# THE UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

# CENTRE FOR TRANSLATION AND INTERPRETATION DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS, LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE

MEDIA FRAMING AND PUBLIC PERCEPTION OF INFECTIOUS DISEASE
OUTBREAKS: A CASE OF HIV/AIDS AND COVID-19 PANDEMICS IN KENYA

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A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE MASTER OF ARTS DEGREE IN TRANSLATION, UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

2021

# **DECLARATION**

This dissertation is my original work and has not been submitted for an award of a degree in any other university or institution of higher learning.



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# **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this research proposal to the Almighty God for giving me the strength to complete my dissertation and my family members for their unwavering support.

# **ACKNOWLEDGEMENT**

My sincere gratitude to my supervisors, Prof. Jayne Mutiga and Mr. Josephat Gitonga, for their guidance and support during the writing and defense of this proposal.

I would like to show appreciation to my lecturers for empowering me with knowledge on translation and my classmates for their support.

I would also like to express my appreciation to the University of Nairobi Archives Section for their guidance and assistance during the data collection process and the University of Nairobi for giving me the chance to pursue my Master's Degree.

DEFINITION OF SIGNIFICANT TERMS AS USED IN THE STUDY

Media: Communication channels used to transfer information.

**Frame:** The central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the

issue is through use of selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration.

Framing: The process through which media supplies context to an issue to promote a particular

interpretation by its audience.

**Perception:** How information is interpreted and analysed by the public.

**Public:** Consumers of information.

Stigma: Discrimination against a person based on traits such as social status, race and culture that

distinguish them from other members of a society.

**Pandemic:** A disease that has spread globally, usually affecting a large portion of the population.

Disease outbreak: A sudden increase in occurrences of a disease in a geographical area or several

countries. In the present study, the disease outbreaks in question include the HIV/AIDS Pandemic

and the COVID-19 Pandemic in Kenya.

**HIV:** Virus that affects the body's immune system and can lead to AIDS if left untreated.

**AIDS:** An advanced stage of HIV infection.

**COVID-19:** An infectious respiratory disease caused by a new strain of coronavirus that causes

illness in humans.

V

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CDC Centers for Disease Control and Prevention

COVID-19 Coronavirus Disease 2019

HIV Human Immunodeficiency Virus

KEMRI Kenya Medical Research Institute

KNBS Kenya National Bureau of Statistics

KMPDC Kenya Medical Practitioners and Dentists Council

KNUT Kenya National Union of Teachers

MSM Men who have Sex with Men

PCEA Presbyterian Church of East Africa

PWID People Who Inject Drugs

LSK Law Society of Kenya

KDF Kenya Defense Force

KESSHA Kenya Secondary School Heads Association

WHO World Health Organisation

KQ Kenya Airways

PPB Pharmacy and Poisons Board

KSDC Kenya Society for Deaf Children

PWDs People living with disabilities

TVs Televisions

TSC Teachers Service Commission

KUPPET Kenya Union of Post Primary Education Teachers

CS Cabinet Secretary

#### **ABSTRACT**

This study used the framing theory to research media framing and public perception of the HIV/AIDS and COVID-19 Pandemics. The objectives of our study were to investigate the media frames used by the Standard Newspaper to cover the two Pandemics, to identify the public perception of the frames used by the Standard Newspaper, and to demonstrate their effects on Kenyan society. To achieve these objectives, we purposively sampled 50 HIV/AIDS-related articles from 1984-2003 and 50 COVID-19 related articles from March 2020-December 2020. We performed content analysis on the articles, and our findings revealed seven common frames in the Standard Newspaper's coverage of the two Pandemics. The frames included the eminence frame, the severity frame, the action frame, the assurance frame, the conflict frame, the impact frame, and the beliefs about who is at risk frame. In both coverages, the eminence frame was dominant. Our findings also revealed that the impact frame and the beliefs about who is at risk frame were least used in the HIV/AIDS Pandemic and the COVID-19 Pandemic, respectively. Concern, denial, impartiality, and discontentment were common perceptions of the seven frames. We also identified isolation, acceptance, and laxity as some of the possible effects of the frames on Kenyan society. Our study concluded that media framing affects public perception, and therefore, the media should be conscious of the frames they use during disease outbreaks.

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#### **CHAPTER ONE**

#### 1.0 Introduction

This chapter provides the premise of our research. It contains the background information of our study, the statement of the problem, the objectives of the study, the research questions, the scope of limitations, the literature review, the theoretical framework, and the research methodology.

