-	-	-	x	x
Oct 27	115	-	-	x	-	x	x
Oct 30	165	x	-	-	-	-	-
Nov 4	x	-	-	-	x	-	-
Nov 8	404	268	x	153	x	-	x
Nov 9	x	292	-	x	-	104	x
Nov 13	x	x	-	-	-	-	-
Nov 15	269	x	-	x	x	-	x
Nov 19	x	-	x	-	-	x	60
Nov 20	x	-	-	-	-	x	x
Nov 21	x	-	-	-	-	x	x
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1,345</b>	<b>560</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>316</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>254</b>	<b>179.5</b>

Total: 2654.5cm<sup>2</sup>

**CODING SHEET 5A**

Size of stories (in cm<sup>2</sup>) with pro-Orange content

Newspaper Nation

Date	Pg 1 lead	Pg 1 other	Editorial	Letters Main	Back Lead	Pg 3 Lead	Pg 3 other
Aug 31	-	168	-	-	-	x	x
Sept 1	276	x	x	x	-	70	12
Sept 6	x	-	x	x	-	x	x
Sept 8	276	x	-	175	-	x	x
Sept 10	x	-	-	-	-	177.5	x
Sept 19	x	x	-	x	-	x	x
Sept 20	x	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sept 24	x	-	-	-	-	-	140
Sept 25	295	107	-	-	-	x	45
Sept 28	x	-	x	x	-	x	x
Sept 30	-	260	-	-	-	x	-
Oct 18	x	x	-	-	-	-	x
Oct 23	195	x	-	-	-	x	-
Oct 24	x	-	-	-	-	135	88
Oct 27	x	-	-	x	-	x	72.5
Oct 30	x	239	-	-	-	-	-
Nov 4	x	-	-	-	x	-	-
Nov 8	x	x	x	x	x	-	x
Nov 9	187	x	-	153	-	x	54
Nov 13	x	x	-	-	-	-	-
Nov 15	x	x	-	x	x	-	x
Nov 19	x	-	x	153	-	x	x
Nov 20	x	-	x	-	-	x	x
Nov 21	x	-	-	-	-	x	x
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1,229</b>	<b>774</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>481</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>382.5</b>	<b>411.5</b>

Total: 3,278cm<sup>2</sup>

## CODING SHEET 6A

Size of stories (in cm<sup>2</sup>) with neutral content (favouring neither Orange nor Banana)

Newspaper            Nation           

Date	Pg 1 lead	Pg 1 other	Editorial	Letters Main	Back Lead	Pg 3 Lead	Pg 3 other
Aug 31	-	x	-	-	-	130	x
Sept 1	x	202	x	175	-	x	x
Sept 6	368	-	120	175	-	160	110
Sept 8	x	143	-	x	-	150	x
Sept 10	320	-	-	-	-	x	75
Sept 19	245	288	-	153	-	60	x
Sept 20	x	-	-	-	-	190	-
Sept 24	205	-	-	-	-	140	x
Sept 25	x	x	-	-	-	100	x
Sept 28	270	-	278	x	-	125	x
Sept 30	-	x	-	-	-	x	-
Oct 18	275	138	-	-	-	-	x
Oct 23	x	65	-	-	-	128	-
Oct 24	239	-	-	-	-	x	x
Oct 27	x	-	-	175	-	145	x
Oct 30	x	x	-	-	-	-	-
Nov 4	202	-	-	-	120	-	-
Nov 8	x	x	119	x	130	-	36
Nov 9	x	x	-	x	-	x	x
Nov 13	265	243	-	-	-	-	-
Nov 15	x	190	-	153	165	-	145
Nov 19	386	-	123	x	-	185	72.5
Nov 20	108	-	208	-	-	160	x
Nov 21	329	-	-	-	-	215	25
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>3,212</b>	<b>1,269</b>	<b>848</b>	<b>831</b>	<b>415</b>	<b>1888</b>	<b>463.5</b>

