

PRINT MEDIA FRAMING OF GUN VIOLENCE IN KENYA: THE CASE OF
NATION AND STANDARD NEWSPAPERS

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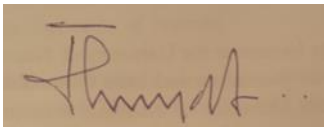
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DECLARATION

This project is my original work and has not been presented for any award of a degree in any other Institution.

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my parents, husband, children and siblings who have been very supportive in ensuring I complete this course.

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This project would not have been possible without the guidance and help of several individuals who in one way or another contributed and extended their valuable assistance in the preparation and completion of this project. I take this opportunity to appreciate my supervisor Dr. James Oranga for his invaluable guidance throughout the research period.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AU:	African Union
CCTV:	Closed-Circuit Television
DCI:	Directorate of Criminal Investigations
DJ:	Disc Jockey
IMLU:	Independent Medico-Legal Unit
KBC:	Kenya Broadcasting Corporation
KNFP:	Kenya National Focal Point on Small Arms and Light Weapons
RECSA:	Regional Centre on Small Arms in Great Lakes Region, Horn of Africa and Bordering States
SALWs:	Small arms and Light Weapons
UNDOC:	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
US:	United States
USA:	United States of America

OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

Agenda setting:	This is the way in which the media attempts to influence viewers by establishing a hierarchy of news prevalence
Framing:	This is the format and style in which a story is presented by the media
Gun violence:	This is violence committed using guns
Hard news	This is fresh, current and immediate news usually reported using the inverted pyramid
Media coverage:	This is the level to which the media covers stories on gun violence
Negatively skewed coverage:	This is coverage in which some pieces of information are covered more than others
Print Media:	These include newspapers, periodicals, weeklies, magazines, monthly, banners & graphics, posters, and other forms of printed material used to information
Soft news	This is analytical, historical or profile news usually written using the hour glass or dramatic unity structure format
Story salience:	This is the importance accorded to a gun violence story in newspapers so as make it more noticeable or important in the newspaper.

ABSTRACT

This study sought to examine print media framing of gun violence in Kenya with reference to the Nation and Standard newspapers. The objectives of the study are to establish dominant frames in reporting gun violence by the Nation and the Standard newspapers; analyze the diction in framing gun violence by the Nation and the Standard Newspapers; to examine the figures of speech in framing gun violence by the Nation and the Standard Newspapers and; to assess the portrayal of gun violence as a serious societal problem by the Nation and the Standard Newspapers. The study was based on the Framing Theory and Goffman's Frame Analysis. The study employed the descriptive research design and the mixed methods research approach. Purposive sampling technique was used to select suitable newspaper articles for the study. The study involved the collection of data on gun violence from Nation and Standard Newspapers for the period 1st September 2019 –30th August 2020. Data was collected using a code sheet and interview guide. The target population of the study consisted of 730 articles published by Nation and Standard Newspapers articles on gun violence. Two editors and three reporters experienced in reporting gun violence were also interviewed. Data was collected and analyzed using content analysis. Regarding the dominant frames in reporting gun violence by the Nation and the Standard newspapers, it is evident that most of dominant frame used to portray gun violence in both Nation and the Standard newspapers were fatality, terrorism, crime, citizen participation, cattle rustling, tactical response and accomplice. Cartoons and photos were also used as visual persuasion frames. Diction was also extensively used in the reporting of gun violence stories. In this regard, various catchwords and catchphrases were used in depicting gun violence. These included: silencing the guns, impunity, and proliferation of guns, dead, robbery, shootout and coup attempt. It was also made manifest that various figures of speech were used. These include idioms, similes, metaphors and idiomatic expressions. Lastly, the findings show that some of the major issues of societal concern focused by both newspapers included armed robbery, police brutality, cattle rustling and terrorism. It can thus be concluded that the print media plays a pivotal role in checking gun violence since it is widely viewed as the mirror of society and protective shield against violent gun crimes. The study recommends that the print media should expand the dominant frames used in reporting gun violence so as maximally show the various angles to the deep issue of gun violence. This could be through enhanced research on gun violence in Kenya. The use of diction and figures of speech could also be exploited within the process of enriching the presentation of gun violence stories. The print media should also increase the level to which they offer balanced coverage of gun violence stories in the whole country.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This section provides background information on media coverage of gun violence. It also presents the problem statement, objectives of the study, research justification, and the scope of the study.

1.1 Background and Introduction

Gun violence is a real challenge the world over. It is a crime that involves the illegal use of a firearm to cause death, injury or terror to the public under the penal code (CAP. 63) of the Laws of Kenya and Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, 2003 ((Laws of Kenya, 1970; Laws of Kenya, 2005). There have been numerous cases of gun violence in Kenya. Often, gun violence is perpetuated by terrorists, armed robbers, and cattle rustlers among others. According to Cannon and Pkalya (2019), some of the main motivations for gun violence through terrorists are Kenya's geopolitical status. Rampant corruption creates an atmosphere through which armed criminals can operate freely. Free media coverage in Kenya also acts as a motivation for attacks as terrorists seek to garner international publicity.

Newspapers play pivotal roles in the analysis of various forms of gun violence in Kenya. In this context, one of the most important ways in which awareness of gun violence can be enhanced is the mass media. Indeed, the use of the media has been a powerful force for very long in the world; it delivers information related to societal issues in substantial amounts instantaneously to inform change. With the increase in the access of the media and its growing instantaneous form, in the last century, the popularity of the media has grown. The media industry has hence witnessed rapid

growth observed since the 1970s and its content is seen to have a relationship with the public agenda (Mc Combs, 2004). However, it remains vivid on the extent to which framing of media coverage on gun violence influences public opinion. Either through alarmism or deliberate omission and prioritization of coverage on gun violence, the media remains a critical platform upon which action against gun violence by state and non-state actors is referenced.

This study is pegged on the premise that framing of gun violence by print media would influence the salience placed on gun violence stories in newspapers (Vicente & López, 2009). Framing is an important aspect of news reporting. The way in which an issue is framed in the print media has a substantial role in highlighting the fundamental causes and potential ramifications of such an issue. Frames establish a criterion for evaluating potential solutions or resolutions to societal issues. In this regard, the ability to bring any issue to the policy level often relies on the media framing of the issue (Tankard, Handerson, Silberman, Bliss, & Ghanem, 1991).

Oranga (2015) defines framing as the way, the format and style in which a story is presented by the media. It is also defined by Entman (2007, p. 164) as “the process by which the elements of perceived reality are culled and assembled into a reality that brings to light the connections between them; usually to propagate for a desired interpretation.” There are usually four framing functions in fully developed frames. First and foremost, the problem is defined so as to take stock of the causal agent and what it is doing as well as its associated costs and benefits. These are usually measured based on common cultural values. The second device is diagnosis of the causes to identify the forces that create the problem. Thirdly, judgments are made to

evaluate the identified causal agents and their consequences. Lastly, remedies to the problems and their potential effects are identified and justified. In reporting, one sentence may fulfill one or more of these four framing functions (Entman, 1993, p.52). Framing could thus play pivotal roles in casting light on gun violence as well as proffering possible solutions.

This study looks at the framing of the gun violence stories in the Nation and Standard Newspapers. These newspapers have the highest circulation in Kenya with the Nation Newspaper having a readership of about 4,379,400 per day, and the Standard Newspaper 2,223,500 per day in 2015. During the same time, the Nation newspaper had a market share of 40% and the Standard 20% nationwide (Elliott, 2015). This means that both newspapers controlled about 60% of the print media market segment in Kenya. They would thus be best suited to cast light on framing of gun violence in the print media in Kenya.

These newspapers have clear editorial policies on public safety. The Nation newspaper, for example, in its editorial policy guidelines and objectives highlights its policies on coverage of stories aimed at addressing public safety (Nation Media Group, 2018). The policies posit that it would go an extra mile to use subterfuge to report stories aimed at protecting public safety. Coverage of stories of concern to public safety such as gun violence is thus given preeminence in newspapers in Kenya.

The print media has unique advantages that can be leveraged in the coverage of gun violence in Kenya (Wahyudin, 2016). These include but are not limited to the fact that it can be read several times; it is possible to think more specifically about the stories

highlighted in print media; it can be used, stored for retrieval and serve as future reference on specific topics such as gun violence; it is more affordable and easily accessible and; has high capacity to use in explaining complex or rigid stories.

Framing of gun violence by the print media is significant because it can influence public opinion with most social issues been featured at the expense of gun violence. In the Kenyan context, the mass media covers episodes of wide-ranging societal issues that are negatively skewed and biased against the prevalence of gun-related violence. It is supposed to offer balanced coverage of all crime incidences happening in the country. For example, most media outlets have monopolized the coverage of issues related to incidences such as terrorist attacks, politics, homicide, corruption, rape and defilement, and robbery with violence. But many of these are based on assumptions about how the media decide which content is newsworthy or not and are coupled with competition for contradicting premises. In Kenya, the question of interest and extent to which media coverage influences private and public perception towards gun policy remains a critical gap that needs to be understood.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Despite the fact that Kenya is faced with rampant cases of gun violence, not all cases are reported. In most cases gun violence is only emphasized when important personalities are involved yet it is a rampant societal problem (Ngunyi & Katumanga, 2014). For example, the shooting of a DJ in Nairobi by Bob Owino, a Kenyan Member of Parliament (Ombati & Mireri, 2020), the following weeks were replete with news on the incidence in the print media. This was also the case in 2015 when another MP, George Muchai was shot dead by armed gun men in Nairobi (Wanga,

2015). This could lead to disparities between the numbers of incidences in police records vis-à-vis the number of stories highlighted in print media which can only be understood through systematic study.

There is also shallow coverage of gun violence in Kenya compared to developed nations. In the United States of America (USA) for example, gun violence stories are extensively covered (Jashinsky, Magnusson, Hanson, & Barnes, 2016); spurring discourse on how to reining in on gun violence. In Kenya though, attention is often placed on covering the incidences without thorough follow-up on the subsequent policy interventions (Odour, 2020). Although the media should urge the government to take firm actions relating to cause of gun violence, consequence and recommend solution as well as set the agenda that the government should take action, this is not always the case (Ngunyi & Katumanga, 2014). Consequently, understanding policy responses to gun violence coverage in Kenya remains murky.

Empirical evidence is also short of a clear framework on how mainstream newspapers such as the Nation and the Standard Newspapers frame gun violence stories in Kenya. Each newspaper has its own focus and editorial policies. Understanding how media houses frame gun violence in both newspapers thus remains largely unexplored. In this context, making evidence based recommendations on how to check gun violence in Kenya remains an elusive goal. This study thus sets out to bridge this empirical lacuna by examining framing gun violence by The Nation and The Standard newspapers in Kenya.

1.3 Research Objectives

This study examined print media framing of gun violence in Kenya with reference to the Nation and Standard newspapers from 1st September 2019 to 30th August 2020.

Specifically, the study sought:

1. To establish dominant frames in reporting gun violence by the Nation and the Standard newspapers
2. To analyze the diction in framing gun violence by the Nation and the Standard Newspapers
3. To examine the figures of speech in framing gun violence by the Nation and the Standard Newspapers
4. To assess the portrayal of gun violence as a serious societal problem by the Nation and the Standard Newspapers

1.4 Research Questions

1. What are the dominant frames used in reporting gun violence by the Nation and the Standard Newspapers?
2. How is diction used in framing gun violence by the Nation and the Standard Newspapers?
3. Which figures of speech does the Nation and the Standard Newspapers use in framing gun violence by the Nation and the Standard Newspapers
4. How is gun violence portrayed as a serious societal problem by the Nation and the Standard Newspapers?