# 1.1 Background Information of the Study

When new phenomena such as disease outbreaks occur, terminologies are developed and adapted to describe the situation. These terminologies help elucidate the seriousness of an outbreak, precautionary steps to avoid contagion, origins of a disease outbreak, and possible cures. From the onset of the COVID-19 Pandemic in December 2019, terms such as social distancing, self-quarantine, working from home (WFH), and lockdown have been widely used to describe means of preventing the spread of the virus.

According to McCauley et al. (2013), when ailments are presumed to be fatal, people who are afraid of contagion deal with their fears by attributing illnesses on minorities. Within this period, negative terms and stereotypes are also developed to justify the association of disease outbreaks with minority groups. In 1983, scientists discovered the virus that causes AIDS. This virus was associated with homosexuals or heterosexual males who were heroin drug addicts. Within this time frame, Altman (1982) published an article in the New York Times that termed AIDS as Gay-Related Immune Deficiency disease (GRID), and a government official in President Reagan's administration called the disease "gay cancer" and "gay plague". According to White and King (2020), homophobia during that time slowed U.S. responses to the epidemic and increased open discrimination against gay men in policing, housing, jobs, and street violence.

In times of uncertainty such as pandemics, media outlets play a vital part in educating the public on what is happening around them. How media describes an issue is referred to as a frame (Kim et al., 2002, p. 9). Lecheler and de Vreese (2018) described a frame as a storyline that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events by creating a connection among them. News frames are formed from and found in catchwords, figures of speech, ideas, signs, and visual imagery highlighted in a news story. Furthermore, they work to make some ideas more prominent in a text than others (Entman, 2006, p. 7). Framing is the process of choosing one particular meaning (or set of meanings) over another (Fairhurst & Sarr, 1996, p. 168). Framing presumes that it is "terminological or semantic differences" in how an issue is expressed rather than the prominence of an issue itself that provoke audience responses (Kim et al., 2002, p. 10).

#### 1.2 Statement of the Problem

How news is framed during pandemics can affect how the public views minority groups. Ungar (1998) argues that there is a pattern to which news reporting is done during disease outbreaks. He states that during the first phase, which he calls the mutation—contagion package, an emerging disease is portrayed as a frightening threat with few instances of reassurance in the form of news coverage of items on "medical progress" and "amazing new discoveries". After this phase, there is the containment package phase which brings in the concept of "otherness". The threat of a disease is shown to exist in only certain regions because of poverty, pollution, ethnic rituals, and culinary tastes, among other factors. By implying that a disease outbreak is synonymous with a certain region or group of people, the public is left with the notion that they are superior and different from the affected group, which may lead to stigmatization. In 1985, the Standard's front-page headlines read: "Killer sex disease in Kenya", and "Horror sex disease in Kakamega". These headlines were accompanied by images of severely sick and thin HIV-positive people. Terms such

as "slim disease" were used to describe the virus. This research, therefore, investigated the impact such language had on the public's perception of the HIV/AIDS (1984-2003) and the COVID-19 (2020) Pandemics in Kenya. Although AIDS has been in Kenya since 1984, at the time of this research, no studies had been performed on media framing and public perception of the disease in Kenya. In addition to this, at the time of this study, the COVID-19 Pandemic was a new occurrence and very little research had been done concerning its framing by Kenyan media.

# 1.3 Objectives

This study was guided by the following objectives:

- To investigate media framing in the coverage of the HIV/AIDS (1984-2003) and COVID-19 (2020) Pandemics by the Standard Newspaper.
- ii. To identify public perception to media framing of the HIV/AIDS (1984-2003) and COVID-19 (2020) Pandemics by the Standard Newspaper.
- iii. To demonstrate the effect media framing had on society from 1984-2003 and 2020 during the HIV/AIDS and COVID-19 Pandemics, respectively.

# **1.4 Research Questions**

This study was guided by the following research questions:

- i. What frames were used in the coverage of the HIV/AIDS and COVID-19 disease outbreaks by the Standard Newspaper?
- ii. How did the public respond to media framing of the HIV/AIDS and COVID-19 Pandemics by the Standard Newspaper?
- iii. How did societies affected by the HIV/AIDS and COVID-19 Pandemics cope with the effects of media framing from 1984-2003 and 2020 respectively?

