

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM

REPORTING HEALTH IN TABLOID PRESS IN KENYA: A CASE STUDY OF *THE NAIROBIAN*

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A RESEARCH PROJECT REPORT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN COMMUNICATION STUDIES, SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM, UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI.

NOVEMBER, 2016

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this research project report is my original work and has not been submitted elsewhere for examination, award of degree or publication. Where other people's work has been used, this has properly been acknowledged and referenced in accordance with the University of Nairobi's regulations.

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Signature

Date

Kamau Mutunga

K50/74294/2014

I hereby declare that this research project report has been submitted for examination with my approval as the appointed University supervisor.

.....

.....

Signature

Date

Dr. Tom Odhiambo

DEDICATION

I lovingly dedicate this research project report to all Kenyans who invest their hearts, nerves and sinews in the portable asset that is knowledge. I also dedicate it to my family, The Kabaishas-Njoro, SHEME, Ciku, Ciru and Foi. Of special note is my loving wife, Grace, who lent a hand when most needed as I completed an academic promise made to myself.

Thanks a million and God bless you all.

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CONTENTS

DECLARATION.....	ii
DEDICATION.....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iv
LIST OF TABLES.....	xii
LIST OF FIGURES	xiii
LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS	xiii
OPERATIONAL TERMS	xv
ABSTRACT	xvi
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY	1
1.0. Overview	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2. Background.....	3
1.2.1. Tabloid Press in Kenya	6
1.2.2. The Standard Group	11
1.2.3. <i>The Nairobiian</i>	12
1.3. Problem Statement.....	17
1.4. Objectives of the Study.....	18
1.4.1. General Objective.....	18
1.4.2. Specific Objectives.....	18
1.5. Research Questions.....	18
1.6. Justification and Significance of this Study	19
1.7. Scope and Limitations of this Study.....	20

CHAPTER TWO:LITERATURE REVIEW	21
2.0. Overview	21
2.1. Historical Background.....	21
2.2. The Positive Role of Tabloid Press	25
2.3. The Negative Role of Tabloid Press.....	26
2.4. Tabloid Press and Development Communication	28
2.5. Theoretical Frameworks	30
2.5.1. Agenda-Setting Theory	30
2.5.2. Health Belief Model Theory (HBM).....	31
CHAPTER THREE:RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	33
3.0. Overview	33
3.1. Research Approach.....	33
3.2. Research Method	34
3.2.1 Case Study.....	34
3.3. Population and Sampling.....	34
3.3.1. Types of Sampling Methods	35
3.4. Sampling Frame.....	36
3.5. Data Collection	36
3.6. Data Collection Tools	37
3.6.1. Interview with Key Informants	37
3.6.2. Observation	37
3.6.3. Coding Procedure.....	37
3.7. Data Reliability and Validity.....	38
3.8. Data Presentation.....	38
3.9. Research Ethics.....	38

3.10. Reflexivity.....	38
CHAPTER FOUR:DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION....	40
4.0. Overview	40
4.1. Description of Sample	40
4.2. Frame Analysis	40
4.2.1. Public Health.....	41
4.2.2. Health Systems	42
4.2.3. Human Health	44
4.3. Source Analysis	49
4.4. Tone Analysis	53
4.5 Space, Prominence and Type Analysis.....	57
4.6. Results from Interview with Key Informants	63
4.7. Analysis of Interview with Key Informants	68
4.8. Conclusions	68
CHAPTER FIVE:SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, POLICY IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	69
5.0. Overview	69
5.1. Summary of Findings	69
5.1.1. Results from objectives of the Study.....	70
5.1.2. Results from Key Frames in <i>The Nairobiian</i>	72
5.1.3. Results from Source Frame in <i>The Nairobiian</i>	73
5.1.4. Results from Tone Frame in <i>The Nairobiian</i>	73
5.2. Results from Space, Placement and Type frames in <i>The Nairobiian</i>	74
5.3 Conclusions	75
5.4. Recommendations	76

REFERENCES.....	77
APPENDICES.....	81
APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR FIVE EDITORS AND ONE HEALTH REPORTER/COLUMNIST IN <i>TheNairobian</i>	81
APPENDIX B: CONTENT ANALYSIS CODING SHEET	83
DECLARATION.....	ii
DEDICATION.....	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iv
LIST OF TABLES.....	xii
LIST OF FIGURES	xiii
LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS	xiii
OPERATIONAL TERMS.....	xv
ABSTRACT	xvi
CHAPTER ONE:INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY.....	1
1.0. Overview	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2. Background.....	3
1.2.1. Tabloid Press in Kenya	6
1.2.2. The Standard Group	11
1.2.3. <i>The Nairobian</i>	12
1.3. Problem Statement.....	17
1.4. Objectives of the Study.....	18
1.4.1. General Objective.....	18
1.4.2. Specific Objectives.....	18
1.5. Research Questions.....	18

1.6. Justification and Significance of this Study	19
1.7. Scope and Limitations of this Study.....	20
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW	21
2.0. Overview	21
2.1. Historical Background.....	21
2.2. The Positive Role of Tabloid Press	25
2.3. The Negative Role of Tabloid Press.....	26
2.4. Tabloid Press and Development Communication	28
2.5. Theoretical Frameworks	30
2.5.1. Agenda-Setting Theory	30
2.5.2. Health Belief Model Theory (HBM).....	31
CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	33
3.0. Overview	33
3.1. Research Approach.....	33
3.2. Research Method	34
3.2.1 Case Study.....	34
3.3. Population and Sampling.....	34
3.3.1. Types of Sampling Methods	35
3.4. Sampling Frame.....	36
3.5. Data Collection	36
3.6. Data Collection Tools	37
3.6.1. Interview with Key Informants	37
3.6.2. Observation	37

3.6.3. Coding Procedure	37
3.7. Data Reliability and Validity	38
3.8. Data Presentation	38
3.9. Research Ethics.....	38
3.10. Reflexivity.....	38
CHAPTER FOUR:DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION....	40
4.0. Overview	40
4.1. Description of Sample	40
4.2. Frame Analysis	40
4.2.1. Public Health.....	41
4.2.2. Health Systems	42
4.2.3. Human Health	44
4.3. Source Analysis	49
4.4. Tone Analysis	53
4.5 Space, Prominence and Type Analysis.....	57
4.6. Results from Interview with Key Informants	63
4.7. Analysis of Interview with Key Informants	68
4.8. Conclusions	68
CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, POLICY IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	69
5.0. Overview	69
5.1. Summary of Findings	69
5.1.1. Results from objectives of the Study.....	70
5.1.2. Results from Key Frames in <i>The Nairobiian</i>	72
5.1.3. Results from Source Frame in <i>The Nairobiian</i>	73

5.1.4. Results from Tone Frame in <i>The Nairobiian</i>	73
5.2. Results from Space, Placement and Type frames in <i>The Nairobiian</i>	74
5.3 Conclusions	75
5.4. Recommendations	76
REFERENCES	77
APPENDICES	81
APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE	
APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS	
APPENDIX 3: CERTIFICATE OF FIELDWORK	
APPENDIX 4: CERTIFICATE OF CORRECTIONS	
APPENDIX 5: CERTIFICATE OF PLAGIARISM	
APPENDIX 6: DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY	
APPENDIX7: CODING SHEET	83

LIST OF TABLES

Table 4.1. Frequency of Dominant Frames in <i>The Nairobiian</i>	46
Table 4.2. Frequency of reporter generated sources of health issues versus non-reporter generated in <i>The Nairobiian</i>	50
Table 4.3. A table showing the tone of reporting health issues in <i>The Nairobiian</i>	55
Table 4.4. Prominence of Space	58
Table 4.5. Prominence of Placement	59
Table 4.6. Type.....	61

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 4.1. Frequency of Dominant Frames in <i>The Nairobiian</i>	48
Figure 4.2. Frequency of Dominant Frames in <i>The Nairobiian</i>	48
Figure 4.3. Frequency of reporter generated sources of health issues versus non-reporter generated in <i>The Nairobiian</i>	51
Figure 4.4. Frequency of reporter generated sources of health issues versus non-reporter generated in <i>The Nairobiian</i>	52
Figure 4.5. Tone of reporting health issues in <i>The Nairobiian</i>	56
Figure 4.6. A pie chart showing the tone of reporting health issues in <i>The Nairobiian</i>	56
Figure 4.7. Prominence of Space.....	58
Figure 4.8. Prominence of Space.....	59
Figure 4.9. Prominence of Placement.....	60
Figure 4.10. Prominence of Placement.....	60
Figure 4.11. Type.....	62
Figure 4.12. Type.....	62

LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

FGM	-	Female Genital Mutilation
FM	-	Frequency Modulation
GSU	-	General Service Unit
ICU	-	Intensive Care Unit
KANU	-	Kenya African National Union
KTN	-	Kenya Television Network
LSK	-	Law Society of Kenya
MP	-	Member of Parliament
NCCK	-	National Christian Council of Kenya
NCIC	-	National Cohesion and Integration Commission
NGO	-	Non-Governmental Organization
Op-Ed	-	Opposite the editorial page
PhD	-	Doctor of Philosophy
UK	-	United Kingdom
UNDP	-	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	-	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization
VAT	-	Value Added Tax
VIP	-	Very Important Person
WHO	-	World Health Organization

OPERATIONAL TERMS

Tabloids: The term means condensed newspapers and the simplified sensational style reporting on celebrities, gossip, scandals, crime, entertainment and human interest features with ‘thrilling’ twists, besides prominent use of big, bold headlines, large photographs and design layouts. In other parts of the world, like the UK, they are defined by their small sizes (Xiaoming, 2002).

Broadsheets: These are mainstream mass circulation newspapers that report prevailing currents of thought in sober tones without slanting stories. In the UK, they are characterized by not just their sizes, which are twice those of the tabloids, but also by their more sober content. (Xiaoming, 2002).

Furniture: The content of a newspaper comprising its news, features, sports, opinion and column pages.

Issue: Refers to a topic that has significant ramifications, but could also mean the distribution of a particular publication to readers.

Development communication: The act of communicating the development agenda or the use of communication to facilitate social development.

Health: Is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity (WHO, 1948).

Reporting: Is the act or process of disseminating news to the masses using, among others, editorial, opinion and feature writing and analysis, photojournalism and expert interviews.

Day 2 journalism: Is the mass media practice of contextualizing stories from the previous day’s issue and back grounding them for clarity of digestion to readers and thus setting better agenda beyond mere reportage.

Circulation: The number of issues of a newspaper that goes up for sale after publication.

ABSTRACT

The power of the mass media in creating awareness, increasing knowledge, changing attitudes and perceptions, and altering behaviour cannot be gainsaid. While various developmental issues such as government policies, access to justice, health and environmental degradation are the preserve of mainstream broadsheets in the Kenyan print media, the tabloid press is hardly considered a channel of disseminating development agenda with equal seriousness, largely due to the melodramatic nature of tabloid content. This research explores how tabloid press covers health issues in Kenya. This study uses *The Nairobiian* newspaper as a case study to explore how it reports health as a development communication issue. This research is premised on the agenda-setting and health belief model theories of communication. Qualitative and quantitative approaches were used, with content analysis of *The Nairobiian* employed as a research method. A sample of 200 articles from 52 issues published between January and December 2015 were used as the study population, with 52 of them as the sample frame. This study reveals that in the face of serious issues being left to broadsheet or mainstream newspapers, tabloid press, like *The Nairobiian*, could be playing a more serious role in disseminating and thus making health issues accessible to the masses more than it is assumed to be the case. Indeed, use of sensationalism and titillation of stories, including health matters, makes the development agenda relevant to the target demographics of *The Nairobiian*, besides elevating issues of mass interest into public debate. The study concludes that the market for broadsheets, the main channels of communicating serious development agenda, has been shrinking, while that of tabloids – at least in Kenya – has been expanding and thus ‘red sheets’ like *The Nairobiian* could be more effective as ‘alternative public spheres’ of ventilating development agenda on health matters.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.0 Overview

This chapter gives background information to the study and describes the problem that anchors this research project report. It also outlines objectives of the study, research questions, justification, significance of the study and its scope and limitations.

1.1 Introduction

The print media in Kenya can be divided into four sectors: the regular daily and weekend newspapers, magazines, regional newspapers and printed sheets (gutter press) that seek to pass for newspapers. Kenya has five daily national newspapers that use English as the medium of communication. These are the *Daily Nation*, *The Standard*, *Business Daily*, *The People Daily* and *The Star*. While *The East African* is a highbrow regional weekly, the mainstream national weeklies comprise the *Saturday Nation* and *Sunday Nation*, *The Standard on Saturday*, *The Standard on Sunday*, *The People on Sunday* and *The Nairobiian* – the only established weekly tabloid and the focus of this study. The only national Kiswahili newspapers in Kenya are *Taifa Leo* and *Taifa Jumapili*, owned by the Nation Media Group. However, there are also other non-mainstream Kiswahili newspapers like *MwanaSpoti*, a sport's weekly published by Tanzania's Mwananchi Communications but distributed in Kenya by the Nation Media Group.

Since print media was introduced in Kenya in 1902, the role of communicating development issues to the masses has the preserve of the aforementioned privately-owned mainstream broadsheets and government-fronted publications. Since 1974, and with funding from UNESCO,

the government of Kenya published regional newspapers like *Habari*, *Sauti ya Gusii* (Kisii County), *Sauti ya Pwani* (Mombasa County), *Sauti ya Kericho* (Kericho County) and *Nyota ya Magharibi* (Western Kenya), which were distributed to readers in these regions but which have all ceased publication and were tailored to communicate the government's development agenda (Ochieng & Maxon, 1992). *Kenya Today* was founded in 2009 but, unlike the aforementioned publications, was a national government newspaper. *The Nairobiian* has been carrying sensational and often scandalous stories since its inception in 2013, many of them focusing on prominent personalities like pastors and politicians in sex and child support court battles and not so prominent personalities like babies who died and resurrected and granddaughters who snatched husbands from their mothers.

The Nairobiian normally has pictures and interviews to support its stories. Despite the perception that the newspaper is subordinate to the mainstream broadsheets, *The Nairobiian* also appears to actively communicate development issues as part of its editorial content. This domain of communication is mostly the preserve of mainstream dailies and is thus incongruent, or not in line with the general nature of tabloid press, whose function includes but is not limited to sensationalizing peripheral issues like sex scandals that excite people's base instincts. Tapping into the subconsciously animalistic nature of readers happens with tabloids all over the world, not just in Kenya. This study thus intends to carry out an exploratory research of *The Nairobiian* as a case study on health reporting in tabloid press, a relatively new phenomenon in Kenyan media and a pointer to a knowledge gap that calls for analysis to understand the underlying dynamics.

1.2 Background

The history of media in Kenya dates back to the efforts of European missionaries, Asian immigrants and colonial administrators who established media systems in Kenya (Ochillo, 1993). The Reverend Robert Stegal of the Church Missionary Society founded the *Taveta Chronicle* in 1895, which carried religious content as part of the missionary's civilizing mission. Besides the white missionaries, Asian businesspersons also became pioneers in Kenyan media. Businessman Alibhai Mulla Jeevanjee, who made a fortune supplying materials during the construction of the Uganda Railway from Mombasa to Kisumu between 1896 and 1901, had no journalistic training, but with more money than he could ever use in his lifetime, decided to start a newspaper, *African Standard*, in Mombasa as a weekly broadsheet which was first published in November 15, 1902, with Englishman W.H. Tiller as the reporter, sub-editor, proof reader, editor, advertising and circulation manager (Carter, 1968).

Tiller oversaw circulation of the *African Standard* throughout British East Africa (Kenya and Uganda) and German East Africa (Tanzania) and some districts in Eastern Congo. Even though there were other publications like the *Uganda Mail*, White settlers still founded *The Leader of British East Africa* in 1908 as a provincial publication to specifically counter Jeevanjee's *African Standard*, which he sold to Anderson & Mayer for 50 cents after the *African Standard* was labelled a 'gossip' newspaper following Tiller's criticism of the British Foreign Office in Kenya leading to loss of credibility as a source of national and international news (Carter, 1968).

The Uganda Railway reached Nairobi which gradually became the nexus of economic and political development of British East Africa Protectorate and Anderson & Mayer followed the

colonial government and moved the *African Standard* to Nairobi where it acquired the printing press of the *Nairobi Advertiser*, and to reflect its new ownership, its name was changed to *East African Standard* which was turned from a weekly to a daily newspaper on May 24, 1910 (Gadsden, 1980).