1.5 Justification of the Study

For the past three decades, Kenya has progressively faced the problem of gun violence. Although media has been at the forefront in covering gun violence in Kenya, the ways gun violence issues are framed in the print media to raise awareness on public security and public safety awareness remains unclear. By focusing on Nation and Standard Newspapers that have the highest circulation in Kenya, the study was able to understand how the print media covered gun violence from 1st September 2019 to 30th August 2020. The Government of Kenya through the Kenya National Focal Point (KNFP) on Illicit Small Arms and Light Weapons (SALWs) declared September 2019 as the amnesty month to return illegal arms. It was also pertinent to focus on the recent past so as to obtain contemporary and easily accessible information as at the year 2020 on the subject under investigation. This study was thus critical to professional practice. It would thus identify gaps in framing of gun violence and make recommendations on how the media should frame gun violence stories so as to have the maximum impact on readers and policy makers. Outcomes of this study would also contribute to informing the media on its responsibility of informing and educating its audience on gun violence, public security, and public safety, through framing. The study would also contribute to the national research literature on framing of gun violence in Kenya.

1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study

This study focused on national mainstream, electronic and print media coverage of gun violence in Kenya. The researcher relied on the already published and circulated news (print and online) from various platforms on gun violence-related cases. In light of this, the study evaluated all hard and soft news as well as all stories published in

various segments of newspapers. The Nation and Standard newspapers frame gun violence stories in segments such as news stories, political analysis, features, editorials, and commentaries. The study assessed gun violence stories in all these segments.

The research study focused on the key gun violence-related issues in urban and pastoral settings and how they shape public opinion on gun violence. The study focused on framing of gun violence from 1st September 2019 to 30th August 2020. To be specific, issues related to cattle rustling, raids, and arms proliferation in the pastoral setting provided a comparative setting against urban-related cases such as robbery with violence, suicide, and, carjacking among others. Besides, media reports involving gun violence in terms of the magnitude of casualties and frequency would also inform the scope of this study concerning time and space. For instance, the major gun-related cases that were reported in 2019 in both the urban and pastoral settings concerning the interventions that followed as a result of the media coverage.

There are very many kinds of mass media employed in Kenya. This research study was limited to print and online Nation and Standard Newspapers; which may minimize the exhaustiveness in data collection and analysis from other media sources. The research findings therefore may or may not be generalized to all the other media organs. The study mitigated this limitation by collecting data from numerous editions within one year so as to obtain as much data as possible.

There are very many cases of violence reported in Kenya. This study was also limited to stories undertaken on gun violence in all parts of Kenya. Also, different kinds of weapons are used to perpetuate violence. It is thus untenable to study all kinds of

violence. In this study, only stories in which guns were involved were studied. Some of the genres that the newspaper focused on include editorial genre, columns, reviews, letters to the editor and, exposés among others.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Overview

This chapter presents the literature review of the study variables and the theoretical framework that underpins the study. It also presents the issues emerging from the literature review that prompted the study.

2.2 Literature Review

2.2.1 Framing of Gun Violence by Articles in Newspapers

Framing plays a crucial role in news reporting. The more an issue is talked about and written about by newspapers, the more it becomes more salient. When an issue is framed in a particular way, the media often plays a substantial role in highlighting the fundamental causes and potential ramifications of such an issue. Hence, a criterion is established for evaluating potential solutions or remedies to the problem. Essentially, the ability to bring any issue to the policy level is in most cases a result of its media framing (Tankard et al. 1991).

According to Gamson and Modigliani (1989), framing is the media packaging of news and stories. There are five main framing devices used by the media. These include metaphors, exemplars- which are lessons drawn from historical examples, catchphrases, depiction, and visual images (icons). News frames should contain three main building blocks. These include roots which is an analysis of causes; the consequences of the issue and the appeals to principles which entail the morality of the issue within popularly held value systems. Analysis of gun violence in Kenya could thus be guided by these three framing aspects.

Yarchi (2013) posits that media frames create a framework through which the media explains events and organizes reports on any issue. In this regards, news construct reality which may not be necessarily true. Thus, the words used to explain a situation may not be necessarily a true image of the reality. They may cause a pseudo-understanding of the reality by the public (Lau 2012). An analysis of media frames would thus play pertinent roles in explaining gun violence, its causes and potential solutions in Kenya.

The manner in which the media depicts news headlines guides the understanding of reality. Journalists may skew the understanding of a social reality based on the way they report it. Often, the way an issue is reported may make it difficult for the ready to sieve information from sources and that from writers own views (Entman, 1993). The first sentence may thus present images that are distinct from the meaning depicted in the text or series of texts (Matheson 2010). This can also affect news analysts and by extension policy making processes. It in the context of this study, the manner in which gun violence stories are depicted could influence discourse and policy making processes on them.

As early as 1980, Gitlin linked the media framing concept with the production of news discourse. He pointed out that frames play crucial roles in empowering journalists in the prompt processing and presentation of copious information. This enables efficient relay of the information to the target audience in a way that they can understand. Though not largely understood, media frames organize journalists' and the audiences' world.

Within the process of making news, the persistence of patterns on what people want to know, what they need to know, and what they should know from an article or articles is interpreted as a media frame. They act as windows through which one can look at an issue. Their clarity and portrayal of an issue determines the meaning ascribed to the issue (Wondemaghen 2013, p.5). Within the context of gun violence thus, media frames could enable readers understand the extent of gun violence, its root causes and any other underlying aspect of such violence that one needs to know.

Existing literature shows that the term frame and framing is important in communication processes. It has many uses. In many news organizations, framing is the processes through which an issue of public importance is defined and constructed. Media research thus tends to the impact of the content of news on news consumers. The portrayal of the potential consequences of the problem would thus establish a criterion for instituting and taking stock of possible solutions to the problem (Johnson-Cartee, 2005). Within the context of this study, the manner in which gun violence and its causes is portrayed could invoke discussions at local and policy levels on how to best deal with it.

Media frames could influence how the world thinks and makes meaning of a situation. In what is called the constructionist paradigm, the media can use artefacts such as symbols, language, and myths of public discourse to construct a reality. Since words are creators, media frames can create and shape reality (Johnson-Cartee, 2005). They can mainstream the use terms that were hitherto unknown or rarely used. This explains why terms such as terrorism, feminism, and sexual orientation among others have been pushed to the forefront through repeated use in news frames.

2.2.2 Gun Violence As an Issue of Societal Addressed by Newspapers

The print media in Kenya often gives preeminence to gun violence stories involving important personalities. One such case is that involving Bob Owino, a famous Kenyan Member of Parliament who reportedly shot a Disc Jockey (DJ) in one of Nairobi's estates on January 17, 2020 (Ombati & Mireri, 2020). Google search on the incidence returned 25,200 results. Evidently, all mainstream print media in Kenya and neighbouring countries run stories on the attack. It is thus evident that gun violence involving important persons leads to unprecedented coverage in Kenya. This was also affirmed in 2015 when Kabete MP. George Muchai was shot dead by armed gun men along Nairobi's Uhuru Highway (Wanga, 2015). The following days and weeks were ripe with stories in the print media on the attack.

An analysis was carried out by The Regional Centre on Small Arms in Great Lakes Region, horn of Africa and bordering states (RECSA, 2018), on armed crimes in East Africa community countries (Burundi, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania, and Uganda). It sought to compare reported armed crimes in the region. The findings show that there were numerous cases of armed conflict reported with most cases being reported in Uganda (34,512). Whereas Burundi came second at 26,041, Kenya followed at 12,877. Tanzania had 9,646 cases while Rwanda had the least cases at only 421. The cases reported included cattle rustling, armed robbery, carjacking, and terrorism. In most cases, small arms were used in armed bandit and community conflicts in the region.

Kenya is often barraged by rises in crime (Musoi, et. al, 2012). There are evident disparities in the scope and magnitude of attacks with urban areas facing major incidences of sustained attack. In this regard, urban areas have seen increases in crimes. Most of the crimes reported include burglaries and breakings, muggings, rape and defilements, robbery, murders, motor vehicle-related types of crime, abductions/kidnappings, armed livestock raids, highway banditry, as well as terrorist-related crime incidences in recent times. As a result, most current news has focused on terrorism-related stories.

The United Nations Office on Drug and Crime (UNDOC, 2010), in “a Crime Victimization Survey report” posits that there are immense cases of gun violence cases reported in Kenya. These, in agreement with Musoi et al. (2012) include car-related crimes, theft, robbery, home invasions, and mugging. The nature of crimes reported in rural areas tended to be different and included livestock theft, sexual offenses, and assaults.

In the same accord, a survey in 2014 by OSAC, reported the common types of crime in Kenya to have been: cattle rustling, carjacking, and other motor vehicle-related crimes robbery, theft, and violent home invasions, kidnapping, and terrorism.’ Data was obtained from police records regarding incidences in which firearms were used (OSAC, 2014). The reporting period was five years (2010-2014) during which 12,877 gun violence cases were reported. The reports show that in most cases, the victim was shot if they seemed uncooperative and unwilling to comply with the demands of the assailants. This shows that arms are usually used to intimidate the victim. Fear of attracting attention and the cost of ammunition could be a deterrent for criminals from

shootings. However, the discussions emerging after these crimes have not been reported in Kenyan newspapers.

There were also high levels of gun violence in border areas (Sylvester, 2015). Most of the violent crimes reported in these areas included armed banditry, violent cattle rustling, counter raids, and tribal warfare. These were mainly reported on the border between Kenya-Ethiopia. Conversely, there were more cases of more cases kidnapping, armed banditry, and clan warfare in the borders with South Sudan and Somalia. This current study sets out to whether these crimes were reported in media outlets and the debate they generated in Kenya.

The media plays crucial roles in shaping discussions on gun violence. The manner in which the media describes gun violence issues through the manner in which they are framed, highlighting the extent of the problem, presenting a diagnosis of the problem as well as prescribing solutions to the problem directs national discourse on gun violence (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007). By appropriately targeting the various categories of the audience, it is possible to establish a framework under which gun violence is covered and dealt with. The deliberate placement and persistent coverage of topics on gun violence can have lasting effects on how the government and public perceives the gravity of gun violence. This can go on to influence opinion and policy on gun violence.

The mass media as a gatekeeper of what the public sees and focuses on has repeatedly being employed in telling stories on gun violence. By setting the agenda on gun violence through print news pieces and stories that extensively analyze the gravity of

the problem of gun violence, interest on gun violence can be generated (Jashinsky et al., 2017). Repeated attention on the need for public safety through news, that address the subject of gun violence can influence legislative processes as well as strategic and tactical interventions against such violence.

The print media has cast light on the various stories related to gun violence in Kenya. These include transnational border attacks especially in pastoral communities (Ng'asike, 2012). This has led to increased focus on gun violence in these areas. An example of this was exemplified at a seminar on crime prevention in August 2011. During the seminar, Francis Kimemia, the Kenya Permanent Secretary for Internal Security then, pointed out that 60% of his speech was focused on gun violence and conflict in Vassals (Kimemia, 2011). By focusing on emergent stories on gun violence, the mass media is able to influence public and national attention on such violence. This current study sets out to how the print media in Kenya had shaped discussions on gun violence in Kenya from 1st September 2019 to 30th August 2020.

The media has continuously highlighted stories on the level of gun violence due to proliferation of SALWs in the country. By reporting national and international surveys on illegal guns, it is possible to explain why Kenya is imperiled by gun violence. Annual Crime Reports are extensively covered in the mass media and other information outlets (Odour, 2020). It is thus possible to understand the level of gun related crimes in the country. In 2016 for example, there were 4,954 gun related crime cases in Nairobi, 7,434 in 2017 and 7,128 in 2018. Thanks to wide sharing of these reports as well as their coverage; public discourse on gun violence can be spurred.

