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# CONTRIBUTIONS OF AFRICAN RESEARCHERS TO TRENDS, TRAJECTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF PRIMING THEORY

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Abstract: Priming is a theoretical paradigm that has dominated media effects studies worldwide, with important studies testing and building the theory. There is an arguable age-long discourse of intellectual poverty on theory building and theory testing in Africa, an exposition that follows the arguable domination of the global South by the global North in contributions to research and theory on communication and media studies, especially the priming theory. This study re-examines this discourse by determining the trajectory, trends and development of the theory, showcasing the contributions of scholars from the two divides to priming paradigm. The study adopted desk review and quantitative content-analysis of studies as its methodology. Findings show that most of the studies on priming were conducted between 2011-2020 and 2001-2010 in the USA with Nigeria coming behind Kenya. The studies focused attention on mass media and mostly adopted probability and quantitative methodology. Findings show that studies that adopted priming from Africa lacked the capacity to contribute to theory building and testing, because of gaps in methodology and application. The study recommended capacity building on theory testing and theory building for African communication researchers to bridge the gap.

**Keywords**: Communication researchers, priming, theory building, theory testing, trends.

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## 1. Introduction

This study has three objectives to fulfil. It traces the trajectory and scholarly explorations and development of priming theory worldwide; examines the trends in the usage of the theory; and shows the contributions of communication researchers in Africa to trends in priming theory development through its testing and building. There is an arguable age-long discourse of intellectual poverty on theory building and theory testing in Africa, an exposition that follows the arguable domination of the global South by the global North in contributions to research and theory on communication and media studies. This line of thought, especially on scholarly exploits of African communication researchers, holds that African research and academic agencies have been dominated by Western models and theories, a development that shapes research and practice in such settings as a dumping ground for Western ideas and realities incompatible with local realities in African settings (Ndlela, 2009; Nwosu, 2005; M'Bayo, Sunday, & Amobi, 2012, citing Okigbo, 1987, M'Bayo and Nwanko, 1989).

The other school of thought recognises the universality of knowledge and research on media and communication, noting that empirical conversations in these areas are global, which any qualified researchers or scholars should be able to contribute to, irrespective of their geographical, cultural, historical and other existential classifications. The arguments of these two schools of thought, although somehow relevant to this study, are not the primary focus of this study (Ndlela, 2009; Nwosu, 2005; M'Bayo, Sunday, & Amobi, 2012, citing Okigbo, 1987 and M'Bayo and Nwanko, 1989). Focusing on priming theory as a popular theory used by scholars worldwide irrespective of their locations, this study examines the history and scholarly development of the theory and showcases the contributions of African scholars to its development using the meta-research method. First off, it summarizes the historical trajectory and empirical applications of the theory in media and communication studies. Then, a content analysis of some research articles wherein priming theory was the theoretical underpinning was conducted to explain the contributions of African scholars to the testing and building of the theory.

### 2. Literature Review

# 2.1 In the Beginning

Priming, traced to the research exploits of Iyengar, Peters and Kinder in 1982 (Iyengar & Kinder, 2010), has its origin in psychology where cognitive processing and ensuing judgements are predicated on effects of stimuli received. This basic psychological underpinning is behind the simplest definition of a prime as the "presentation of a stimulus and the effects caused by that stimulus, which can include subsequent changes in beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors" (Hoewe, 2020, p.1). Its forays and usage in the fields of political science, especially media to study effects have however popularised the theory beyond its psychological domains. These forays and usage notwithstanding, it retains its psychological colouration and roots in every attempt at defining it.

One of the leading evidence in related to the priming development within physiological realm was the position of Bargh (2014) who contradicted the previous skepticism and assertion about the development of behavioural priming effect that was documented to be pioneered by Meyer and Schavaneveldt (1971). The study argued that "Behavioral priming" was originally introduced in 1951 by Lashley (1951), as a solution to sequences and smooth response in human behaviour (Bargh, 2014). The justification for this position was that the Meyer and Schavanveldt 1971 study was one out of many carry-overs of experiments since 1951 in social psychology and only centred on effect activation

spreading which was a tiny aspect of behavioural priming. Behavioural priming is considerably large in psychology scholarship; it encompasses internal mental cognitive and external environment driven by natural or accidental contacts that stimulates human behaviour. Citing (Bargh, 1989; Bruner, 1957; Neisser, 1967; Norretranders, 1998), the study argued that the historical perspective to behavioural priming expected to be less controversial since the process of human socialisation from early childhood would naturally impose certain experiences that influences human behaviour, therefore the impacts of subjective feelings, and external factors are preceding effects that should be properly situated within the realm of behavioural priming.