Anderson & Mayer incorporated East African Standard Limited after the end of World War I, on March 5, 1918, with J.F. Sherrard as its first shareholder and gradually, the *East African Standard*, which then cost 50 cents at the time, became the ‘town crier’ of settler hegemony when *The Leader of British East Africa* folded in 1922 after 14 years of continuous publication (Omanga, 2010). By 1939 the *East African Standard* had a Kiswahili version, *Baraza*, which has since folded. Over the years, the *East African Standard* and its predecessor, the *African Standard*, formed the backbone of what is today the Standard Group Limited (owned by Baraza Ltd), of which *The Standard* is its flagship daily newspaper.

In the early days, the media was a three-tier strata: the White settler press which maintained status quo of the power elite, the Asian press which raised issues pegged on class struggle, and African indigenous press like the Kikuyu *Muigwithania* (the Reconciler) and *Mumenyere* (the Guardian) and Dholuo publications like *Ramogi* and *Nyanza Times*, which were spurred by Kenya’s freedom struggle (Omanga, 2010). The mass media then was still regulated by the 1906 Newspapers Ordinance Act, a draconian law that muzzled nationalistic press, with several repeals that culminated in The Newspaper Ordinance Act of 1950 that controlled ‘seditious’ local publications such as *Sauti ya Mwafrika* (Voice of the African) and *Inoororia Agikuyu* (The Agikuyu Sharpener) (Oriare, 2008), but the declaration of the State of Emergency in October 20,

1952 to curb the *Mau Mau* revolt saw the colonial government banning all vernacular press on grounds of state security and, forthwith, publications such as *The Kenya Comment* became instruments of bigotry (Barton, 1979). The liberal *East African Standard* carried content that hardly crusaded for the African cause, but after independence in December 12, 1963, it began balancing the treble role of court jester, whistle-blower and activist (Aisle, 1967).

It was not until the State of Emergency was lifted in 1960 did the colonial government moderate its stand against the media. But after Kenya's independence in December 12, 1963, the relationship between the State and the press was such that the media could be used for propagating the development agenda, but still cracked down upon after negatively exposing the government. A case in point was the detention in 1975 of freelance journalist Koigi wa Wamwere, later MP for Nakuru North Constituency (now Subukia), after writing articles critical of President Mzee Jomo Kenyatta's administration in the defunct *Sunday Post* newspaper, even as his regime still managed to incorporate media through 'coercion and co-option' (Ogola, 2011) in cementing the development agenda during his 15-year presidency until his death in August 22, 1978.

But the same was not the case with Daniel arap Moi, the second President for 24 years, from August 22, 1978 to December 30, 2002 as his single-party dictatorship saw a clamp-down on alternative press. In the absence of press laws, detention of journalists and editors became common place (Ogola, 2011) during the democratic struggles, spewing a contest for 'perspective' and 'readership', which also forced government to become a major player in the media industry (Omanga, 2010) through ownership and control of the national broadcaster,

Kenya Broadcasting Corporation and buying *Nairobi Times* newspaper from Hilary Ng'weno and renaming it *Kenya Times*. This scenario saw the emergence and demise of many publications besides changes in content as government reined in on limited media freedom. But the onset of a multiparty state from 1991 saw unprecedented media growth coupled with intense competition among players (Omanga, 2010) and the media gradually began tilting from traditional news content to being vehicles of entertainment, commercial appeals and purveyors of sensationalized 'hard news' as part of a shift from the 'development model' of journalism to the 'market model' (Ogola, 2011) to create, in media interest, a more business-friendly environment.

1.2.1 Tabloid Press in Kenya

Tabloid press in Kenya dates back to the weekly periodicals *Target* (English) and *Lengo* (Kiswahili), which were launched by the National Christian Council of Kenya (NCCCK) in 1964 (Maoggi & Tessier, 2001). These publications carried purely religious content, with their combined circulation reaching 7,000 copies before the stewardship of Reverend John Schoffield saw the introduction of stories on political and social issues which buoyed its circulation to over 20,000 (Maoggi & Tessier, 2001). While *Target* and *Lengo* have since ceased publication, they were the forerunners of tabloid press for the media in Kenya, where press freedom is enshrined in Article 33 of the Kenya Constitution. The Constitution of Kenya guarantees freedom of the media and the State shall not:

Exercise control over or interfere with any person engaged in broadcasting, the production or circulation of any publication or the dissemination of information by any medium; or penalise any person for any opinion or view or the content of any broadcast, publication or dissemination. (Constitution of Kenya)

Chapter Five, Article 79 of the Constitution confers the media with the freedom of expression, freedom to receive ideas and information without interference, freedom to communicate ideas and information without interference (whether the communication is to the public generally or to any persons or class of people). The Constitution of Kenya also guarantees free flow of information, unhindered communication channels and freedom of press enterprise, making it possible for media houses in Kenya to diversify their products, including the publication of tabloid newspapers. Though protected in the Constitution, the freedom to publish tabloid newspapers for mass consumption in Kenya has not been very successful.

The Standard Group, for instance, fashioned its flagship title, *The Standard*, as a spicy tabloid, first in April 6, 1977 when it became Kenya's first newspaper to use colour photographs on the front page and mast head. It reverted to a tabloid again in the 1990s when massive editorial control through significant shareholding by KANU regime operatives after the death of Lonrho chairman, Roland 'Tiny' Rowland on July 25, 1998, was introduced. The new ownership structure led to dependency on government for advertising revenues making *The Standard* susceptible to state control which affected content leading to dwindling sales (Ogola, 2011). To survive, it became a top-red tabloid focusing on apolitical stories, sexual scandals, gossip and the occult. A sample of its headlines included, *Got You!*, with a photo of lawyer John Patrick Machira and his client Grace Wahu Njoroge in a physical confrontation at the High Court over claims of the lawyer refusing to release Wahu's Sh1.5 million. But with limited success as a tabloid, the newspaper reverted to a broadsheet.

The Standard became a tabloid again in January 2009 when it employed bold headlines such as *How Many Were Trapped?* as its lead during the Nakumatt fire tragedy of January 28, 2009, and big pictures (of fire-fighters battling the inferno) were used to emphasise the headline. It also carried human-interest stories with headlines like: *I have not eaten for days – Nangole*, accompanied by an emaciated picture of a Turkana woman superimposed on bordered black background adjacent to the main headline, in January 28, 2009. While readers were attracted by such shock and gore stories, advertisers were not keen to have their products and brands associated with gory and sex scandals leading to a drop, again, in advertising income and hence the reversion to its former broadsheet format¹(Mbaya, 2015).

The Nation Media Group also launched the *Daily Metro*, a tabloid, in 2007 to counter the entry of *The Nairobi Star*. Today, *The Star* newspaper, which is published by Radio Africa Group from Monday to Friday, has since rebranded as “the political voice of Kenya’ with a promise to remain ‘Fresh, Independent and Different.’ But the *Daily Metro*, fashioned after UK’s *Metro* newspaper and meant to be a quick tabloid read for busy urbanites, folded in 2009 due to escalating cost of maintaining office, staff and other operational costs besides dwindling readership, although its Sh20 cover price was half what it cost to buy the *Daily Nation*, a broadsheet. The entry of *The Nairobian* in May 2013 saw the Nation Media Group launch *Nairobi News* in November that year (a name which was changed from *Nairobi Now* as there was a privately owned arts, culture and events website by that name).

¹Doreen Mbaya has been the Standard Marketing Manager since 2013.

Nairobi News was published thrice a week – Monday, Wednesday and Friday – to scoop *The Nairobiian* of any major stories as *The Nairobiian* was published only on Fridays and ran for five days. *Nairobi News* carried tabloid headlines with stories like: *Bishop: How I was forced to crawl out of Fly540 Jet*, *Pangani Bomber Funded Majengo Football Team*, and *How I made Sh175 Million in Just One Day*. It closed down in March 21, 2014 after six months, and its farewell message read in part:

Our brave efforts breaking ground in Kenyan journalism have foundered on the rocks of crippling economic times. Little advertising and slow growth at a time of rising costs made *Nairobi News* survival impossible.” (*Nairobi News*, 2014)

Nairobi News was later revived as an online portal for breaking news, celebrity gossip and sensational stories with headlines such as: *Uhuru blushes after smitten girl shouts ‘nakupenda’*, *Muthama in paternity tussle over girl with two birth certificates*, and *University of Nairobi student was killed over Facebook photo row*. Besides news and tabloid newspapers, both the Nation Media Group and The Standard Group have experimented with sports tabloid newspapers. The Standard Group launched Kenya’s first ever sports tabloid, *Game Yetu!* in November 2012 to ride on the popularity of soccer in leagues like the English Premier League, the Spanish La Liga, French Ligue1, the Italian Serie ‘A’ and the local Premier League (Mbava, 2015) and the Nation Media Group followed suit by unveiling *Sport On!* in January 2013. Published twice a week, *Sport On!* was a 24-page full-colour newspaper meant to ‘shape sports opinion’ and its quality was tailored to ‘resonate with the sporting needs of this country.’ It was closed down less than six months later as it did not attract any advertisers or steady readership,

the same fate that befell *Game Yetu!* which was also eventually closed down in 2015 and turned into an online sports portal.

Sport On! and *Game Yetu* retailed at Sh30 and targeted middle class readers (Mbaya, 2015), but the bulk of international stories were fleshed from Internet sources, which their target audience could access on their smart phones, laptops, and desktop computers as most have access to the Internet. It is instructive to note that tabloid media revolution in modern Kenya began properly in the late 1990s with the resurgence of local music as an urban hip-hop force and with it, musicians who became teen idols spewing a homespun celebrity culture that coincided with the emergence of FM radio stations and the resultant symbiotic relationship between hip-hop artists and broadcast media created a near cult following from urban youth (Omanga, 2010). The youth in Kenya wanted to read more about local celebrities such as actors and musicians and not serious stories even if they were pegged on entertainment, according to a market audience research carried out by Consumer Insight Africa in Kenya in 2005. It was this research that the Standard Group used to improve its Friday *Standard* readership by replacing a magazine called *Friday* with *Pulse* as a magazine pullout to tap into the hitherto ‘evasive’ youth audience (Mbaya, 2015).

Pulse was a runaway success that saw the conservative Nation Media Group launch *Buzz*, a similar pullout in the Friday issue of the *Daily Nation*, and modelled on the content and structure of *Pulse* – mostly celebrity gossip, scandals and music – but later transferred it to the inside pages of the *Sunday Nation*. To counter *Pulse* magazine, which was the key driver of the sales of the Friday edition of *The Standard*, the Nation Media Group launched *ZuQka*, a magazine

pullout in its Friday paper in late 2008. *ZuQka*'s selling point was not only entertainment hinged on celebrity stories and interviews but also online participatory interaction with readers (Omanga, 2010). But after eight years, *ZuQka* magazine was replaced with *MyNetwork*, a Friday pullout magazine targeting college students, in April 2016. *MyNetwork* targets ambitious youth yearning for information that can help them advance their university lives and prepare them for the job market and entrepreneurship (Kimuyu, 2016), with content covering careers, education, mentorship, fashion trends in technology and entertainment.

Fully-fledged tabloid newspapers re-emerged with the Nation Media Group launching the *Daily Metro* in 2007 to counter the *Nairobi Star* (today *the Star*). *Daily Metro*'s editorial content focused on sex, scandals and crimes, before it folded in 2009 citing high operational costs and diminishing readership, while *the Star* culled its 'human interest' tabloid skin for a more political sensational hide, leaving a gap in the tabloid market until *The Nairobian* opened shop in 2013. The print media content since independence has witnessed newspaper content change from grassroots appeals to nationalism, development agenda, democracy, social commentary, entertainment, arts and culture to segmented sensationalism, but there has not been a single publication that blended development communication with tabloid content.

1.2.2 The Standard Group

The Nairobian newspaper is owned by The Standard Group, whose history can be traced back to a Parsee migrant Alibhai Mulla Jeevanjee who founded the *African Standard* in 1902. The *African Standard* catered for early colonial civil servants and the business community. The British gained a foothold in media in 1904 when Jeevanjee sold his interests in the *African*

Standard to the partnership of Mayer & Anderson who renamed it the *East African Standard* (Abuoga & Mutere, 1988). The *East African Standard* became the largest and most influential publication in colonial East Africa, typical of a European people's paper concerned with the happenings in Britain and urging subservience to the settlers, a tune that for a long time remained the tone of other settler-controlled media, including *Mombasa Mail*. Change in the *East African Standard* to identify with the aspirations of Africans was painstakingly slow even after independence. Over the years, the *East African Standard* changed hands until Britain's Lonrho (short for London-Rhodesia) acquired it in 1967. Lonrho was headed by Roland 'Tiny' Rowland, whose death in July 25, 1998 saw Lonrho's reorganization leading to its sale to a group of Kenyan political businessmen who then gained control under Baraza Limited that has majority in The Standard Group which renamed *East African Standard* to the current *The Standard*, its flagship newspaper. The Standard Group now has *The Standard*, *The Standard on Saturday*, *The Standard on Sunday* and *The Nairobiian* in the print division; Kenya Television Network (KTN) and *Radio Maisha* in the broadcast division; *Standard Digital* in online division; and Think Outdoor in the outdoor advertising division.

1.2.3 *The Nairobiian*

The Constitution of Kenya enacted in 2010 created the devolved system of government comprising 47 counties. The Standard Group 'devolved media' to profit from advertising revenue from the county governments through *The Counties*, an independent weekly publication in 2012 ²(Charles Otieno, 2015).

²Charles Otieno has been the Managing Editor of *The Nairobiian* since 2013.

The management of The Standard Group felt that Nairobi as Kenya's capital city needed its own newspaper as its social, economic and political dynamics were different from other counties and *The Counties* would not fit into its social structure, hence the establishment of *The Nairobian* as a tabloid couched with deceptively serious but easy to read stories using everyday language, including headlines in Sheng, Kenya's street language (Otieno, 2015). Sam Shollei, the Chief Executive Officer of the Standard Group, spearheaded the formation of *The Nairobian* in 2012. The tabloid was launched in March 2013.

The Nairobian is published every Friday and is divided into: news, features, sports complimented with political analysis, one-on-one interviews, investigative features, regular columns on health, spirituality, humour, guest columnists, profiles, fashion, city news, national news, art and culture, pin-ups and society pages. *The Nairobian* also has a heavy dose of social, celebrity, corporate political and sports gossip in columns like *Heads Up*, *Power Play* and *Off Side* respectively. While normal broadsheet leisure pages have standard simple and complex crosswords in English, *The Nairobian* has unconventional leisure crossword puzzles in *Sheng* and exclusively local in nature, besides a spread that features four columns; two written in pure Kiswahili – *Jicho Pevu* and *Falsafa za Busara* – and the other two called *Story za Mtaa* written in *Sheng*, Kenya's street language. *Jicho Pevu* and *Falsafa za Busara* are written by television Swahili anchors Mohammed Ali and Ali Manzu while FM radio presenters Mbusi (Githinji Mwangi) of Radio Jambo and King Kafu (Nicholas Cheruiyot) of Ghetto Radio, respectively, write *Story za Mtaa* (Estate Stories) on alternate weeks. *Jicho Pevu*, which borrows its name from an eponymous investigative television series presented by Mohammed Ali on KTN, is hinged on putting leaders to account while *Falsafa za Busara* is an advice column. *Story za Mtaa*

are observations on life in city estates spiced with witty analysis. Like most tabloids, *The Nairobiian* aims at being accessible to its readers and thus presents stories with a heavy stain of pain, shock couched in emotive language, large headlines and extensive use of photos, graphics and colour.

While tabloids dispense with political news, *The Nairobiian* treats them with an equal measure of playful ‘tabloid seriousness.’ Former Prime Minister Raila Odinga was caned by a deranged Lengo Mdzomba during a political rally in Mombasa in October 2014. In the hands of *The Nairobiian*, the incident went beyond a news item to an in-depth analysis of VIP security, complete with a response from Raila Odinga on the incident and a profile of Lengo Mdzomba with an accompanying interview to flesh out his motives. *Uhuru Smoked in my Car-Mutahi Ngunyi*, is another headline that underpins the ‘tabloid seriousness’ of *The Nairobiian* as it was mined from a simple statement during a January 2014 interview with political analyst Mutahi Ngunyi, in which he denied rumours of being President Uhuru Kenyatta’s political advisor as Kenyatta’s actions at the time showed a leader who was a ‘political greenhorn’. The same Mutahi Ngunyi, posted an August 2015 tweet in jest saying ‘Luos are poverty stricken’ and *The Nairobiian* took issue with the slur against a whole community and, shortly, Ngunyi was facing ‘hate speech’ charges in court pressed by LSK who wrote to the NCIC complaining of the slur.