However, the relative importance of coverage by the newspapers in Kenya has not been systematically studied. This underlines the importance of this current study.

2.2.3 Frames on Solutions to Gun Violence in Newspapers

There are various internal and external factors that influence news framing (Scheufele, 1999). First and foremost, social norms and cultural values play crucial roles in guiding the framing of issues. In this regard, the media creates a rational world in which everybody is responsible. Social problems are thus attributed to some unfortunate and irresponsible persons. In this regard, problems are considered as personal and not in line with the larger social factors (Kim, 2010, p.564). Framing could also be guided by Organizational pressures and constraints. In this regard, the view of a media house and organizational norm can guide the editorial tone and routine in reporting; which can go on to influence the news framing by such an organization. Interest groups can also play key roles in guiding news framing. Within the context of this study, advocacy groups can guide the manner in which gun violence is reported in Kenya thus influence gun violence framing.

Framing is also guided by the professional obligation to meet four criteria that a news frame must meet. These include the presence of identifiable linguistic characteristic (Cappella & Jamieson, 1997). It should be an item that is often identified in journalistic practice. It should also be distinct from other news frames and must have representational validity in which others can recognize it and not an unknown portrayal of the writer's imagination. With gun violence framing, the media frames used should thus meet these four broad criteria.

Cook (1998) points out that a new frame could be the outcome of the routines of journalistic profession. In this regard the source of information, which may be government officials, corporate press releases, and conferences have an influence in the way news reports are framed. Social and political ideologies also influence a news frame selection. The attitude of the journalist is also another important factor that guides the way they understand the issue and construct a story. The working routine is however the most important factor guiding framing of a story than the attitude of the journalists. The way gun violence has been reported in the past in Kenya could thus inform precedence in gun violence framing in the country.

The push to make news salient also determines media framing. Often the media seeks to disentangle issues. They present the news stories in less complex, self-interpretive packages for the audience through framing thus as a form of the packaging. It entails selecting and making aspects of the reality outspoken and others more salient while excluding others (Kim, 2010). In the context of this study thus, the push to make gun violence salient by journalists could influence the media frames used.

Media framing could also be influenced by the need to assign blame to the person responsible (Stone, 2002). In this regard, frames can be formulated in such a way that those squarely responsible for the happening are identified in order to generate the required action. This can also guide policy formulation since attaching blame or brings to the forefront information on how to mitigate the underlying causes. In gun violence reporting, attaching blame to those responsible through media frames can enable the government to proffer solutions that effectively check the root causes.

Public outcry and the push for solutions can also influence the gun violence framing. Bern (2009) points out that the way in which a problem is framed can influence solution making processes. Repeated cases of gun violence could prompt the need for making gun violence stories more salient. Frames that identify the causes of gun violence and possible solutions could thus play pivotal roles in guiding policy formulation on ways of checking such violence.

2.3 The Emerging Issues on the Research Gap of the Study

The study further established several gaps in literature, which require investigation on the framing of gun violence. First, it is important to investigate how gun violence articles are reported in print media. There has also been no effort to study the various aspects of framing of gun violence based on thematic analytical approaches such as violence due to armed robbery, cattle rustling, or terrorism-related activities in Kenya among others. Besides, there is a lack of literature on the specific ways in which gun violence is reported with regard to framing and the key issues on gun violence reported within the Kenyan context. Most extant literature has been focused on other countries without necessarily focusing on Africa or Kenya for that matter. Studies undertaken locally on the study subject tend to be focused on other issues such as road safety among others. This means that it is untenable to understand the relative contribution of mass media on advocacy on the menace of gun violence in the country.

2.4 Theoretical Framework

Theoretical frameworks are important tools that “identify and define major variables in organizing one's research endeavor” (Labaare, 2009). The study was hence, guided

by the Framing Theory and Goffman's Frame Analysis and the Pan and Kosicki Framing Model.

2.4.1 Framing Theory and Goffman's Frame Analysis

The framing theory, as pointed out by Baran (2012), is traced from the Goffman's Frame Analysis idea as advanced by Erving Goffman (1974). Goffman used the term 'frame' to depict the sets of expectations that explain social situations at a particular point in time. According to Goffman people constantly change how they define and typify situations as well as events and other people, often in a radical way as they move through time and space.

According to McQuail (2010) the idea of a "frame" within the news discourse has often been used interchangeably with the words 'theme' 'frame of reference', 'context', or even 'news angle.' Entman (1993) posits that 'framing involves selection and salience.' As such, frames are used to define "problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments and suggest remedies." Framing also plays pivotal roles in providing the most meaningful explanations to isolated items of fact.

In the context of this study, the framing theory is important since it would give an understanding of how gun violence is framed by the mass media in Kenya in terms of syntactical structures, choice of words and figures of speech.

2.4.2 Pan and Kosicki Framing Model

The Pan and Kosicki (1993) Framing Model creates an understanding of the structure of news discourse and the potential framing devices for them. It identifies four

dimensions, which form the basis for frame formulation in Kenya. These include syntactic structures, script structures, thematic structures and rhetorical structures.

Script structure affects the level to which the story is understood. It also answers key questions such as the five Ws and one H in news writing: who, what, when, where, why and how. Although news may not contain all of these, reporters are expected to portray these as much as possible (van Dijk, 1998). News frames can be coalesced around the 5W1H aspects of news which include the purpose (why), content (what), form (how), participants (who/m), time (when), and place (where) of news stories (Honkaranta, 2003, p. 96). In gun violence news framing could play pivotal roles in explaining the 5Ws and 1H of such violence. This could influence policy formulation on gun violence in Kenya.

Thematic structures are often action or event oriented. News stories report issues on events, actions, and statements related to a certain issue. The level to which journalists' observations, actions or quotations of a source are thematically presented influences the importance placed on the issues. Basically, the thematic structures are the themes as well as the sub-themes found within frames (Li, 2012, p.180). A structure consist the summary and the main body of a news item, while the summary contains the headline, the lead, or conclusion, the main body involves the introduction of evidence supporting a hypothesis. These contain episodes, background information, and quotes. In news presentation, a thematic structure is a multilayer hierarchy whereby a theme which contains interconnected subthemes presents casts light on the item being reported, gun violence in the case of this current study (Pan & Kosicki, 1993, p.61).

The Rhetorical structures of news discourse depict “the stylistic choices made by journalists in relation to their intended effects.” The five framing devices include metaphors, exemplars, catchphrases, depictions, and visual images (icons) (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989, p.3). The use of these devices in various ways constitute the rhetoric structure. The dexterity with which reporters use rhetoric to enhance understanding of gun violence could influence the level to which issues on gun violence take preeminence in Kenya. Within the context of this study, the Pan and Kosicki (1993) Framing Model was used to analyze how media frames within the structuring of news items influence understanding of gun violence and the associated outcomes of such framing.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the research design, target population, sample and sampling method, unit of analysis, coding, and data analysis. It also outlines measures undertaken to ensure the reliability and validity of the study, and the ethical considerations of this research study.

3.1 Research Design

The study employed the descriptive research design. This design gives a factual and accurate description of the situation or area of interest. It was thus ideal in gathering, summarizing, interpreting, and analysing data from newspapers to answer the “who, where what” of study subject namely: print media coverage of gun violence in Kenya.

3.2 Research Approach

This study employed a mixed methods approach to “realize the study objectives, answer research questions and data analysis and presentation” (Creswell, 2002). In this regard, both qualitative and quantitative methods were used. Quantitative data entailed information on the framing of gun violence stories in various segments of newspapers. Qualitative data entailed information on framing of gun violence stories as an issue of societal concern. The mixed methods approach was used since data of both quantitative and qualitative nature was sought.

The study employed content analysis as a research technique focusing on gun violence content coverage in the two prominent Newspapers in Kenya, (The Standard and Nation Newspapers). Content analysis the analyzing written, verbal, and or visual

communication messages, it was first used to analyze hymns, newspapers, magazine articles, advertisements, and political speeches in the 19th century (Harwood & Garry 2003). Today, it has a long history of use in communication, journalism, sociology, psychology, and business research and, steadily grown in the last decades (Neuendorf, 2002).

Content analysis employs the systematic and objective tactics in describing and quantifying phenomena (Sandelowski, 1995). It is flexible as a research approach that is applied by use of variety of text sources. Aided by the rapid growth and use of computers and computer programs, content analysis copes with copious data. It is used in the investigation of a topic longitudinally, where the examination of contemporary texts is done. It is also seen as an unobtrusive approach as that it is used to analyze naturally occurring data. As a result, it helps to reduce problems of social desirability bias among respondents during the research on sensitive topics (Harris, 2001). In assessing the framing of gun violence in print media, thus, this has been identified as a suitable design.

3.3 Target Population

The study analysed a total of 730 newspapers. This resulted in analysis of one edition every day for the whole year for each of the two newspaper from 1st September 2019 to 30th August 2020.

Table 3.1 Target Stories

Newspaper	Total
The Standard	23,361
Nation	24,477

Total	47,838
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Source: Researcher (2020)

3.4 Sample and Sampling Procedure

Wimmer and Dominick (2000), state that the determination of a sample size is a controversial aspect of the sampling process. Sample sizes are determined by the methodology, the cost, and the time available, among other factors. This study used purposive sampling to track all stories that relate to gun violence from 1st September 2019 to 30th August 2020 from the 730 newspaper articles targeted. The exact sample of newspapers with gun violence stories were thus established during the data collection period.

3.5 Unit of Analysis

The Unit of analysis was the individual stories in the period 1st September 2019 to 30th August 2020 in the Nation and Standard newspaper. The two newspapers published a total of 47,838 stories. Both hard and soft news stories including; features, editorials, commentaries, question and answers, cartoons, news briefs, news analysis and letters to the editor.

3.6 Data Collection Tools and Methods

This research study involved the collection of data on framing of gun violence from the Nation and Standard Newspapers for the period 1st September 2019 to 30th August 2020. A code sheet and interview guides were used in collecting data. The code sheet was used to analyze the framing and other issues related to gun violence coverage. A semi structured interview guide had questions pegged to the research questions. Key

informant interviewees were editors' instrumental in editorial decision making and reporters with experience in reporting gun violence.

3.7 Pilot Study

According to Mugenda & Mugenda (2003), 10% of the total sample is sufficient for a pilot study. Research instruments should be piloted in a population with similar characteristics. In this regard, the code sheet was piloted in a sample of the two newspapers for a period of 38 days (1st June 2019 to 8th July 2019). This makes slightly more than a tenth of a year. The findings of the pilot study were used to test the validity and reliability of the study's research instruments.

3.7.1 Validity of the Research Instrument

According to Mugenda and Mugenda (2003), the validity of an instrument is the accuracy and meaningfulness of the inferences based on the research results. Hence, it is the degree to which the results obtained from data analysis is able to actually represent the variables of the study. The research instruments were validated in terms of their content validity and face validity by the use of content experts and reviewers.

3.7.2 Validity of the Research Instrument

Reliability is the ability of research instruments to measure study variables over time consistently. An instrument is deemed to be reliable if its capable of yielding similar results after repeated trials. According to Mugenda and Mugenda (2003), a research instrument is reliable when it returns the similar findings if administered to a subject twice at an interval of time. To ensure the reliability of the code sheet, the researcher employed the test and retest method. In this regard, the code-sheet was used to collect

data from the two newspapers for two equal periods of time that is 1st June 2019 to 19th June 2019 and 20th June 2019 and 8th June 2019. The consistence of the findings was assessed. The findings showed that the code sheet yielded consistent findings and could be relied upon to collect reliable information.