This physiological trend was however blended with priming media research. For instance, Hoewe (2020), recognises the tag 'media stimulus' and highlights the recurrence of 'cognitive processing', 'memory' and 'recall' in almost all definitions of priming, citing Roskos-Ewoldsen, Klinger, & Roskos-Ewoldsen (2007), and Roskos-Ewoldsen, Roskos-Ewoldsen, and Carpentier (2009, p. 74), who defined priming as "effect of some preceding stimulus or event on how we react to some subsequent stimulus." Weaver (2007, p. 145) marked the beginning of the priming theory with his explanation that "controlled field experiments, linked television agenda-setting effects to evaluations of the U.S. president in a demonstration of what some cognitive psychologists have called priming-making certain issues or attributes more salient and more likely to be accessed in forming opinions".

Its relationship with framing stems from the organization of human memory as schemas used in explaining events and situations. In journalism truth and objectivity are sacrosanct entities that define professionalism; however, the way a news story is framed determines the meaning attached to it by the audiences and the purposes it seeks to achieve. This action, whether deliberate or not, is behind the subjective interpretations that attend news reporting. From the news reporters to editors and other gatekeepers in the media house, time, placement, repetition, selection and arrangement of words, headline caption, and other colourations packaged in presenting news stories to the audiences come with some frames subtly planted to influence news understanding and interpretation (Hallahan, 1999; Valenzuela, 2009). This is quite salient in a neo-liberal and commercialized system where access, accessibility and or ability to use the media are tied to ability to pay for media. Powerful influences in media operation and practice in a profit-driven system have the financial, political, religious and cultural influences on frames adopted by media houses to report or present contents to the audiences.

The historical link between agenda setting and priming have long been recognised since the study of the impact of news media's coverage of the Watergate scandal on public opinion. Perhaps, the consequences of agenda setting on public opinion could be arguably positioned as the pathway that enlarged the priming paradigm in media audience research (Weaver, 2007). What is the reason behind this conclusion? Weaver, McCombs, and Spellman's (1975) conclusion on the Watergate scandal holds that "the media may suggest which issues to use in evaluating political actors, but who did not use the term priming to describe this process" (Weaver, 2007, p. 145).

This understanding is responsible for popular merging of the three theories (framing, agenda setting and priming). Weaver (2007), who is regarded as the brain behind the media agenda setting paradigm right from his research on the US presidential election of 1972 summarises the interconnected as cognitive processes and effects (Weaver, 2007). As theories of media effects, they are concerned with the cognitive aspect of information processing and the factors that colour information processing to arrive at a particular interpretation. They are similar because their overall thrust is on how people's attitudes and

eventual decision making are predicated on their exposure to over- riding salient frames, cues, primes, and agenda sent to influence their psychological understanding and interpretation of events (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007; Moy et al., 2016). For priming, information that comes from the media enters the audience's memory as nodes. Each node is closely related to a concept and nodes are connected through pathways which ensure a spiral of effects spreading across nodes when one of the nodes is activated. The processes of node formation, concept arrangement, memory tagging or priming and initial assignment of frame to each node to suit a particular agenda explain the relationship among them (Moy et al., 2016). Therefore, from the priming itself to the consequences arising from it, the links among the three theories are established. Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007, p. 11), summarises priming as what "occurs when news content suggests to news audiences that they ought to use specific issues as benchmarks for evaluating the performance of leaders and governments." These 'specific issues' and 'benchmarks' are frames which culminate to reinforce specific agenda set by those nterested in overt or covert interpretation of news. When the diction, placement, arrangement, colour, timing, repetition, etc., is deliberately or inadvertently manipulated in news reporting, there is a probability of it affecting audiences' interpretation (Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007).

# 2.2. Priming and Media Research

Adapting Priming from cognitive psychology behavioural priming, Iyengar and Kinder in 1987 through series of experiment demonstrated that news coverage of an issue can prime viewers to give that issue more weight in their overall evaluations of public officials and political candidates. The experiments showed that exposure to media coverage and weight attached to national issues in the United State of America provided standard of evaluation for President Jimmy Carter's performance (Iyengar, 1989). Explaining Iyengar and Kinder priming effect, Krosnick and Brannon (1993) argued that ordinary people when faced with complex social or political issues do not base their judgement on all the available information or relevant knowledge, instead, they adopt a shortcut by retrieving few selected and salience in the memory as standard of judgement on any issue of public importance. Brewer, Graf, and Willnat, (2003) reinforced the priming effect propositions that exposure to media coverage of an issue tends to make that issue more accessible in people's minds and increases the likelihood that people will base subsequent on their thought about the issue.

