

**FRAMING OF NEWS ON KENYAN JUDICIAL REFORMS: A COMPARATIVE
STUDY OF THE NATION AND THE STANDARD NEWSPAPERS.**

BY

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DECLARATION

This project is my original work and has not previously been submitted to any other university or faculty.

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DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to my beloved parents, Leonard and Dorine, who have supported and inspired me over the years. God bless you.

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ABSTRACT

This study was undertaken to assess how the Daily Nation and The Standard newspapers frame news on judicial reforms in Kenya. The study sought to compare the coverage of news on judicial reforms by The Nation and The Standard newspapers, to determine the slant used by The Nation and The Standard newspapers on judicial reforms and to assess whether the coverage of news on judicial reforms promotes the independence of the Kenyan judiciary. Framing, priming and Agenda setting theories were used to provide a better understanding of the study. The researcher did a content analysis of The Nation and Standard newspapers for a period of one year, from May 30th 2012 to April 30th 2013. Purposive sampling was used to select papers with content on judicial reforms. The study found out that; The Nation newspaper gave more coverage to news on judicial reforms than The Standard newspaper; most of the news on judicial reforms covered by the two papers was placed in the inside pages of newspapers, there were very few photos and graphics in both papers and finally, most articles that were analyzed in both papers, supported judicial reforms. From the findings, the study recommended that Newspapers should increase their coverage and give more prominence of news on judicial reforms. The study also recommends for further studies to be done on the role of the audience in the framing of news on judicial reforms for a better understanding of the study.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

J S C- Judicial Service Commission

UDHR- Universal Declaration of Human Rights

UN- United Nations

SG- Standard Group.

IEBC- Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission.

EU-European Union.

USA-United States of America.

NMG-Nation Media Group

UNSC-United Nations Security Council.

CORD-Coalition for Reforms and Democracy.

AU-African Union.

D N-Daily Nation.

LSK-Law Society of Kenya.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.0: Background of the study

People depend on the media for information about government, business, sports, health, politics and all other aspects that affect life. The media does this duty through journalists. Journalists have one of the most important jobs in any society. Their circumstances differ from country to country. But whatever the situation, all good journalists share a basic mission. They give people the information that they need in order to understand the world around them and to make decisions about their lives (Hodson&Eng, 2001)

The Kenyan constitution (2010) provides for the freedom of the media. Article 34 guarantees freedom and independence of both traditional (print, radio and television) and new media. The state is prohibited from controlling or interfering with media business.

While analyzing the impact of the media, Daiton (2005) identified three factors: the audience factor, message factor and the situation (environment) factor. The media ordinarily does not serve as a necessary and sufficient cause of audience effect but rather functions through other mediating factors and influences. The media ensures that people get the required information through highlighting the issues repeatedly thus making them important. Mc Combs and Shaw, (1972), predicted that “when the media emphasize an event, they influence the audience to see it as important. The media can do this through framing.

1.1: Framing and media content

Framing is concerned with the presentation of media contents and with such premeditated organization of information. Entman (1993); points out framing as selecting some aspects of a perceived reality and making them more salient in communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described.

Reese (in Gamson, 1989, 1992) views framing in a sociological approach. According to him, framing explores how issues are constructed, discourse structured, and meanings developed. These structured messages affect human cognitive processing, and the ultimate meaning of a textual description is derived through the interaction between audience schemata and the text.

Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) link the influence power of framing to its effects. They explain the outcome of a message that suggests connection between two concepts such that, after exposure to the message, audiences accept that they are connected.

The process of news framing can be divided into organizing information (frame building) and accessing its influence power (frame setting). Framing refers to the social construction of a social phenomenon often by mass media sources, political or social movements, political leaders, or other actors and organizations. Entman (1993) summarized the essence of framing processes by stating that framing essentially involves selection and salience.

To frame is to select some aspects of perceived reality and make them more salient in the communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described. Frames, then, define problems, determine what a causal agent is doing and costs and benefits usually measured in terms of cultural values; diagnose causes, identify the forces creating the problem; make moral judgments, evaluate causal agents and their effects; offer and justify treatments for the problem and predict their likely effects.

The Judiciary is one of the three co-equal arms of government. Its chief mission is to resolve disputes in a just manner with a view to protecting the rights and liberties of all, thereby facilitating the attainment of the ideal rule of law. The Judiciary performs this function by providing independent, accessible and responsive fora for the resolution of disputes. The doctrine of checks and balances “seeks to make the separation of powers effective by balancing the power of one agency against that of the other” (ibid). The existence of an independent Judiciary is at the heart of a judicial system that guarantees human rights in full. It is therefore the obligation of every state to ensure that the Judiciary is indeed an independent arm of the government.

According to Justice John Evans of the Canadian Federal Court of Appeal, independence “is a necessary condition for obtaining and maintaining this confidence, without which the courts’ legitimacy ... will rapidly erode and with it human rights and the rule of law” (Budlender, 25 July 2005). The Judiciary provides checks and balances in Government. It ensures that other branches of government respects the rights of people and do not act illegally.

1.2: Judicial Reforms

Judicial reform is the complete or partial political reform of a country's judiciary. Judicial reform is often done as a part of wider reform of the country's political system or a legal reform. Areas of the judicial reform often include; codification of law instead of common law, moving from an inquisitorial system to an adversarial system, establishing stronger judicial independence with judicial councils or changes to appointment procedure, establishing mandatory retirement age for judges or enhancing independence of prosecution. Independent courts are vital to ensuring access to justice for all members of society. One of the goals of transformation and one of the purposes of a judiciary is to ensure that “all citizens, particularly the vulnerable and impoverished, have a means to ensure that we are run by a government that can be called to account and be compelled to justify its action” (Serjeant at the Bar, 2005).

In an attempt to make the Judiciary independent, a number of countries have taken measures to promote reforms in the Judiciary, for example, USA, India, Russia, and South Africa. There has been considerable debate during the recent years about Judiciary reforms in Kenya. The enactment of the new constitution in 2010 proved a major milestone towards the much desired changes in the Judiciary. In his paper titled *the transformation of the Judiciary* on 19th October 2011, The Chief Justice Dr. Willy Mutunga describes the Judiciary as a body which was designed to fail:

“We found a Judiciary that was designed to fail. The institutional structure was such that the office of the Chief Justice operated as a judicial monarch supported by the registrar of the high court.”

The Judiciary has been decentralized in the Kenyan Constitution (2010) with the Supreme Court and court of appeal having their own presidents and the High court having a principal Judge at the helm. The same constitution provides for the formation of The Judicial Service Commission which is supposed to promote and facilitate the independence and accountability of the Judiciary and the efficient, effective and transparent administration of justice.

1.3 Concept of media

The Media holds the mirror to society and is the powerful channel of communication. Hence, a special duty is imposed on the media; which is universally considered as fourth pillar of the democracy, to not only inform the general public of various issues and subjects but also at the same time to build their opinion and to reflect them in proper form. The freedom of media includes the right to receive and collect information of public importance from all primary and authenticated sources and to disseminate it through all legitimate sources.

Hovland (1999) and others show that people can acquire both information and attitudes from the media though this does not necessarily happen simultaneously. Even though information and attitudes are intertwined, information gain does not necessarily lead to attitudinal change as people pay attention to information that fits their preconceptions. This agrees with Bandura's Social Cognitive Learning Theory which states that people learn the best from behaviour they understand to be beneficial.

The media has become central in our lives today. Anywhere and anytime, people are connected by the media, which has become an inseparable part of contemporary life. Many of the common media consumers presume that mass media provides them with an objective view of the world, so that they can be easily deceived.

1.4 Statement of the problem

A number of studies have been done concerning framing of news in print media. However, no research has been conducted on how media frames news on judicial reforms in Kenya. The judiciary is a very important body in people's lives in any country as it is one of the three arms of government. In the recent past, there have been efforts to transform the Kenyan judiciary to promote its independence. The media has a role to inform and educate society about important aspects of their lives. The media does this through framing and priming of news. It is therefore important to establish how the media frames news on judicial reforms. This study sought to examine how Kenyan newspapers frame news on judicial reforms by analyzing The Nation and The Standard newspapers which are the leading newspapers in the country in terms of circulation.