3.8 Data Analysis Procedures

The study employed a direct approach to quantitative content analysis. This type of content analysis starts with a theory or relevant research findings as guidance for initial codes consists of tabulating the occurrences of gun violence content units from both Nation and Standard Newspapers from 1st September 2019 to 30th August 2020. This research technique aids in making inferences by identifying specific characteristics within the text in a systematic and objective manner as posited by Hsieh and Shannon (2005). The content analysis techniques is suitable and popular with researchers in the media due to its clarity, truthfulness, and objectivity. Raw data was condensed into categories/themes based on valid inference and interpretation. In this regard, the articles, advertisements, cartoons, opinions, and commentaries on gun violence were assessed as follows.

Framing: This depended on how stories are framed in gun violence related stories between 1st September 2019 and 30th August 2020. The 5W and H of news, the language (positive/negative) used, the catch words used, the familiarity of these words and image created was assessed. Framing was assessed in various parts of newspapers such as headlines, features as well cartoons and caricatures were explored.

Dominant Frames in Portraying Gun Violence: These involved an analysis of how stories on the causes of gun violence are depicted in the print media. This included

coverage of issues such as nature of violence, who is responsible and motivating factors among others.

Diction (choice of words): this entailed analysis of the kind of words used in describing gun violence as a real/evolving issue of societal concern.

Figures of speech: This involved an analysis of rhetorical figure; word or phrase used to depict gun violence and which deviates from ordinary language use.

Gun Violence as Societal Concern: Analysis of coverage of words that depict gun violence as an issue of societal concern in articles in Kenya.

3.9 Ethical Observations in Research

Kitchin (2000) posits the ethical issues to be considered in research studies to include the privacy, the confidentiality, anonymity, sensitivity to cultural differences, and the gender of respondents. The researcher ensured that the study's purpose was fully explained to respondents prior to data collection, that informed consent was obtained by asking the respondents to sign the consent letter. Since framing of violence coverage was deemed a sensitive issue that may have evoked emotions or mixed reactions among the respondents, the researcher briefed the respondents before responding to questionnaires, conducting interviews. Confidentiality was upheld all through the data collection process (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007) and the anonymity of respondents was ensured through coding. Openness and honesty in dealing with respondents was upheld. The information sources for the secondary data

was duly acknowledged to avoid plagiarism and the findings were reported objectively and honestly.

CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, analysis and results of the study are presented. The study aimed at looking into framing of gun violence by Nation and Standard newspapers. The study objectives were to establish dominant frames used in reporting gun violence by the two national newspapers, analyze the diction, and the figures of speech used in portraying this as a serious societal problem. The findings obtained are presented in the following sections.

4.1.1 Frequency of Reporting Gun Violence

The total number of newspaper articles reporting gun violence between 1st August 2019 and 31st August 2020 are as shown in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Analysis of Frequency of Articles on Gun Violence

	Articles on Gun Violence	Total Number of Articles	Percentages
Gun violence articles DN	16	23,361	0.001
Gun violence articles STN	21	24,477	0.001
Total No. of Newspaper	37	47,838	0.001

The findings show that the articles on gun violence in the Nation and the Standard Newspaper were 16 and 21 respectively. This makes a total of 37 articles on gun violence from 730 editions of both newspapers.

The frequency of gun violence reporting for both the newspaper was 0.001%. This shows that gun violence was not a major occurring event or was not given much prominence in the two newspapers. These findings are in disparity with the studies

that show that though not to great extent as anticipated with their editorial policies; both newspapers were playing active roles in advocating for public safety through coverage of stories aimed at addressing public safety (Nation Media Group, 2018). As such, the two newspapers were playing important roles in the coverage of gun violence in Kenya (Wahyudin, 2016).

4.2 Placement

The study classified newspaper reporting on gun violence based on prime pages and non-prime pages as shown in Table 4.2 below.

Table 4.2 Placement of Gun Violence News

	Nation	The Standard
Categories	Frequency	Frequency
Prime Pages	6	8
Non-Prime Pages	10	13
Total	16	21

The placing of articles in a newspaper is referred to as placement. The front page serves as a display case and determines whether or not one purchases a newspaper. The process of choosing what to place in prime pages by news editors is meticulous, with the goal of attracting as many readers as possible. According to Shoemaker and Cohen (2016), the importance of a story is measured by its quantity (in terms of either space or time) multiplied by its location within the medium. A story on the first, second, third, or last page of a newspaper is designed to grab the reader's attention and be considered interesting to the general audience.

In both newspapers, most gun violence stories were presented in non-prime pages at 13 and 10 for Nation and The Standard respectively. The gun violence stories presented in prime pages were 6 for Nation and 10 for the Standard newspapers. The fact that both newspapers did not present stories in prime pages means that gun violence stories could see increased salience as posited by Vicente and López (2009). The way an issue is given preeminence in the print media is pivotal in highlighting the fundamental causes and potential ramifications of such an issue (Tankard et al., 1991). It can thus be concluded that the way that gun violence stories were covered by both newspapers may compromise the importance placed on them .

4.2.2 Prominence of Gun Violence Stories in Newspapers

Unlike in the previous category, this probes on how the articles were placed on the newspaper page because of the “uniqueness” of the story. Usually, the level of stories coverage varies largely from a case to another. This is often determined by the events outside the story, such as media ‘themes’; the similarity of a story to other stories; and the absence or presence of other competing news items. The news’ specific characteristics, the news location and the background of the victims will also influence the degree of press interest.

Stories tended to be given prominence in both the Nation and Standard newspapers during the period of study were those that related to prominent people. For example, the Akasha brothers, Ochuka 1982 coup and Sergeant Frank Kipyegon Kenei based at the deputy president’s office. The conviction of the Akasha brothers in the US on drug charges was captured prominently by both newspapers. Baktash Akasha and his brother, Ibrahim Akasha, were the leaders of a sophisticated international drug

trafficking network based in Kenya, responsible for tons of narcotics shipments throughout the world. For over twenty years, they manufactured and distributed drugs, sometimes using violence against those who posed a threat to their enterprise. So, the conviction of the Akasha brothers in the US was given prime coverage by the two newspapers linking the story to the Kenyan incidence where the Akasha brothers were involved in a shoot-out spree in a Mombasa shopping mall.

The gun violence against Sergeant Kipyegon Kenei was covered prominently by the two newspapers because he was based at the Deputy President's Harambee office and was linked to a fake Sh39 billion arms deal involving former Sports Cabinet Secretary Rashid Echesa. On the other hand, Ochuka 1982 story was featured in both newspapers in remembrance of the death of 240 people in a bloody standoff on August 1, 1982, that is recorded as Kenya's second failed coup attempt.

In addition to predicting the coverage of gun violence stories in the newspaper, Gruenewald et al. (2009) focused on the factors that led to increased prominence of their coverage. Celebrated coverage, as is also referred to, is measured in terms of premium or front-page placement in the paper (Gruenewald et al., 2009). It is also measured based on the word counts for the stories (Buckler & Travis, 2005).

In addition to individual victim characteristics, case-level attributes have also shown a significant effect on prominent coverage. In some, gun violence crimes are deemed newsworthy when they are unusual or when they contain elements that are out of the ordinary (Gruenewald et al., 2009). Significant observations come from the context and content of the case rather than individual-level characteristics of the victims.

Previous research suggests that newsworthiness is greater for cases with unique elements (Johnstone, Hawkins, & Michener, 1994).

4.2.3 Days of the week when Gun Violence is published

Table 4.3 below show days of the week when gun violence story was published.

Table 4.3 Days of the week when gun violence is published

Days of the week	Nation	The Standard
Sunday	4	3
Monday	1	6
Tuesday	0	2
Wednesday	4	2
Thursday	1	1
Friday	3	2
Saturday	3	5
Total	16	21

Stories on gun violence in the Nation newspaper appeared mostly on Sunday (4) and Wednesday (4). They were followed by Friday (3) while on Tuesday (0) there was no story on gun violence. On the other hand, Standard newspaper had stories on gun violence fairly distributed. However, coverage was done mostly on Monday (6), followed by Saturday (5). Tuesday, Wednesday and Friday each covered gun violence at 2. According to Helquist (2017) the day of the week has effect on the attention placed on news items. Readership and viewership is more on Sunday, Tuesday and Wednesday. Media houses thus tend to place emphasis on the “most newsworthy news” on these days.

Conversely, Monday, Friday and Saturday are low-media-intake days, with most press releases receiving little or no publicity (Helquist, 2017). Since gun violence news were mostly published on Sunday and Wednesday by Nation Newspaper, it is evident that these news items could see increased readership and viewership and possible favourable policy responses (Tankard et al., 1991). This was not the case with the Standard Newspaper which covered gun violence stories mostly covered on Monday and Saturday.

4.3 Research Findings on Study Objectives

The following are findings of the study to: establish dominant frames in reporting gun violence by Nation and Standard Newspapers; analyze the diction, and examine the figures of speech in portraying the violence as a serious societal problem.

4.3.1 Analysis of Dominant Frames in Portraying Gun Violence by the Two Newspapers

The first objective of the study was to establish dominant frames in reporting gun violence by the Nation and the Standard newspapers.

Dominant Frames of Gun Violence in Newspapers

This section shows the dominant frames used in reporting gun violence stories presented in newspapers. Analysis of these frames is as presented in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4 Dominant Frames of Gun Violence in Newspapers

Frames	Nation	The Standard
<i>Fatality</i>	3	4
<i>Crime</i>	2	3
<i>Policy</i>	2	2
<i>Tactical Response</i>	1	2
<i>Citizen Participation</i>	2	2
<i>Cattle Rustling</i>	2	2
<i>Terrorism</i>	3	4
<i>Accomplices</i>	1	2
Total	16	21

As shown in Table 4.4, the findings show that most of dominant frame used to portray gun violence in both Nation and the Standard was fatality (death) at 3 and 4 respectively. Gun violence was thus depicted as a cause of death which could enhance the salience placed on gun violence stories in the country in line with the findings by Vicente and López (2009) who posit that framing of gun violence by print media would influence its salience. Examples of these are:

“In case one was tempted to argue that the use of guns by civilians on other citizens is a majorly western problem, this was proved untrue on August 17, 2019 when a motorist shot the driver of another vehicle and killed him in Kisumu town following an altercation about a car parking space.” (Nation Sunday, August 25, 2019).

“The AK-47 can fire more bullets, yes, but this one can hit an enemy up in those hills (Nation 04-12-2019)

Gun violence was also depicted through the lens of “terrorism” as seen by 3 cases in Nation and 4 in the Standard newspapers. Terrorism was thus a word in the forefront of gun violence depiction in the print media. This could spur discourse on ways of reining in on it. This is in line with John-Cartee (2005) who pointed out that terms such terrorism among others had been pushed to the forefront through repeated use in news frames. Examples of stories depicting these frames are as follows:

“Security forces “eliminated” the militants who stormed an upscale hotel compound and killed at least 14 people in an attack claimed by Somali Islamist group al Shabaab, President Uhuru Kenyatta said after the January 15 incident” (Standard Newspaper 24-12-2019).

“We can confirm that 14 innocent lives were lost through the hands of these murderous terrorists,” Uhuru said, looking drained and grave.” (Standard newspaper, December 24th 2019).