Total: 8,095.5cm<sup>2</sup>

**CODING SHEET 7A**

Size of stories (in cm<sup>2</sup>) depicting conflict

Newspaper Nation

Date	Pg 1 lead	Pg 1 other	Editorial	Letters Main	Back Lead	Pg 3 Lead	Pg 3 other
Aug 31	-	168	-	-	-	x	x
Sept 1	x	x	x	145	-	x	x
Sept 6	x	-	x	x	-	160	x
Sept 8	246	x	-	163	-	x	x
Sept 10	320	-	-	-	-	x	x
Sept 19	x	288	-	x	-	60	x
Sept 20	392	-	-	-	-	x	-
Sept 24	205	-	-	-	-	x	140
Sept 25	x	107	-	-	-	x	45
Sept 28	270	-	x	x	-	x	x
Sept 30	-	260	-	-	-	150	-
Oct 18	275	x	-	-	-	-	x
Oct 23	x	x	-	-	-	127.5	-
Oct 24	239	-	-	-	-	135	x
Oct 27	115	-	-	x	-	x	72.5
Oct 30	165	239	-	-	-	-	-
Nov 4	202	-	-	-	x	-	-
Nov 8	404	x	x	153	x	-	x
Nov 9	x	x	-	153	-	x	x
Nov 13	265	x	-	-	-	-	-
Nov 15	x	x	-	153	165	-	145
Nov 19	x	-	x	x	-	x	72.5
Nov 20	x	-	x	-	-	x	x
Nov 21	x	-	-	-	-	x	x
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>3,098</b>	<b>1,062</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>767</b>	<b>165</b>	<b>632.5</b>	<b>475</b>

Total: 6,199.5

## CODING SHEET 8A

Size of stories (in cm<sup>2</sup>) depicting no conflict

Newspaper Nation

Date	Pg 1 lead	Pg 1 other	Editorial	Letters Main	Back Lead	Pg 3 Lead	Pg 3 other
Aug 31	-	168	-	-	-	x	x
Sept 1	x	x	x	145	-	x	x
Sept 6	x	-	x	x	-	160	x
Sept 8	246	x	-	163	-	x	x
Sept 10	320	-	-	-	-	x	x
Sept 19	x	288	-	153	-	x	25
Sept 20	x	-	-	-	-	190	-
Sept 24	x	-	-	-	-	140	140
Sept 25	295	x	-	-	-	100	x
Sept 28	x	-	277.5	163	-	125	87.5
Sept 30	-	x	-	-	-	x	-
Oct 18	x	138	-	-	-	-	22.5
Oct 23	195	65	-	-	-	x	-
Oct 24	x	-	-	-	-	x	88
Oct 27	x	-	-	175	-	145	x
Oct 30	x	x	-	-	-	-	-
Nov 4	x	-	-	-	120	-	-
Nov 8	x	268	112	x	130	-	36
Nov 9	187	292	-	x	-	104	54
Nov 13	x	243	-	-	-	-	-
Nov 15	269	190	-	x	x	-	x
Nov 19	386	-	123	153	-	185	72.5
Nov 20	108	-	208	-	-	160	60
Nov 21	329	-	-	-	-	215	25
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2,335</b>	<b>1,652</b>	<b>720.5</b>	<b>952</b>	<b>250</b>	<b>1,524</b>	<b>610.5</b>

Total: 8,044cm<sup>2</sup>

**CODING SHEET 9A**

Headlines depicting conflict

Newspaper Nation

Date	Pg 1 lead	Pg 1 other	Editorial	Letters Main	Back Lead	Pg 3 Lead	Pg 3 other
Aug 31	-	√	-	-	-	x	x
Sept 1	x	x	x	√	-	x	x
Sept 6	x	-	x	x	-	x	x
Sept 8	√	x	-	√	-	x	x
Sept 10	√	-	-	-	-	x	x
Sept 19	x	√	-	x	-	√	x
Sept 20	√	-	-	-	-	x	-
Sept 24	√	-	-	-	-	x	√
Sept 25	x	√	-	-	-	x	√
Sept 28	√	-	x	x	-	x	x
Sept 30	-	√	-	-	-	√	-
Oct 18	√	x	-	-	-	-	x
Oct 21	x	√	-	-	-	√	-
Oct 24	√	-	-	-	-	√	x
Oct 27	√	-	-	x	-	x	√
Oct 30	√	x	-	-	-	-	-
Nov 4	√	-	-	-	x	-	-
Nov 8	√	x	x	√	x	-	x
Nov 9	x	x	-	√	-	x	x
Nov 13	√	x	-	-	-	-	-
Nov 15	x	x	-	√	√	-	√
Nov 19	x	x	x	x	-	x	√
Nov 20	x	-	x	-	-	x	x
Nov 21	x	-	-	-	-	x	x
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5</b>