A simple rumour or innocent tweet in the hands of *The Nairobiian* is milked and framed into viable content that provides readership value, boosting its circulation to its target audience. The founding Managing Editor of *The Nairobiian* is Charles Otieno, a one-time editor of *Pulse* magazine. A graduate of economics from the University of Nairobi, with a bias and passion for

media, he was tasked with spearheading *The Nairobiian* as a dominant weekly in the Kenyan print media market. The first March 2013 issue of *The Nairobiian* carried the headline ‘Secrets of city’s exclusive sex den, ‘and sold over 12,000 copies while the second issue with a headline that revealed former Cabinet Minister and 2013 presidential candidate Raphael Tuju had filed for divorce following an adulterous relationship between his wife, Ruth Akinyi and Tony Ogunda, a young GSU officer assigned to Tuju’s Karen home shot sales to over 30,000 copies. The Tuju story was picked by other media outlets, including the *Daily Nation*, giving *The Nairobiian* instant recognition and early credibility (Otieno, 2015).

The *Daily Nation* gave a similar background to the story by explaining that the cause of the divorce was Tuju’s wife having an affair with Ogunda whom Tuju named in his divorce petition at the High Court where he sought to end his 27-year marriage to Akinyi with whom he had three children. Ogunda also had a pending criminal case at the Milimani Law Courts, where he had been charged with sending offensive messages to Tuju. While it reported in sober tones, *The Daily Nation* took a slightly tabloid tinge when Ogunda was found dead that July. Some of its headlines read: *Man in Tuju divorce saga found dead, Tuju’s wife quizzed over lover’s death, Case on Tuju’s wife mental health dismissed, Tuju twins fail to halt mother’s assault case and Police probe Tuju son over Ogunda’s death*. While *The Nairobiian* gave front page treatment with whole pages and pictures devoted to the Tuju story, the *Daily Nation* confined it to the court and news pages, with not more than quarter pages dedicated to the story.

While the Managing Editor of *The Nairobiian* had been given a target of 20,000 copies in the first quarter of 2013 and 50,000 copies in the first year, newspaper sales kept rising and reached

70,000 copies in the first six months, which was 20 percent above its flagship paper, *The Standard* (Mbaya, 2015). Tough economic times and the rise in VAT on newspapers that forced an increase in the cover price of mainstream broadsheets from Sh50 to Sh60 in late 2014 affected sales and *The Nairobiian* too hiked its cover price from Sh35 to Sh40, but sales of *The Nairobiian* kept rising. Within a year and through use of handpicked writers and editors who specialized in having a nose for sex, celebrity gossip and political scandals, investigative reporting and use of ‘Day 2 journalism’ to tell stories not covered by other newspapers, Charles Otieno achieved double his target by hitting over 100,000 copies by December 2014, (Mbaya, 2015).

Indeed, since its inception in 2013, *The Nairobiian* has grown its readership. Its sales currently oscillate between 80,000 and 100,000 copies a week (Mbaya, 2015). It has overtaken both *The Standard on Saturday* that sells around 45,000 copies and *The Standard on Sunday* whose circulation has fallen from 120,000 copies in 2012 to 50,000 copies in 2015³. *The Nairobiian* is second only to the *Sunday Nation* whose 160,000 copies a week circulation (down from 180, 000 copies in 2013) is a dip from the previous 250,000 enjoyed in the five-year period from 2007 to 2013. The *Sunday Nation* has existed for over 50 years while *The Nairobiian* is only three years old in the market, in which time it has increased its cover price to Sh50 in March 2015 but its average weekly sales of 90,000 to 100,000 copies from print orders of about 115,000 copies (Mbaya, 2015) still makes it the dominant weekly tabloid and the most successful product at the Standard Group in over 100 years.

³These figures from the Standard Group Circulation Report were internally generated and could not be verified externally since the media house is not a member of the Audit Bureau of Circulation (ABC).

The market for broadsheets, which communicate government policy and sets the development agenda besides keeping the government in check while informing, educating, entertaining, persuading, warning and providing channels for socio-economic and political ‘surveillance’, has been shrinking, while that of *The Nairobiian*, which also does the same, has been expanding. There is therefore a need to understand the role and nature of development communication in relation to tabloid press in Kenya with a view to roping in policy makers in government, international development agencies, NGOs, development communication experts, practitioners in public relations, advertising agencies, politicians and investors in the media industry on the power of tabloid press in national development, more so its reporting of health issues.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

The role of reporting serious development issues such as health in tabloid press is relatively new and incongruent to the nature of tabloids, which are mostly concerned with sensational scandals and what could pass for frivolous sex stories. It is this gap which this research seeks to explore to understand underlying dynamics. Indeed, as a tabloid newspaper, *The Nairobiian* carries sensational and scandalous stories yet in its subservient nature also communicates health matters, which is not the domain of tabloid press, not only in Kenya, but elsewhere in the world. The market for broadsheets, which communicate government policy and set the development agenda, has been shrinking, and that of *The Nairobiian*, which also does the same, has been expanding exponentially.

Since inception in 2013, *The Nairobiian* has grown its circulation which currently stands at over 100,000 copies a week (Mbaya, 2015). It has overtaken both *The Standard on Saturday* that does around 45,000 copies and *The Standard on Sunday* whose circulation has fallen from

120,000 copies in 2012 to 50,000 copies in 2015 (Standard Group Circulation Report, 2015). *The Nairobiian* is only second to *The Sunday Nation's* 180,000 copies a week (down from 250, 000). *The Sunday Nation* has been in existence for over 50 years while *The Nairobiian* is only three years in the market. There is thus need to understand the role of successful tabloid press in development communication in Kenya, specifically its reporting of health matters.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

1.4.1 General Objective

The general objective of the study was to explore the reporting of health issues in *The Nairobiian*.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

The study was guided by the following specific objectives:

- i. To explore the type of health issues reported in *The Nairobiian*.
- ii. To explore how journalists and editors of *The Nairobiian* frame, prime and set the agenda on health issues.
- iii. To explore whether *The Nairobiian* adheres to the Code of Conduct for the Practice of Journalism in reporting health issues.

1.5 Research Questions

- i. What health related issues are covered by *The Nairobiian*?
- ii. What is the nature of agenda setting, framing and priming of health issues in *The Nairobiian*?
- iii. What journalistic practices does *The Nairobiian* employ in communicating health issues?

1.6 Justification and Significance of the Study

The justification for this exploratory research of *The Nairobiian* as a case study is to understand how health, as a development communication issue, is reported in tabloid press whose staple fodder in terms of content is hinged on scandalous and not serious issues such as health. This study explored how tabloid press report health matters, which in the case of *The Nairobiian* does not conform to the nature of the furniture found in tabloid press.

This study has been undertaken at a time when newspaper readership around the world is facing serious drops in circulation due to general poor economic performance and competition from other sources of information, especially new media sources such as *Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Snapchat, Flickr, WhatsApp, blogs, Pinterest* and *Instagram*. The circulation of *The Nairobiian*, which is a tabloid, on the other hand, has not only been rising, but also has received acceptance in the market. It has witnessed an increase in corporate advertisers who, hitherto, would not have ordinarily associated their products and brand equity and corporate image with a tabloid newspaper. This study is thus significant in understanding the success of *The Nairobiian* as a tabloid newspaper that combines health related agenda in its tabloid content and the important role such a blend of furniture plays in development communication. Ultimately, this study should aid in changing perceptions of policy makers in government, development communication experts, and investors in the media industry. Hopefully, most will try employing tabloid press as a channel of disseminating serious development issues on health besides helping in overhauling how print media reports on health issues in Kenya.

1.7. Scope and Limitations of the Study

This research sought to understand the nature of development communication in tabloid press with emphasis on health reporting. Its scope was pegged on *The Nairobiian*, the major tabloid newspaper in Kenya today. The study was limited to 52 issues of *The Nairobiian* newspaper published between January and December 2015.

This study relied on secondary. The data were sourced from *The Nairobiian* and not the other tabloid newspapers in Kenya. It also does not include how other media such as television, tabloid FM radio stations and tabloid social media blogs and websites disseminate information on health issues.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Overview

This chapter presents a broader overview of existing literature that supports this study. It provides a brief historical background on tabloid press, its positive and negative roles as well as the nature of tabloid press in general and Kenyan print media in particular, with emphasis on the role played by tabloids in agenda setting, framing, and priming of serious national discourse.

2.1 Historical Background

The word ‘tabloid’ (the combination of tablets and alkaloids) has pharmaceutical origins in 19th Century England where London-based Wellcome & Co. introduced tiny tablets to a market that previously used medication in powder form. Alfred Harmsworth (Lord Northcliffe) stole the pill term and used it for his newspaper, the *Daily Mail*, which was founded in 1896 (Ornebring & Johnsson, 2004). Lord Northcliffe fashioned the *Daily Mail* like a small, concentrated, effective pill containing all news needs within one handy package, half the size of the mainstream broadsheets and, gradually, the term ‘tabloid’ connoted compressed items that made consumption easier and less clumsy. In Kenya though, this definition is different in that all newspapers are broadsheet in size – as they’re all the same in size – but some, like *The Nairobiian*, are tabloid by the nature of their sensational furniture. Mainstream broadsheet newspapers in Kenya like the *Daily Nation*, *the Star*, *The People Daily*, *Business Daily*, the *Sunday Nation*, the *Standard on Sunday* and *The East African* all carry stories heavy on gloomy news about politics and political analysis and conflict, all considered negative by most readers to

whom a diet of bad news is unhelpful and unhealthy in the face of good news being given a short shrift by editors (Mwaura, 2015).

Lord Northcliffe employed the mixture of content, layout, pricing, distribution and unorthodox marketing strategies to reach a mass audience for his newspaper (Ornebring & Johnsson, 2004). These tactics are still in use today as *The Nairobiian* carries stories on terrorism, ethnic strife and cut-throat politics, but the angles it takes makes for interesting, entertaining and refreshing reading when they are given context, backgrounding and usability beyond mere reportage. The term ‘tabloid’ shortly made its entry into journalism to mean condensed newspapers and the simplified sensational style reporting on celebrities, gossip, scandals, crime, entertainment and human-interest features with ‘thrilling’ twists, besides prominent use of big, bold headlines and large photographs (Xiaoming, 2002). All these elements are evident in the character of *The Nairobiian* in Kenya, where ‘tabloid’ is widely understood in line with the aforementioned description including its Sh50 pricing, which is Sh10 less than the broadsheets. But the process of tabloidization gained currency when, in a bid to increase circulation, newspapers introduced sections for sports and entertainment (Assar, 1999) and the two areas exploited the personalities and personal lives of sports and entertainment celebrities as fodder for the gossip pages.

Tabloid press thus centres its interest on what could be considered less newsworthy in some highbrow quarters due to exploitation of elements of secondary importance that are framed with prominent foregrounding (Malovic & Vilovic, 2005). In the case of *The Nairobiian*, this is hinged on combining entertainment with hard news which is given light angles with its daring and

sensational stories on pastors caught pants down with the wives of their congregants or wife swapping trends in the city. The aforementioned highbrow quarters, read broadsheets, also shun the bizarre such as stories detailing confessions of a mother who slept with her son. Even in sports, the revelation of track star David Rudisha's off-season form leads to a scandalous sports story about his injury and the cause of being off-form as having been caused by his wife who caught him cheating with another woman. *The Nairobiian* and its choice of content is deliberately done to differentiate it from other mainstream newspapers, giving it an air of newsworthy freshness through priming stories that *The Standard*, *Daily Nation*, *the Star* and *The People Daily* would hardly touch or publish as briefs.

Indeed, tabloid newspapers employ the three S: sex, sport and scandal, with the 'tabloid reporter' being perceived as sleaze personified: a slimy, pushy nuisance working in shabby offices, willing to do anything to dig up dirt and invent preposterous stories (Xiaoming, 2002). Tabloid press in general is seen as less interested in following ethics and professional standards in pursuit of stories. But what is considered tabloid in the West may not necessarily be so in Kenya although strong similarities appear in the face of the content and not the size of a newspaper being the determinant of what is tabloid as opposed to broadsheet as earlier explained (Omanga, 2010). Tabloid press is thus not uniform internationally, and has to be scrutinized in the context of its specific environment depending on particular cultural, historical and heritage factors (Esser, 1999). In the UK where tabloids are the staple of media diet, for instance, the *Daily Mail* is middle-market, but *the Sun*, is an unapologetic, over-the-top tabloid, but they rarely carry health stories, including online health reporting, unlike UK broadsheets which carry mostly health

stories, with diabetes and sexual health as lead areas, a scenario that is replicated in the USA (McCaw et al, 2014).

Broadsheets in Kenya, on the other hand, focus 70 percent of their content on politics without a corresponding importance being levelled on health reporting in a country that badly needs medical journalism (Martin, 2011). While in the UK tabloids focus on individual case histories with emphasis placed on sensationalism, lack of objectivity and clear view points (Beaulieu, 2016), *The Nairobiian* does the exact opposite as this study reveals.

In Uganda, however, the nine years of the late Idi Amin's dictatorship from 1971 to 1980 forced the people to endure such gory incidents of political murders and scandals, in effect making the shocking stories found in the country's full-blown red sheets 'normal' and thus acceptable for mass consumption.

Uganda's tabloids, namely, the *Red Pepper*, *Rolling Stone* and *The Onion* thus carry blood and gory front-page stories, which are not deemed to be out of line with public taste. *Red Pepper's* headline *Exposed: Uganda's Top 200 Homos Named*, included prominent names such as Ugandan gay activist Pepe Julian Onziema, a Ugandan music star and a Catholic priest; and that in a country of harsh anti-gay laws that sentences the guilty to death. Homophobia saw gay rights activist David Kato killed when such a list was published in 2011 in a country where gays are routinely lynched in public. *Red Pepper's* headline was part of its no-holds-barred tabloid journalism which works in its social-cultural and historical context.

In Kenya, the country's miniscule tabloid press, of which *The Nairobiian* plays a prominent role, has managed to vary the daily news agenda using tabloid tactics that generate weekly content that entraps and exploits its subject such that treatment of social issues is skewed towards entertaining stories on lifestyle and celebrities mostly motivated by increasing commercialization and competition in a context of decreasing 'traditional values' (Omanga, 2010). Omanga further argues that the tabloidization of print media in the Kenyan context emerged due to reader obsession with politics blended with a whiff of scandal and entertainment, with emphasis on individuals – mostly politicians, prominent business people and pastors – rather than the wider systems in which they operate vis-à-vis the public and taking a focus on the 'dramatic', that is, sex, violence and scandal.

2.2 The Positive Role of Tabloid Press

The media, more so print media, is important in flagging off important development issues and raising public awareness on the same, and it can be an important interface between the public, policy makers, government agencies and development experts. And while historically tabloids have been synonymous with 'bad' journalism, their 'journalistic other' has elements that have served the public good as well, if not better than, journalism considered to be more respectable (Ornebring & Johnsson, 2004). This it has achieved through positioning itself as an alternative to the issues, forms and audiences of the journalistic mainstream – as an alternative public sphere. The content of tabloid press has stories presented in accessible, everyday language and the nature of 'soft news' attracts a huge following and ranks among the top three news formats, giving tabloids a distinctively important place in the hearts of newspaper readers (Ornebring & Johnsson, 2004).

2.3 The Negative Role of Tabloid Press

The print media in general can play negative roles due to its profit-oriented nature of focusing on what is sensational, even in serious development issues, with an eye on increasing circulation and attracting more readers and advertisers. Tabloid press panders to the lowest common denominator of public taste. It simplifies, personalizes and thrives on sensationalizing scandals and is thus perceived as lowering the standards of public discourse (Ornebring & Johnsson, 2004). Worse, tabloid press can be a threat to real development issues on democracy, rule of law, security, governance, infrastructure, corruption, service delivery, justice, health, gender, education, labour, rural and urban development and poverty, by mostly exploring and highlighting the trivial elements in serious issues. Development indicators also encompass life expectancy, natural resources, environmental conservation, the economy, technology, globalization, access to information, energy, agriculture and food security, housing, social protection and social cohesion, foreign aid and external debt, population growth, human capital. It can breed cynicism and lack of interest when it focuses on scandals and not the real issues (Ornebring & Johnsson, 2004).