In media research, there are two schools of thought as identified by Hoewe (2020). The first is the psychological group premised on thought activation which occurs "outside the individual's conscious awareness...the effects of priming are often short term and the effect sizes are small" (Hoewe, 2020, p. 4). The assumption is that there is a short-term effect of media exposure on audiences' behaviours when priming is discussed in media studies. Most media contents are designed to produce some effects among the audiences, whether it is information, education, mobilization, or entertainment (Roskos-Ewoldsen et al., 2009). Carpentier (2016) explains that it is difficult to understand priming without examining the theory of memory, wherein efforts are made to organize, store and retrieve information for future use. The brain works as a system, a collection of networks with connected nodes through neural pathways. When nodes are activated, they can be accessed and processed later. This is the background of priming (Hart & Middleton, 2014).

The second school of thought comes from the political science paradigm. This is the most emphasized aspect of priming in media studies where news priming as a function of agenda setting is explained. Extrapolating from the minimal effects paradigm of the media which holds that news media may not have the overall power to single-

handedly produce/determine a pattern of behaviour after exposure to media contents, this group believes that news media can suggest or focus on a particular issue and prime it to a level that it becomes a subject of public discourse. As observed by Hoewe (2020, p. 2), citing Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007), "priming often functions as a consequence of issue-based agenda setting, where issues are made salient by news media coverage and they then play a larger role in how individuals make political judgements and decisions." The way news media call attention to specific matters and leave others unattended to plays a significant role in the judgements of news audiences, which goes a long way in influencing public decisions and actions on such matters of focus. Therefore, when issues are primed, they retain the frontrunner in public opinion and in most cases determine the responses of elected representatives to the issues primed. This understanding is behind the marriage between agenda setting and priming, which have been considered as co-travellers (one producing the other). The prime attention given to issues by news media shape the cognition and perceptions of news audiences, registering in their memory and sustaining its onslaught for recall to happen when related discourses play up in public and private conversations/debates and discussions (Althaus and Kim, 2006).

Priming is ultimately an extension of agenda –setting which looks into the impacts of news coverage on the public judgement on certain issues. Since the 1987 experiment of Iyengar, Peters, and Kinder, the theory has been applied and advance by plethora of scholars. Krosnick and Kinder (1990) established priming effect that public accessibility to information is partly determined by the stories which media choose to cover. Miller and Krosnick (1996) in a study affirmed that what media choose to cover and given prominence are significant in assessment of presidential performance in united State. Priming is the impact that agenda setting can have on the way individuals evaluates thematic areas about public office holder (Scheufele, 2000).

Kim et al. (2012) opined priming to be a step further of agenda settings; it didn't just remain at the salience transfer level, but also looked into the media's role in influencing the audience judgment. Cho (2005) analysed the nexus between media, interpersonal discussion, and electoral choice. Findings of the study established that people who were exposed to more television news were more likely to vote based on candidate image perception. Valenzuela (2009) analysed priming variations among audiences through the moderating roles of knowledge, interest, news attention, and discussion. The study analysed these variables as dimensions of citizens' political involvement and their effects on media priming over the course of a political campaign. Findings of the research corroborated the existing finding that greater issue salience in the media leads individuals to attach greater weight to evaluation by using such an issue as a standard for evaluation.

Kim, Han, Choi, & Kim (2012) examined attribute agenda. Their study analysed a controversial issue which was a government plan to relocate the administrative capital in South Korea. Findings of the study support the idea that issue attributes emphasized in media functioned as important standards by which the audience evaluated the plan. Valentino et al. (2013), examined the priming effect of ethnocentrism and Immigration media coverage about Latin Americans (Latinios) in California, the study established that repeated negative emphasis on Latinos shapes public opinion and perception about Latinos which later derailed and paralleled its immigration rating in America. However, Hart & Middleton (2014), re-evaluated classic media priming propositions through Time Sharing Experience in Social Sciences (TSESS), the study questioned the causality of priming effect and actual projected effect and argued that pre-treatment measures data collection is necessary in future priming study on issues approval and overall approval.