Total 32



**CODING SHEET 10A**

Cartoons

Newspaper Nation

Date	Pro-Banana	Pro-Orange	Neutral	Violent
Aug 31	x	x	√	x
Sept 1	-	-	-	-
Sept 6	-	-	-	-
Sept 8	-	-	-	-
Sept 10	-	-	-	-
Sept 19	-	-	-	-
Sept 20	x	x	√	x
Sept 24	x	√	x	x
Sept 25	x	√	x	x
Sept 28	-	-	-	-
Sept 30	x	x	√	√
Oct 18	x	x	√	x
Oct 23	x	x	√	x
Oct 24	-	-	-	-
Oct 27	-	-	-	-
Oct 30	x	x	√	-
Nov 4	-	-	-	-
Nov 8	x	√	x	x
Nov 9	-	-	-	-
Nov 13	-	-	-	-
Nov 15	-	-	-	-
Nov 19	x	√	x	√
Nov 20	x	x	√	x
Nov 21	x	x	√	√
<b>TOTAL</b>	0	4	8	3

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**Total: 15**

**CODING SHEET 11A**

Pictures

Newspaper Nation

Date	Pro-Banana	Pro-Orange	Neutral	Violent
Aug 31	x	x	√	x
Sept 1	x	x	√	x
Sept 6	x	x	√	x
Sept 8	-	-	-	-
Sept 10	-	-	-	-
Sept 19	-	-	-	-
Sept 20	-	-	-	-
Sept 24	x	x	√	x
Sept 25	x	x	√	x
Sept 28	-	-	-	-
Sept 30	-	-	-	-
Oct 18	-	-	-	-
Oct 23	-	-	-	-
Oct 24	-	-	-	-
Oct 27	√	x	x	√
Oct 30	√	x	x	√
Nov 4	x	x	√	x
Nov 8	x	x	√	x
Nov 9	√	x	x	x
Nov 13	-	-	-	-
Nov 15	√	x	x	x
Nov 19	x	x	√	x
Nov 20	x	x	√	x
Nov 21	x	x	√	x
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>2</b>

Total: 15

**CODING SHEET 1B**

Headlines with pro-Banana words

Newspaper Standard

Date	Pg 1 lead	Pg 1 other	Editorial	Letters Main	Back Lead	Pg 3 Lead	Pg 3 other
Aug 31	x	-	-	x	-	x	x
Sept 1	-	x	x	x	-	x	x
Sept 6	x	-	x	-	-	x	x
Sept 8	x	-	-	x	-	x	x
Sept 10	x	-	-	-	√	√	x
Sept 19	x	-	x	x	-	x	√
Sept 20	√	-	-	-	-	x	√
Sept 24	x	x	x	x	-	x	-
Sept 25	-	x	-	x	-	-	-
Sept 28	√	√	x	√	x	x	x
Sept 30	√	x	-	x	-	x	x
Oct 18	x	x	x	x	-	√	x
Oct 23	-	-	x	-	-	-	-
Oct 24	x	-	x	-	-	√	√
Oct 27	-	x	-	-	-	-	-
Oct 30	x	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nov 4	x	√	x	-	-	-	-
Nov 8	x	x	-	x	-	-	-
Nov 9	-	√	-	-	-	-	-
Nov 13	x	-	x	-	x	-	-
Nov 15	x	-	x	x	-	x	-
Nov 19	√	√	x	x	x	x	x
Nov 20	x	-	-	x	x	x	-
Nov 21	x	x	x	-	-	x	x
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>