1.5 Purpose of the study

The purpose of this study was to assess the coverage of news on judicial reforms in Kenya by the print media.

1.6 Research objectives

The general objective of this study was to examine the coverage of judicial reforms in Kenya by The Standard and The Nation newspapers.

1.6.1 Specific Objectives of the study

The objectives of this study were:

- i. To compare the coverage of news on Kenyan judicial reforms by The Standard and The Nation newspapers.
- ii. To determine the slant used in the coverage of news on Kenyan judicial reforms by The Nation and The Standard newspapers.
- iii. To assess whether print media framing of news on judicial reforms promote or hinder the independence of the Kenyan judiciary.

1.7 Research questions

The main purpose of research is to find the answers to questions that matter (Burns, 2008). This study sought to find answers to the following questions;

- i. How was news on Kenyan judicial reforms covered by The Standard compared to The Nation newspapers?
- ii. What was the slant in the coverage of news on Kenyan judicial reforms by The Nation and The Standard newspapers?
- iii. Do print media framing of news on judicial reforms promote the independence of the Kenyan judiciary?

1.8 Rationale and Justification of the study

The judiciary is an important arm of the government and sensitization about it is essential to the society. There are a number of studies that have been done about the influence of media framing of news on a number of issues. Hitherto, no research has been done in Kenya concerning media framing and priming on the judiciary or judicial reforms. Thus, the subject is very crucial going by the importance of the judiciary in any society. By examining the coverage of Kenyan judicial reforms by the mainstream newspapers, this study will provide insight into the concerns and attitudes of different groups based on their own perspectives and agendas. The results of this study will provide a better understanding of how the newspapers report about judicial reforms in Kenya. Results of this study also benefit media practitioners and decision-makers. The study will also help the judiciary to evaluate its progress in judiciary transformation. It is also hoped that the study will foster the media's awareness to evaluate, revise and make appropriate changes to its role in promoting the independence of Kenyan judiciary as an independent arm of government. The findings will also create awareness to the public about the judiciary since the judiciary affects peoples' lives every day.

1.9 Scope and limitations of the study

The Nation and The Standard Newspapers from May 30th 2012 to April 30th 2013 were studied. The main limitation of the study was the timeframe. The study analyzed the content of newspapers only for one year, instead of the whole period of judicial reforms in Kenya which is spread over a time span of more than five years.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Priming is making certain issues or attributes more salient than others by the media.

Public opinion is the prevailing and widespread belief of the majority of people in a society about a given subject or issue.

Framing is the process that the media selects and organizes.

Audiences are the readers of newspapers.

Judicial Reforms involve changes in the country's judiciary with an aim of promoting the independence of the judiciary.

Coalition for reforms and democracy is a coalition that was formed in the run up to the March 4th 2013 Kenyan general election led by Raila Odinga and Kalonzo Musyoka.

Jubilee coalition is a coalition formed in the run up to the March 4th 2013 general election led by president Uhuru Kenyatta and Deputy president William Ruto.

Content analysis involves a systematic research method for analyzing textual information.

National newspaper is a newspaper that circulates throughout the whole country.

Daily newspaper is a paper that is issued everyday save for Sundays and sometimes Saturdays.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter critically examined the available literature and studies that were previously carried out and were relevant to this study. This enhanced a better understanding of the issues discussed.

2.1 Historical Background of the Judiciary in Kenya

The history of Kenya's Judiciary can be traced to the East African Order in Council of 1897 and the Crown regulations made there under which marked the beginning of a legal system in Kenya. It was based on a tripartite division of subordinate courts; that is, Native courts, Muslim courts and those staffed by Administrative officers and Magistrates. A dual system of superior courts was also established, one court for Europeans and the other for Africans. This system only lasted for 5 years.

When the colonial authorities realized that there was need to have dispute resolution organs, village elders, headmen and chiefs were empowered to settle disputes as they had done in the pre-colonial period. These traditional dispute settlement organs gradually evolved into tribunals with time. They were accorded official recognition in 1907 when the Native Courts Ordinance was promulgated. This ordinance established native tribunals that were intended to serve each of the ethnic groups in Kenya.

The chief Native Commissioner was authorized to set up, control and administer the tribunals. Similar tribunals were established at the divisional level of each district and also authorized the governor to appoint a Liwali at the Coast to adjudicate over matters between the Muslim Community. One could appeal against the decisions of these tribunals to the D.O and or D.C and finally to the PC. The final appeal lay with the Supreme Court.

The Native Appeals Tribunal's ordinance 1930 reduced the number of elders sitting on a tribunal and also made it a requirement that a literate member records the proceedings. By 1950 these tribunals had evolved sufficiently for them to be converted into courts similar to those that hitherto served non-Africans. In 1950 the African Courts Ordinance abolished the Tribunals and replaced them with African Courts.

In dispensing justice under the relevant English and Indian laws where non-Africans were concerned, the administration of justice was entrusted to expatriate judges and magistrates. Appeals lay from subordinate courts to the Supreme Court. The head of the system was the Chief Justice while the administrative duties were carried out by the Registrar of the Supreme court. The main courts were established at the large urban centers such as Nairobi, Mombasa and Kisumu. Judges and magistrates on circuit served other centers. Muslim courts were headed by a chief Kadhi and were classified as subordinate courts. As such, appeals from Islamic courts lay to the Supreme Court.

The segregated system of administering justice prevailed until 1962 when the African Courts were transferred from the provincial administration to the Judiciary. Further, it was not until 1963 when the independence Constitution finally enacted that the beginning of a truly independent and impartial Judiciary was set up.

The Independence Constitution established a Supreme Court with unlimited original criminal and civil jurisdiction over all persons, regardless of racial or ethnic considerations. The judges were to be appointed by an independent judicial service commission. The Constitution further provided for the establishment of a court of appeal and the Kadhi's court.

When Kenya attained the status of a republic in 1964, the Supreme Court was renamed the High Court. In 1967, three major laws were enacted. These were the Judicature Act (Chapter 8), the Magistrates' Courts Act (Chapter 10) and the Kadhis Courts Act (Chapter 11). These Acts have streamlined the administration of justice in Kenya.

2.2 Judicial Reforms

Judicial reforms are aimed at ensuring the independence of the Judiciary. An independent judiciary is a fundamental element of democracy. Various international treaties including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) (UDHR), The International Covenant On Civil and Political Rights (1976) (ICCPR) and The Africa Charter on Human and Peoples Rights (1981) (ACHPR) contain provisions showing the importance of this principle.

For instance Article 14 of the ICCPR states:

In the determination of any criminal charge against him or of his rights and obligations to a suit at law, everyone shall be entitled to a fair and public hearing by a competent, independent and impartial tribunal established by law.

Article 26 of the African charter states:

State parties to the present charter shall have the duty to guarantee the independence of the courts and shall allow establishment and improvement of appropriate national institutions entrusted with the promotion and protection of the rights and freedoms guaranteed by the present charter.

Stating the importance of the independence of the judiciary in assuring the effective functioning of courts, David Dyzenhaus, a law and philosophy professor stated:

At the moment that a court accepts jurisdiction over a controversy between government and an individual, government is demoted-it loses its claim to be the exclusive representative of the state. At the same time the individual is promoted to a public role, to one with an equal claim to represent the state. The court then, in deciding between these claims, articulates a vision of what the state is and publicly draws the line between law and politics...In order to articulate this vision, the court need to be independent(1998:172).

In terms of ensuring institutional independence, constitutional guarantees of the separation of powers and non-interference in the judiciary by other branches of government are crucial. As the UN principle states:

The independence of the judiciary shall be guaranteed by the State and enshrined in the constitution or the law of the country. It is the duty of all governmental and other institutions to respect and observe the independence of the judiciary (section 1).