During 2010 Dutch national election campaign, priming was tested to establish the relationship between public office holder prominence in the media and importance that electorates attached to them in making voting decision. The combination of 11 wave survey and media coverage content analysis demonstrated that there is strong relationship between leaders' evaluation and voting decision, the weight media attached to political leaders significantly influenced voting decision (Takens et al. 2015). Media friendly agenda and priming in relation to issue ownership theory and party support was also investigated by Thesen et al. (2017) to provide insight to the relationship between political issues ownership Mechanism and media attention. The findings shows that increase in media attention and priming of political issues to owned issues increased the support for issue owner in political contest. Hoewe (2020), provided explanations about the fusion between human psychology and media priming in respect to individual differences in response to salience issues reported in the media, The study revealed that political priming may constitutes difference scenario as a result of individual cognitive processing weakness and capacity in information process and predicted behaviour.

# 2.3. Africa's Contribution to Communication Theories

Even long before the submission of Tanjong, Eselem and Tita (2016), the muted voices of scholars from Africa in scholarship on communication theory has been lamented by African scholars themselves (Ndlela, 2009; Nwosu, 2005; M'Bayo, Sunday& Amobi, 2012, citing Okigbo, 1987 and M'Bayo & Nwanko, 1989). Among the solutions proffered by these scholars, none has fully captured the problem as the recommendations made by Tanjong et al. (2016), who asked that African scholars address their lack of will power to 'transcend the intellectual barriers created by Western scholars' (p.57). It is highly ignoble that almost a century after Europe and America have pioneered and developed communication theories, African scholars in the fields of communication and media studies are still abysmally behind in breaking internal and external barriers limiting their scholarship in this area. There is an over-bearing excuse from almost all African scholars who have responded to this debate: Communication theories propounded and developed by scholars from the West have largely ignored the realities of Africa, and are therefore inadequate in representing scholarship in communication and media studies from the continent (Tanjong et al., 2016). As a departure from this position, this study asks: If Western theories are inadequate for presenting African realities, what is stopping communication and media scholars in Africa from propounding and developing theories that can fill this hole? Though very old, the position of Okigbo (1987), cited by Tanjong et al. (2016, p. 62) answers the question. He says that "the ferment in the communication field which is evident in American and European communication scholarship has not been felt in Africa. The African communication environment is still very dormant and tranquil because of the social and political climates that are primarily anti-intellectual, and the dearth of trained communication scholars with active interest in expanding the horizons of knowledge and inquiry in the field."

What Okigbo (1987) emphasizes can be summarized as theory building and theory testing. This study argues in line with existing tradition that science is universal; and any on-going empirical conversation which is opened to scholars all over the world can be tested, corrected, added to or developed by anyone who has anything to say. This standardization of global empirical conversation has given a golden opportunity to African scholars to contribute to communication theory. Quoting Tanjong et al. (2016:62) again, these scholars believe that "communication scholarship is supposed to contribute to the development of theory, as a result of research in the field... The experience in

Africa, so far, has shown that eight decades of communication education have not resulted in many research studies." This argument may be behind the voicelessness among communication researchers in Africa, and their inability to make serious contributions to communication theories.

In America and Europe, consistent and continuous engagement of a theory by researchers leads to theory building and theory testing. The propositions of several communication theories have been tested and built over years by other scholars who took time to engage such theories and validate them in different contexts. This is where the problem is in Africa. Where communication researches in Africa have no sound theoretical foundation or theoretical applications are 'episodic, casual, serendipitous and non-systematic', they can never adequately speak to existing global empirical conversations; they cannot be globally recognised; and will continue the inherent voicelessness lamented by African scholars who are fond of hiding under the marginalization construct. To test the virility of this argument, this study provides a meta-analysis of communication and media studies in which priming theory has been used. The goal is to show whether African scholars cannot outrightly be blamed for the problem identified. From the next section of this study, a content analysis of some studies which have employed priming theory as their theoretical underpinning will show the validity of claims and counter-claims of the contributions of African scholars to communication theories.

# 3. Methodology

To do trend analysis, journal articles where priming theory has been used for the period of Forty years between 1981 and 2021 were the focus. The researchers downloaded many journal articles, cleaned data and obtained only 51 relevant empirical articles for content analysis. The researchers identified year of publication, location of study, methods of data collection and data analysis, media of focus, and popular themes in such journal articles as content categories. The researchers read the journal articles and coded them along the categories mapped. The results of quantitative content analysis are interpreted below.