Total: 16

## CODING SHEET 2B

Headlines with **pro-Orange** words

Newspaper Standard

Date	Pg 1 lead	Pg 1 other	Editorial	Letters Main	Back Lead	Pg 3 Lead	Pg 3 other
Aug 31	x		.	√	-	x	x
Sept 1	x	√	x	x	-	x	x
Sept 6	x	-	x	-	-	x	x
Sept 8	√	.	.	x	-	x	x
Sept 10	x	-	.	-	x	x	x
Sept 19	x	-	x	x	-	√	x
Sept 20	x	.	.	.	.	√	x
Sept 24	x	√	x	x	-	√	.
Sept 25	.	√	.	x	-	-	-
Sept 28	x	x	x	x	x	√	x
Sept 30	x	x	.	x	-	x	√
Oct 18	x	x	x	x	-	x	√
Oct 23	.	-	x	-	-	-	-
Oct 24	√	-	x	-	-	x	x
Oct 27	-	x	.	-	-	-	-
Oct 30	x	-	x	-	-	-	-
Nov 4	x	x	x	-	-	-	-
Nov 8	x	x	-	x	-	-	-
Nov 9	.	x	.	-	-	-	-
Nov 13	√	-	√	.	x	.	-
Nov 15	x	-	x	x	-	x	.
Nov 19	x	x	x	x	x	x	√
Nov 20	x	-	.	x	x	√	-
Nov 21	x	√	x	-	-	x	√
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>4</b>

Total: 18

## CODING SHEET 4B

Size of stories (in cm<sup>2</sup>) with pro-Banana content

Newspaper Standard

Date	Pg 1 lead	Pg 1 other	Editorial	Letters Main	Back Lead	Pg 3 Lead	Pg 3 other
Aug 31	x	-	-	x	-	x	x
Sept 1	-	x	x	x	-	x	x
Sept 6	x	-	x	-	-	x	x
Sept 8	x	-	-	x	-	x	x
Sept 10	x	-	-	-	112	168	x
Sept 19	x	-	x	x	-	x	144
Sept 20	317.5	-	-	-	-	x	108
Sept 24	x	x	x	x	-	x	-
Sept 25	-	x	-	x	-	-	-
Sept 28	216.5	206	x	67.5	x	x	x
Sept 30	248.5	x	-	x	-	x	x
Oct 18	x	x	x	x	-	106	x
Oct 23	-	-	x	-	-	-	-
Oct 24	x	-	x	-	-	114	72
Oct 27	-	x	-	-	-	-	-
Oct 30	x	-	x	-	-	-	-
Nov 4	x	120	x	-	-	-	-
Nov 8	x	208	-	x	-	-	-
Nov 9	-	165	-	-	-	-	-
Nov 13	x	-	x	-	183	-	-
Nov 15	x	-	x	x	-	x	-
Nov 19	260	170	x	x	x	x	x
Nov 20	x	-	-	x	x	x	-
Nov 21	x	x	x	-	-	x	x
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1,043</b>	<b>869</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>67.5</b>	<b>295</b>	<b>388</b>	<b>324</b>

Total: 2,986.5cm<sup>2</sup>

## CODING SHEET 5B

Size of stories (in cm<sup>2</sup>) with pro-Orange content

Newspaper Standard

Date	Pg 1 lead	Pg 1 other	Editorial	Letters Main	Back Lead	Pg 3 Lead	Pg 3 other
Aug 31	x	-	-	137	-	x	x
Sept 1	-	164	x	x	-	x	x
Sept 6	x	-	x	-	-	x	x
Sept 8	269	-	-	x	-	73	x
Sept 10	x	-	-	-	x	x	x
Sept 19	x	-	x	x	-	184	x
Sept 20	x	-	-	-	-	124	x
Sept 24	x	188	x	x	-	168	-
Sept 25	-	276	-	x	-	-	-
Sept 28	x	x	x	x	x	102	x
Sept 30	x	x	-	x	-	x	108
Oct 18	x	x	x	x	-	x	72
Oct 23	-	-	x	-	-	-	-
Oct 24	x	-	101	-	-	x	-
Oct 27	-	x	-	-	-	-	-
Oct 30	x	-	x	-	-	-	-
Nov 4	x	x	x	-	-	-	-
Nov 8	x	x	-	x	-	-	-
Nov 9	-	x	-	-	-	-	-
Nov 13	174	-	217	-	x	-	-
Nov 15	x	-	x	x	x	x	-
Nov 19	x	x	x	x	x	104	x
Nov 20	x	-	-	x	x	408	-
Nov 21	x	242	x	-	-	x	90
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>443</b>	<b>870</b>	<b>318</b>	<b>137</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1,163</b>	<b>270</b>