“In an attack claimed by Somali Islamist group al-Shabaab” (Standard Newspaper, December 24th 2019)

“Crime” was another important frame used to portray gun violence; 2 in Nation and 3 in the Standard. Criminal activities such as armed robbery, homicide and assassination were major cases of gun violence in Kenya. In reporting thus, crime was often used to depict gun violence. This agrees with the words of Musoi et al. (2012) who points out that Kenya was often been barraged by rises in crime. An example of a story portraying crime was: *“A wanted criminal” (Nation 12/9/2019)*

Another frame used in portraying gun violence stories in both Nation and the Standard was “Citizen Participation” at 2 each. In this regard, citizens were often reported as cooperating with security agencies to report potential gun related crimes which would check the level of gun violence. This shows that citizens were actively involved in checking gun violence since it affected them negatively. These findings are in line with the study by Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) which underlines the importance of perception of the gravity of gun violence by the government and public in reporting gun violence. As such, the more gun violence stories were portrayed in the mass media, the more their salience was enhanced. This could go on to enhance citizen-government collaboration in dealing with gun violence. Some stories shown the extent of citizen participation are as follows:

“He says cooperation between the locals and leaders has made it possible to tame the evil” (Standard Newspaper, 10-11-2019)

“He says the residents nowadays inform police of planned attacks, which are then foiled” (Standard Newspaper, 10-11-2019)

Cattle rustling was another frame used to portray gun violence. Both Nation (2) and the Standard (2) attributed cattle rustling to gun violence. People could thus quickly draw nexus between cattle rustling and gun violence. These findings are in line with a survey by OSAC in 2014 that depicted cattle rustling as one of the most common types of crime in Kenya. Example of stories depicting cattle rustling was: *“All their livestock were stolen”* (Standard Newspaper, 10-11-2019).

Another frame used to depict gun violence was “policy.” The policy responses evoked by gun violence cases was also a key lens through which the two newspaper, each at 2, portrayed gun violence. This means that framing in the print media often led to bringing the issue of gun violence to the policy level. These finding corroborates the findings by Tankard et al. (1991) who pointed out that “the ability to bring any issue to the policy level is in most cases reliant the media framing of issues (Tankard et al. 1991). Examples of stories on policy are as shown below:

“At passing laws to regulate gun ownership and use” (Nation Sunday, August 25, 2019).

“The law on firearms and gun culture in Kenya” (Nation, Sunday, August 25, 2019)

The two newspapers, Nation (1) and The Standard (2), also used “tactical response” by security agents as another frame to portray gun violence. In this regard, stories on the response by security agents in the wake of gun attacks were often used to highlight the issue of gun violence to the limelight which aligns to the studies by

(Ng'asike (2012) and Kimemia (2011). Example of tactical response stories are as depicted below:

“They went back home after the government deployed 20 National Police Reservists” (Standard Newspaper, 10-11-2019)

“Lesita says they went back home after the government deployed 20 National Police Reservists there” (Standard Newspaper, 10-11-2019)

“Security forces eliminated the militants who stormed an upscale hotel” (Standard Newspaper, 24-12-2019)

However, there were also incidences of security agents being “accomplices” to gun violence. As such, “accomplice” was a key frame used in portraying gun violence (Nation (1) and The Standard (2)). This is pivotal since the government could be urged to rout out rogue security agents which could strengthen security in the country. These findings are particularly important since they underline the importance of the editorial policy guidelines and objectives of media houses as is the case with the Nation Media Group (2018). The aspect of rogue security agents is as shown follows:

“He says rogue police reservists used their guns to perpetrate violence” (Standard Newspaper, December 24th 2019)

“He says rogue police reservists used their guns to perpetrate violence. But the reservists are now disarmed” (Standard Newspaper, 10-11-2019)

Use of Cartoons and Photos as Visual Persuasion Frames

According to O'Donnell (2013) images can be used in framing pertinent issues for purposes of visual persuasion in this study cartoons and photos were used to depict gun violence in both Nation and The Standard Newspapers. The following 4 stage criteria was used in analyzing cartoons and photos as employed by Kędra (2016). These included visually looking at the images to describe the elements seen. This was followed by a technical analysis of all the elements seen. Thereafter, the photos were

analyzed against the context of gun violence and interpretation made. These findings are shown in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5 Use of Cartoons and Photos as Visual Persuasion Frames

Category	Nation	The Standard
Proliferation of arms	4	2
Police brutality	3	5
Cattle rustling & Banditry	4	7
Armed robbery	1	2
Total	12	16

Tables 4.5 show that both newspapers use photos and cartoons to depict gun violence. In total 12 cartoons and photos appeared in the Nation while 16 appeared in the Standard. For example, the photo of Baktash Akasha that was used in the lead story in the Sunday Nation newspaper of 29th December 2019 was a file photo taken in a Mombasa court on December 1, 2016. Readers found it easier to relate with stories with real time photos than those with file photos, even though the photos put the stories presented in the into perspective.

Photos and cartoons were used to frame issues related to cattle rustling and proliferation of arms at 4 each in Nation while in the Standard, the most depicted was police brutality and cattle rustling at 7 and 4 each. Police brutality was depicted 3 times in the Nation. The least highlighted issues by the Standard was proliferation of arms and armed robbery each at 2. In the Nation, armed robbery was the least depicted at 1. These findings show that photos and cartoons were used as visual persuasion frames by both newspapers (O'Donnell, 2013). This could underline the prominence placed on gun violence due to enhanced visibility as argued by Ombati

and Mireri (2020). Plate 4.1 shows one of the cartoons on gun violence in Kenya depicting police brutality and extrajudicial killing.

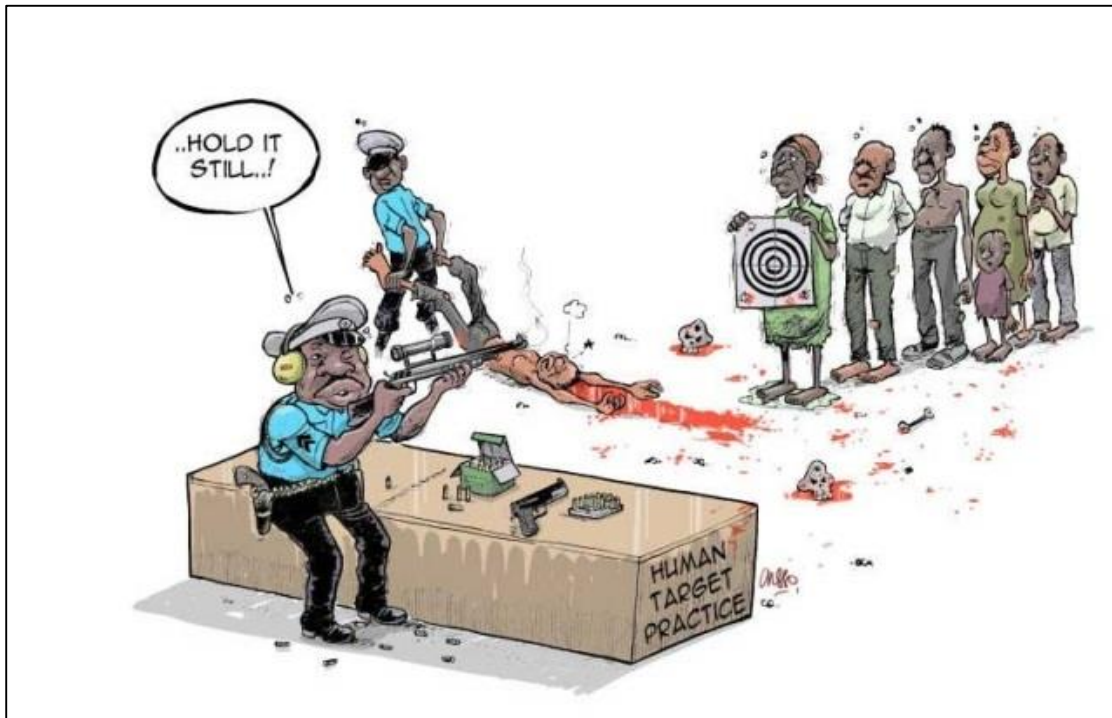


Plate 4.1 Cartoon on Police Brutality and Extrajudicial Killings

Source: The Standard (August 14, 2020)

4.3.2 Analysis of the Diction Used in Framing Gun Violence by the Nation and the Standard Newspapers

Diction is simply the words the writer chooses to convey a particular meaning. These are specific words or short phrases that seem stronger than the others. This is in line with the framing theory that posits framing plays pivotal roles in providing the most meaningful explanations to isolated items of fact (Chong & Druckman, 2007). In this study catchwords and catchphrases used in the study will be assessed. The findings were presented in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6 Diction Used in Framing Gun Violence

Category	Nation	The Standard
Silencing Guns	3	4
Impunity	2	3
Statements/Promises	3	3
Dead	3	4
Robbery & Shootout	2	3
Violence	2	2
Death Threat/I Will Kill You	1	2
Total	16	21

Silencing Guns

One of the most important catchphrases used in the newspapers was silencing guns. The phrase appeared 3 times in the Nation and 4 times in the Standard. The newspapers emphasized the pertinence of silencing guns to stop gun violence. This was pivotal in Kenya since as posited Musoi, et al. (2012) gun was imperiled with rises in crime including gun violence. In this regard, one of the newspapers used this phrase:

“How can AU “Silencing the Guns” agenda respond to state failure to curb violence?” (Nation Newspaper, 18-03 2020)

Impunity

Impunity was used as a catchword to depict the reason for gun violence was impunity as shown by 2 articles in the Nation and 3 in the Standard. This shows that people flouted the law which stipulates that “it is a crime that involves the illegal use of a firearm to cause death, injury or terror to the public under the penal code (CAP. 63) of the Laws of Kenya and Criminal Law (Amendment) Act, 2003 ((Laws of Kenya, 1970; Laws of Kenya, 2005).” It was thus pertinent to deal with impunity within the

process of dealing with gun violence in Kenya. Citing a shooting involving a prominent politician in a club in Nairobi, the newspapers cite impunity as a potential cause of gun violence. Examples of these are as depicted below:

“Why was B Club open despite court order for its closure?” [an aspect of impunity] (Standard Newspaper, 19-01-2020)

“Rowdy revellers” [Noisy and violent revelers] (Nation Newspaper 19-01-2020)

“Kenyans woke up to the news that Mr Owino had shot and critically injured Frank Orinda alias DJ Evolve a few minutes after 7 am inside B Club” (Nation Newspaper 19-01-2020)

Statements/Promises

The study shows that the African Union (AU) repeated statements on controlling the on Proliferation of Guns. This appeared 3 times in Nation and the Standard respectively. Repetition of the same words or phrases is done for emphasis (Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2009). Repeating the same word or phrase helps the journalist to emphasize the fact that gun violence is a larger concern for Africa: For example:

“As promising and as noble the AU grand schemes are, this does not assuage African citizens’ skepticism around the ability of the AU to deliver on its promises” Nation Newspaper, 18-03 2020

“As the session wound down, the African Union had made general statements” (Nation Newspaper, 18-03 2020).

Dead

Other important catch word was “dead.” It was used 3 times in the Nation and 4 times in the Standard. This word was repeatedly used in gun violence to show that most gun violence incidences were fatal. Underlining the fact that gun violence

contravened the law (Laws of Kenya, 1970; Laws of Kenya, 2005) could invoke the requisite policy responses to curb it. *For example on of the stories depicting a soldier who was found dead went as follows:*

“The Sergeant, 33, was found dead in his house in Imara Daima Estate, Nairobi last week on Thursday.” Standard Newspaper 24-02-2020”

Robbery & Shootout

Other important catchwords used in gun violence stories were “robbery” and “Shootout.” In the Nation it appeared 2 times while in the Standard it appeared 3 times. This shows that the robbery was a motivating reason for gun violence. These findings are in line with the study by Musoi et al. (2012) which posits that there were increases with cases of robbery; often leading to shootouts.