The fleeting nature of stories in tabloid press is such that they lack in-depth analysis and follow up, as development communication in the media is more of reportage than routine duty. The extensive local media coverage of the personalities involved in the multimillion-shilling National Youth Service scandal in 2015, and not what the money was earmarked for, is quite illustrative. Media houses also suffer scarcity of journalists specifically trained in development communication. It is against this background that the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in collaboration with the Ministry of Information and Communications developed a

four-year project with the long-term objective of building capacity specifically among media professionals to entrench a culture of communicating for development (UNDP, 2008). A key player in this goal was roping in the University of Nairobi's School of Journalism, where Development communication was introduced as an independent course in undergraduate Journalism and Mass Communication degree studies in 2008 and at the Master's degree level in 2013. Previously, there was hardly any training for media practitioners in this area as students only specialized in print media, broadcast journalism and public relations.

The other institution roped in was the Media Council of Kenya that was funded by UNDP to conduct mentorship programmes and trainings on thematic areas such as governance, youth, environment, climate change and human development, which began in 2010, besides awards for excellence in development reporting. Development communication calls for media to carry out positive development tasks in line with nationally-established policy, like Kenya Vision 2030, which is the country's economic blueprint to achieve middle-income status by the year 2030. But due to the freedom of the media as enshrined in the Constitution, the State, which plays the biggest part in development, cannot interfere with mainstream media either through censorship, state subsidies or direct control or restrictions to advance the development agenda.

The lack of dedicated sections reserved exclusively to development issues as newspapers did away with health and education pages in favour of entertainment did not help matters. The Nation Media Group ran *Horizon* magazine inside the *Daily Nation* on Thursdays and *Blackboard* on Saturdays, which addressed health and education issues respectively. They were both discontinued. *The Standard* had *Health Digest* and *Straight Up*, which were discontinued

while *Development Agenda* was a now defunct monthly magazine with limited circulation and thus did not enjoy mass appeal. This situation is further compounded by the nature of print media being elitist in language and perception and thus not the most effective conduit of breaking down development issues, but the inclusion of health reporting as a category in the Annual Journalism Awards fronted by the Media Council of Kenya to encourage health journalism might be a step in correcting the disparity.

2.4 Tabloid Press and Development Communication

That the media plays a crucial role in nation building with newspapers being indispensable tools of bottom-up reporting, cannot be gainsaid (Wallace, 2005). But does tabloid press, despite its modus operandi bordering on sensationalized reporting of scandals and gossip, have a role to play in health communication? Despite the sensational approach of tabloid press and the negative public perception of reporters working for them, media professionals in tabloid media do not differ fundamentally with their counterparts in mainstream broadsheets in terms of academic qualification and training (Turnbull (1995) in Ornebring & Johnsson, 2004) as they all receive the same set of training in interviewing skills, writing, media law and ethics, besides adhering to the same standards of professionalism. Indeed, tabloid press can be an effective channel for framing, priming and setting health agenda by serving as an ‘alternative public sphere,’ considering that tabloid press is more in tune with societal changes than traditional media (Thompson (1995) in Ornebring & Johnsson, 2004).

Indeed, the media as a ‘mediated public sphere’ can be used by the voiceless, in the case of Kenya, the lower classes and the marginalized, to be visible and have their voices heard. The media landscape that has tabloid press provides a ‘public sphere’ from which marginalized

groups strive to gain access to and representation (Thompson (1995) in Ornebring & Johnsson, 2004). Public engagement is part of participatory development communication in many areas including health.

Two, tabloid press, by going against the grain of mainstream media, attracts new publics to which it speaks about issues previously ignored, and in new, clearly understandable ways (Thompson (1995) in Ornebring & Johnsson, 2004) and thus is more effective in affecting social change and creating public debate. Three, tabloid press is more in touch with everyday issues of its readers. For example, *The Nairobiian* has *The Nairobiian Defender* which is dedicated to social justice issues affecting its readers making it more effective as a tabloid since it represents, according to (Sparks, 2000), a broadly anti-elitist, populist discourse that can provide coverage of issues of more direct concern to its audience than the prestige press.

From this literature review, one can safely conclude that tabloid press has historically been part of media and has its own timeless appeal, hence its staying power. In both its worst excesses and most subversive moments, tabloid press somewhat represents the failure of other societal institutions like the mainstream prestigious press and traditional power structures in tackling issues of vital importance to the public. That means tabloid press, in its tireless crusading journalism aimed at overall public good, can effectively stimulate political participation by employing sensational headlines and shocking narratives to address a wide range of issues that can drive social change. Indeed, beneath appealing to emotions, senses and feelings, tabloid press can play a greater role that can also force the rational mind to take action, and in the long run, shocking headlines and sensational narratives can be portent tools in health communication.

2.5 Theoretical Frameworks

Theories are formulated to explain, predict and understand phenomena besides challenging existing knowledge within the limits of critical bounding assumptions (Swanson, 2013). Theoretical framework consists of concepts, and with reference to relevant scholarly literature, is employed in a particular study and serves as the structure that holds theory of a research study together and explains why the research problem is subject to the theory in use. In other words, the theoretical framework connects the researcher to existing knowledge and guided by a relevant theory, the researcher has a basis for selecting appropriate research methods. This study will therefore use a combination of theoretical frameworks to understand the meaning, nature and challenges associated with development communication in tabloid press, specifically the coverage of health issues in *The Nairobiian*.

2.5.1 Agenda-Setting Theory

Agenda-setting theory (McCombs, Shaw & Weaver, 1968) describes the ability and power of the mass media to give prominence to issues thus influencing public opinion on them. McCombs, Shaw and Weaver investigated presidential campaigns in 1968, 1972 and 1976 in America with a focus on two elements: awareness and information. Investigating the agenda setting function of the mass media, they attempted to assess the relationship between what voters in one community said were important and what the media presented as important during the campaigns. They concluded the mass media exerted significant influence on what voters considered to be major issues during the campaigns.

Agenda-setting theory thus sees the transfer of salience from the mass media pictures of the world to consumers of mass media products and the media agenda becomes the public agenda.

Assumptions of this theory are that the mass media does not reflect reality but actually filters and shapes it, and media construction of a few issues leads the public to perceive them as more important than other issues. Agenda-setting theory is employed in this research through carrying out a content analysis of *The Nairobiian* to establish how editors, who are gatekeepers between what reporters gather and what readers consume, employ the agenda-setting role of the media to communicate health issues and whether such reporting sets the health agenda in a tabloid context in view of what writer Bernard Cohen said in 1963:

The press may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about.

2.5.2 Health Belief Model Theory (HBM)

The health belief model theory (Hoch Baum, Rosenstock & Kegels, 1950) rests on the premise that an individual will take a health issue seriously if they receive information to that effect. First developed in the 1950s and tested on the American public health services, the theory is a psychological model that attempts to explain and predict health behaviours by focusing on attitudes and beliefs of individuals. The theory has been applied to a broad range of health behaviours and subject populations with three broad ones being preventive health behaviours such as promoting health issues in dieting and exercise, risk behaviours like smoking, following recommended medical regimens (sick role) and clinic use which is a call to seek medical treatment (Conner & Norman, 1996).

The theory also postulates that people act on health information depending on four constructs representing perceived health threats and net benefits of taking particular action. The four constructs are: perceived susceptibility, perceived severity, perceived benefits and perceived

barriers. Through the health belief model theory, editors and media owners can encourage serious and more receiver-focused way of covering health issues with the aim of improving self-efficacy.

These will be the main theories guiding this study. Reference will be made to other theories such as gatekeeper theory, framing theory and priming theory which will be useful in analyzing story selection, context, and prominence, respectively, accorded development issues in a tabloid newspaper.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Overview

This chapter presents the methodology employed in this study. It discusses the methodological approaches and their suitability to the objectives of this study. This chapter offers a brief discussion of the research besides sampling procedures employed, followed by data collection techniques applied to this study. This includes: population, sample size and selection and the coding techniques used.

3.1 Research Approach

Research approach is a general way of thinking about how to conduct a study, and this research will use the qualitative method, which is primarily exploratory and used to gain an understanding of underlying reasons, opinions and motivations, providing insights into the problem to develop ideas for potential quantitative research (Wimmer & Dominick, 1994). Qualitative approach is also called ethno-methodology or field research and its concepts, data collection tools and data collection methods can be adjusted as the research progresses. It is thus more flexible.

The second research approach is quantitative method of data analysis in which numerical data is generated and transformed into useable statistics to quantify a study problem (Wimmer & Dominick, 1994). The use of both qualitative and quantitative analysis as methods of research are important because the more the data sources the better the validity of the outcome of a case study and the more the research is enhanced during triangulation which is a technique of using two or more methods to validate findings in research (Patton, 2001). Triangulation is an

important method as one technique can never be adequate to shed light on phenomena whereas multiple methods can help facilitate deeper understanding (Patton, 2001).

3.2 Research Methods

3.2.1 Case Study

A case study is a form of empirical enquiry that uses multiple sources of evidence to investigate a contemporary phenomenon within its life context in which the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident (Yin, 1989). A case study is thus qualitative descriptive research used to examine individuals, small groups of people or a group as a whole and over a period of time by deliberately narrowing a broad field of interest into a researchable one and thus bringing the researcher into an understanding of a complex issue of object and can extend experience or add strength to what is already known through previous research. For the purposes of this study, the researcher narrowed down health communication in tabloid press as a case study specifically in *The Nairobiian* since a case study is integral when the research seeks to answer the questions ‘how’ and ‘why’ of the phenomenon under study (Hancock & Algozzine, 2006). The case study of *The Nairobiian* thus helps in understanding ‘how’ and ‘why’ tabloid press covers health issues contrary to the established nature of tabloid newspapers not covering serious issues in development communication.

3.3 Population and Sampling

Population can be people or objects or anything under investigation. Population sampling is the process of taking a subset of subjects that is representative of the entire population and the sample must have sufficient size to warrant statistical analysis. A population of interest depends

on what the researcher is studying (Deacon et al, 2007). This study is interested in how *The Nairobiian* as a tabloid newspaper reports health issues. Qualitative research hardly generates data that can be generalized to a greater population. This study is restricted to how tabloid press reports health issues and not any other area of development communication. The target population in this study is 200 health-related stories carried in 52 issues of *The Nairobiian* between January and December 2015, a year the researcher selected for no apparent academic reason other than that it was the year preceding the beginning of this study.

3.3.1 Types of Sampling Methods

There are two sampling methods: probability sampling and non-probability sampling. In probability sampling, every element of the population has a chance of being selected, thus increasing representativeness of the population and decreasing sampling error. In non-probability sampling, not every element in the population has a chance of being selected, thus increasing the risk of biased data. Some types of probability sampling include random sampling where each individual in the population has an equal chance of being selected, and systematic sampling where samples from a large population are selected according to a random starting point and fixed periodic intervals calculated by dividing the population size by the desired sample size. There is also stratified sampling where a population is divided into groups based on characteristics and then samples randomly selected from each group based on its size.

Examples of non-probability sampling include quota sampling where a researcher deliberately sets a requirement to ensure a particular group is represented, purposive sampling where the researcher purposefully focuses on a particular subset of a population, and convenience sampling where selection of the sample is based on ease of accessibility. For the purpose of this study,

simple random sampling was used to select the first health-related story published in each of the 52 weeks between January and December 2015, thus giving each sample an equal chance of being selected.

3.4 Sampling Frame

A sampling frame is a list of the items or people forming a population from which a sample is taken. This research sampled 52 issues of *The Nairobiian* published between January and December 2015 to explore how tabloid press communicates health issues to its readers. The 200 stories on health issues roughly translate to between three and four health stories per week for 52 weeks. The sample size was drawn through simple random selection of one story per week from the 200 stories meaning the sample size consists of 52 health-related stories published in *The Nairobiian* between January and December 2015. These samples drawn from 52 weeks were considered enough and appropriate for this study since they represented one week in which *The Nairobiian* was published. Health stories sampled in the 52 weeks also represented a third of the 200 stories carried between January and December 2015.

3.5 Data Collection

Data collection is the process of gathering and measuring information on variables of interest to answer stated research questions. For this study, the researcher set to examine newspaper documents, specifically the content analysis to collect data on the population of 200 stories on health issues in the 52 issues of *The Nairobiian* published between January and December 2015. Of these, 52 stories formed the sample size. Besides qualitative method of content analysis of *The Nairobiian*, quantitative analysis was also used in tabulating data, the different health-related

issues such as reproductive health, malaria and health systems and published in the 52 issues of *The Nairobiian* between January and December 2015.

3.6 Data Collection Tools

3.6.1 Interview with Key Informants

The researcher set to interview key informants to gather information on how *The Nairobiian* reports health issues. Those interviewed were the Associate Editor, the Chief Sub-Editor, the Revise Editor, Sub-Editors, and a health reporter/columnist. The interviews were unstructured to give the informants broader latitude on the matter. (See Appendix 1 & 2).

3.6.2 Observation

The researcher works with the organization that publishes *The Nairobiian* and thus set to observe how health issues are reported through analyzing brain storming sessions during editorial meetings besides watching how editors set the agenda, frame and prime health-related stories during production of *The Nairobiian* newspaper.

3.6.3 Coding Procedure

Coding procedure involves perusing data for themes and categories, thus making it easier to draw comparisons and to identify patterns requiring further investigation. For the purpose of this research, coding was done using health categories such as type of health matters covered by *The Nairobiian* to draw the likely stories covered and their frequency, type of headlines used, prominence accorded to health stories and priming of 52 out of 200 stories carried in *The Nairobiian* between January and December 2015.

3.7 Data Reliability and Validity

Data reliability is the degree to which an assessment tool produces consistent results while validity refers to how well a test measures what it is purported to measure. While this research uses 52 of the 200 stories on health matters published in *The Nairobiian* between January and December 2015 and is thus limited in view of the fact that *The Nairobiian* has existed for three years, the outcome of this study is a fair representation of what it set out to achieve in the problem statement.

3.8 Data Presentation

Data presentation is the method by which a researcher summarizes, organizes and communicates research findings using diagrams, charts, graphs and histograms to countercheck results against research objectives and research questions, to describe findings and draw conclusions, policy implications, recommendations and areas for further research. In this research, data is presented in a qualitative descriptive narrative format. Tables, figures and diagrams are used to summarize key findings.

3.9 Research Ethics

Research ethics are rules of conduct in research (Shamoo & Resnik, 2005) and ethics were taken into consideration in the course of this study since all research should be based on authentic and accurate data without fabrication or use of fraudulent material. The researcher set also to inform all informants of what the research questions were being used for besides being objective to avoid individual bias, honesty in data collection and analysis, integrity in observing confidentiality in case of trade secrets and respect for intellectual property.

This researcher successfully defended his research project proposal before a Panel of Examiners on June 3, 2016 and was issued with a Certificate of Fieldwork (See Appendix 3). This researcher successfully defended this research project before the Board of Examiners that sat on October 27, 2016 upon which the researcher was issued with a Certificate of Corrections (See Appendix 4). The research project was further subjected to a plagiarism test by the Quality Control Department and scored at 10 percent which was below the permitted 15 percent. The researcher was issued with a Certificate of Plagiarism (See Appendix 5) and this being the researcher's original work; there is the Declaration of Originality Form to that effect (See Appendix 6).

3.10 Reflexivity

Reflexivity in research is the process of continuous reflection about the role of the researcher and how his/her personal experiences, assumptions and preoccupations affect research decisions, especially the selection and wording of questions (Etherington, 2004). Reflexivity is applicable in the case of this research considering that the researcher works as an editor at the Standard Group which publishes *The Nairobiian* and thus has easy access to issues of *The Nairobiian* from the library, has direct access to key informants besides capacity to engage in observation of editorial decisions from close quarters. While the researcher has familiarity with the subject of research and thus has better understanding of some aspects of the study, his sense of research curiosity on how a tabloid has made serious development issues part of its content was new and thus did little to influence the process and analysis of this research project report.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION

4.0 Overview

This chapter analyzes the data gathered to help in interpretation of the findings after systematically applying statistical and/or logical techniques to describe and illustrate, condense and recap and evaluate data (Shamoo & Resnik, 2005). The results of analyzing 200 stories in 52 issues of *The Nairobiian* will be employed to make conclusions, policy implications and recommendations.