2.2.1 Judicial reforms in Kenya

A number of changes have since taken place in the Kenyan judiciary, especially after the enactment of a new constitution 2010. Chapter ten of the Kenyan constitution 2010, outlines the functions of the judiciary, judicial officers and their duties and the relationship between the judiciary, the legislature and the executive. Initially, the Office of the Chief Justice operated as a judicial monarch supported by the Registrar of the High Court. Power and authority were highly centralized. Accountability mechanisms were weak and reporting requirements absent. The new Constitution has radically altered this ugly structure. A decentralized Judiciary with the Supreme Court and the Court of Appeal having their own Presidents and the High Court having a Principal Judge at their respective helms was introduced.

Article 160 & 161, outlines the independence of the judiciary. Article 160 states that the judiciary shall not be subject to the control or direction of any person or authority while Article 161 establishes the office of The chief justice as head of the judiciary, Deputy chief justice as deputy head of the judiciary; and Chief registrar of the judiciary as the chief administrator and accounting officer of the judiciary.

Other than the new Kenyan constitution (2010), there have been efforts by other institutions and individuals who have worked hard to promote judicial reforms in Kenya. The chief justice is the symbol of the judiciary, a very important figure in the Kenyan judiciary. He is both an administrator and judge of both high court and court of appeal as well as the overall head of the judiciary. Administratively, among other duties, the chief justice chairs the judicial service commission-a body that is in charge of core personnel issues including appointments, promotions, transfers, discipline and removal of judicial officers. Judicially, the chief justice makes rules of court for regulating the practice and procedure of high court. The chief justice also has the power to decide who hears particular cases by constituting benches. The current Kenyan chief justice Dr.Willy Mutunga, who assumed office on June 20, 2011, has been very instrumental in the transformation of the judiciary.

2.3 The Newspaper

A newspaper is a periodical publication containing news regarding current events, informative articles, diverse features, editorials, and advertising. Generally, newspapers typically publish stories on local and national political events and personalities, crime, business, entertainment, society and sports. Most traditional papers also feature an editorial page containing editorials written by an editor and columns that express the personal opinions of writers. The newspaper is funded by paid subscriptions and advertising.

A newspaper typically meets four criteria:

- Publicity: Its contents are reasonably accessible to the public.
- Periodicity: It is published at regular intervals.
- Currency: Its information is as up to date as its publication schedule allows.
- Universality: It covers a range of topics.

2.3.1 The Newspaper in Kenya

Literacy started in Kenya following the arrival of Protestant missionaries nearly a century and a half ago (Church of the Province of Kenya). The missionaries embarked on teaching new converts how to read and write primarily so that the new converts could read biblical literature for themselves. The initial publications carried religious materials.

2.3.2 The Nation Newspaper

According to the audience research done by Ipsos Synovate, The Nation newspaper owned by The Nation media group is the leading it terms of reach and share of audience readership. The readership of the Daily Nation has been able to achieve high circulation figures over the years. The NMG publishes the *Daily Nation* and *Taifa Leo* on weekdays, and *Sunday Nation* and *Taifa Jumapili* on Sunday. Both the Saturday and Sunday editions have pullouts including a children's magazine. The *Nation* is also distributed throughout the East African region. NMG also publishes the *East African*, a weekly newspaper focusing on economic news in East Africa. They also own Nation TV, Q TV and Easy FM Radio.

2.3.3 The Standard Newspaper

The Standard is one of the largest newspapers in Kenya with a 30% market share. It is the oldest newspaper in the country owned by The Standard Group, which also runs the Kenya Television Network (KTN), Radio Maisha, the *County Weekly* (a bi-weekly county-focused newspaper) and Standard Digital World which is its online platform. The Standard Group headquarter is located on Mombasa Road Nairobi, having moved from its previous premises at the I&M Bank Tower.

The newspaper was established as the *African Standard* in 1902 as a weekly. The Standard's founder, Alibhai Mulla Jeevanjee sold the paper to two British businessmen in 1905, which changed the name to the *East African Standard*. It became a daily paper and moved its headquarters from Mombasa to Nairobi in 1910. At the time the newspaper declared strongly colonialist viewpoints. The British-based company bought the newspaper in 1963, only a few months before Kenya's independence. The paper changed its name to *The Standard* in 1977 but the name *East African Standard* was revived later. It was sold to Kenyan investors in 1995.

In 2004 the name was changed back to *The Standard*. It is the main rival to Kenya's largest newspaper, the *Daily Nation*. In 1989, at a time when Kenya was going into multi-party era, The Standard Group acquired the KTN Television Channel. It is the oldest newspaper published in Kenya.

2.4 Audiences

According to McQuail (1987) audiences can be a term used to mean fans of an author. The audiences in print media are the newspaper readers. The audience plays a very important role in the process of communication. Schramm defines communication as the activity of conveying information.

Communication has been derived from the Latin word "communis", meaning to share. Communication requires a sender, a message, and an intended recipient. The communication process is complete once the receiver has understood the message of the sender. Feedback is critical to effective communication between parties involved. The audience therefore cannot be ignored in a communication process. All activities of the media, both content-related as well as market-related, are focused on the audience (Webster, Phalen & Lichty 2006). Without the audience, all media-related activities become completely senseless.

2.5 Theoretical Framework

The main purpose of theory is to describe, explain and predict relationships between variables. This study used the priming, framing and agenda setting theory because they interrelate in one way or another. They also cover each other's inadequacies.

2.5.1 Agenda setting theory

Agenda-setting theory which was developed in 1972 by Maxwell McCombs and David Shaw, suggests that media do not tell us what to think, but what to think about. Media determine what is newsworthy by giving those stories prominence. A topic that is prominent in news coverage gains salience in public opinion. This makes the media to dictate the topics on the public agenda.

According to agenda setting theory, if people are exposed to the same media, they will place importance on the same issues. According to Chaffee and Bergeers, (1997) criteria for scientific theories, Agenda setting is a good theory because it explains why most people prioritize the same issues as important; it predicts that if people are exposed to the same media, they will feel the same issues as important and it is also easy to understand.

According to Mc Combs and Shaw, who were the first to study Agenda Setting, when the media emphasize an event, they influence the audience to see it as important. In their study of the 1968 USA general elections, they found high correlations between the Medias emphasis of issues and how these issues were ranked by voters in Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

A number of scholars have become interested in the effects of media agenda setting; Weaver, McCombs, Spellman (1975) speculated in their study of the effects Watergate news coverage that the media may suggest which issues to use in evaluating political actors. Their speculation was supported by Lyengar and Kinder (1987), in controlled field experiments, linked television agenda setting effects to evaluations of the US president in a demonstration of what some cognitive psychologists have called priming.

Weaver (1991) also found that increased concern over the federal deficit was linked to increased knowledge of the possible causes and solutions of the problem, stronger and more polarized opinion about it.

Willnat (1997) states that the combination of priming and agenda setting has strengthened the theoretical base of agenda setting effects by providing a better understanding of how the mass media not only tells us what to think about but also what to think.

In outlining the process of agenda setting, Folarin (2005), describes the elements involved in agenda setting to include: The quantity or frequency of reporting by the media; prominence given to the reporting; the degree of the conflict generated in the reports and cumulative media-specific effects over time.

2.5.2 Priming Theory

Priming occurs when exposure to mediated communication activates related thoughts that have been stored in the mind of an audience member. Media message content triggers concepts, thoughts, learning, or knowledge acquired in the past that are related to the message content. In this way, message content is connected, associated, or reinforced by related thoughts and concepts that it brings to mind. For a certain period after viewing such content, a person is more likely to have thoughts or memories become permanently associated with the message content, or stimulus.

The cognitive accessibility of knowledge structures (e.g. implicit theories) has been shown to be temporarily affected by priming stimuli in the immediate environment (Bargh, Barndollar, & Gollwitzer, 1995; Levy et al., 1998). The term priming is used generally to describe the effects of one's prior context on his or her interpretation of new information (Fiske & Taylor, 1991), but also may refer to any procedures that stimulate or activate some stored knowledge unit (Higgins, 1996).

Priming can vary in terms of the relative frequency of activation of the stored knowledge unit (Fiske & Taylor, 1991; Higgins, 1996), which has implications for the duration of priming effects and the chronic activation and use of cognitive structures.