#### 1.5 Rationale

The rationale to investigate media framing of the two pandemics by the Standard Newspaper was that from the onset of the HIV/AIDS Pandemic in 1983, the use and impact of media frames on public perception in Kenya had not been looked at. Furthermore, since the COVID-19 Pandemic is a recent phenomenon affecting the world, there were no previous studies on media framing of the Pandemic in Kenya.

The study focused on media framing of the HIV/AIDS Pandemic from 1984 to 2003 and the COVID-19 Pandemic from March 2020 to December 2020 in Kenya. The study focused on pandemic-related content from the Standard Newspaper. The study was limited to media framing in Kenya of the HIV/AIDS and COVID-19 Pandemics, and not anywhere else or any other Pandemic. The two pandemics have similar characteristics; they both spread globally, and infected people and dead bodies were handled with a lot of stigma. For example, at the beginning of the two pandemics, dead bodies were buried at night or in the wee hours of the morning- which is unheard of in most African cultures-because dead bodies were thought to be contagious.

The study did not focus on the translatability of media frames but rather on their typology, perception, and effects on Kenyan society. Our research did not look at the impact of the frames when conveyed in the audiences' target languages.

#### 1.7 Literature Review

Based on the objectives of this study, the literature review focused on three thematic areas: media framing and public response, framing of disease outbreaks in mass media, and media framing and stigmatization during pandemics.

## 1.7.1 Framing of disease outbreaks in mass media

Communicable diseases have tormented humankind throughout antiquity. Media outlets have an essential role of educating the public, but it has been observed that in some situations the media may heighten the effect of pandemics by augmenting fear (Klemm et al., 2019). Entman (2004) defines framing as the process of culling a few elements of perceived reality and assembling a narrative that highlights connections among them to promote a particular interpretation. He further states that framing shapes and alters the audience member's interpretations and preferences through priming. That is, frames introduce or raise the salience or apparent importance of certain ideas, activating schemas that encourage target audiences to think, feel, and decide in a particular way (Gross & D'Ambrosio, 2004), (Iyengar & Simon, 1993), (Kim et al., 2002) ;(Price et al., 1997).

Through the process of frame-setting, news media actively develop the frames of reference that readers or viewers use to understand public events (McCauley et al., 2013, p. 2). Frames are mental structures that help shape the way we view the world (Lakoff, 2004, p. XV). Tankard (1991) has described a media frame as "the central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion, and elaboration. According to Entman (2004), agenda-setting can be seen as another name for successfully performing the first function of framing: defining problems worthy of public and government attention and highlighting societal conditions, world events and character traits of a candidate. The second level of agenda-setting according to McCombs and Ghanem (2001) involves: highlighting the causes of problems, encouraging moral judgements (and associated affective responses) and promoting favored policies. However, Gamson (1992) argues that the second stage of agenda-setting should be referred to as a "signature matrix" that includes various condensing symbols

(catchphrases, taglines, exemplars, metaphors, depictions, visual images) and reasoning devices (causes and consequences, appeals to principles or moral claims).

According to Kitzinger (2000), critical examination of media frames is an important endeavour for anyone examining media coverage, source strategy, journalistic practice, audience reception, or particular social issues. In accordance with Davis's (2009) assertion, news media frequently use five elements during news coverage: 1) figures of speech, 2) examples, 3) catchphrases, 4) portrayals, and 5) visual imagery. Lee and Basnyat (2012) argue that news framing is not as unintentional as proposed by the framing theory because news media often add new storylines into news stories. Weaver (2007) claims that the perspectives and frames that journalists employ draw attention to certain attributes of the objects of news coverage, as well as the objects themselves. Stories that highlight disputes, rectitude, and doubt attract more public attention than stories that highlight financial matters (Davis, 2009, p. 3)

Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) recognized news production, news processing, and locus of effect as the main areas in framing. Pan and Kosicki (1993) identified four types of structural dimensions of news that influence the formation of frames: (a) syntactic structures, or patterns in the arrangements of words or phrases; (b) script structures, referring to the general newsworthiness of an event as well as the intention to communicate news and events to the audience that transcends their limited sensory experiences; (c) thematic structures, reflecting the tendency of journalists to impose a causal theme on their news stories, either in the form of explicit causal statements or by linking observations to the direct quote of a source; and (d) rhetorical structures, referring to the "stylistic choices made by journalists in relation to their intended effects."