4.1 Description of Sample

The sample population consisted of 200 health stories that were published as expert opinions, hard news stories, feature articles, in-depth analysis and regular health columns. These articles appeared in *The Nairobiian* between January and December 2015. This was the duration the study focused on in analyzing the reporting of health issues in *The Nairobiian*.

4.2 Frame Analysis

Media framing is the way in which information is presented to its audiences and is thus a form of communication as it is a “schemata of interpretation” that enables the audience to “locate, perceive, identify and label” occurrences or life experiences (Goffman, 1974). Entman (1993) redefined framing by specifying that to “frame a communication text or message is to promote certain facets of a ‘perceived reality’ and make them more salient in such a way that endorses a specific problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation. Frame analysis is thus used to examine the ways in which *The Nairobiian*

frames health issues and was used, in this study, to identify the key frames that dominate the reporting of health issues. Frame analysis involves the examination of catch phrases, recurring themes or master narratives, language, leads, repeated patterns, and depiction of health issues in headlines.

Frame analysis also involves the prominence of space accorded health issues in *The Nairobiian* and whether health stories were allocated quarter, half or more than one full page. The prominence of placement of health issues is in respect of where they appeared in *The Nairobiian*. The front page is more prominent than the inside pages while opinion shaped by professionals in the medical field to frame the issue of the day is taken more seriously than that of a mere reporter. Major features and investigative stories set the agenda on important health matters due to the extent of their backgrounding, sources and gravity of the matter being tackled. Finally, in frame analysis, the type of health stories – whether they're hard news, commentaries/opinions or features – will be analyzed to assess how *The Nairobiian* frames health issues, present facts in according health issues more depth and dimension as part of its editorial content.

4.2.1 Public Health

These are stories that revolve around the health of the whole population especially as monitored, regulated and promoted by the state through the Ministry of Health and the Department of Public Health (WHO, 1948). These stories put emphasis on protecting and improving the health of families and communities through promotion of healthy lifestyles, research on diseases, besides the detection and control of infectious diseases. They touch on public hygiene, epidemics, health policies and the effect of the environment on health. *The Nairobiian* has *In-House Doc*, a column

by Dr. Alfred Murage, who notes in *Why El Nino could be bad for your health* (coded 23/10/41/P/1), that though associated with floods and drought (El Nino) has dramatic bearing on public health as “incessant rainfall is associated with waterborne diseases such as malaria, cholera and other intestinal infections. Rodent-borne diseases may also increase as would respiratory illnesses due to exposure to rains and cold temperatures. Another story, *Pharmacists opposed to ‘sickly’ new law on prescription drugs* (coded 13/02/12/P/2), looks at policy issues and notes that “pharmacists and pharmacy technologists are opposed to a new Bill that gives powers to doctors and nurses to ‘distribute’ drugs, saying it exposes vulnerable communities to health risks.”

4.2.2 Health Systems

Stories on health systems revolve around medical facilities, health financing, health information, medical training, medical research, health technology and issues to do with health governance and medical malpractices. Health system is the organization of people, institutions and resources to deliver healthcare services to meet the health needs of the people (WHO, 1948). For instance, the story *Consultation Room: Why doctors shun doctorates* (coded 31/07/35/S/1) dwells on the training of medical doctors and why their demanding jobs forces fewer medics to pursue doctorate degrees. The writer, Dr. Paul Bundi, notes that “doing a PhD will not necessarily make one a better doctor, or lead to more specialization.” And the reasons he give are that “it is not practical to expect an oncologist, for example, to be at the frontline in discovering new cancer genes, new drugs and new modes of delivering drugs. This is better left to basic scientists...the doctor can’t be the engineer and the driver at the same time.” Dr. Mercy Korir in an Op-Ed article, *Postgraduate medical training is sickening slavery* (coded 10/07/16/S/2), concurs that a

medical doctor's full time engagement is too demanding and "apart from clinical work, they also have classes to attend, as well as tutorials to offer junior undergraduates and Kenya Medical Training College learners counterparts" and "the outcome of this is a burnt out doctor with measly pay."

Reporter Irvin Jalang'o's *Nairobi's Killer Doctors* (coded 02/10/01/S/3), on the other hand, delves into medical negligence in the health sector and notes that "from (the year) 2000 to date, Kenyan health authorities have determined 701 cases of alleged malpractice, which is not an accurate indication of the scale of this malaise because many cases go unreported." The story notes that doctors accused of malpractices are normally struggling with myriad issues ranging from alcoholism and other addictions, which may cause "motor impairment, memory lapses, poor decision making and risky behaviour." Besides doctors, there are stories that surveyed the state of health facilities. For instance, *Death sentence: Few beds and high bills spell doom for ICU patients* by Hudson Gumbihi (coded 03/04/14/S/4) delves into the high cost of specialized health care and, in essence, health financing.

For many ordinary folks, however, the admission of a loved one in the ICU is a one-way ticket to bankruptcy. Many families end up selling assets to clear bills, even after conducting numerous fundraisers. Some families seek the protection of courts when hospitals detain bodies over pending bills running into millions of shillings. Getting admitted to the ICU is an expensive misfortune, whose cost is usually far beyond the means of many patients fighting for dear life.

4.2.3 Human Health

Health is a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity (WHO, 1948). Thus, human health stories dwell on the relative state in which a human being is able to function well physically, mentally, socially and spiritually to express the full range of one's unique potentialities within one's environment. Stories on human health dwell on, among other areas, reproductive health, HIV/Aids, embarrassing illnesses, health nutrition, psychiatric care, health trends and traditional medicine. *Put nutrition mpangoni when planning a pregnancy* by Gardy Chacha (coded 21/08/40/H/1) dwells on the health nutrition of mothers and unborn babies while *Kenyan mums inject kids with family planning* by Silas Nyanchwani (coded 15/05/01/H/2) is a reproductive health story in the face of rising teenage pregnancies in Kenya and what parents are doing about it. "Kenyan mothers don't want to be grandmothers early, not when their daughters are below voting age" he writes, revealing that most parents have resigned to the fact that uncontrolled teenage sex is rife "but they don't want their daughters dropping out of school."

Still on reproductive health but this time dwelling on the sexual health of males, Silas Nyanchwani and Cate Mukei note in their story *Sex blues: Men who can't nguruma in bed* (coded 29/05/28/H/3) that this health matter "is a touchy phallic issue that fuels infidelity (from the woman) and marital strife, besides driving men into clinical depression" yet treatment, unknown to most men, is centred on proper counselling and nutrition as it is mostly a result of psychological problems like stress and medical problems like suffering from hypertension. Using Viagra is of little use since the problem is psychological. In *City wives face higher HIV risk than prostitutes* (coded 03/04/07/H/4), David Odongo and Silas Nyanchwani use statistical research

from a survey commissioned by *The Nairobiian* to reveal that “Twenty five percent of married men in Nairobi have unprotected sex with their mistresses” and when you consider that “some married women are just as promiscuous...Nairobi could be sitting on a ticking HIV time bomb.” On matters of mental health, Gardy Chacha writes, in his piece *Not all mental cases are ripe for Mathare* (coded 23/01/40/H/5), that “there is a condition with symptoms that may be construed to be signs of mental disorder: sweating profusely, extreme anxiety...yet these are symptoms of hyperthyroidism.”

Table 4.1 Frequency of Dominant Frames in *The Nairobiian*

DOMINANT FRAME	Sub- frames	Frequency	Percentage
PUBLIC HEALTH	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> √ Hygiene √ Epidemics √ Health policies √ Environment 	6	11.5%
HEALTH SYSTEMS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> √ Health facilities √ Service delivery and safety √ Health financing √ Health information √ Health workforce √ Health governance √ Medical training √ Medical research √ Health technology √ Medicine √ Health systems recovery 	20	38.5%
HUMAN HEALTH	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> √ Reproductive health √ HIV/Aids √ Embarrassing √ illnesses √ Health nutrition √ Psychiatric care √ Health trends √ Traditional medicine 	26	50%
TOTAL		52	100%

Source: Field Survey 2016

From table 4.1, it is evident that three dominant frames are discernible in the analysis of 52 health stories published in *The Nairobiian* between January and December 2015. Among the three dominant frames, framing of human health issues takes half of the stories sampled, with 26 articles out of 52 articles published in the year, representing 50 percent of the total coverage. For instance, *Silent killers: How men 'abort' babies* touches on the role of men in abortions and their aftermath, while *When P-2 gives birth to 'accident babies'* is about the ineffectiveness of birth control pills. *City wives face higher HIV risk than prostitutes* is about HIV/Aids in marriages.

The framing of health systems was also accorded considerable weight, taking 20 stories out of the 52 articles sampled, representing 38.9 percent of the total coverage, as is evident in stories such as *Pharmacists opposed to sickly new law on prescription drugs* and *I clean human matumbo* about a doctor who has opened a clinic dealing with cleaning intestines, indicating the existence of a gap among public health facilities on the same.

Framing public health issues take the least consideration in health reporting as only six stories out of 52 articles dwelt on the subject, representing 11.5 percent of the total coverage. One such story is *You can contract HIV from kinyozi wa ndevu*, about the health dangers of sharing commercial barbers. Under these dominant frames are sub-frames that comprise the main themes making up the dominant frames in each category. The three dominant frames represent the multiple aspects prevalent in the reporting of health issues in a tabloid newspaper in Kenya. This study analyzed how *The Nairobiian* newspaper frames health issues in a tabloid context. This study has provided evidence to support the argument that tabloid press can frame development communication issues, specifically health reporting, just like mainstream broadsheets and thus

help target audience to frame perceptions over the same besides setting the health agenda. The findings answer the question of whether tabloid press can be engaged in serious framing of development issues in a country beyond its prescription of content slanted by sex scandals, celebrity gossip and sensational headlines to lure readers.

Figure 4.1. Frequency of Dominant Frames in *The Nairobi*

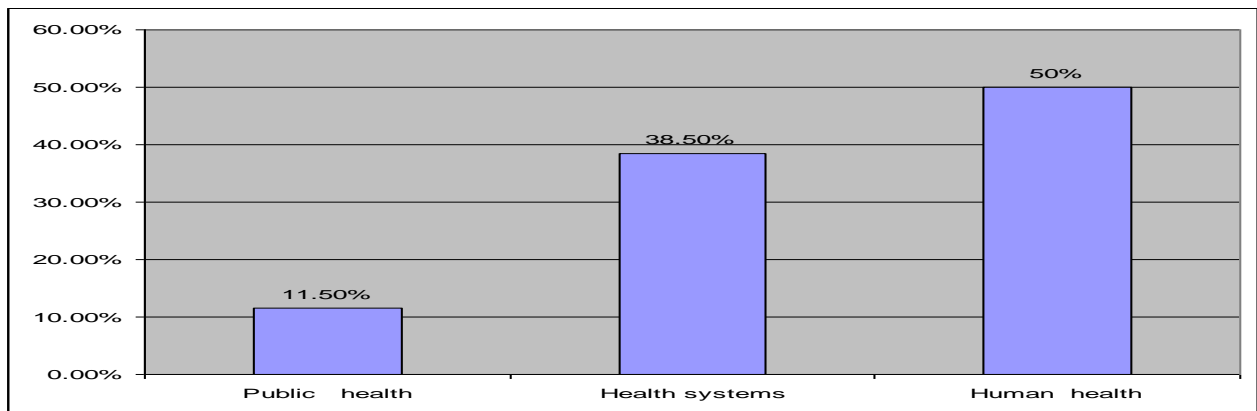
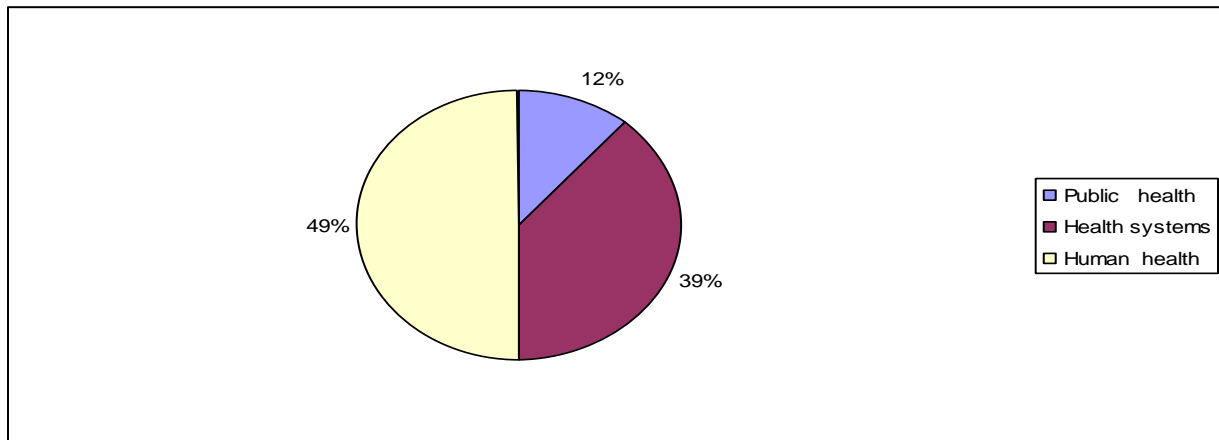


Figure 4.2. Frequency of Dominant Frames in *The Nairobi*



The findings in Figure 4.1 and Figure 4.2 indicate that of the three dominant frames – public health, health systems and human health – the framing of human health issues took half of the sampled stories. Out of 52 stories, a total of 26 articles, representing 50 percent of the total

coverage, dwelt on human health, emphasizing the centrality of the reader in reporting health matters since it is the reader whom the stories are meant to benefit. The findings also reveal that the framing of health systems received considerable coverage taking 20 of the 52 articles sampled, or 38.9 percent of the total coverage. This can be interpreted to mean that human health depends on health systems, which explains why both frames dominate health reporting in *The Nairobiian*. The framing of public health takes the least coverage, with only six out of 52 stories, representing 11.5 percent of the total coverage. This finding can be interpreted to mean that public health is too broad and too general unlike human health and health systems which readers are concerned about. Public health issues take centre stage mostly during epidemics, although that does not mean they are not important. But for a tabloid newspaper, they might not be ‘sexy’ enough for their kind of content.

4.3 Source Analysis

Source analysis is used to analyze the sources of the 52 health-related stories published in *The Nairobiian* between January and December 2015. Source analysis is used to identify sources of information and determine their origin in relation to the frames presented and underlying issues being tackled. It also helps in identifying bias based on occupation, age, race, region, religion, sex, class and political beliefs as information about the characteristics of a message’s source has long been thought to mediate the persuasive potential of the message to either enhance or detract the achievement of attitude or belief changes (Wilson & Sherrell, 1993). Source analysis was done in terms of reporter-generated versus non-reporter generated health issues in *The Nairobiian*, a tabloid whose believability of its racy stories largely depends on credibility of its sources which can lead the target audiences to the process of internalization, identification and compliance with the message (Kelman, 1961).

Reporter-generated sources mostly quoted medical experts including research scientists, skin specialists, gynaecologists, endocrinologists, dermatologists, psychiatrists, paediatricians and general practitioners. Health workers, clinicians, relationship experts, reproductive health consultants, sexologists and sex therapists were also prominent sources in reporting health matters in *The Nairobiian* where health surveys, newspapers like *Mail Online*, the *Science Journal* and the *British Journal of Urology* were also used. Health bodies quoted include the Ministry of Health, the National Aids Control Council and the Kenya Medical Association. Non-reporter generated stories were mostly articles written by medical professionals like Dr. Alfred Murage, Dr. Mercy Korir and Dr. Paul Bundi, who relied on their training, expertise and experience to offer medical insights on a wide range of health matters reported in *The Nairobiian*.

Table 4.2 Frequency of reporter-generated sources of health issues versus non-reporter-generated sources in *The Nairobiian*

Source	Frequency	Percentage
Reporter sources	34	65.4%
Non-reporter sources	18	34.6%
TOTAL	52	100%

In this category, Table 4.2 indicates that reporter sources for health stories comprise the majority, taking up 34 health stories out of the 52 sampled, representing 65.4 per cent of the total coverage. This sample includes staff reporters, in-house columnists and correspondents attached to *The Nairobiian* newspaper. Non-reporter generated sources of health stories take up 18 of the

52 stories, representing 34.6 per cent of the total coverage. These non-reporter generated sources include columnists contracted to write but who are not reporters like Dr. Alfred Murage, a gynaecologist who writes the *In-House Doc*, a permanent health column on page 41. Others are medical doctors who write in the opinion pages, including Dr. Mercy Korir, a medical doctor and specialist in health systems, and Dr. Paul Bundi, a medical doctor and lecturer who contributes in both the opinion pages and *The Common Room* column on page 35.