Priming affects interpersonal orientations and related social behaviors. In one study, Herr (1986) primed subjects by exposing them to pictures of moderately hostile, famous individuals (Alice Cooper, Bobby Knight), which led to the subjects rating and treating an ambiguous partner in a more hostile, competitive manner.

Similar results were found in a series of studies on the effects of social information on the competitive and cooperative behavior of males (Holloway, Tucker, & Hornstein, 1977; Hornstein, LaKind, Frankel, & Mann, 1975). In another study, either competitive or afflictive goals were primed by exposing subjects to goal-related words, which resulted in the competitively primed subjects performing better on a task (at the expense of their partner's feelings) than the afflictively primed subjects (Bargh, 1994).

2.5.3 Framing Theory

In recent years, framing theory has taken over from agenda setting and cultivation theory as the most commonly applied research approach in the field of communications science (Bryant & Miron, 2004). Framing research is often traced back to two largely unrelated traditions of thinking. Its origins lie in the fields of cognitive psychology and anthropology. The first emanates from research conducted by the psychologists Amos Tversky and Daniel Kahneman (Kahneman and Tversky 1979, 1984). In this research, the term “framing” was used to describe subtle differences in the definition of choice alternatives. Subjects in these experiments were provided choices that were identical in their expected value, but which differed in the terms used to describe the choice options (e.g. a fixed probability of “winning” or “losing” some amount of money).

Tversky and Kahneman, demonstrated that human choice was contingent on the description of choice problems. When presented with outcomes defined as potential gains, people showed risk aversion and chose the more certain payoff. But when the identical outcome was defined in terms that suggested potential losses instead of gains, people became risk-seekers and preferred the outcome with the less certain payoff (Kahneman 2003). This perspective on framing is dependent on the assumption that all “perception is reference dependent” (Kahneman 2003a, 459).The evidence from emerging literature suggests that the magnitude of framing effects depends not only on the number of frames encountered, but also on the information processing strategies of the receivers (Druckman and Bolsen forthcoming).

Gamson (1992) looks at framing as the relationship between ideas and symbols used in public discourse and the meaning that people construct around political issues. Gamson and Modigliani (1987) defined frames as “a central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events ... The frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue”.

Gitlin(1980,p.7) defines frames as “persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation and presentation of selection, emphasis and exclusion by which symbol handlers routinely organize discourse”. . Frames emerge in public discourse in part as an outcome of journalistic routines that allow them to quickly identify and classify information and package it for efficient relay to their audience.

Gamson and Modigliani (1989) refer to frames as “interpretive packages “that may give meaning to an issue. Gamson (1992) conceptualizes framing very broadly as the relationship between ideas and symbols used in public discourse and the meaning that people construct around political issues

By emphasizing some elements of a topic more than others, a news frame provides a way to understand an issue. Cappella and Jamieson (1997, p.47) suggests that frames activate knowledge, stimulate stocks of cultural morals and values, and create contexts. In doing so, frames “define problems”, “diagnose causes”, “make moral judgments”, and suggest remedies” (Entman, 1993)

According to (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996), Framing refers to modes of presentation that journalists and other communicators use to present information in a way that resonates with existing underlying schemas among their audience.

2.5.3.1 Identifying frames

A number of researches have been done but there is no consensus on how to identify frames in the news. One approach is inductive in nature and refrains from analyzing news stories with a priori defined news frames in mind (e.g Gamson 1992; Neuman et al, 1992). Frames emerge from the material during the course of analysis. However, there has been criticism of this approach for relying on too small sample and being too difficult to replicate. (Hertog&McLeod, 2001).

A second approach is deductive and it investigates frames that are defined and operationalised prior to the investigation. Scholars have argued in favor of applying concise, priori defined operationalizations of frames in content analyses.

Cappella and Jamieson (1997) state that considering any production feature of verbal or visual texts as a candidate for news frames is too broad view. They suggest four criteria that a frame must meet; first, it must have identifiable conceptual and linguistic characteristics, secondly, it should be commonly observed in journalistic practice. Third, it must be possible to distinguish the frame reliably from other frames. Fourth, a frame must have representational validity (i.e. be recognized by others) and not be merely be a figment of a researchers imagination (Cappella&Jamieson, 1997)

Entman (1993) suggested that frames in the news can be examined and identified by the presence or absence of certain key words, stock phrases, stereotyped images, and sources of information and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments.

Gamson and Modigliani (1989) identify framing devices that condense information and offer a media package of an issue. They identify metaphors, exemplars, catch phrases, depictions and visual images of framing devices.

Tankard (2001) suggests a list of 11 framing mechanism for identifying and measuring news frames. They are; Headlines, Subheads, Photos, Photo captions, Source selection, pull quotes, Logos, Statistics and charts and concluding statements and paragraphs.

2.5.3.2 The framing process

Framing involves the process where journalists construct a subjective picture of reality. The term framing can be referred to with stages: frame building, frame setting and societal level consequences of framing. (d'angelo, 2002; schufele, 2000 de Vreese, 2002). Frame building refers to factors that influence the structural qualities of news frames. Factors internal to journalists determine how journalists frame issues (Shoemaker&Reese, 1996).the frame building process takes place between journalists and the elite (Gans, 1979; Tuchman, 1978).

The frames in the text are as a result of frame building. Frame setting refers to the interaction between media frames and an individual's prior knowledge and predispositions. Frames in the news may affect learning, interpretation and evaluation of issues and events .framing can affect an individual or society. At individual level, it alters attitudes about an issue based on exposure to certain frames. On societal level, frames may contribute to shaping social level processes such as political socialization, decision making and collective actions.

2.5.3.3 Framing of News

According to Gitlin(1980), media not only transmit knowledge and facts, but also reveal the dominant ideology in society through its power to define particular events and events. He explains that news stories are not natural but products of culture – ideologies and practices. News reports omit or stress certain issues to create a story suitable for their audience. Framing theory was therefore formulated to explain the determinants of media behavior and effects of media performance on audiences.

Framing has received considerable attention in the recent past as an approach to understanding news processes and effects. Drawing on Goffman (1974), Tuchman (1978) was the first researcher to recognize the integral role that framing plays in news gathering by media workers and news processing by audiences. According to her, news workers use frames to construct social reality for audiences and thus give meaning to words and images. Gitlin (1980) describes news workers as “symbol handlers” who use frame selectivity to shape the way news is defined using dominant social frames. According to Gamson, the task of media workers thus is to arrange random events into meaningful, organized interpretive package. Later, media theorists have paid increased attention to framing as an alternative formulation of issues such as bias and objectivity (Hackett, 1984; Parenti, 1993).

Hackett, observed that framing is not necessarily a conscious process on the part of journalists but is the result of their unconscious assumptions about the social world.(Dunwoody ,1992), explained that although frames are not unique to journalism, they are central to journalistic work and serve as “mental maps” that can be activated quickly and can reduce journalists’ efforts.

Weaver, Graber, McCombs, & Eyal, 1981) suggests comparatively strong effects that go beyond simple agenda-setting. Separately, there have been considerable discussions about how to measure framing effects (Pan & Kosicki, 1993; Tankard, Hendrickson, Silberman, Bliss, &Ghanem, 1991; D. R. Thompson, 1991).

The topics of news framing studies have captured a number of social problems, including abortion (Andsager, 1998), America's "drug problem" (Fan, 1996), Cold War criminals (Carmichael, 1993), child mistreatment (Hendrickson, 1994), fathers' rights (Williams & Williams, 1995), labor strikes (Martin & Oshagan, 1997), and welfare (Sotirovic, 1998). Framing also has provided a useful perspective from which to examine portrayals of occupational groups such as artists (J. Ryan & Sim, 1990), as well as ethnic minorities (Gandy, 1994; Gandy, Morley (1976) suggested that concerns such as balanced reporting have been usurped in importance by "the basic conceptual and ideological framework through which events are presented and as a result of which they come to be given one dominant/primary meaning rather than another" (p. 246). Media framing (and perhaps other forms of framing) thus are integrally involved in questions of ideology (Glasgow University Media Group, 1980; Hall 1982).