An example of this is as follows:

“Nyandarua robbers who stole police gun arrested as others escape” Standard Newspaper 10/2/2020”

“Shootout: Police kill mastermind in Sh72m Sept 2019 Standard Bank ATM heist” (Standard Newspaper 25-03-2020)

Violence

Violence in the use of guns was another catch word used in gun violence stories. This word was used 2 times by each of the two newspapers. This is in line with the study by Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) that shows the importance of reporting gun violence stories in the print media. An example of this was in a story by the Standard as shown below:

“Younger Akasha had a penchant for guns and violence” (Standard Newspaper, November 9th 2019)

Death Threat/I Will Kill You

Likewise, the following catch phrases show that threat of death by gun or killing was often associated with reporting gun violence stories. It appeared 1 time in Nation and 2 times in the Standard. These findings show that death threats by assailants using guns was common. By emphasis on these threats, the salience of gun violence could be enhanced as shown as posited by Vicente and López (2009). Examples of these are as follows.

“As Livondo wrestled Baktash to the floor, Goswami continued, Ibrahim pulled out a gun and shouted at Livondo, “Stop it or I’ll kill you.” (Nation newspaper, Sunday, December 29, 2019)

Vs.

“After the altercation turned physical and Baktash and Livondo exchanged blows, Ibrahim quickly drew a handgun, threatening Livondo with death” (Standard Newspaper, November 9th 2019)

1982 Coup Attempt

“How Ochuka’s 1982 coup attempt changed Kenya.” (Nation newspaper, August 01, 2020)

“Inside secret coup attempt that killed 240 in city crossfire.” (Standard Newspaper, August 1st 2020)

“And so he set in motion a plan that was to end in the death of 240 people in a bloody standoff on August 1, 1982, which is recorded as Kenya’s second failed coup attempt” (Standard Newspaper, August 1st 2020).

All the stories shown above are reiterating the same piece of information: “1982 coup attempt in Kenya,” “inside secret coup attempt,” “Kenya’s second failed coup attempt,” are used in the stories depicting gun violence around a failed coup attempt in Kenya in 1982. The word “coup attempt” is closely linked gun violence.

All in all the various catchwords and catchphrases play important roles in showing the use of diction in reporting gun violence and its importance in placing emphasis on the stories presented (Tewksbury & Scheufele, 2009).

4.3.3 Analysis of Figures of Speech in Framing Gun Violence by the Nation and the Standard Newspapers

A figure of speech is created when a writer uses figurative language or that which has another meaning other than its basic definition. The effect of this figurative language might make an idea or image easier to imagine or generally more interesting. According to Richard Gill (1985, p.48), “A figure of speech is any of several kinds of non-literal usage of words used in describing stylistic choices made in communicating their intended emotions. Gamson & Modigliani (1989) distinguish framing devices that suggest how to think about the issue and reasoning devices that justify what should be done about it. In the same accord, figures of speech are important within the context of the Pan and Kosicki (1993) Framing Model, which creates an understanding of the news structure framing devices. Many figures of speech have been used to describe gun violence stories in both newspapers. These include idioms, similes, metaphors, idiomatic expressions. These findings are shown in Table 4.8.

Table 4.7 Figures of Speech in Framing Gun Violence

Category	Nation	The Standard
Idioms	5	7
Metaphors	5	7
Simile	2	4
Idiomatic Expressions	4	3
Total	16	21

Idioms

One usual definition for many idioms is “a construction whose meaning cannot be derived from the meaning of its constituents” (Minugh, 2008, p.119). In this study idioms were used in reporting gun violence stories (5 times in Nation and 7 in the Standard). In one case, one report went as follows: *“US court drives the last nail in Akasha drug empire coffin”* (Nation Newspaper, 29-12-2019). *This shows that the court played an important role in putting a stop to the drug empire, which was often associated with cases of gun violence. The use of similes could go on to enhance the importance placed on the need to check gun violence by the readers. This could go on to provoke push for action by the government.*

Metaphor

A metaphor is, (Merriam-Webster Dictionary, 2011), is the figure of speech where a word or phrase literally denotes an object or idea used in place of another to show likeness or analogy. Metaphors were used 5 times in Nation and 7 times in the Standard. Examples of metaphors used in reporting gun violence stories include the words “gun-happy cowboys in uniform” in the phrase:

“The systemic rot and culture of gun-happy cowboys in uniform stretches all the way back to the colonial days.” (Nation newspaper 26-06-2020)

In this, it is evident that metaphors make stories more interesting for readers so as to spur their consumption and appeal (van Dijk, 1998). In gun violence stories, this could contribute to enhanced response to gun violence.

Simile

Similes are widely known as rhetorical figures used in comparison, often uninformed true to achieve effects usually classified as figurative (Brogan, 1994). In Nation,

smiles were used 2 times while in The Standard they were used 4 times. In this study similes were used to put emphasis by creating a figurative image of gun violence. The readers can get a mental picture of the event being reported. An example of this is:

“Tech-savvy unit at the DCI resolves over 50 cold cases” (Nation newspaper 18-01-2020)

The figurative image of “cold case” created by similes in the case of the story highlighted above shows the gravity of the gun violence case. It shows something without “feeling” since cold is associated as something without warmth or joy (Allison, 2001). Gun violence is thus shown as something undesirable which underlines the importance of checking it.

Idiomatic expression

Another figure of speech used in the study was idiomatic expression which is, “*an expression that cannot be understood from the meanings of its separate words but that has a separate meaning of its own.*” In the newspapers studied, idiomatic expressions were extensively used. In the Nation and The Standard, idiomatic expression were used 4 and 3 times respectively. Examples are as shown below:

“Is sending shivers down the spines of criminals” (Nation newspaper 18-01-2020)

“Why disarming northern Kenya is not a walk in the park” (Nation newspaper 6/12/2019)

“This land is chaotic and fractured, and the gun-control regime is alien” (Nation newspaper 4/12/2019)

The expressions “*sending shivers down the spines*” shows that the criminals are afraid of the measures used by security agents to deal with gun violence. “*Not a walk*

in the part” means that it is a tall order disarming Northern Kenya. This means that dealing with gun violence in the region is hard as shown by the expression “the land is chaotic and fractured.” Although Figurative expression is widely used in Nation Newspaper but is limited in Standard newspaper when reporting gun violence in Kenya, it is evident that both newspapers used this figure of speech to put emphasis on stories on gun violence as posited by Gitlin (1980). This is pivotal since such emphasis could go on to fuel public discourse on the need to rein in on gun violence. It could also provoke tactical and policy responses aimed at checking gun violence by the government.

4.4 Portrayal of Gun Violence as a Serious Societal Problem by Nation and Standard Newspapers

Both newspapers portray gun violence as a serious societal problem. In Kenya, the use of excessive force by the police has been a long-term problem. This has been noted across the country although more specifically in either informal settlements or in response to demonstrations, often resulting in unnecessary deaths. For example, in “MAN TALK: Violence towards boys is thriving here in our soil”, gun violence perpetuated by the police is well highlighted as a societal concern. The writer vividly captures the fear expressed by people in affected areas, “I’m afraid because I’ve seen the pictures, videos and read the stories of men getting assaulted past curfew hours. As a man, I risked assault and death during this period.” The writer goes further to document the role the human rights organization have turned focus on police gun violence against the citizen as an issue of greater magnitude in Kenya by giving statistical evidence: “A 2014 Study by Independent Medico-Legal Unit (IMLU) showed in numbers what we’ve known for years. The report showed that police were

responsible for 67 percent (1,252) of the 1,868 gun-related deaths between 2009 and 2013 in six major urban centers, while armed criminals were responsible for only 14 percent (260).” (Nation Newspaper, 5/6/2020). However, the Nation newspaper does not use this type of framing more often. It only appears once.

On the contrary, Standard newspaper adopts this type of framing to highlight the issue of gun violence in the society. For example, according to Standard Newspaper, “ending violent policing will require relentless vigilance” (Standard Newspaper, 22-02-2020). This is because “Tuesday’s shooting of Good Samaritan Daniel “Daddy” Mburu by police officer Zadock Achuka has outraged the nation once again” (Standard Newspaper, 22-02-2020). In another similar article, the writer compares police brutality in Kenya to that of USA. For example, “if police brutality in the United States is racist in foundation, police violence in Kenya is neo-colonial in thrust and unethical in practice” (Standard Newspaper, 14-08-2020). A cartoon from the same date caricatures police brutality in Kenya.

Furthermore, Standard Newspaper, goes further to show how women have also taken the issue of police gun violence seriously, “Mothers seek justice for victims of police killings” (Standard newspaper, 16-02-2020). In an article appearing on March 9, 2020, the writer presents evidence to show the magnitude of the problem. The writer posits “Since the beginning of 2020, at least 14 people have been reported killed by police” (Standard Newspaper, March 9, 2020). It seems this type of framing of gun violence by Standard newspaper has borne fruits. This is because in the same article the writer states that the matter had reached parliament to legislate against it and that the president had ascended to the “Prevention of Torture Act, and the

National Coroners Service Act” (Standard Newspaper, March 9, 2020). It is thus clear that both newspapers played important roles in elaborately portraying gun violence as an issue of societal concern. This is pertinent since it could induce public, state and government responses to control the gun violence.

4.4.1 Coverage of Gun Violence in the Print Media According to News Editors

Two editors and three reporters experienced in reporting gun violence were also interviewed. The findings are presented in the following section.

Role of Print Media in addressing Gun Violence

The editors of newspapers were presented with the question, “what is the role of print media in addressing violent crime such as gun violence?” The findings show that the print media plays a pivotal role in checking gun violence since it is widely viewed as the mirror of society and protective shield against violent gun crimes. To this, one of the news editors said:

“Many people who read newspapers are able to appreciate that the skillful use of well-balanced stories and relevant photographs on violent crime showing clearly that it does not pay!” (Respondent B, April 30, 2021, Nairobi).

The editors further posited that many have come to appreciate the media role in the society against violent crime by gangs armed with guns. Many respondents who reacted to this study underscored the media role in helping fight against crime extensively pushing the narrative that gun violence does not pay and that you are much safer and productive engaging in honest hard work.

“Some in Kenya praise police for gunning down suspected notorious armed suspects but others defer and would want police to instead get more information from culprits so the criminal gangs can be dismantled. Many people still appreciate the role of the print media in helping authorities fight

criminal gangs involved in violent crime.” (Respondent A, April 30, 2021, Nairobi).

The findings show that the Nation and the Standard played important roles in unmasking criminal gangs. They also created key roles in coverage of gun violence in the country.

Special Group of Reporters Covering Gun Violence

The key informants were presented with the question, “does gun violence reporting assigned to a special group of reporters or is it randomly assigned? If Yes, how?” The respondents agreed that in most cases media houses had crime reporters on special assignment. The reporters rely heavily on local intelligence from wananchi (Citizens) on the ground who always remain anonymous. Many people have come to appreciate the work of crime reporters who stay with the story even when authorities are yet to conclude the case. In this regard, one of the respondents said:

“Citizens are eager to volunteer information provided they are not named and many stories of gun violence have seen the day because of the unremitting resilience of such journalists.” (Respondent E, May 3, 2021, Nairobi).

These findings show that the public is anxious to help uphold peace, law and order, and generally believe special assignment reporters are doing a fantastic job. In light of this, one of the respondents said:

“The crime reporter will endear himself to the public, and will be street smart and experienced and able to work in the field with little or no supervision. He [crime reporters are usually male] is usually tasked to undertake investigative news or feature stories that require deeper research.” (Respondent D, May 3, 2021, Nairobi).

Many people interviewed agree that the reporters often investigate crime under cover facing many odds that include risk to life whether it is drug-trafficking, or organized crime.