Figure 4.3 Frequency of reporter-generated sources of health issues versus non-reporter-generated in *The Nairobiian*

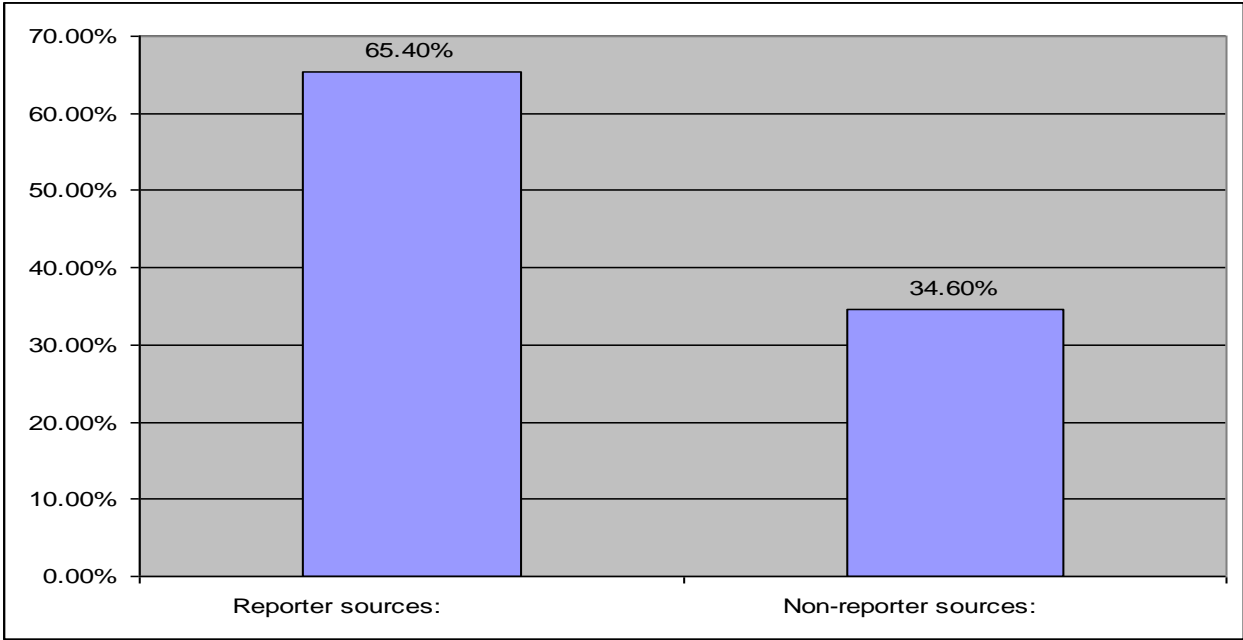
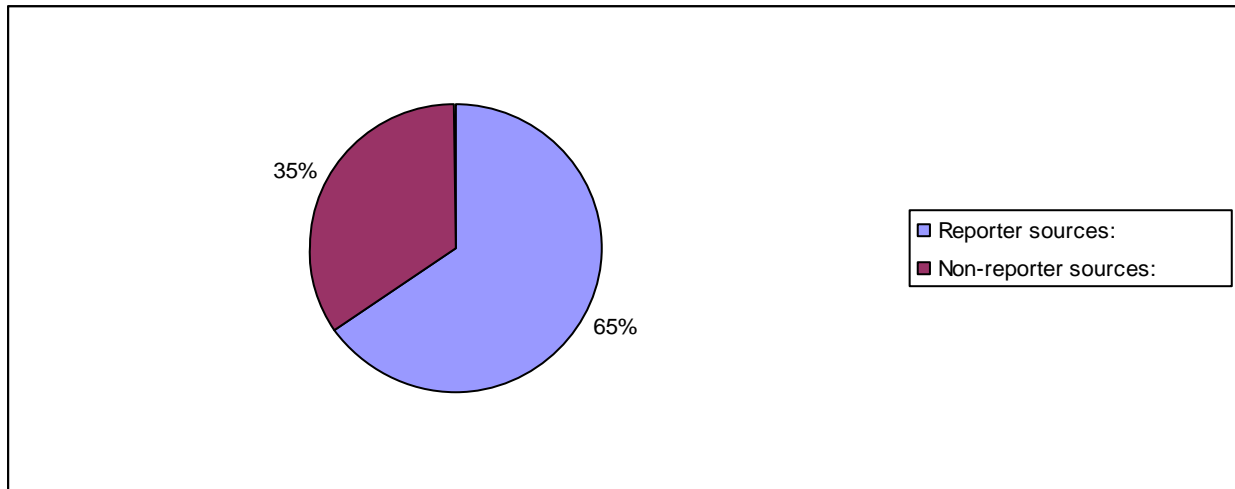


Figure 4.4 Frequency of reporter generated sources of health issues versus non-reporter generated in *The Nairobiian*



The findings in Figure 4.3 and Figure 4.4 above reveal that a majority of health stories are written by *The Nairobiian* reporters and correspondents, which means the health agenda is set by the newspaper and not external interests such as players in the health sector, NGOs, donor agencies, policy makers, health researchers and government ministries. Consequently, it means the writers and correspondents write stories that mirror the needs of Kenyans besides safeguarding objectivity especially when reporting about health systems where officials and parties concerned might conspire to hide or distort facts. The objectivity of reporter-generated sources ensures that relevant authorities take action. Reporter-generated stories are also done with the reader in mind with a view to creating awareness, increasing knowledge, changing attitudes and perceptions and altering behaviour and thus are largely devoid of conflict of interest. Non-reporter-generated stories are mostly from medical doctors who are experts and mostly who are invited to write on various health issues of public interest besides their own submissions. The findings reveal that *The Nairobiian* deliberately selects and provides space for

development communication in general, and health reporting in particular, just like broadsheets newspapers.

4.4 Tone Analysis

Tone is a major part of framing as it refers to the style, mood, manners and philosophical outlook of a communication that says whether the tone is shrill, liberal, moderate or abrasive. Tone can make stories have a positive or a negative connotation as it underpins the way sources, be they reporters or health experts, express themselves, what they decide to say and how they say it (Koneru, 2008). Tone analysis is thus employed in this study to analyze the tone of reporting health issues in *The Nairobiian* in relation to whether health stories are positive, negative or neutral. A positive tone focuses on good aspects of health-related issues and pleasant words are used to portray optimism. A negative tone include use of harsh words, a critical view of health issues besides focusing on the unpleasant aspects while a neutral tone takes the middle path. Among the positive stories included Dr. Alfred Murage's *That bite of nyama choma may not be bad after all* (coded 13/11/41/T/1) in the face of the negative stories bandied about the negative health implications of consuming roast red meat.

On the other hand, Cate Mukei's interview titled *Doctors said Janet had one to five years to live* (coded 20/11/34/T/2) about Janet Kanini, a television anchor who defied medical predictions after being diagnosed with cancer. Her husband, George Ikua, told the reporter of the couple's visit to India where:

The doctor ran all the tests the same day and we had all the results the following day. He walked in when Janet was in the bathroom and broke the news. He told me that my wife had Stage 4 lung cancer. He said she could live for between one

and five years depending on her strength to fight. It is a combination of mental strength, chemotherapy and the right diet.

Of how she was fairing since her return to Kenya from India, George Ikua said:

She is managing well and taking her medication. We bought two suitcases of medication from India and we will be going back there soon for more check-ups.

The story, *Sorry wife, I slept with my patients* by Willis Oketch and coded 20/11/04/T/3 was negative about the morality of medical doctors that even led to the divorce proceedings of the said doctor. The story reported that:

An ageing Mombasa doctor who repeatedly apologised to his wife in writing for ‘injecting’ female patients with the water of life has denied that he is a sex addict. Instead, he is accusing her of infidelity and trying to divorce him and claim his property.

In an affidavit filed in court, the doctor is said to have first apologised to his wife in 2001, when she found condoms in his clinic: “I have today apologised to my wife for having bought condoms with intention of using them. I regret this stupid mistake and ask for forgiveness from her and heavenly direction and forgiveness from the almighty God. I am sincerely sorry.”

But stories like *It’s okay to defy doctor’s orders* by Dr. Alfred Murage and coded 13/11/41/T/4 had a neutral tone while advising readers that:

It can be an agonising decision to defy your doctor’s orders in the face of a disease. But yes, you can decide not to accept anything your doctor recommends depending on specific circumstances. You can decline to be examined, you can decline to undergo some tests and you can also decline to take any proposed medications. There are endless recommendations that your doctor can come up with and equally endless opportunities for you to be defiant.

Dr. Murage explains that “a doctor could be vague about the recommendations. This might leave you unsure about what to accept. Also, the recommended interventions might be way too expensive, in spite of viable effective alternatives.”

Table 4.3 Tone of reporting health issues in *The Nairobi*

Tone of stories	Frequency	Percentage
Positive	22	42.3%
Negative	17	32.7%
Neutral	13	25%
TOTAL	52	100%

In this category, Table 4.3 shows that a majority of health stories are framed positively, that is, 22 of the 52 stories, representing 42.3 per cent of the total coverage. Out of the 52 stories, 17 had a negative tone, representing 32.7 per cent of the total coverage while 13 of the 52 stories had neutral tone, representing 25 per cent of the total coverage.

Figure 4.5 Tone of reporting health issues in *The Nairobiian*

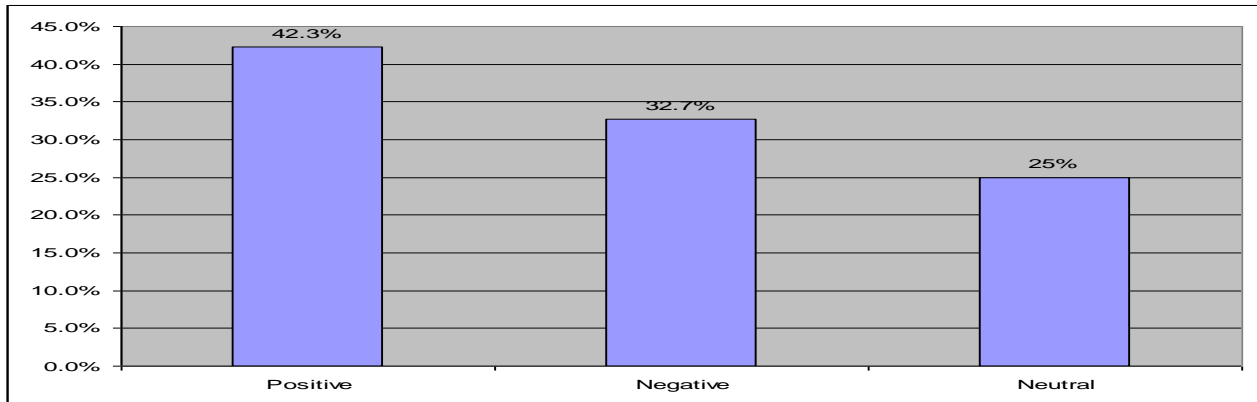
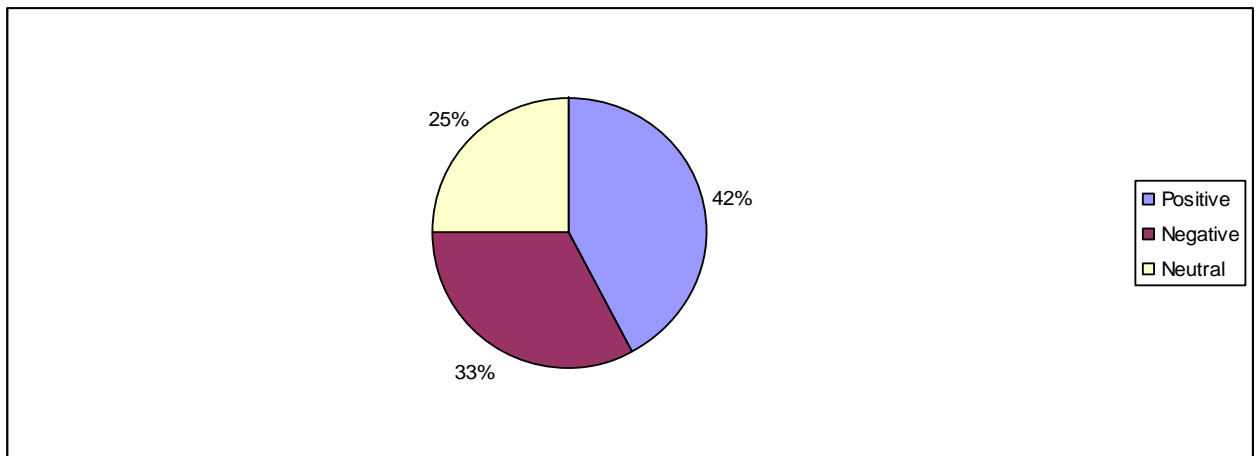


Figure 4.6 A pie chart showing the tone of reporting health issues in *The Nairobiian*



The findings in Figure 4.5 and Figure 4.6 show that *The Nairobiian* carried more positive than negative health stories as opposed to the perception of tabloids as purveyors of negative sensational stories, meaning tabloids can be objective and not only slant issues to excite public emotions. The neutrality of stories (Figure 4.5 and Figure 4.6) can also be viewed in the face of the fact that provision of health in Kenya has been devolved to county governments, thus many Kenyans are able to access healthcare from the different level four and level five hospitals in their counties as opposed to using referral hospitals in major towns, resulting in less complaints

about health. This is reflected in the neutral tone of reporting health issues since many readers have fewer negative views of health services in their respective counties.

4.5 Space, Prominence and Type Analysis

Space analysis looks at the prominence of space a newspaper accords health stories, thus underpinning the significance or lack thereof of health reporting. The frequency of issue coverage influences awareness and imparts a sense of importance about the issue (Michelle et al, 2009) and a full-page story is more prominent than a quarter-page story while an investigative feature on the centre spread is a serious read as opposed to a half-page story in the inside back pages of a newspaper. The prominence of placement is in terms of where health stories appear in the newspaper is concerned with the presentation of articles which attract a reader's attention and the front page is more prominent than the inside pages while opinion shaped by professionals in the medical field frame the issue of the day while editorials represent the voice of the newspaper in setting the agenda on important health matters (Michelle et al, 2009).

The Type refers to stories that are either hard news, commentaries, opinions, editorials, features, interviews and investigative stories which give a medical story backgrounding, framing the issues and presenting facts, insider information and thus giving a health story more depth and dimension, thus influencing how an issue is defined and calls for action (Michelle et al, 2009).