Lee and Basnyat (2012) investigated how local public health agencies framed the 2009 H1N1 Pandemic in press releases and, how news outlets used the press statements in their reports on the

Pandemic. Using content analysis of press statements from the Singapore Ministry of Health (MOH) and subsequent news articles about the 2009 H1N1Pandemic published between April 25th, 2009 and August 10th, 2010, the study found that press releases' effect on news coverage was moderated by news outlets' commitment to rules for sourcing for information and news criteria. Further findings also showed that the progression from press statement to news was characterised by notable changes: augmentation and variation in prominent frames and elements meant to illicit emotional responses, increased use of themes, additional information, change of negative stories into positive ones, and positive coverage of the government's efforts in curbing the Pandemics—implying that the news stories were biased. Our study focused on media framing of the HIV/AIDS and COVID-19 Pandemics by the Standard Newspaper.

Further study from Jiang et al. (2009), which investigated the effects of the British newspaper framing of the Ebola crisis and policy response, came to the realisation that Ebola coverage in the UK was scarce in the first six months compared to the media attention given to SARS and other pandemic flu scares. Findings also showed that re-framing of the Ebola virus from a localized health and humanitarian emergency to a global security concern changed how the crisis was structured and responded to. This study concluded that newspaper media coverage is important in framing public and policy debates on national security and disease outbreaks in Western countries. Our study focused on media framing of the HIV/AIDS and COVID-19 Pandemics by the Standard Newspaper.

# 1.7.2 Media framing and public response

Donelle and Booth (2012) researched on health promotion on Twitter, and their findings revealed that tweets reflect existing political and social issues publicized within the global mass media. Our

study focused on public perception of media frames used by the Standard Newspaper in the coverage of the HIV/AIDS and COVID-19 Pandemics.

Eysenbach (2006) tracked Pandemic-related searches on the internet for surveillance of flu symptoms. The study concluded that tracing web searches on the Internet has the potentiality of predicting population-based incidents which are pertinent to public health purposes, such as real disease outbreaks. Our study focused on media framing of the HIV/AIDS and COVID-19 Pandemics by the Standard Newspaper.

According to McNeill et al. (2016), who researched Twitter's impact on UK vaccination and antiviral consumption during the 2009 H1N1 Pandemic, Twitter is a practical source of information for identifying public responses during disease outbreaks. Our study focused on media framing of the HIV/AIDS and COVID-19 Pandemics by the Standard Newspaper.

In reference to the study carried out by Bode and Vraga (2018) on the rectification of misleading information on global health in social media, the conclusion was that social media might serve as a corrective measure to false information. Our study focused on the types of frames used by the Standard Newspaper to cover the HIV/AIDS Pandemic and the COVID-19 Pandemic and how the public perceived them.

# 1.7.3 Media framing and stigmatization during pandemics

When unexplainable events such as disease outbreaks occur, society always looks for someone to blame. Washer (2004) looked at the depiction of SARS in the British newspapers and concluded that the blame of the new threat is placed on those outside one's community. Our study focused on media framing of the HIV/AIDS and COVID-19 Pandemics by the Standard Newspaper.

McCauley et al. (2013) researched media frames, stigmatization, and coping during the H1N1 Pandemic in New England. The study concluded that Pandemic-related stress could lead to the

discrimination of minorities. Our study focused on media framing of the HIV/AIDS and COVID-19 Pandemics by the Standard Newspaper.

Van der Meer (2018) carried out a study to identify reformative information plans that could enhance awareness and prompt preventive measures during Pandemics. The study revealed that communication is vital in controlling crises and their possible effects, as information moulds the publics' perception of events surrounding them. Our study focused on media framing of the HIV/AIDS and COVID-19 Pandemics by the Standard Newspaper.

Kilgo et al. (2019) claim that old media have from the past promoted public alarm and worry during times of crisis by emphasizing risks and uncertainties. Pieri (2018) in her analysis of media framing of the Ebola crisis in UK media argues that the coverage of panic narratives by UK media, resulted in concerns with finding people to blame. Wallis and Nerlich (2005) claim that the weak ties made by UK media between SARS and a particular region weakened its 'origin narrative' and probably helped reduce stigmatization of social, national, or racial groups as 'SARS risks'. However, Weaver (2007) argues that not everyone is uniformly affected by the same degree and prominence of media coverage and not all easily available information is considered essential. This implies that news may not have a significant effect on the public's perceptions.