## 4. Results and Discussion

**Table 1.** Year of publication

Year	Frequency	Percentage
1981-1990	3	5.9%
1991-2000	5	9.8%
2001-2010	12	23.5%
2011-2020	31	60.8%
2021	0	100%

Data analysis shows that most of the journal articles were published between 2011 and 2020. There were three articles in the 1980s and 1990s and five between 1991 and 2000. Those published between 2001 and 2010 were 12 and none in 2021. This trend shows that most of the articles on priming theory are recent.

**Table 2.** Location of Study

Country	Frequency	Percentage
Nigeria	3	5.9%
Kenya	7	13.7%
Uganda	3	5.9%
South Africa	2	3.9%
Libya	1	2.0%
USA	25	49.0%
Europe	8	15.7%
China	1	2.0%
Colombia	1	2.0%

Researchers have lamented the near-invisibility of researchers in Africa in the theory-driven research sphere; and especially, their inability to speak to existing conversations and stand at the same level with researchers from other continents. On priming theory, the study examines the contributions of researchers from Africa to theory building and theory testing on priming.

Findings show that African researchers were second on the log. Most of the journal articles content-analysed were published by and about researchers from the United States of America. They were followed by researchers from Africa and then Europe. China and Colombia had one apiece. The trends are revealing in the sense that disaggregated data on researchers from Africa show that researchers from Kenya used priming theory than others from the continent. Researchers from Nigeria and Uganda had three each, while only one researcher came from Libya. Although African researchers were second on the log, most of the journal articles from Africa did not properly anchor or use the theory. The theory was mentioned in each case and discussed, without its proper underpinning. The research questions were not theory-driven, unlike studies from the United States of America and Europe with research questions, hypotheses, and discussion linked to the theory. This limitation from studies conducted in Africa is behind the inability to contribute to theory building and theory testing.

Table 3. Methods of Data Collection and Analysis

Methodology	Frequency	Percentage	
Quantitative	38	74.5%	
Qualitative	7	13.7%	
Others			
Desk review	4	7.8%	
Mixed method	2	3.9%	
Probability	33	64.7%	
Non-probability	18	35.3%	

To corroborate the conclusion in Table 2 above, the desk review and most of the qualitative studies analysed in this study were published by Africans. These desk reviews and qualitative studies lacked the capacity to drive empirical conversations on theory building and theory testing. Because they did not follow the quantitative methodology and they did not use probability sampling technique, they were weak. This is the principal reason they could not contribute to the priming paradigm. Studies that will build and test theories will usually be quantitative (74.5%) and adopt the probability sampling procedure

(64.7%) as done by the studies in the United States of America and Europe analysed in this study.

**Table 4.** Media of Focus

	Frequency	Percentage
Social media	4	7.8%
Mass media	36	70.6%
Interpersonal media	5	9.8%

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The study sought to determine the media of focus in the studies in which prime theory was used. Most of the studies focused on mass media (newspaper being number one) (70.6%), followed by interpersonal media (9.8%) and social media (7.8%); and (11.8%) of the studies did not focus on any media. If this table is read with Table 5, a particular trend will be visible. In almost all the studies analysed, focus was on awareness, attitude, and effects/behaviour change, which speak to existing conversation on priming, agenda setting and framing theories, which seek to determine the extent of media priming, media agenda and media frames on public opinion and behaviour change. Where such a trend is established, there is always a focus on mass media, which is the subject of Table 4.

**Table 5.** Predominant Themes

Themes	Frequency
Priming	26
Media	20
Agenda setting	4
Framing	2
Behaviour change/Effects	13
Awareness	2
Coverage	3
Politics	4
Reporting	3
Risk communication	2
Attitude	4

For each of the studies analysed, at least three themes were identified (a table on this is available as appendix). After a series of thematic cleaning and re-mapping, the themes in Table 5 were established as predominant. Among the themes, 26 were on priming measurement/effect/image/administration. There were also semantic priming and criteria, which were categorized and counted as priming. The same procedure was established for other themes in Table 5 and the trend shows that priming, media and behaviour change/effects were dominant among others. This trend speaks to the theory building and theory testing discourse explained under Table 4. The dominance of attitude (4), behaviour change/effects

(13), agenda setting (4), politics (4), media (20) and priming (26) is a trend that corroborates the trajectory and historical development of the priming theory. These themes always dominate studies on priming theory all over the world and the existing conversation on the priming theory paradigm has shown that media primes always resonate with agenda setting and media frames, as stakeholders involved in their usage seek to influence/change/affect public opinions, mostly on politics. In the journal articles analysed in this study, other areas such as risk communication, health communication, ethnocentrism, terrorism, road traffic accident and industrial crisis were examined. There were also studies on foreign policy, COVID-19, racial attitude, stereotypes, economic recession and race. In all of these studies, emphases were on public perception articles analysed in this study, other areas such as risk communication, health communication, ethnocentrism, terrorism, road traffic accident and industrial crisis were examined. There were also studies on foreign policy, COVID-19, racial attitude, stereotypes, economic recession and race. In all of these studies, emphases were on public perception, attitude, and behaviour, after their exposure to media messages on the identified themes.