Table 4.4 Prominence of Space

Size	One or More	1/2 Page	1/4 Page	Total
No. of articles	16	12	24	52
Total No. of articles	16	12	24	52
%	30.7%	23.1%	46.2%	100%

Figure 4.7 Prominence of Space

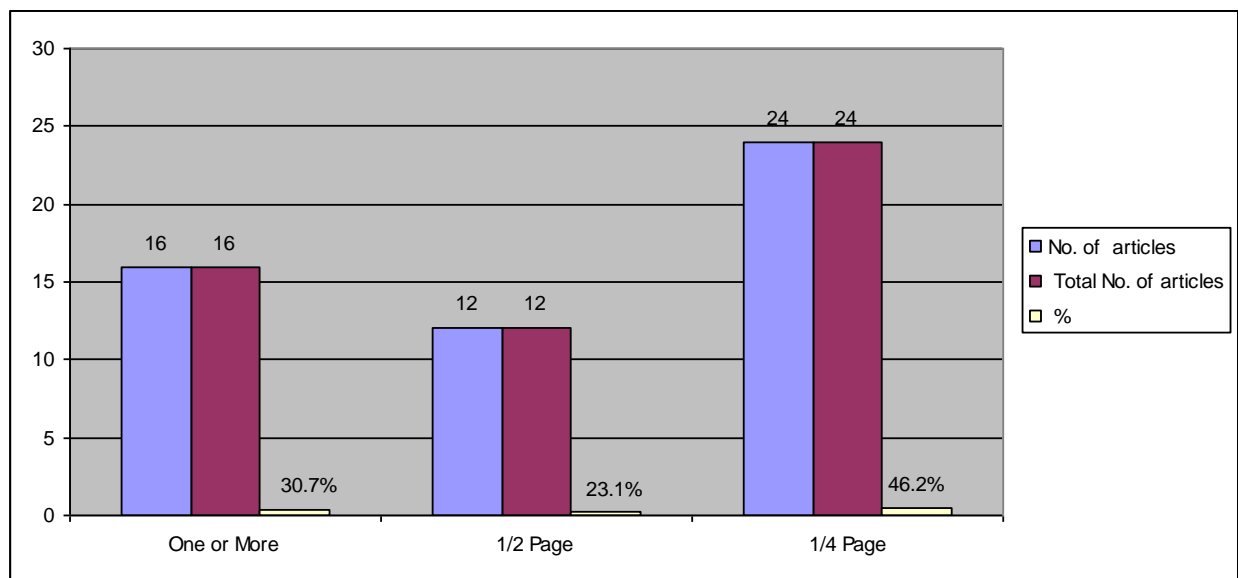


Figure 4.8 Prominence of Space

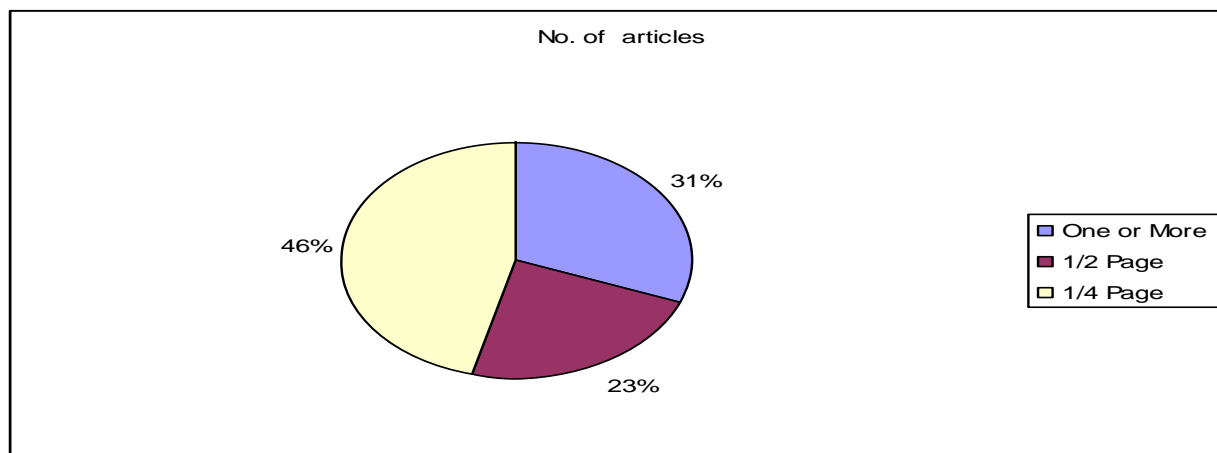


Table 4.4 and figures 4.7 and 4.8 show that out of the 52 articles sampled, 16 stories appeared in one or more pages in the coverage of health stories, representing 30 per cent of total coverage. Twelve stories appeared on half pages, representing 23.1 per cent while 24 of the 52 stories were featured in a quarter of the newspaper space in *The Nairobiian*, representing 46.2 per cent of total coverage. This means health reporting received prominent coverage despite smaller stories taking the majority of health issues.

Table 4.5 Prominence of Placement

	Headline	Page 4-13	Page 14-19	Page 28-41	Total
No. of articles	15	7	6	24	52
Total No. of articles	15	7	6	24	52
%	28.8%	13.5%	11.5%	46.2%	100%

Figure 4.9 Prominence of Placement

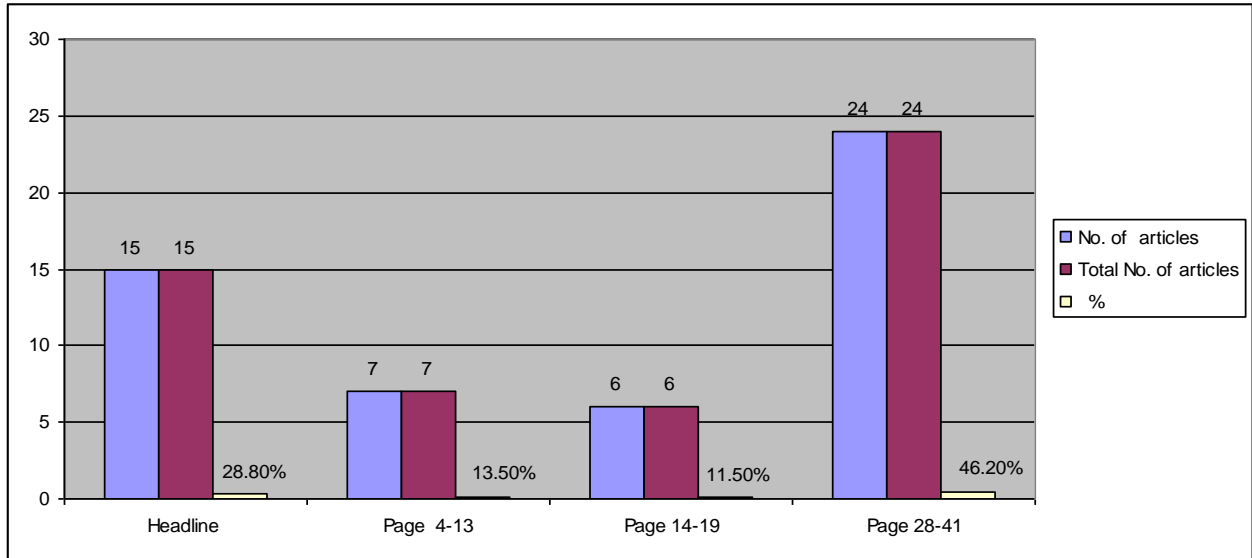


Figure 4.10 Prominence of Placement

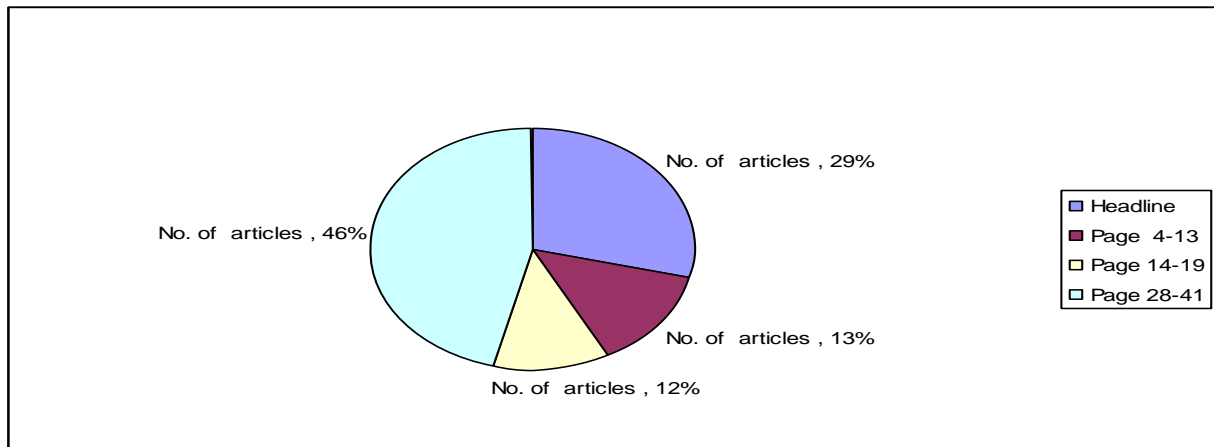


Table 4.5 and figures 4.9 and 4.10 show that 15 stories out of the 52 articles sampled featured as headline stories, representing 28.8 per cent of the total coverage while seven stories appeared in the inside ‘news’ pages between page 4 and page 13. The investigative and features pages are between 14 and 19, and six out of the 52 stories appeared in these pages, representing 13.5 per

cent of the total coverage. Features pages and columns are in the inside pages (pp. 28-41) where 42 stories appeared, representing 46.2 per cent of the total coverage.

These findings mean a majority of health stories covered in *The Nairobiian* were either front-page stories or feature stories, with news stories receiving short shrift. *The Nairobiian* thus gave prominence to health reporting in placing the stories on the front pages where they receive prominence and are taken more seriously while feature pages have double-page spreads ensuring the topic under review is given adequate prominence. The other stories in pages 28-41 are regular health columns like *Over the Counter* by Gardy Chacha and *In-House Doc* by Dr. Alfred Murage.

Table 4.6 Type

	Hard News	Opinion	Features	Columns/Interviews	Total
No. of articles	14	6	10	22	52
Total No. of articles	14	6	10	22	52
%	27%	12%	19%	42%	100%

Figure 4.11 Type

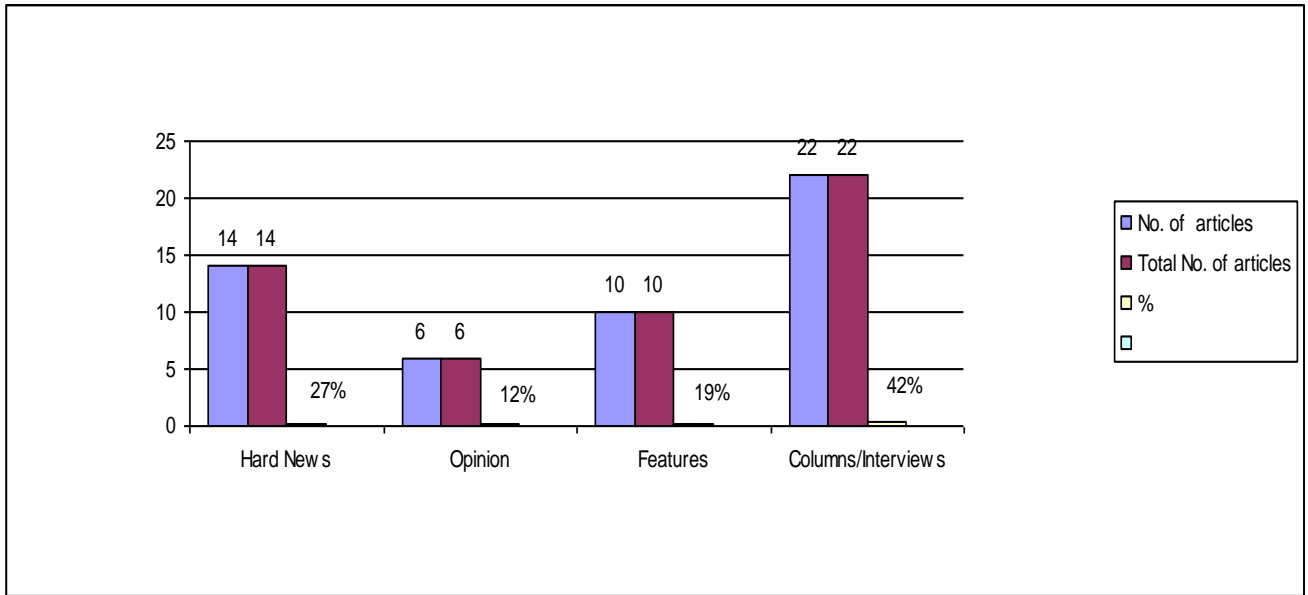


Figure 4.12 Type

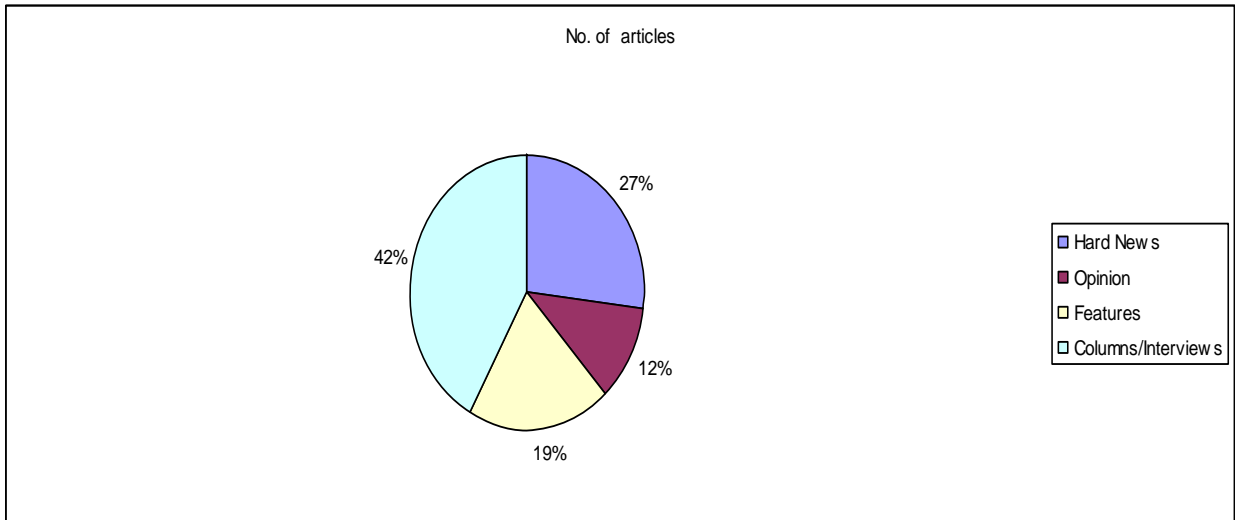


Table 4.6 and figures 4.11 and 4.12 show the type of health stories that were covered by *The Nairobiian* between January and December 2015. Hard news articles were 14 out of the 52 stories, representing 27 per cent of the total coverage. Opinion pages carried six out of the 52 stories, representing 12 per cent of the total coverage. There were 10 out of 52 health stories, representing 19 per cent of the total coverage while columns and interviews took 22 stories of the 52 articles sampled, representing 42 per cent of the total coverage. This means permanent health columns, *Over the Counter* and *In-House Doc*, and health interviews carried in the *Turning Point* column on page 34 took the majority of story types, followed by hard news and feature stories. The least covered were opinions with the six stories being contributions from medical doctors with interest in writing.

4.6. Results from Interview with Key Informants

The researcher interviewed six key informants, namely, the Associate Editor of *The Nairobiian*, Ted Malanda, the Revise Editor, the Chief-Sub Editor, two sub-editors and a health reporter who is also a health columnist for *The Nairobiian* (See appendix 1 and 2). The interviews were based on the research questions, with the purpose of giving context to the content analysis data besides having these key informants give their views on the coverage of health issues in a tabloid newspaper. All of them concurred that reproductive health formed the bulk of health coverage, followed by health issues related to sexuality. Health governance, public health, alternative medicine and rare medical conditions were the other areas appearing in the newspaper. Editors and reporters of *The Nairobiian* follow the Code of Conduct for the Practice of Journalism as required by the Media Council of Kenya and media law and ethics as are enshrined in the

Constitution. All the key informants also granted permission for use of all their names in this research project report.

Ted Malanda, Associate Editor, *The Nairobiian*

Reproductive health, though broad, is our (*The Nairobiian's*) biggest area of health coverage because of the nature of our readers. We also cover rare health conditions like men growing breasts, health governance, that is, the way the health sector is managed, the facilities, corruption, staffing, the health policy, alternative medicine and mental health.

On how *The Nairobiian* sets the health agenda, the associated editor explained that the tabloid relies heavily on research and data for believability besides exposing gaps in the health sector like health financing and why Kenyans resort to witchdoctors and the stories are anchored by expert voices. On the journalistic practices that *The Nairobiian* uses in covering health issues the Associate Editor said:

The health stories must pass muster. They must observe ethics like protection of minors. They are balanced and we offer the right of reply and we have never been sued based on our health stories. (Personal Interview, August 29, 2016)

Paul Omondi, Revise Editor, *The Nairobiian*

The Revise Editor explained that the health issues covered in *The Nairobiian* have a shock element focusing on the state of health care, the medical side of rape cases, FGM and vaccines.

He said:

The Nairobiian also covers health aspects of gender based violence like the chopping of male organs and whether they can be fixed and later work. We also cover social justice aspects of health like patients with unaffordable hospital bills like the case of the conjoined twins who had been languishing at the Kenyatta National Hospital for which the hospital acted, and the three year old baby who had been in ICU for three years with a Sh20 million bill which the mother could not afford and Kenyans responded. We also cover theft of babies at Pumwani Maternity Hospital, the security of patients in hospitals besides the health aspects of sports. (Personal Interview, August 29, 2016).