#### 1.8. Theoretical Framework

The study was based on the framing theory. Erving Goffman is credited for first putting forth the concept of framing. He described framing as a "schemata of interpretation" that allows individuals to "locate, perceive, identify and label" events or life experiences. Entman (1993) later on defined framing as communicating text or message to promote certain facets of a 'perceived reality' and making them more salient to endorse a specific problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and a treatment recommendation. According to Goffman (1974), individuals

unknowingly interpret what is happening around them through their primary frameworks. Within the primary frameworks, there are distinct categories: natural and social frameworks. Natural frameworks identify occurrences as undirected, unoriented, unanimated, unguided, and "purely physical" (Goffman, 1974, p. 22) which means that there are no agents causally and intentionally interfering with the outcome of an event. Social frameworks, on the other hand, view events as social occurrences influenced by whims, goals, and manipulations of other people. These frameworks and the frames they create in our communication greatly influence how data is interpreted, processed, and communicated.

The principle of the framing theory states, how something is introduced to the public influences the choices people make about how to process that information. Lee and Basnyat (2012) state that the theory generally depicts framing by news media as an intentional action influenced by work schedules, societal beliefs and corporate values. According to Mogambi et al. (2013), the choice of language by journalists is one of the most vital elements of framing because language helps us recall information and acts to transform how we view situations. This theory assisted us in identifying frames most commonly used by the Standard Newspaper during the coverage of Pandemics. This, in turn, helped us understand the media's construction of the HIV/AIDS and COVID 19 Pandemics and how the public reacted to it. This framing theory by Goffman, (1976) was chosen because it has elements related to variables in our objectives: investigating media framing, identifying public response to media framing, and demonstrating its effects on society.

#### 1.9 Research Methodology

#### 1.9.1 Data Collection

Our study used qualitative research methods to obtain data. Chilisa et al. (2005) define qualitative research as the type of inquiry whereby a researcher researches people's experiences in natural

settings, using various techniques such as interviews and observations and reports findings mainly in words rather than statistics. The Standard Newspaper was our primary data source for pandemic-related articles because it is one of Kenya's oldest and largest newspapers; therefore, the Standard Newspaper would provide clear insight into public perception of the Pandemics because a large population had access to it. Purposive sampling was used to acquire 50 HIV/AIDS-related articles and 50 COVID-19-related articles. Purposive sampling or judgment sampling involves researchers selecting sampling units subjectively in an attempt to obtain a sample that appears to be representative of the population (Frankfort-Nachmias & Nachmias, 1992).

#### 1.9.2 Data Analysis

Content analysis, a method in qualitative research was used to analyze the pandemic-related articles. The data collected was classified according to categories acquired from research by Kiptinness & Kiwanuka-Tondo (2019). The categories included: valence, the action frame, the victim frame, the severity frame, origin and remedy frame and the assumption about who is vulnerable frame. In the course of content analysis, it was observed that the six categories were not fully representative of the data collected. To resolve this, we combined the six categories with Gabore (2020)'s summary of generic frames. The frames included: the conflict frame, the negativity frame, the impact frame, the responsibility frame, the human-interest frame, the eminence frame, the novelty frame, and the morality frame. We replaced the negativity frame with the valence frame because not all articles focused on the negative side of the Pandemics. Furthermore, we created the assurance frame, which included articles highlighting affirmations of safety by the government or health officials.

#### **CHAPTER TWO**

# AN OVERVIEW OF MEDIA FRAMING AND PANDEMICS

#### 2.0. Introduction

This chapter explains the concept of framing and frames. It also discusses the trends of pandemics in Kenya, focusing on the perception of HIV/AIDS in Kenya, news framing of the HIV/AIDS and COVID-19 Pandemics in Kenya, and the infection and management of COVID-19 in Kenya. The chapter finally touches on misinformation, disinformation, and fake news and the connection between media bias and public perception.

#### 2.1 Notion of Framing and Frames

Framing does not have a standard definition because it is still a thriving concept. Various scholars have defined it as:

"A central organizing idea or storyline that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events, weaving a connection among them" (Gamson et al., 1987, p. 143).

"The process by which people develop a particular conceptualization of an issue or reorient their thinking about an issue" (Chong & Druckman, 2007, p. 104).

"Selecting some aspects of a perceived reality and making them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (Entman, 1993, p. 52).

"Placing information in a unique context so that certain elements of the issue get a greater allocation of an individual's cognitive resources" (Pan & Kosicki, 1993, p. 57).

Simply put, media framing is the process whereby certain parts of a news story are given a lot prominence over others to foster a particular interpretation by an audience. Kim et al., (2002) state

that media also use framing to simplify issues for their audiences by presenting news in a comprehensible manner.