2.5.3.4 How Framing Works

Based on previous research, Scheufele (1999), concludes that there are at least five factors that may affect how media may frame a given issue: 1) Social norms and values. 2) Organizational pressures and constraints. 3) Pressures of interest groups. 4) Journalistic routines and 5) The ideological or political orientations of journalists.

A frame limits or defines the message's meaning by shaping the inferences that individuals make about the message. Frames reflect judgments made by message creators or framers. Some frames represent alternative balancing of information (i.e., putting information in either a positive or negative light, or valence framing). Other frames involve the simple alternative phrasing of terms (semantic framing).

Story framing involves selecting key themes or ideas that are the focus of the message and incorporate a variety of narrative techniques that support that theme. Pan and Kosicki (1993), for example, suggested that framing can be evidenced in a number of structures within a message. They include syntactical structures, stable patterns of arranging words and phrases in a text; script structures, the orderly sequencing of events in a text in a predictable or expected pattern; thematic structures, the presence of propositions or hypotheses that explain the relations between elements within a text—including the presence of words such as “because,” “since,” and “so”; and rhetorical structures that subtly suggest how a text should be interpreted. Rhetorical devices can include metaphors and similes, familiar exemplars and illustrations, provocative language and descriptors, catchphrases, and visual imagery (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989). Framing operates by biasing the cognitive processing of information by individuals. There are at least two mechanisms to explain the process found in the literature.

One suggestion is that framing operates by providing contextual cues that guide decision making and inferences drawn by message audiences. Drawing on their earlier work on the concept, Kahneman and Tversky (1979) suggested that the simple positive-versus-negative framing of a decision operates as a cognitive heuristic or rule-of-thumb that guides decisions in situations involving uncertainty or risk. Negative reactance to losses or risks is consistent with other findings in the impression formation literature that suggest negative information is weighted more heavily than positive information (Hamilton & Zanna, 1972) and is more attention-getting (Pratto & John, 1991). It is also consistent with motivational theories that people act to protect themselves. More recent evidence for this heuristic explanation was provided by S.M. Smith and Petty (1996), who used the elaboration likelihood model (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986) to suggest

that negative framing might serve as a peripheral cue in processing. Negative framing might make people to think more about a message .This finding is in line with research that suggests that message framing effects vary by level of involvement (Maheswaran & Meyers-Levy, 1990).

The second mechanism through which framing operates is priming. Knowledge is thought to be organized in human memory in cognitive structures or schemas, which operate as constraints on the arrangement and interpretation of situations and events (Bartlett, 1932; Fiske & Taylor, 1984; Markus & Zajonc, 1985; Neisser, 1967).

Framing affects cognitive processing by selectively influencing which memory nodes, or sets of memory traces organized as schemas, are activated to interpret a particular message. Priming effects can be conscious, such as when a person purposefully uses message cues to attempt to retrieve stored knowledge from memory. Priming effects also can be unconscious or automatic, such as when a person categorizes a topic or message during the pre-attention phase of processing and then processes information using rules that are considered appropriate in the situation (Bargh, 1988; Higgins, Bargh, & Lombardi, 1985).

2.5.3.5 How Framing, Priming and Agenda setting theories relate.

In the past, communication scholars relied on the hypodermic needle and magic bullet models of communication. However, the emergence of priming, framing and Agenda setting made a paradigm shift in political communication research, (Mc Quail, 2005)

In *The people's choice* study, by Lazarsfeld, Berelson, and Gaudet, (1948) and other studies, it was argued that media effects were much more complex in nature than previously assumed.

In the studies carried out by Noelle-Neuman (1973) and George Gerbner (Gerbner&Gross, 1974), they both assumed that mass media had strong, long term effects on audiences based on the messages they presented to the audience. Some researchers have argued that priming is closely related to agenda setting. The three theories; priming, framing and agenda setting cover each other's inadequacies.

Agenda setting looks on story selection as a determinant of public perceptions of issue importance and, indirectly through priming, evaluation of political leaders. Framing focuses not on which topics or issues are selected for coverage by the news media, but instead on particular ways these issues are presented. (Price&Tewksbury, 1997; Scheufele, 2000).

According to Price and Tewksbury (1997), priming and agenda setting are based on memory based on models of information processing. They argue that agenda setting and priming assumes that media can make certain issues or aspects more accessible for people and thereby influence the standards they use when forming attitudes about candidates and political issues.

Framing on the other hand refers on the outcome of a message that suggests a connection between two concepts such that, after exposure to the message, audiences accept that they are connected. (Price&Tewksbury, (1997).

The term agenda setting usually refers to the transfer of salience from mass media to audiences. The original model posits that if a particular issue is covered more frequently or prominently in news outlets audiences are also more likely to attribute importance to the issue.

In their seminal study, McCombs and Shaw (1972) operationalized issue salience among audience members as judgments about the perceived importance of issues. Later studies replaced perceptions of importance with terms such as salience, awareness, attention, or concern (Edelstein 1993).

Priming can in many ways be seen as a logical extension of agenda setting processes. The concept is usually traced back to work on spreading activation theory in psychology. Psychologists *Allan M. Collins* and *Elizabeth F. Loftus*, for example, explain priming as the process that occurs after a construct is presented as highly salient to audiences: “When a concept is primed, activation tags are spread by tracing an expanding set of links in the network” (*Collins and Loftus 1975, 409*).

To put it differently, if media coverage makes an issue more salient in people’s minds, this issue is also more likely to be used as one of “the standards by which governments, policies and candidates for public office are judged” (Iyengar and Kinder 1987, 63).

Agenda setting and priming can be grouped with framing. They all deviate from media effects theories, such as the Spiral of Silence (Noelle-Neumann 1973, 1974) or Cultivation (Gerbner and Gross 1974).

“Agenda-setting is about more than issue or object salience. The news not only tells us what to think about; it also tells us how to think about it. Both the selection of topics for the news agenda and the selection of frames for stories about those topics are powerful agenda-setting roles and awesome ethical responsibilities.” McCombs (McCombs 1992, 8-9).

“Framing essentially involves selection and salience. To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item

Mass media, influence audience perceptions by highlighting the importance of issues (first level agenda setting) or issue attributes. This school of thought echoes Iyengar and Kinder’s (1987) conceptualization of priming as an outcome of agenda setting, but also subsumes framing as an equivalent to second level agenda setting.

Expanding on Iyengar’s (1991) seminal work on the framing of political messages, this second school of thought defines framing as only encompassing media effects that are due to variations in the mode of presentation for a given piece of information. Media effects that are an outcome of messages that present different facts, aspects of an issue or even arguments do not fall under the framing label.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter contains a description of the methodology that was used in this study. It also includes the procedure used for collecting data and how the data was analyzed.

3.1 Research Design

Content analysis of the newspapers was done to examine the coverage given to news on Kenyan judicial reforms by The Nation and The Standard newspapers. These newspapers were chosen because they are the two leading newspapers in the country in terms of circulation, they are also national papers. The time frame examined was from May 30th 2012 to April 30th 2013, which was the period when the vetting process of the judges was going on and implementation of judicial reforms had taken root. Also, this period was a major test to the judiciary owing to its role before and after the 4th March general elections in Kenya.

For this reason, a coding sheet was developed including number of news items, placement, slant and pictorial representation of news items related to judicial reforms in Kenya. Content analysis was based on the analysis of space given to the issue, slanting of the news or point of view. The categories for slant of news items were; supportive of judicial reforms, neutral and critical. Placement included the actual placement of the news item and also the space given to a news story. Pictorial support and graphics were also considered.

3.2 Sample for content analysis.

The sample for this study was drawn from The Nation and The Standard newspapers from May 2012 to May 2013. The population was a total of 730 newspapers.

3.3 Sampling technique

Purposive sampling technique was used. All newspapers, The Standard and The Nation, from May 30th 2012 to April 30th 2013, were selected and then newspapers with content on judicial reforms were picked to be analyzed.

3.4 Research Instruments

The research instrument used in this study was a code sheet because the research was focused on content analysis. The researcher prepared code sheets where data on judicial reforms from May 30th 2012 to April 30th 2013 were analyzed and data based on various elements of news entered. The elements comprised of variables such as; placement, size of articles and prominence. (See appendix 11). A coding manual sheet was also developed to help the research assistants in the coding process.