The Revise Editor outlined that *The Nairobiian* sets the health agenda through the use of shock effect to spur action by the government and health providers besides highlighting salient health issues and asking the hard questions.

We follow the Conduct of Conduct and media ethics using release forms for approval by guardians and hospitals to protect stories related to minors. We also use Day 2 Journalism to follow up on stories for deeper analysis. (Personal Interview, August 29, 2016).

Queenter Mbori-Saina, Chief Sub-Editor, *The Nairobiian*

The Chief-Sub Editor explained that the coverage of such health issues as reproductive, public and environmental health were most times triggered by current affairs and they do more serious health stories because they are bold enough to do stories others avoid. She said:

We tend to focus on health issues which the mainstream media shy away from being taboo areas which might chase away advertisers. We set the health agenda by giving priority to health issues during planning and we allocate at least two pages a week besides the occasional in-depth analysis. Our journalistic practices include simplicity of language for effective communication, balance, use of experts and verification of facts. (Personal Interview, August 29, 2016).

Edwin Herenga, Sub-Editor, *The Nairobiian*

The Nairobiian carries reproductive health stories related to the sexuality of the population like how thongs worn by women can carry bacteria, which is in line with the sexy nature of a tabloid.

Herenga said:

But we also carry serious health issues like shortage of beds, ambulances and doctors in hospitals and social related issues like the health of the President. *The Nairobiian* sets the health agenda by pointing out weaknesses in the health sector like absence of emergency centres along killer highways and by highlighting issues like doctor's pay to prick the consciousness of county health officials, besides fighting for social justice and backing its stories with research data and commissioning its own research. (Personal Interview, August 29, 2016).

Herenga further explained other journalistic practices used by *The Nairobiian*, including maintaining dignity and integrity of interviewees so as not to offend readers. He said:

We dress the language in soft, satirical tones to present sensitive health issues without annoying readers. We also do a lot of research to authenticate and make them believable because people believe tabloids are unbelievable, they are rumour

mills. We also go beyond reportage and back info with evidence to inform and educate. (Personal Interview, August 29, 2016).

Wanjiru Karanja, Sub-Editor, *The Nairobiian*

She explained that *The Nairobiian* covers health issues which are controversial such as the argument that the male foreskin can be used for beauty purposes besides sexual and reproductive health. She said:

We set the health agenda by reporting unique aspects of health not found in mainstream media that tell a different story and in funny and shocking ways to tell underreported health stories. Journalistic practices include use of reliable sources, verification of facts, protecting victims and sources, not invading people's privacy and maintaining good taste, balance and not showing gross photos. (Personal Interview, August 29, 2016).

Gardy Chacha, Health Reporter/Columnist, *The Nairobiian*

He acknowledged that *The Nairobiian* covers health issues that directly affect its readers and which are given a wide berth by mainstream media like vaginal hygiene, correct breast size for women and whether the length of the penis matters. The newspaper goes ahead to set the health agenda by deliberately looking for stories that make people uncomfortable and thus make them think and do something about them. He said:

The Nairobiian also includes aspects of health in its human interest stories that are not about health per se. Like the nurses strike which is broadened into governance of health matters and mistreatment in hospitals. The language and topics are not

abstract be they in features or In-depth pages. Journalist practices used include relying on stories that are scientifically factual and which use multiple sources. The stories are local or localized to be relevant to target readership. (Personal Interview, August 29, 2016).

4.7 Analysis of Interview with Key Informants

The researcher, from results of interview analysis, concludes that *The Nairobiian* deliberately prioritizes health reporting as part of its weekly content, with heavy emphasis on reproductive health as well as underreported health issues besides serious health journalism contrary to the perception of tabloid press as purveyors of scandalous trivia. *The Nairobiian* thus sets the health agenda in its own tabloid ways, but also adheres to the Code of Conduct for the Practice of Journalism as required by the Media Council of Kenya, and media law and ethics as enshrined in the Constitution of Kenya. It thus makes health matters accessible to its readers. Thus, just like mainstream media, tabloid press can be a channel of disseminating serious development communication in a format, language and presentation the target audience can understand, interpret and apply.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter has presented both findings and discussion of this study. This chapter has reached three vital conclusions that respond to the research questions and the objectives of the study. The dominant themes have been identified, the sources and their frequency have been established and the tone of reporting health issues in tabloid press presented as well. The next chapter will discuss these findings and draw conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, POLICY IMPLICATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Overview

The previous chapter presented the data analysis and presentation of this research project report which showed the key frames that dominate reporting of health issues in tabloid press with *The Nairobiian* as a case study. This chapter presents a summary of the findings, conclusions, policy implications and recommendations based on findings in chapter four.

5.1 Summary of Findings

Based on the data and analysis conducted, the following were identified based on the general objective of the study which was to explore the reporting of health issues in *The Nairobiian*. The three specific objectives of the study were to explore the type of health issues reported in *The Nairobiian*; to explore how journalists and editors of *The Nairobiian* frame, prime and set the agenda on health issues; and to explore whether *The Nairobiian* adheres to the Code of Conduct for the Practice of Journalism in Kenya when reporting health issues. These study objectives were closely related to the research questions.

The study revealed that *The Nairobiian* covers a wide range of mainly underreported health issues and embarrassing illnesses which are ignored by broadsheets. *The Nairobiian* also deliberately incorporates health reporting as part of its editorial furniture to reach the targeted demographic of readers, mainly through internally-generated story ideas by its writers during Friday editorial meetings. It also uses expert opinions from health professionals besides commissioning research firms to conduct health surveys for publication. The findings also revealed that journalists

reporting health issues in *The Nairobiian* adhere to the Code of Conduct for the Practice of Journalism in Kenya.

The study also identified the key frames forming the thematic breadth of health issues reported in *The Nairobiian* through use of frame analysis which singled out public health, health systems and human health as the main health areas covered. Findings from tonal analysis of whether its health stories were positive, neutral or negative revealed that *The Nairobiian* has a positive tone contrary to the perception of tabloids as publications hinged on profiting from negative stories. Findings from source analysis revealed that *The Nairobiian* mainly uses its writers and correspondents as sources of story ideas on health issues, followed by professional medics who have journalistic aptitude.

The findings also revealed that the placement of health stories were that majority were accorded quarter pages followed by one or more pages while in terms of prominence most of them were carried in the inside feature pages. The type of health stories carried in *The Nairobiian*, the findings revealed that columns by health writers and interviews by reporters and correspondents formed the bulk of health stories followed by hard news stories.

5.1.1 Results from Objectives of the Study

The general objective of the study was to explore the reporting of health issues in *The Nairobiian*. The results revealed that reproductive health formed the bulk of health coverage, followed by health issues related to sexuality. Health governance, public health, alternative medicine and rare medical conditions were the other areas, which means *The Nairobiian* actively engages in

development communication related to health issues contrary to perception of tabloids as being purveyors of social trivia, celebrity gossip and sex scandals.

Reproductive health, though broad, was *The Nairobiian's* biggest area of health reporting because the targeted readers are women aged between 25 and 35, a demographic that takes its health seriously. The tabloid also covers rare health conditions like men growing breasts besides health governance including the state of health systems in terms of facilities, corruption, staffing, the health policy, alternative medicine and mental health. *The Nairobiian* also covers social justice aspects of health like patients with unaffordable hospital bills or babies being stolen from maternity wards, besides covering public and environmental health issues.

The Nairobiian sets the health agenda through use of research and data for believability besides exposing gaps in the health sector with the stories set into perspective by medical experts and relevant medical bodies. *The Nairobiian* also employs the shock element to spur action by the government and health providers besides highlighting salient health issues not found in broadsheets, especially deliberately reporting stories that make the readers uncomfortable and thus making them think and do something about issues being highlighted.

Editors and reporters of *The Nairobiian* follow the Code of Conduct for the Practice of Journalism as required by the Media Council of Kenya, and media law and ethics as enshrined in the Constitution. The stories are balanced, fair, ethical, adhere to public taste, and offer right of reply. There is use of release forms when reporting stories related to minors besides verification of facts. *The Nairobiian* also protects victims especially of sexual violence and sources of

sensitive stories in stories touching on corruption and medical malpractices. *The Nairobiian* also ensures there is no invasion of privacy, obtaining information through false pretences and rarely does it publish gross photos that would compromise the dignity of subjects in health stories. For this, and according to editors, *The Nairobiian* has never been sued based on reporting health issues.

5.1.2 Results from Key Frames in *The Nairobiian*

The key frames portrayed by *The Nairobiian* newspaper are public health where areas explored includes hygiene, epidemics, health policies and the environment. These stories put emphasis on protecting and improving the health of families and communities through promotion of healthy lifestyles, research on diseases besides the detection and control of infectious diseases.

In health systems, *The Nairobiian* carries stories on health facilities, service delivery and safety, health financing, health information, health workforce, health governance, medical training, medical research, health technology, medicine and health systems recovery. Health system is the organization of people, institutions and resources to deliver healthcare services to meet the health needs of the people.

The last key frame is human health which is defined as ‘the relative state in which a human being is able to function well physically, mentally, socially and spiritually to express the full range of one’s unique potentialities within one’s environment.’ Stories covered in this frame include reproductive health, HIV/Aids, embarrassing illnesses, health nutrition, psychiatric care, health

trends and traditional medicine. All these key frames suggest that tabloid newspapers can be ‘public spheres’ for ventilating development communication issues on health.

5.1.3 Results from source frame in *The Nairobiian*

The key source of health stories in *The Nairobiian* are staff writers, be they news reporters, feature writers, investigative journalists or dedicated health reporters, with non-reporters being columnists and health professionals providing insights on health matters in weekly columns and opinions in the Op-Ed pages. Various health experts are sought during interviews for health-related stories to augment their believability as many people are sceptical about stories carried in tabloid press. *The Nairobiian* thus makes good use of medical experts including research scientists, skin specialists, gynaecologists, endocrinologists, dermatologists, psychiatrists, paediatricians and general practitioners. Also sought for their expertise are health workers, clinicians, relationship experts, reproductive health consultants, sexologists, sex therapists health surveys and science journals, besides sources from the Ministry of Health, the National Aids Control Council and the Kenya Medical Association. Non-reporter-generated stories were mostly articles written by medical professionals who relied on their training, expertise and experience to offer medical insights on a wide range of health matters.

5.1.4 Results from tone frame in *The Nairobiian*

The tone of reporting health related stories in *The Nairobiian* is mostly positive contrary to the negative nature of tabloid press, meaning tabloids can be level-headed and maintain objectivity even in the face of the capacity to exploit the myriad challenges in the health sector and slant issues to excite public emotions. The neutral tone of most of the stories in *The Nairobiian* can

also be viewed in light of the fact that health services in Kenya have been devolved, with county governments taking charge of health services, thus many Kenyans are able to access healthcare services from the different level four and level five hospitals in their counties as opposed to using referral hospitals in major towns resulting in less complaints about health.

5.2 Results from Space, Placement and Type frames in *The Nairobiian*

Space, prominence and type analysis looks at the size of newspaper space, where in the newspaper a story appears and what type of story it is. Space and prominence of space can be used in gauging how (in)significant a health story is while the frequency of the type of story can gauge the gravity of the issue at hand.

Results reveal that health reporting was accorded prominence of space despite smaller stories quarter page taking the lion's share of space accorded health issues as opposed to half, full and front pages. Results from prominence of placement indicate that a majority of health stories covered in *The Nairobiian* were either front-page stories or feature stories with news stories receiving short shrift. *The Nairobiian* thus gave prominence to health reporting in placing the stories on front pages where they receive prominence and are taken more seriously while feature pages have double page spreads ensuring the topic under review is given adequate prominence. On story types, permanent health columns and health interviews took the majority of story types, followed by hard news and feature stories. The least covered were opinions with the six stories being contributions from medical doctors with interest in writing.

5.3 Conclusions

A key conclusion is that *The Nairobiian* is an important channel for disseminating serious health issues to create awareness, increase knowledge, change attitudes and perceptions and alter behaviour and thus enhance the understanding of health-related issues in society, contrary to the perception of tabloids as being frivolous publications whose staple furniture is cheap sensationalism of sex scandals while down playing important discourse. This study partly sought to clarify the nature of tabloid press as being bent on the scandalous to reveal that serious development issues can reach the target audience in a language they understand. This discovery means that serious issues should not only be left to broadsheets since tabloid press like *The Nairobiian* could play a more serious role in disseminating and thus making health issues accessible to the masses more than it is assumed to be the case.

Indeed, the content of tabloid press has stories presented in accessible, everyday language and the nature of 'soft news' attracts a huge following and ranks among the top three news formats, giving tabloids a distinctively important place in the hearts of newspaper readers (Ornebring & Johnsson, 2004). This study concludes that the market for broadsheets, the main channels of communicating serious development agenda, has been shrinking, while that of tabloids, like *The Nairobiian*, has been expanding, and thus tabloids as channels of mass communication could be a more effective medium of disseminating the development agenda on health among other crucial matters that could be disseminated through development communication. This, however, does not mean that health issues be limited to the three frames discussed in this study.

5.4 Recommendations

1. This study recommends that policy makers in government, development agencies, development communication experts, health professionals and NGOs take tabloid press like *The Nairobiian* seriously as viable media partners in the dissemination of development issues such as health. Indeed, use of sensationalism and titillation of stories, including those on health, makes the development agenda relevant through understanding its readers for whom it uses simple language to reach the target demographics, besides elevating issues of mass interest to national debate.
2. This study also recommends that tabloid newspapers like *The Nairobiian* give more prominence to health issues in terms of prominence of pagination besides diversification of health stories beyond reproductive health.
3. Further research is recommended on the impact of the coverage of health issues by tabloid press to find out whether they are taken seriously or they are simply treated as part of tabloid entertainment furniture.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Introduction and Purpose

I am a post graduate student studying for a Master of Arts Degree at the University of Nairobi, School of Journalism. My final year research project examines the reporting of health issues in tabloid press in Kenya with specific reference to *The Nairobiian*. Please assist me by answering the following three unstructured questions.

Instructions

The questions seeks to know the health issues covered in *The Nairobiian*, how *The Nairobiian* sets the health agenda and the journalistic practices it uses in the coverage of health issues. The interview can be completed in less than 15 minutes.

Confidentiality

Your responses will be kept confidential and no comments will be attributed to any individual in any report that maybe produced from this study which will use name of key informants who granted consent for their names to be used.

APPENDIX 2: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

- 1) What health related issues are covered by *The Nairobiian*?
- 2) What is the nature of agenda setting, framing and priming of health issues in *The Nairobiian*?
- 3) What journalistic practices are employed in communicating health issues by *The Nairobiian*?

Thank you very much for your time.

APPENDIX 7: CODING SHEET

THEME	ITEM	CODE
PUBLIC HEALTH	<i>Why El Nino could be bad for your health</i>	23/10/41/P/1
	<i>Pharmacists opposed to 'sickly' new law on prescription drugs</i>	13/02/12/P/2
HEALTH SYSTEMS	<i>Consultation Room: Why doctors shun doctorates</i>	31/07/35/S/1
	<i>Post-graduate medical training is sickening slavery</i>	10/07/16/S/2
	<i>Nairobi's Killer Doctors</i>	02/10/01/S/3
	<i>Death sentence: Few beds and high bills spell doom for ICU patients</i>	03/04/14/S/4
HUMAN HEALTH	<i>Put nutrition mpangoni when planning a pregnancy</i>	21/08/40/H/1
	<i>Kenyan mums inject kids with family planning</i>	15/05/01/H/2
	<i>Sex blues: Men who can't nguruma in bed</i>	29/05/28/H/3
	<i>City wives face higher HIV risk than prostitutes</i>	03/04/07/H/4
	<i>Not all mental cases are ripe for Mathare</i>	23/01/40/H/5

<p>SOURCES</p> <p>Reporter</p> <p>Non-Reporter</p>		
<p>TONE</p> <p>Positive</p> <p>Negative</p> <p>Neutral</p>	<p><i>That bite of nyama choma may not be bad after all</i></p> <p><i>Doctors said Janet had one to five years to live</i></p> <p><i>Sorry wife, I slept with my patients</i></p> <p><i>It's okay to defy doctor's orders</i></p>	<p>13/11/41/T/1</p> <p>20/11/34/T/2</p> <p>20/11/04/T/3</p> <p>13/11/41/T/4</p>

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