Total: 3,201cm<sup>2</sup>

**CODING SHEET 6B**

Size of stories (in cm<sup>2</sup>) with neutral content

Newspaper Standard

Date	Pg 1 lead	Pg 1 other	Editorial	Letters Main	Back Lead	Pg 3 Lead	Pg 3 other
Aug 31	293.5	-	-	x	-	102	92
Sept 1	-	x	112.5	90	-	120	36
Sept 6	207.5	-	105	-	-	78	100
Sept 8	x	-	-	141	-	x	77
Sept 10	277	-	-	-	x	x	120
Sept 19	161	-	195	110	-	x	x
Sept 20	x	-	-	-	-	x	x
Sept 24	232	x	112.5	182	-	x	-
Sept 25	-	x	-	140	-	-	-
Sept 28	x	x	97.5	x	120	x	110
Sept 30	x	192	-	81	-	48	x
Oct 18	261	150	71	124	-	x	x
Oct 23	-	-	213	-	-	-	-
Oct 24	226	-	x	-	-	x	-
Oct 27	-	181	-	-	-	-	-
Oct 30	338	-	217	-	-	-	-
Nov 4	344	x	109	-	-	-	-
Nov 8	233	208	-	92	-	-	-
Nov 9	-	x	-	-	-	-	-
Nov 13	x	-	x	-	x	-	-
Nov 15	252	-	101	94.5	-	150	-
Nov 19	x	x	109	160	116	x	116
Nov 20	294	-	-	132	-	x	-
Nov 21	408	x	195	-	-	152	x
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>3,527</b>	<b>731</b>	<b>112.5</b>	<b>1,750</b>	<b>236</b>	<b>650</b>	<b>651</b>

Total: 7,657.5cm<sup>2</sup>

## CODING SHEET 7B

Size of stories (in cm<sup>2</sup>) depicting conflict

Newspaper Standard

Date	Pg 1 lead	Pg 1 other	Editorial	Letters Main	Back Lead	Pg 3 lead	Pg 3 other
Aug 31	x	-	-	x	-	102	x
Sept 1	-	x	x	x	-	x	x
Sept 6	x	-	x	-	-	x	x
Sept 8	269	-	-	x	-	x	x
Sept 10	277	-	-	-	x	x	x
Sept 19	x	-	195	x	-	x	x
Sept 20	317.5	-	-	-	-	124	x
Sept 24	x	x	x	x	-	168	-
Sept 25	-	276	-	x	-	-	-
Sept 28	x	x	x	x	120	x	110
Sept 30	218.5	x	-	x	-	x	x
Oct 18	261	x	x	x	-	x	x
Oct 23	-	-	x	-	-	-	-
Oct 24	226	-	101	-	-	x	x
Oct 27	-	x	-	-	-	-	-
Oct 30	338	-	217	-	-	-	-
Nov 4	344	x	x	-	-	-	-
Nov 8	233	x	-	x	-	-	-
Nov 9	-	x	-	-	-	-	-
Nov 13	174	-	x	-	183	-	-
Nov 15	x	-	101	x	-	x	-
Nov 19	260	x	x	x	x	x	116
Nov 20	x	-	-	x	x	408	-
Nov 21	x	242	x	-	-	152	x
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2,918</b>	<b>518</b>	<b>614</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>303</b>	<b>954</b>	<b>226</b>

Total: 5,533cm<sup>2</sup>



**CODING SHEET 8B**

Size of stories (in cm<sup>2</sup>) depicting no conflict

Newspaper Standard

Date	Pg 1 lead	Pg 1 other	Editorial	Letters Main	Back lead	Pg 3 Lead	Pg 3 other
Aug 31	293.5	-	-	137	-	x	92
Sept 1	-	164	112.5	90	-	120	36
Sept 6	207.5	-	105	-	-	78	100
Sept 8	x	-	-	141	-	78	77
Sept 10	x	-	-	-	112	168	120
Sept 19	161	-	x	110	-	184	144
Sept 20	x	-	-	-	-	x	108
Sept 24	232	188	112.5	182	-	x	-
Sept 25	-	x	-	140	-	-	-
Sept 28	216.5	216	97.5	67.5	x	110	x
Sept 30	x	192	-	81	-	48	108
Oct 18	x	150	71.5	124	-	106	72
Oct 23	-	-	213	-	-	-	-
Oct 24	x	-	x	-	-	114	72
Oct 27	-	181	-	-	-	-	-
Oct 30	x	-	x	-	-	-	-
Nov 4	x	120	109	-	-	-	-
Nov 8	x	208	-	92	-	-	-
Nov 9	-	165	-	-	-	-	-
Nov 13	x	-	217	-	183	-	-
Nov 15	252	-	x	94.5	-	150	-
Nov 19	x	170	109	160	116	104	x
Nov 20	294	-	-	132	-	x	-
Nov 21	40x	x	195	-	-	x	90
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>2,465</b>	<b>1,754</b>	<b>1,342</b>	<b>1,551</b>	<b>411</b>	<b>1,260</b>	<b>839</b>