3.6 Data Validity and Reliability

Data was collected from 10 articles prior to the actual study. The collected data was analyzed and the results were found to answer the research questions and met objectives of the study. This shows that the code sheets were valid research tools.

Two second year journalism and communication undergraduate students were trained as research assistants. The research assistants independently coded 10 articles which were the same. The data was analyzed and gave consistent results.

3.7 Ethical issues

The researcher observed high level of confidentiality. The librarians at The Standard group and The Nation centre were informed on the purpose of the study to avoid any form of suspicion.

CHAPTER FOUR:

DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter contains the findings of the data collected. To examine the newspapers coverage of judicial reforms in Kenya, a total of 116 articles were studied. All data was entered in to Excel sheet on the basis of coding that was done. The findings were analyzed from the data.

4.1 Background Information

The study involved a sample population of 116 news items that were analyzed. They were drawn from The Nation and The Standard newspapers from May 30th 2012 to April 30th 2013. The Nation newspaper had 60 of the total articles on judicial reforms while The Standard had 56 as shown in figure 1 below.

4.2 General coverage of news on Kenyan judicial reforms by Kenyan newspapers

Table 1: Proportion of articles from The Nation and The Standard newspapers

Type of newspaper	n	%
Nation	60	51.7
Standard	56	48.3
Total	116	100.0

Source: Data

Out of the total news items analyzed, The Nation newspaper had 51.7% while The Standard had 48% of the total. This shows that The Nation newspaper had more articles on judicial reforms compared to The Standard. Figure 1 shows clearly the comparison.

Figure 1: Proportion of articles from The Nation and The Standard newspapers

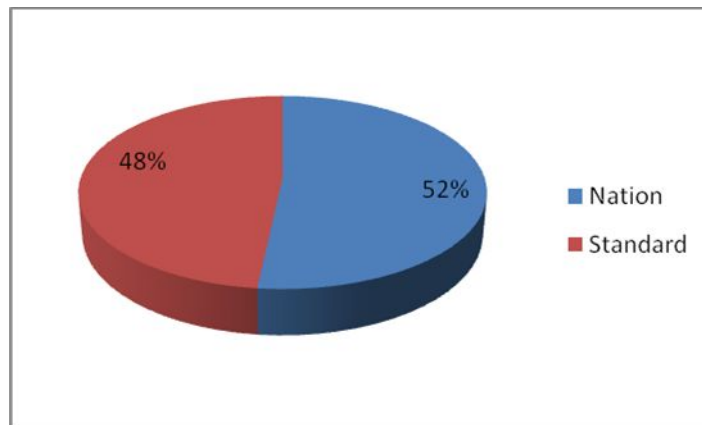


Table 2: Monthly comparison of News coverage between Standard and Nation papers

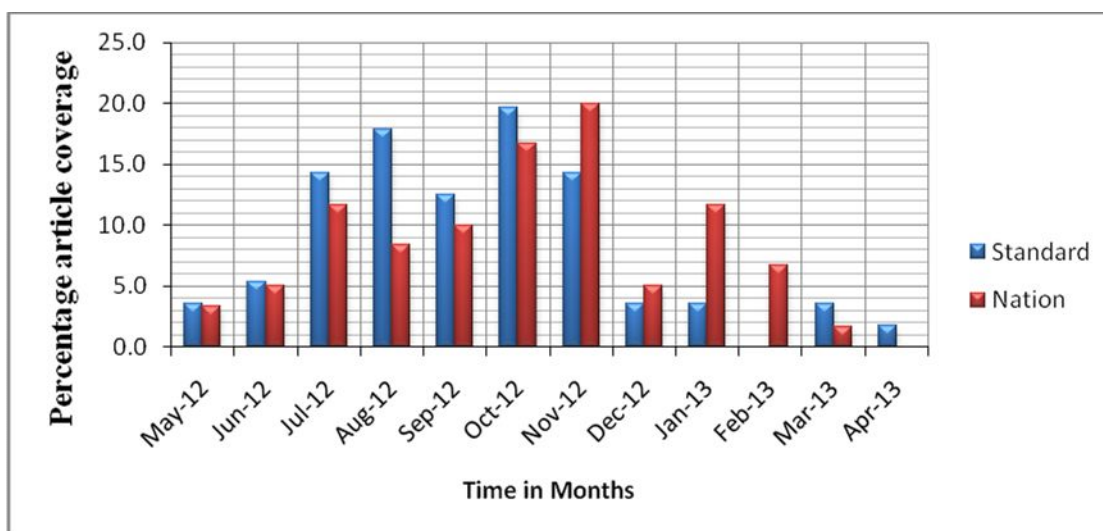
MONTHS	STANDARD		NATION	
	N	%	N	%
May-12	2	3.6	2	3.3
Jun-12	3	5.4	3	5.0
Jul-12	8	14.3	7	11.7
Aug-12	10	17.9	5	8.3
Sep-12	7	12.5	6	10.0
Oct-12	11	19.6	10	16.7
Nov-12	8	14.3	12	20.0
Dec-12	2	3.6	3	5.0
Jan-13	2	3.6	7	11.7
Feb-13	0	0.0	4	6.7
Mar-13	2	3.6	1	1.7
Apr-13	1	1.8	0	0

Source: Data

From the tabulated data in table 2, both the Standard and The Nation newspapers covered news on judicial reforms from May 2012 to April 2013. October and November recorded the highest coverage of the news on judicial reforms by the two papers.

In October, the coverage by The Standard newspaper was slightly higher than The Nation newspaper with 19.6% of the total coverage while The Nation covered 16.7%. During November, The Nation covered more news articles with 20% of the total as compared to 14.3% of The Standard. Figure 2 also shows the comparison

Figure 2: Monthly comparison of News coverage between The Standard and The Nation newspapers



Source: Data

4.3 Comparative coverage of news on Kenyan judicial reforms by The Nation and The Standard newspaper.

4.3.1 Placement

Table 3: Placement of News articles

Placement	TYPE OF PAPER			
	NATION		STANDARD	
	n	%	n	%
Front page	4	30.8	9	69.2
Inside pages	52	52.5	47	47.5
Section Front	1	100.0	0	0.0
Back page	3	100.0	0	0.0
Total	60	51.7	56	48.3

Under placement, the researcher sought to find out the page where news items on judicial reforms appeared. Generally, most articles were placed in the inside pages with a total of 99 news articles which translates to 85.3% of the total number of articles on judicial reforms as shown in table 1. The front page had 13 news items which was 11.2% of the total news items analyzed.

The back page covered only 2.6% of the news. (See the summarized table in appendix 11). Comparatively, The Nation’s coverage which was more than The Standard amounted to 52.5% of the total news articles while The Standard newspaper had 47.5% of the total news items. The Standard newspaper placed more news on judicial reforms on the front page with 69.2% of the total news analyzed; The Nation placed 30.8% of news on judicial reforms on the front page as shown in table 3.