“People are usually willing to help the reporter who may take several days, weeks, or even months before filing the violent gun crime story. Readers will find the eye-opening exposes captured in graphic detail as quite enthralling albeit alarming.” (Respondent B, April 30, 2021, Nairobi).

In other cases, news desk reporters rely on police reports and breaking news (off-beat) as events are unfolding like the Nairobi Westgate terror attack and D24 hotel siege by Al-Shabaab militants in 2016 and 2019 respectively. Street protests or demonstrations that turn violent are covered by news desk reporters on the beat. These findings show that special reporters were employed to highlight gun violence stories. This could enhance the richness of covering such news due to the expertise they garnered in the field. The employment of special reporters could enhance the salience placed on gun violence stories. This could go on to contribute to favourable responses aimed at checking gun violence in the Kenya.

Reporters Frequentness of Covering Gun Violence

The reporters were asked to point out how often they reported gun violence. They agreed that stories of gun violence reports were happening on almost daily basis in Kenya. They said that they were often called upon to report on cases of violent crime where guns were involved. In this regard, one of the respondents said:

“I frequently report on gun violence. A recent report is a gang of 5 armed gangsters including a woman who accosted and robbed wananchi at National Archives on Tom Mboya Street and stole phones and cash. Police reports indicate some suspects are in custody while DCI has appealed for information on the city gang of 5 described as armed to the teeth with assault rifles. The gang that reportedly took advantage of crowding on the streets after heavy rains to target commuters waiting for public transport whom it robbed at gun-point.” (Respondent F, May 4, 2021, Nairobi).

These findings agree with desk review of newspaper that show that there was high focus of gun violence coverage by the newspapers. This could spur public discourse on gun violence as posited by Odour (2020). It is thus commendable for newspapers to continue placing emphasis on the coverage of gun violence stories.

Key issues of Societal Concern Addressed when Reporting Gun Violence

The respondents were posed with the question, “what do you think are the key issues of societal concern that are addressed when reporting gun violence?” The responses show that there are varied reactions safety concerns but many people think that the state is not doing enough to curb gun violence while others say police is doing a commendable job. The print media highlights societal issues such as lack of safety at work and at home, and protection in public transport as major concerns. Dispensing wide perception of social and economic justice are at the heart of crime reporting, many people say citing media reports of armed gangsters gunned down as a clear lesson to society that crime does not pay. On the other hand some people have grave concerns over gunmen who kill, rob and remain on the run as “the graves of their victims grow grass” (Respondent E, May 3, 2021, Nairobi). The major challenge to the media is trying to placate an outraged society crying for justice. Some of the editors point out that the two papers have often gone out of their way to assign a team of special reporters to follow up a story of major public interest like the proliferation of guns and ammunitions from neighboring countries such as Somalia and Ethiopia.

Portrayal of Gun Violence as a Serious Societal Problem

The respondents were asked if the print media portrayed gun violence as a serious societal problem. There was high levels of agreement with this statement. In this regard, one of the respondents said:

“Yes indeed through constant reports, features and opinions, many people agree. This is especially true in many areas prone to cattle rustling in semi-arid areas of north eastern that include Turkana, Samburu, Pokot, Baringo and Elgeyo Marakwet. Gunmen in these areas stealing cattle have killed innocent people including school children provoking public outrage and many have challenged the government to control the proliferation of arms from war torn neighbouring countries. The issue many say has presented a major social problem to county and national government in Nairobi.” (Respondent D, May 3, 2021, Nairobi).

Other respondents pointed out that there was a growing need to come to grips with armed gangsters and the media is praised for helping to uncover sources of guns and ammunition some of which have been blamed on rogue cops. The public had been outraged at growing cases of armed robbery in suburbs, money shops, hardware stores, hotels, supermarkets and petrol stations even where there is CCTV footage. In support of this, one of the respondents said:

“Anger is also on growing unexplained cold blooded murder like that of KBC producer Betty Barasa who was shot dead at her home in front of her kids, and many people have urged the media to stay with the story even if police is making little headway in finding the killers.” (Respondent F, May 4, 2021, Nairobi).

Special Consideration Used in Addressing Gun Violence

The respondents were asked if there were any special consideration they used in addressing gun violence such as euphemism among others. Most of the respondents answered in the affirmative. The findings show that usually the media is supposed to use discretion when confronted with gory images or shocking news about a developing crime story in which there are frightening gory images. Many people have often reacted differently to cases of gun violence involving the vulnerable

members of society. The press is encouraged to sometimes black out images to protect readers from numbing shock in cases where photos are too graphic for the lay eye. In this regard, one of the editors said:

“When police shoot and kill suspects the media will publish photos with such euphemism as “End of the road”, “40 days for armed thug run out!”, while suspected female gangsters are dubbed “gangster queen lived large” and this elicits mixed reaction from readers. Some think the papers are unkind to the slain suspects demanding that they should have been allowed their day in court.” (Respondent A, April 30, 2021, Nairobi).

This shows that there were special considerations in covering gun violence. This is important since such considerations could contribute to prompt policy and tactical reactions by lawmakers as well as security agencies to curb gun violence.

Issues of Societal Concern that should be Addressed When Reporting Gun Violence

The respondents were asked to point out key issues of societal concern that should be addressed when reporting gun violence. The responses show that it is important for society to get a sense of justice when the media is reporting incidents of armed robbery or cattle rustling, as a cross section of people interviewed point out. One of the editors pointed out that:

“In arid and semiarid areas many people argue that there is growing hopelessness over frequent attacks by criminal gangs armed with assault rifles. There is also concern that frequent disarmament of warring groups has not ended cattle rustling that is regarded as part of culture in some of the communities!” (Respondent B, April 30, 2021, Nairobi).

The media thus reports on the endless cycle of the cattle rustling stories, in line with report by RECSA (2018) aim to show that such situations are manageable and there is hope for better days ahead for the concerned community. In this context, another respondent said:

“To keep hope alive, the media will keep highlighting with prominence incidents of violent crime by armed groups, and wananchi are in agreement that this is the way to go and media should stay with such stories until lasting solutions are found. In some cases investigative journalists were able to trace how gangsters acquire guns and ammunition, winning wide accolades from an appreciating public.”

These findings show that the media was pivotal in highlighting various stories of societal importance.



Plate 4.2 Disarming Pastoral Communities

Source: Nation (December 06, 2019)

Ways of Improving Coverage of Violent Crime

The respondents were asked to point out what could be done to improve coverage of violent crime such as gun violence. The findings show that many citizens want the press to have more freedom and protection in accessing unfolding stories of violent gun crimes. There is thus need to ensure that journalists are protected from attack during their line of duty. The law should protect investigative journalists. The police should have better relations with the media instead of castigating them when they report violent crime. Editorial policies should be more flexible to allow journalists

cover gun violence without some of the limitations emanating from demands to focus on other stories at the expense of elaborate coverage of issues such as gun violence.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Overview

In this chapter, study summary, conclusions, and recommendations are presented in line with the study objectives.

5.2 Summary

5.2.1 Analysis of Dominant Frames in Portraying Gun Violence by the Two Newspapers

The first objective of the study was to establish dominant frames in reporting gun violence by the Nation and the Standard newspapers. To begin with the study shows that dominant frames used in portraying gun violence stories presented in newspapers. The findings show that most of dominant frame used to portray gun violence in both Nation and the Standard was fatality (death) at 3 and 4 respectively. Gun violence was thus depicted as a cause of death which could enhance the salience placed on gun violence stories in the country. Gun violence was also depicted through the lens of “terrorism” as seen by 3 cases in Nation and 4 in the Standard. Terrorism was thus a word in the forefront of gun violence depiction in the print media.

“Crime” was another important frame used to portray gun violence; 2 in Nation and 3 in the Standard. Criminal activities such as armed robbery, homicide and

assassination were major cases of gun violence in Kenya. In reporting thus, crime was often used to depict gun violence.

Another frame used in portraying gun violence stories in both Nation and the Standard was “Citizen Participation” at 2 each. In this regard, citizens were often reported as cooperating with security agencies to report potential gun related crimes which would check the level of gun violence. This shows that citizens were actively involved in checking gun violence since it affected them negatively. As such, the more gun violence stories were portrayed in the mass media, the more their salience was enhanced. This could go on to enhance citizen-government collaboration in dealing with gun violence.

Cattle rustling was another frame used to portray gun violence. Both Nation (2) and The Standard gun violence (2) was attributed to gun violence to cattle rustling. People could thus quickly draw nexus between cattle rustling and gun violence. Another frame used to depict gun violence was “policy.” The policy responses evoked by gun violence cases was also a key lens through which the two newspaper, each at 2, portrayed gun violence. This means that framing in the print media often led to bringing the issue of gun violence to the policy level.

The two newspapers, Nation (1) and The Standard (2), also used “tactical response” by security agents as another frame to portray gun violence. In this regard, stories on the response by security agents in the wake of gun attacks were often used to highlight the issue of gun violence to the limelight.

However, there were also incidences of security agents being “accomplices” to gun violence. As such, “accomplice” was a key frame used in portraying gun violence (Nation (1) and The Standard (2)). This is pivotal since the government could be urged to rout out rogue security agents which could strengthen security in the country. These findings are particularly important since they underline the importance of the editorial policy guidelines and objectives of media houses.

Cartoons and photos were also used as visual persuasion frames. According to O'Donnell (2013) images can be used in framing pertinent issues for purposes of visual persuasion in this study cartoons and photos were used to depict gun violence in both Nation and The Standard Newspapers. In total 12 cartoons and photos appeared in the Nation while 16 appeared in the Standard. During the study, it was evident that most of the photos used were real time while a few were file photos. For example, the photo of Baktash Akasha that was used in the lead story in the Sunday Nation newspaper of 29th December 2019 was a file photo taken in a Mombasa court on December 1, 2016. Readers found it easier to relate with stories with real time photos than those with file photos, even though the photos put the stories presented in the into perspective.

Most of the photos and cartoons were used to frame issues related to cattle rustling and proliferation of arms at 4 each in Nation while in the Standard, the most depicted was police brutality and cattle rustling at 7 and 4 each. Police brutality was depicted 3 times in the Nation. The least highlighted issues by the Standard was proliferation of arms and armed robbery each at 2. In the Nation, armed robbery was the least depicted at 1. These findings show that photos and cartoons were used as visual

persuasion frames by both newspapers. This could underline the prominence placed on gun violence due to enhanced visibility.

5.2.2 Analysis of the Diction Used in Framing Gun Violence by the Nation and the Standard Newspapers

Diction is the words chosen by a writer to convey a messages' meaning. These are words or phrases that are stronger compared to others. This is in line with the framing theory that posits framing plays pivotal roles in providing the most meaningful explanations to isolated items of fact. In this study catchwords and catchphrases used in the study will be assessed.

One of the most important catchphrases used in the newspapers was silencing guns. The newspapers emphasized the pertinence of silencing guns to stop gun violence. Impunity was used as a catchword to depict the reason for gun violence was impunity. Citing a shooting involving a prominent politician in a club in Nairobi, the newspapers cite impunity as a potential cause of gun violence.

The study shows that the AU repeated statements on controlling the on Proliferation of Guns. Repeating the same word or phrase helps the journalist to emphasize the fact that gun violence is a larger concern for Africa.