Total: 9,222cm<sup>2</sup>

**CODING SHEET 9B**

Headlines depicting conflict

Newspaper Standard

Date	Pg 1 lead	Pg 1 other	Editorial	Letters Main	Back Lead	Pg 3 lead	Pg 3 other
Aug 31	x	-	-	x	-	√	x
Sept 1	-	x	x	x	-	x	x
Sept 6	x	-	x	-	-	x	x
Sept 8	√	-	-	-	-	x	x
Sept 11	√	-	-	-	x	x	x
Sept 19	x	x	√	x	-	x	x
Sept 20	√	-	-	-	-	√	x
Sept 24	x	x	x	x	-	√	-
Sept 25	-	√	-	x	-	-	-
Sept 28	x	x	x	x	√	x	√
Sept 30	√	x	-	x	-	x	x
Oct 18	√	x	x	x	-	x	x
Oct 23	-	-	x	-	-	-	-
Oct 24	√	-	√	-	-	x	x
Oct 27	-	x	-	-	-	-	-
Oct 30	√	-	√	-	-	-	-
Nov 4	√	x	x	-	-	-	-
Nov 8	√	x	-	x	-	-	-
Nov 9	-	x	-	-	-	-	-
Nov 13	√	-	√	-	x	-	-
Nov 15	x	-	√	x	-	x	-
Nov 19	√	x	x	x	x	x	√
Nov 20	x	-	-	x	x	√	-
Nov 21	x	√	x	-	-	√	x
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>2</b>

Total: 26

**CODING SHEET 10B**

Cartoons

Newspaper Standard

Date	Pro-Hanana	Pro-Orange	Neutral	Violent
Aug 31	x	√	x	√
Sept 1	-	-	-	-
Sept 6	-	-	-	-
Sept 8	-	-	-	-
Sept 10	-	-	-	-
Sept 19	-	-	-	-
Sept 20	-	-	-	-
Sept 24	-	-	-	-
Sept 25	x	√	-	-
Sept 28	-	-	-	-
Sept 30	x	x	√	√
Oct 18	-	-	-	-
Oct 23	-	-	-	-
Oct 24	-	-	-	-
Oct 27	-	-	-	-
Oct 30	-	-	-	-
Nov 4	x	x	√	√
Nov 8	-	-	-	-
Nov 9	-	-	-	-
Nov 13	-	-	-	-
Nov 15	x	x	√	√
Nov 19	x	x	√	√
Nov 20	x	√	x	√
Nov 21	x	x	√	√
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>7</b>

**Total: 15**

**CODING SHEET 11B**

Page 1 main picture

Newspaper Standard

Date	Pro-Banana	Pro-Orange	Neutral	Violent
Aug 31	x	x	√	x
Sept 1	-	-	-	-
Sept 6	x	x	√	x
Sept 8	x	√	x	x
Sept 10	-	-	-	-
Sept 19	√	x	x	x
Sept 20	√	x	x	x
Sept 24	x	x	√	x
Sept 25	-	-	-	-
Sept 28	x	x	x	x
Sept 30	√	x	x	x
Oct 18	x	x	√	x
Oct 23	-	-	-	-
Oct 24	-	-	-	-
Oct 27	-	-	-	-
Oct 30	x	x	√	√
Nov 4	-	-	-	-
Nov 8	x	x	√	x
Nov 9	-	-	-	-
Nov 13	x	√	x	√
Nov 15	-	-	-	-
Nov 19	x	√	x	x
Nov 20	x	x	√	x
Nov 21	x	x	√	x
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>2</b>

Total: 16