4.3.2 Size of the article

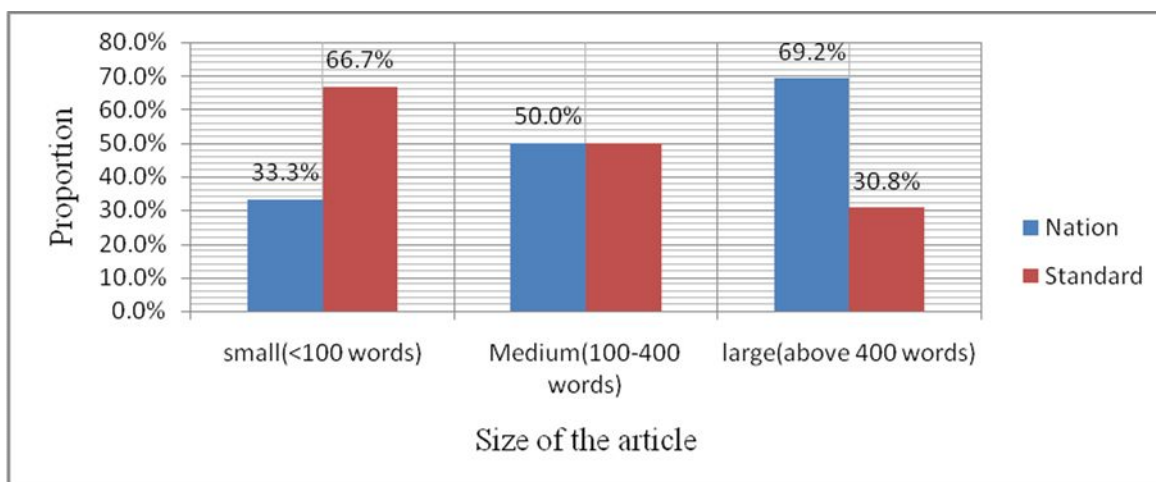
Table 4: Size of News articles

Size	TYPE OF PAPER			
	NATION		STANDARD	
	n	%	n	%
Small(<100 words)	1	33.3	2	66.7
Medium(100-400 words)	50	50.0	50	50.0
Large(above 400 words)	9	69.2	4	30.8
Total	60	51.7	56	48.3

The size of news articles involved the counting of number of articles which was used to determine whether the news article was large, medium or small. From the analyzed news items, most of them were of medium size which translates to 86.2% of the total news items. The Standard newspaper had 50% of the news items that were medium in size.

Equally, The Nation had 50% of news items on judicial reforms which were medium. This means that both papers had the same coverage of news items on judicial reforms which were medium in size

Figure 3: Comparison of size of news articles



4.3.3 Type of news

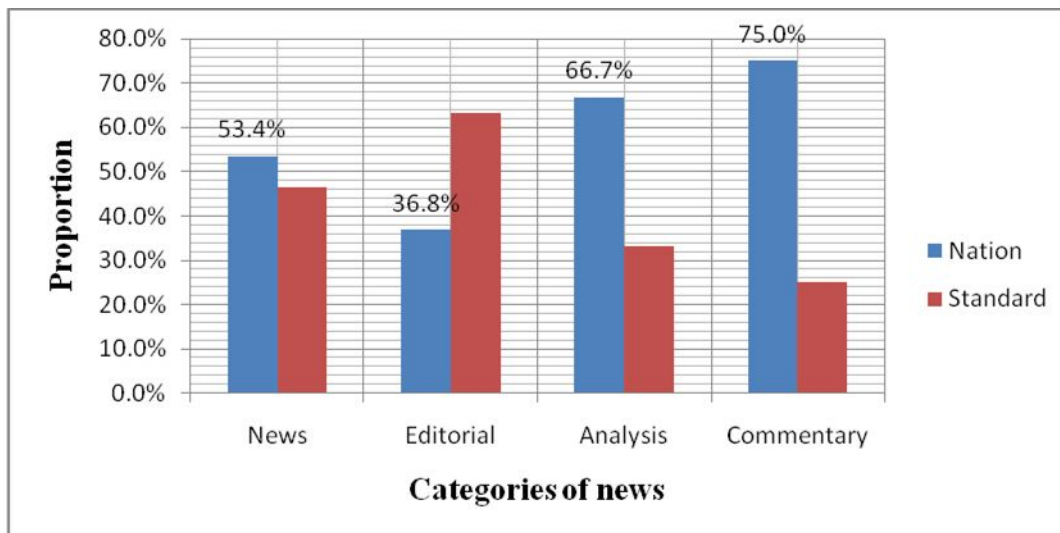
Table 5: Types of News articles

Type of news	TYPE OF PAPER			
	NATION		STANDARD	
	n	%	n	%
News	47	53.4	41	46.6
Editorial	7	36.8	12	63.2
Analysis	2	66.7	1	33.3
Commentary	3	75.0	1	25.0
Feature	1	50.0	1	50.0
Total	60	51.7	56	48.3

The following categories were considered under the type of news items; news report, editorial, analysis, commentary or feature. Items on judicial reforms were mainly news items. Most of the articles categorized as news stories were covered by The Nation with 53.4%, The Standard covered only 46.6% while The Nation covered. Both The Nation and Standard papers did not

dwelling much on feature stories. Table 5 indicates that The Nation and The Standard had each 50% of feature stories covered; they only had one feature story each.

Figure 4: Categories of News articles



4.3.4 News prominence

Table 6: Prominence of News articles

Prominence	TYPE OF PAPER			
	NATION		STANDARD	
	n	%	n	%
Page lead	21	63.6	12	36.4
Second story	26	50.0	26	50.0
Third story	11	47.8	12	52.2
Brief	2	25.0	6	75.0
Total	60	51.7	56	48.3

When analyzing prominence on page, the researcher looked at the particular section that the news item was placed on the page. Most items were placed as second stories by both papers; The Nation had 50% of news items appearing as second stories. The Standard newspaper had also 50% of the news on judicial reforms placed as second stories. (See table 6).

4.3.5 Graphics

Table 7: Graphics of News articles

Graphic	TYPE OF PAPER			
	NATION		STANDARD	
	n	%	n	%
colored	7	87.5	1	12.5
black and white	0	0.0	2	100.0
no graphics	53	50.0	53	50.0
Total	60	51.7	56	48.3

The Nation newspaper had more graphics with 51.7% of the total graphics than The Standard newspaper which had 48.3% of the total graphics. Most graphics were colored with The Nation having 87.5% compared to The Standard which had 12.5% of the graphics covered.

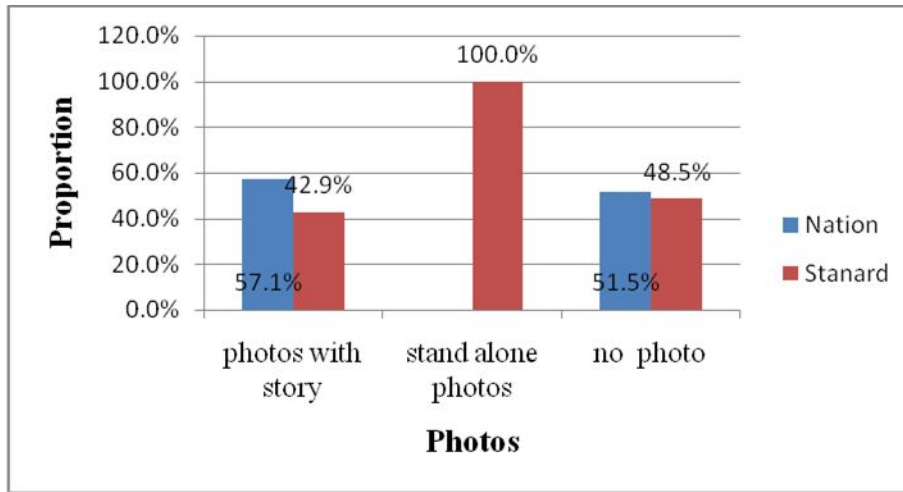
4.3.6 Photos

Table 8: Photos of News articles

Photos	TYPE OF PAPER			
	NATION		STANDARD	
	n	%	n	%
Photos with story	8	57.1	6	42.9
Stand alone photos	0	0.0	1	100.0
No photo	52	51.5	49	48.5
Total	60	51.7	56	48.3

The presence of photos and pictures related to news on judicial reforms were also studied. The researcher considered; Pictures with stories stand alone pictures and absence of photos and pictures. The Nation newspaper covered more photos with stories on judicial reforms which translated to 57.1%, The Standard had only 42.9%. There was only one stand alone photo which was covered by The Standard newspapers while The Nation had none.