Other important catch word was "dead." This word was repeatedly used in gun violence to show that most gun violence incidences were fatal. Further, another important catchword used in gun violence stories were "robbery" and "Shootout." This shows that the robbery was a motivating reason for gun violence. Violence in

the use of guns was another catch word used in gun violence stories. Likewise, the following catch phrases show that threat of death by gun or killing was often associated with reporting gun violence stories. The 1982 attempted coup was also highly used. All the stories shown above are reiterating the same piece of information: “1982 coup attempt in Kenya,” “inside secret coup attempt,” “Kenya’s second failed coup attempt,” are used in the stories depicting gun violence around a failed coup attempt in Kenya in 1982. The word “coup attempt” is closely linked gun violence. All in all the various catchwords and catchphrases play important roles in showing the use of diction in reporting gun violence and its importance in placing emphasis on the stories presented.

5.2.3 Analysis of Figures of Speech in Framing Gun Violence by the Nation and the Standard Newspapers

The third objective of the study was to examine the figures of speech in framing gun violence by the newspapers. *Figure of speeches are created when by a writer in language that has another meaning other than its definition to make an idea or image easier to imagine or more interesting. They were used to describe gun violence stories in both newspapers. These include idioms, similes, metaphors, and idiomatic expressions.*

In this study idioms were used in reporting gun violence stories. In one case, one report went as follows: “*US court drives the last nail in Akasha drug empire coffin*” (Nation Newspaper, 29-12-2019). *This shows that the court played an important role in putting a stop to the drug empire which was often associated with cases of gun violence.*

Metaphors were used in reporting gun violence stories include the words “gun-happy cowboys in uniform.” In this, it is evident that metaphors make stories more interesting for readers so as to spur their consumption and appeal. In gun violence stories, this could contribute to enhanced response to gun violence. In this study similes were used to put emphasis by creating a figurative image of gun violence. The readers can get a mental picture of the event being reported.

The figurative image of “cold case” created by similes in another story shows the gravity of the gun violence case. It shows something without “feeling” since cold is associated as something without warmth or joy. Gun violence is thus shown as something undesirable. Another figure of speech used in the study was idiomatic expression which is, *“an expression that cannot be understood from the meanings of its separate words but that has a separate meaning of its own.”* In the newspapers studied, idiomatic expressions were extensively used. The expressions such as *“sending shivers down the spines”* shows that the criminals are afraid of the measures used by security agents to deal with gun violence. *“Not a walk in the park”* means that it is a tall order disarming Northern Kenya. This means that dealing with gun violence in the region is hard as shown by the expression *“the land is chaotic and fractured.”* Although Figurative expression is widely used in Nation Newspaper but is limited in Standard newspaper when reporting gun violence in Kenya, it is evident that both newspapers used this figure of speech to put emphasis on stories on gun violence.

5.2.4 Portrayal of Gun Violence as a Serious Societal Problem by Nation and Standard Newspapers

Lastly, the study sought to assess the portrayal of gun violence as a serious societal problem by the Nation and the Standard Newspapers. Both newspapers portray *gun violence as a serious societal problem. In Kenya, the use of excessive force by the police has been a long-term problem. This has been noted across the country although more specifically in either informal settlements or in response to demonstrations, often resulting in unnecessary deaths. Police brutality is also widely covered.* The print media plays a pivotal role in checking gun violence since is widely viewed as the mirror of society and protective shield against violent gun crimes.

The editors further posited that many have come to appreciate the media role in the society against violent crime by gangs armed with guns. Many respondents who reacted to this study underscored the media role in helping fight against crime extensively pushing the narrative that gun violence does not pay and that you are much safer and productive engaging in honest hard work. The findings show that Nation and the Standard played important roles in unmasking criminal gangs. They also created key roles in coverage of gun violence in the country.

The reporters were asked to point out how often they reported gun violence. They agreed that stories of gun violence reports were happening on almost daily basis in Kenya. They reported that they were often called upon to report on cases of violent crime where guns were involved. These findings agree with desk review of

newspaper that showed that there was high focus of gun violence coverage by the newspapers. This could spur public discourse on gun violence.

The responses show that there are varied reactions safety concerns but many people think that the state is not doing enough to curb gun violence while others say police is doing a commendable job. The print media highlights societal issues such as lack of safety at work and at home, and protection in public transport as major concerns. Dispensing wide perception of social and economic justice are at the heart of crime reporting, many people say citing media reports of armed gangsters gunned down as a clear lesson to society that crime does not pay. On the other hand some people have grave concerns over gunmen who kill, rob and remain on the run as “the graves of their victims grow grass.” The major challenge to the media is trying to placate an outraged society crying for justice. Some of the editors point out that the two papers have often gone out of their way to assign a team of special reporters to follow up a story of major public interest like the proliferation of guns and ammunitions from neighboring countries such as Somalia and Ethiopia. The respondents were asked if the print media portrayed gun violence as a serious societal problem.

5.3 Conclusion

Regarding the dominant frames in portraying gun violence by the newspapers, it is evident that the most of dominant frame used to portray gun violence in both Nation and the Standard was fatality, terrorism, crime, citizen participation, cattle rustling, tactical response, accomplice, Cartoons and photos were also used as visual persuasion frames. These frames were used to portray gun violence from different angles. This went on to affect the salience of gun violence.

Diction was also extensively used in the portrayal of gun violence stories. In this regard, various catchwords and catchphrases were used in depicting gun violence. These included: silencing guns, impunity, and proliferation of guns, dead, robbery, shootout and coup attempt. Repetition of words and phrases was done to help the journalist to emphasize the fact that gun violence is a larger concern for Africa. It was also made manifest that various figures of speech were used. These include idioms, similes, metaphors and idiomatic expressions.

Lastly, the findings show that some of the major issues of societal concern focused by both newspapers include armed robbery, police brutality, cattle rustling and terrorism. It can thus be concluded that the print media plays a pivotal role in checking gun violence since it is widely viewed as the mirror of society and protective shield against violent gun crimes. To this end, both newspapers uses all the frames under investigation in this study albeit to different degrees as shown in the preceding discourse.

5.4 Recommendations

The following recommendations were made.

5.4.1 Dominant Frames in Portraying Gun Violence by the Two Newspapers

- (i) Tankard et al. (1991) point out that the propensity of any issue to be brought to the policy level is in most cases reliant the media framing of stories. The print media should expand the dominant frames used in reporting gun violence so as

maximally show the various angles to the deep issue of this issue. This could be through enhanced research on the issue of gun violence.

5.2.2 Diction Used in Framing Gun Violence by the Nation and the Standard

Newspapers

- (ii) Diction is important in framing gun violence since it enhances the salience placed on it. This aligns with *the framing theory that posits framing plays pivotal roles in providing the most meaningful explanations to isolated items of fact (Chong & Druckman (2007))*. The media should put more emphasis on using appealing and catchy words to enhance the importance placed on gun violence.

5.2.3 Figures of Speech in Framing Gun Violence by the Nation and the Standard

Newspapers

- (iii) *Figures of speech as posited by Giles (2020) have been used in the framing of gun violence among students in the United States. The use of figures of speech could also be exploited within the process of enriching the presentation of gun violence stories. This is particularly so since this could enhance the appeal placed on such stories.*

5.2.4 Gun Violence Portrayal as a Serious Societal Problem

- (iv) Wahyudin (2016) pointed out that the print media is supposed to offer balanced coverage of all crime incidences happening in the country. It is recommendable for the print media to increase the level to which they offer balanced coverage of gun violence stories from the whole country.

- (v) The study findings shows that one of the challenges is ensuring that stories are followed up to enhance favourable response to them (Respondent E, May 3, 2021, Nairobi). Newspapers should avail sufficient financial and human resources to ensure that there is follow up on stories for long period of time to ascertain the resultant policy implications of the coverage.
- (vi) The press should have more freedom and protection in accessing unfolding stories of violent gun crimes. This is only tenable if the government emphasizes the importance of gun violence coverage (Scheufele & Tewksbury (2007). There is thus need for the government to ensure that journalists are protected from attack during their line of duty. The law should also protect investigative journalists. Further, the police should have better relations with the media instead of castigating them when they report violent crime.
- (vii) Newspapers in Kenya have clear editorial policies on public safety (Nation Media Group, 2018). Editorial policies should be more flexible to allow journalists cover gun violence without some of the limitations emanating from demands to focus on other stories at the expense of elaborate coverage of issues such as gun violence.

5.5 Areas for Further Study

The study sought to examine framing of gun violence in Kenya with reference to The Nation and The Standard newspapers from 1st September 2019 to 30th August 2020. There is need for longitudinal studies focused on longer periods of time to track the evolution and changes in framing gun violence in the print media. Comparative studies focused on other forms of media are also recommended. There is need for

similar studies targeting other parts of Kiambu County as well as other parts of Kenya for comparative purposes.

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APPENDIX I: CODE SHEET

Category	Details	Codes
Name of Publication	Newspaper (The Standard/The Nation)	CODES The Nation=DN The Standard=TSN
Day of the week	Days of the week,	Format: Sunday, Monday etc.
Placement & Type of story	How the story was written, Section of the newspaper the story was placed	CODES: News Analyses =NA Editorials=ED Commentary=CM Opinion=OP Features=FS News Brief = NB All genres covered. However, not all of them scored appearance in each of the newspaper
Prominence and focus	Importance in terms of prominence and space accorded	CODES: HF= High Focus Stories Prominence in (1)Front/Back pages, (2) editorial (3) Graphics accompanying the story (4) Covering half to full page (5) Having more than 30 lines MF=Medium Focus stories (1) Stories covering at least 20-30 lines; (2)

		<p>A graphic on gun violence</p> <p>LF=Low Focus</p> <p>(i) No graphic at all</p> <p>(ii) Less than 20 lines accorded</p>
graphics	Type of graphics used in the story	<p>CODES:</p> <p>Picture=PIC</p> <p>Cartoon=CA</p> <p>Only photos and one carton appeared</p>
Frames	Categories of stories into the following frames	<p>CODES:</p> <p><i>Dominant Frames in Depicting gun Violence = DF</i></p> <p>These are the frames used to depict gun violence as a serious societal issue. It highlights the causes, nature, the responsible and responses.</p> <p><i>Diction (choice of words)=CW</i></p> <p>Analysis of the kind of words used in describing Depicts gun violence as a real/evolving issue of societal concern.</p> <p><i>Word Choice is the use of rich, colorful, precise language that communicates not just in a functional way, but in a way that moves and enlightens the reader. In good descriptive. writing, strong word choice paints pictures in the reader's mind</i></p> <p><i>Examples of Diction: Hey, what's up, man? Lookin' cool in those shades you're wearin'!</i></p> <p><i>Figures of speech=FS</i></p> <p>Analysis of rhetorical figure i.e. word or phrase used to depict gun violence and which deviates from ordinary language use. Rhetoric, the art of effective speaking and writing, is a subject that trains you to look at texts, arguments and speeches in terms of how they are designed to persuade the audience</p> <p><i>Gun Violence As Societal Concern (GVSC)</i></p> <p>Analysis of coverage of gun violence as an issue of societal concern in articles in Kenya.</p>

APPENDIX II: INTERVIEW GUIDE

I am a student at the University of Nairobi undertaking a Master's degree in Communication studies. I am currently undertaking my research project. The main aim of the project is to examine print media coverage of gun violence in Kenya. You have been identified as one of the sample interviewee of my study. I would be grateful if you give me your time and respond to these questions. Your responses will be solely used for this academic research, and shall be treated with utmost confidentiality.

1. What is the role of print media in addressing violent crime such as gun violence?
2. Does gun violence reporting assigned to a special group of reporters or is it randomly assigned? If yes, how?
3. How often do you report gun violence?
4. What do you think are the key issues of societal concern that are addressed when reporting gun violence?
5. Does the print media portray gun violence as a serious societal problem?
6. Are there any special consideration you use in addressing gun violence such as euphemism among others?
7. What do you think are the key issues of societal concern that should be addressed when reporting gun violence?
8. What should be done to improve coverage of violent crime such as gun violence?