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### 5. Conclusion

Priming theory as an extension of agenda setting theory has been enduring in application and falsification by mass media scholars from , America, Europe, Asian and Africa. The scholarship novelty of priming is the unique media effect concept that standard of evaluation of public figures are enhanced by providing selected basic metrics for human minds to take decisions based on the preconceptions that are already been stored in the memory. It is an important concept in psychology that has won a special status in mass communication and political communication research. However, equity in exploration and research trends is an ongoing conversation among mass media scholars as a result of domination of the south in the exploration of the theory. The findings of this study reinforced the invisibility of Africa scholars within the realm of media priming

theory research trend as a subordinate in the log of novel media priming research examined in this study. Aside the noticeable less visibility, most of priming studies from Africa were not sufficiently and methodologically anchored on media priming scientific exploration. The theory framework was mostly discussed without deductive underpinning and bounding of theory hypotheses. These limitations undermined the potency of the Africans priming research contributions to the theory building and testing. The study recommend enhanced scientific methodological capacity building on theory testing among African communication scholars, especially on this study noticeable dearth of experimental methodological approach in priming theory research in Africa.

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Appendix

T1	Appendix	T1
Themes	Themes	Themes
Linguistic Tone	Messages	Attitude
Media Priming	Attitude Change	Mass Media
Activation	Retrieval	Memory
Priming	News Coverage	Public Opinion
Gulf War	Economic Recession	Media Content
National Importance	Political Knowledge	Approval of
		Presidential
		Performance
Model of Memory	Administering Priming	Priming Measurement
Behavioural Priming	conscious motivation	Given Prime and the Action
		in Question
Media Priming	Priming Media Effect	Cognitive Process
Priming	Implicit Attitude	Response Mapping
leader Effects	personalization	Projection
Activation	Short Term Memory	Long Term and Pathways
		Memory
Retrospective Voting	Presidential Approval	Priming Mediation
Public Opinion	Priming Criteria	Priming Image
Priming	Race, Sex	Social Learning Theory
Framing	Agenda Setting	Priming
Popular Support	Dramatic Event	Overalls Judgment
Priming	Intergroup Bias	Negative Reaction
Body image	Media Priming	Self-objectification
Candidate	Media Priming	Time Series
Affective Words	Semantic Priming	Pain Word
Prejudice Prejudice	Black and White	Stereotype
Foreign Policy	Moderator Moderator	Priming Effect
Ownership	Media Priming	Party Support
Goal Setting	Priming Goal	Demand Effects
Semantics Duration	Priming Goal  Priming Effect	Lexicon Decision
Agenda Setting	First Level	Priming Effect
Agenda Setting  Agenda Setting	Priming	Spiral of Silence
Agency Bashing	Corruption	Performance
		Racial Attitude
Empathy	Stereotype Awareness	
Health Policy		Behaviour Change
Media Use	Political Trust	Democracy Agenda
Priming	Rap News	Public Diplomacy
COVID-19	Risk Communication	Behaviour Change
Industrial Crisis	Media Framing	Crisis Reporting
Media Role	Political Culture	Democratic Transformation
Road Traffic Accident	Patterns of Reporting	Issues Arising
Advertisement Effects	Newspaper Advert	Media Context
Democracy	Media	1 = 2
Road Safety	Government Strategy	Enhanced Traffic Safety
Media Coverage	Awareness of Cooperatives	
Media Priming	Latinos	Ethnocentrism
GMOs	Priming	Food Security
Ethno-biases	Media Messages	Development Communicators
Social Marketing	Tourism	Globalization
Behaviour Change	COVID-19	Risk Communication
Political Participation	Facebook	Users Reaction
Print Media	Vision 2030	Media Coverage
Tobacco Control	Behaviour Change	Social Marketing
Tiger Woods	Scandal	Effects
Terrorism	News Media	Patterns of Reporting
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