According to Entman (2006), frames reside in specific properties of a news story and are formed from and found in keywords, figures of speech, ideas, allegory, and visual imagery. Tankard (2001) recommends eleven framing mechanisms for recognizing and gauging news frames: titles, subtitles, leads, pictures, photo descriptions, quotes, information sources, lift-out pull quotes, statistics and charts, signs, and concluding statements and sections.

#### 2.2 Classification of Frames

There are two types of frames: Issue-specific frames and generic frames. Issue-specific frames are topic-specific. They have themes and lead citizens or governments to take responsibility. Frames related to climate change can prompt the public to seek ways of reducing their carbon footprints to save the environment.

Generic frames, on the other hand, are frames that are not limited to particular themes or topics. According to Lecheler and de Vreese (2018), journalistic frames are typically generic because they apply to different issues. In addition to this, the two authors claim that generic frames are episodic because they highlight event-centred information and describe problems in a manner that leads citizens to attribute responsibility to the individual(s) portrayed in a story. Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) identify conflict, human interest, attribution of responsibility, morality, and economic consequences frames as the most commonly used generic frames.

#### 2.3 Framing Processes and their Individual and Societal Consequences

According to D'Angelo (2002), framing occurs in three distinct stages: frame-building, framesetting, and individual and societal consequences of framing. Scheufele (1999) defines framebuilding as how journalists process information from various sources and transform that information into news. Frame-building is influenced by internal and external factors. Internal factors include journalists' frames and organizational routines. Journalists' frames occur when journalists construct news stories based on their opinions and beliefs. Entman (1993) argues that this hinders the majority of the audiences from having objective opinions regarding a situation. Organizational routines include editorial policies and news criteria, which influence journalists' daily work routines. The Nation Media Group's editorial policy states that news on women should not be restricted to superficial or domestic issues but should focus on the various issues concerning women in East Africa today. On the other hand, external factors are influences from stakeholders such as prominent people, pressure groups, and social movements. Elite influence becomes apparent when journalists use parts of political speeches or sound bites to illustrate an issue (Lecheler & de Vreese, 2018, p. 20).

Frame-setting refers to the interaction between media frames and individuals' prior knowledge and predispositions (de Vreese, 2005, p. 52). According to Entman (2006), news frames exist as innate principles for information processing and as characteristics of news frames. We interpret news based on previous knowledge and beliefs or how media packages and interprets information for us. A devout Christian may interpret news coverage on earthquakes, volcano eruptions, and tsunamis as a sign of end times. Alternatively, if the media uses frames related to climate change to cover the same story, another person may perceive the information from a scientific point of view.

Effects of framing can be felt at a personal level or society level. At a personal level, it can alter sentiments regarding an occurrence based on subjection to particular frames. At the society level, it can shape social activities such as political induction, decision-taking, and joint actions (de Vreese, 2005, p. 52).

#### 2.4. Identification of Frames

There are two approaches to identifying frames: the inductive approach and the deductive approach. The inductive approach involves the identification of frames during the analysis of a text. Although this approach is rich in information, Lecheler and de Vreese (2018) and Hertog and McLeod (2001) argue that it relies on too small a sample and that its findings are not replicable. The deductive approach investigates frames that are defined and operationalized before the investigation (Lecheler & de Vreese, 2018, p. 4)

# 2.5 Disease Outbreaks, Epidemics and Pandemics

The World Health Organization (2021) defines a disease outbreak as the appearance of disease cases above what would typically be expected in a defined community, geographical area, or season. An epidemic is also the occurrence of diseases over what would usually be expected in a specified region. However, the difference between the two terms is that epidemics spread over a larger area than outbreaks. Examples of epidemics include Ebola, Cholera, and Dengue Fever. A pandemic is an epidemic that has spread over several continents or worldwide. HIV/AIDS, COVID-19, and the Spanish Flu are examples of pandemics that have had adverse consequences on the world.

# 2.6. The Trends of Pandemics in Kenya

Communicable diseases existed during humankind's hunter-gatherer days, but the shift to agrarian life 10,000 years ago created communities that made epidemics more possible. Malaria, tuberculosis, leprosy, influenza, smallpox, and others first appeared during this period (History.com Editors, 2020). These communities' widespread trade or wars created new human and animal interactions (Le Pan, 2020). These interactions led to the spread of pandemics. In 165 A.D, the Antonine Plague was first detected among the Huns. The Huns were nomadic warriors

who terrorized Europe, the Roman Empire, and China's Qin and Han Dynasty. According to History.com Editors (2020), the Hun infected the Germans with the Antonine Plague; the Germans spread it to the Romans, who in turn spread it throughout the Roman Empire.