Figure 5: Photos of News articles



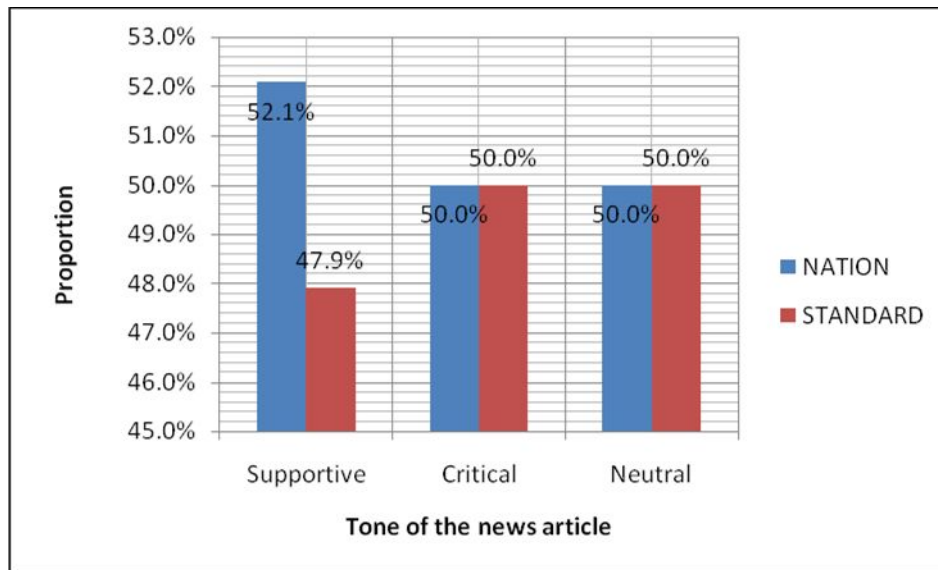
4.4 Slant of news on judicial reforms

Table 9: Tone of News articles

Tone	TYPE OF PAPER			
	NATION		STANDARD	
	n	%	n	%
Supportive	50	52.1	46	47.9
Critical	5	50.0	5	50.0
Neutral	5	50.0	5	50.0
Total	60	51.7	56	48.3

The tone of news articles on judicial reforms focused on whether the content of the article supports, is critical or neutral on judicial reforms in the country. Of the articles analyzed, 96 out of 116 items supported the judicial reforms which are 82.2% of the total number of articles. The Nation newspaper had 50 articles in favor of the judicial reform, this translates to 52.1% of the total news items. The Standard newspaper on the other hand had 47.9% of the total news items. The Nation therefore covered more news articles in favor of judicial reforms than The Standard. Figure 6 below further shows the comparison.

Figure 6: Tone of news articles



4.5: Discussion

The first objective was to compare the coverage of news on judicial reforms by The Nation and Standard newspapers. The analysis showed that The Nation gave slightly more coverage to the issue than The Standard.

The second objective was to determine the slant of news content of judicial reforms either towards in favor, against or being neutral. This objective has also been achieved. It was recorded that most news stories favoured judicial reforms in the country.

The researcher also sought to find out whether framing of news on judicial reforms promotes the independence of the Kenyan judiciary. Generally, by The Nation and The Standard newspapers covering most news stories on judicial reforms that support judicial reforms shows the media commitment to judicial reforms in Kenya. However, by placing many stories on judicial reforms in the in the inside pages shows that the news on judicial reforms have not been given a lot of

emphasis to be placed in the front pages or the back page. This will also have an implication on how the audience takes the news. The newspapers covered very few graphics and pictures related to judicial reforms. This indicates that there was lack of emphasis of news on judicial reforms. Feature stories were hardly covered by The Nation and Standard newspapers, instead, news stories dominated. This implies that news on judicial reforms was not treated as per importance in society.

The judiciary is a very important arm of government in any society because of its role of promoting justice and fairness. The media too is important since it acts as a link between the government and its citizens. Newspapers are key elements in bringing change in society by giving maximum coverage towards certain issues of national and international importance to make the world a better place. The media creates awareness by educating and informing the society on important aspects in their lives, and the judiciary is one of them.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction.

The study was based on three major objectives: to compare the coverage of news on judicial reforms by The Nation and The Standard newspapers, to determine the slant used in the coverage of news on Kenyan judicial reforms in The Nation and Standard newspapers and to assess whether framing of news on judicial reforms promotes or hinders the independence of the judiciary.

5.1 Summary of the findings

The study established that The Nation newspaper had more coverage of news on judicial reforms compared to The Standard. It was clear that most of the news was covered in the inside pages of both The Nation and The Standard. Most of the news covered supported reforms in the judiciary, with The Nation having slightly more coverage than The Standard. The coverage of news on judicial reforms by both papers promoted the independence of the judiciary by portraying them positively.

5.2 Conclusion

This research revealed that The Nation and The Standard newspapers covered a total of 116 news stories on judicial reforms from May 30th 2012 to 30th April 2013. The analysis shows that there was hardly a difference between the two papers, both were important in giving the right place and position of news stories related to judicial reforms.

The media can be used to promote the reforms in the judiciary. The Nation and The Standard newspapers coverage of news on judicial reforms supported the process. This is because most of the articles analyzed were in favor of judicial reforms.

5.3 Recommendations

As a result of the findings of this study, the researcher came up with the following suggestions that could assist The Nation Media Group, The Standard Group, the Judiciary and the public.

First, The Nation and The Standard newspapers should maximize their coverage of news on judicial reforms so that many people get to know what happens in the judiciary. This will make the public to be conversant with the reforms taking place in the judiciary.

Secondly, The Nation and Standard newspapers should review on how they cover news on judicial reforms in Kenya. More emphasis should be given to the news by; placing them in the front and back pages of the papers, increasing graphics and pictures related to judicial reforms, give more editorials as opposed to news reports and consider large story items on judicial reforms. As a result, the audience will be more exposed to the news.

5.4 Suggestions for further studies

The study also recommends for other related studies to be undertaken. The audience is an important component in the communication process which cannot be ignored. A study that explains the role of the audience in framing of news on judicial reforms should be done. Effects of framing and priming should also be studied. This will create a better understanding of the framing process. Other than that, the media will also be in a better position to review how it frames and primes the news.

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APPENDIX 1: CODE SHEET

(Tick the appropriate option in the categories under each variable. Where there are no options, fill in the required information in the spaces provided.)

V 1 .Article number.....

V 2.Date of publication (day of the week, date month and year).....

V 3. Newspaper type

1. Nation
2. Standard

V4. Placement:

1. Splash
2. Front page
3. Inside pages
4. Selection front
5. Back page

V5.Size of news item

1. Small(<100 words)
2. Medium(100-400 words)
3. Large (>400 words)

V6. Type/treatment of news item news

1. Editorial
2. Analysis
3. Commentary
4. Feature

V7. Prominence on page

1. page lead
2. 2nd story
3. 3rd story
4. Brief
5. Other

V8. Headline/theme.....
.....
.....

V9. The name of the author and area of expertise.....

V10. Coverage trigger.....

V11. Graphics

1. Color
2. B & w
3. None

V12. Photos/pictures

1. With story
2. Stand alone
3. None

V13. The tone of the news item towards judicial reforms

1. Supports
2. Critical
3. Neutral

V16.Criticism.....
.....
.....

**APPENDIX11: A SUMMARY OF NEWS COVERAGE ON JUDICIAL REFORMS BY
THE NATION AND THE STANDARD NEWSPAPERS.**

Type of newspaper	n	Percentage
The Nation	60	51.7
The Standard	56	48.3
Total	116	100
Article placement in the newspaper	13	
Front page	99	11.2
Inside pages	1	85.3
Section front	3	0.9
Back page	116	2.6
Total		100
Size of news item		
Small(<100 words)	3	2.6
Medium(100-400 words)	100	86.2
Large(above 400 words)	13	11.2
Total	116	100
Type of news item		
News	88	75.9
Editorial	19	16.4
Analysis	3	2.6
Commentary	4	3.4
Feature	2	1.7
Total	116	100
Prominence on Page		
Page lead	33	28.4
Second story	52	44.8
Third story	23	19.8
Brief	8	6.9
Total	116	100
Graphics on judicial reforms		
Colored	8	6.9
Black and white	2	1.7
No graphics	106	91.4
Total	116	100
Photos and pictures of news on judicial reforms		
Photos with story	14	12.1
Stand alone photos	1	0.9
No photo	101	87.1
Total	116	100
Tone of article towards judicial reforms		
Supportive	96	82.8
Critical	10	8.6
Neutral	10	8.6
Total	116	100