The concept of quarantine began in Venice during the 14<sup>th</sup> Century. Ships from infected regions docked for 40 days to curb the spread of the second Bubonic plague. According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (2020), the concept of quarantine was derived from the Italian words *quaranta giorni*, which means 40 days. The Black Death or the Second Bubonic Plague was caused by bites from infected fleas and rats and affected humans and animals. Infection occurred when people inhaled respiratory droplets from infected humans or animals. Fear of contagion led to people fleeing to the countryside. People abandoned their sick and dying loved ones, priests refused to administer last rites, and many thousands of Jews were massacred in 1348 and 1349 because they held a different belief system from the majority (History.com Editors, 2020).

The 1918 Influenza Pandemic or the Great Influenza was the most severe in recent history. It infected one-third of the world's population and had a death toll of at least 50 million people worldwide. The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (2019) states that an H1N1 virus with genes of avian origin was the primary cause of the pandemic. The Pandemic was initially referred to as the Spanish Flu because Spain was the only country that reported on the Pandemic during World War I. Other countries had censored their media to boost their citizens' morale. Since Spain was the only country reporting on the Pandemic, many believed that it was the source of the virus. The origin of the HIV/AIDS Pandemic is unclear. Some scientists believe that HIV originated from chimpanzees in West and Central Africa. The scientists suspect that a strain of Simian Immunodeficiency Virus (SIV), only found in primates in Africa, is the viral progenitor of HIV. The scientists further claim that the virus jumped from chimpanzees to humans when people ate

infected chimpanzee meat or when hunters' cuts and bruises were exposed to infected blood from primates. The virus then spread among humans through the exchange of body fluids. Urbanization and prostitution may have spurred the spread of HIV from Kinshasa to other regions. Infrastructure enabled people from rural areas to migrate to cities in search of opportunities, and prostitution was rife in urban centers. The virus reached East Africa in the 1970s and became an epidemic in the region in the early 1980s. Kayirangwa et al. (2006) state that Rwanda was among the first African countries to report HIV cases in 1983 and one of the first countries to establish the most effective blood donor screening programs in Africa in 1985. Burundi and Tanzania also reported their first HIV cases in 1983. According to Avert (2019), in 1982, Ugandan doctors reported a new fatal wasting disease in Rakai District. The disease was locally known as "slim" and was recognized as AIDS in 1985. It was common among people with multiple partners, particularly professionals, businessmen, and young people. Fear of the disease was manifested in discriminatory behaviour at churches, funerals, restaurants, and public transport (Kuhanen, 2008, p. 309).

# 2.7. The Perception of HIV and AIDS in Kenya

In 1984, Kenya reported its first HIV case. Between 1983 and 1985, 26 cases had been mainly reported affecting sex workers. Print media called it the sex disease, and with it came fear, shame, and disgrace. Within this time frame, some infected people committed suicide, and dead bodies were buried in polythene bags. Around the world, pathologists refused to handle bodies of people who had died of AIDS-related complications (Mwangi, 2013). According to Nolen (2008), the virus was also called plastic due to the plastic sheeting used to wrap dead bodies.

In 1987, a study was carried out on a section of Majengo Slum women. The study aimed to investigate their resistance to HIV infection. The study revealed that the women's immune systems could produce Killer-T cells that could eliminate cells infected with HIV before they multiplied in

the body (Strydom, 2010). This information, however, did not lead to the discovery of an AIDS vaccine.

In November 1999, President Moi declared AIDS a national disaster and mandated a National AIDS Control Council to spread HIV/AIDS awareness. However, the president refused to advocate for condom use because it would encourage young people to practice casual sex. In 2001, the Kenyan government changed its stance and actively promoted condom use. In 2003, HIV education was introduced to the Kenya school curriculum. Statistics from Avert (2019) indicate that between 2010 and 2016, HIV prevalence was highest among commercial sex workers, men who have sex with men (MSM), people who inject drugs (PWID), young people, and women. In this group, women accounted for the highest number of infections. These statistics were attributed to gender-based violence and lack of access to proper healthcare. The Kenyan government launched self-testing kits in May 2017.

COVID-19 has been detrimental to HIV/AIDS initiatives in Kenya. The virus has brought with it financial hardships, food insecurity, stress, and uncertainty. According to Zaman and Tsehaiu (2020), the conditions mentioned earlier promoted abuse, sexual abuse in homes and communities, HIV infections, and unintended pregnancies. Muhula et al. (2021) also add that HIV/AIDS patients have not consistently taken medication because of a lack of food and government restrictions.

# 2.8. Media Framing of HIV/AIDS in Kenya

Kiptinness and Kiwanuka-Tondo (2019) investigated the HIV/AIDS frames used by the Daily Nation from 2011 to 2015. The study involved quantitative content analysis of 295 Daily Nation newspapers. The news frames obtained were classified into six categories which included: (1) Valence: A positive or negative tone on HIV, (2) Action Frame: Includes action taken against the spread of HIV such as distribution of condoms and provision of antiretroviral, (3) Victim Frame:

Includes stories where persons living with HIV are considered victims and often in need of assistance, (4) Severity of HIV/AIDS in Kenya: Includes stories that highlight statistics of HIV in Kenya, (5) Causes and Solutions: Articles which highlight the means of contracting HIV, prevention and management methods, (6) Beliefs about who is at risk: Articles describing those at risk of contracting HIV, such as adolescents, drug users, prostitutes and women among others. The action frame was popular because, within the study period, the government had launched several HIV/AIDS initiatives. The dominance of the victim frame, on the other hand, revealed the need to assist HIV-positive people. This study assisted us in categorizing our news frames. It also helped us identify similarities and differences in Kenyan media framing of the AIDS Pandemic in the 1980s and the early 2000s.

In another study, Machungo (2012) explored media coverage trends and articles on the AIDS epidemic in Africa by the New York Times, The Washington Post, and The Wall Street Journal between 1983 and 2008. The study examined content and trends in terms of (1) volume and diversity over time, (2) themes, (3) actors, (4) tones, (5) portrayal of the actors, and (6) distribution of the coverage within Africa. The results revealed (1) limited coverage, (2) simplification, overgeneralization as well as the complexity of the epidemic and its coverage, (3) geographic distribution of the coverage that under-represents, over-generalizes and oversimplifies Africa, (4) the dominance of the coverage by U.S. based organizations and individuals, and (5) that the trends exhibit an evolution in thematic, spatial, temporal, contextual and agency characteristics of the epidemic as well as its coverage over time. Our study has a narrower scope than this study as its main focus was media framing of HIV/AIDS in Kenya by the Standard Newspaper. Furthermore, our study has a shorter timeline than this study as we focused on HIV/AIDS frames from 1984-2003.

In their analysis of the effects of media systems on African news coverage of HIV/AIDS, D'Angelo et al. (2013) performed a content analysis on articles from Kenya, Nigeria, South Africa, and Zimbabwe. The articles were published between 2002 and 2007. The findings revealed that the topic of social costs was framed more for the responsibility borne by nongovernmental agents than governmental agents across all coverage. Furthermore, prevention campaigns were framed more as progress than decline across all newspapers, and no impact of media systems on the framing of medical developments was found. Our study focused on media framing of HIV/AIDS solely in Kenya from 1984-2003. For future research, this study may help us identify and compare frames used in the coverage of the HIV/AIDS Pandemic in the year 2003.

Pitts and Jackson (1989) analyzed articles about HIV and AIDS in Zimbabwe newspapers from 1987 to 1988. The results showed limited coverage of AIDS prevention and transmission, indicating probable shortcomings of public awareness campaigns. It was also discovered that there were few articles with a local basis and personalized news. The researchers felt that this type of framing would promote laxity. The study concluded that Zimbabwe newspapers showed little of the sensationalist and prejudiced accounting of AIDS as found in some British press coverage. Although our research focused on a different country, Kenya, this study supports our claim that media may be prejudiced in the coverage of Pandemics. For future research, this study may enable us to compare the similarities and differences in the coverage of HIV/AIDS in Kenya and Zimbabwe in the 1980s.

Mogambi et al. (2013) investigated the role of newspapers in combating the HIV epidemic in Kenya. The study relied on content analysis of Daily Nation newspapers published in the year 2010. Findings of the research indicated that the print media in Kenya lack consistency in the coverage of HIV issues. Further, the prominence of HIV articles and a clear editorial policy on the

coverage of the epidemic that could guide a sustained and effective coverage method was lacking. This research agrees with our assertion that sometimes, journalists' choice of words is not appropriate in articles.

# 2.9. The Infection and Management of COVID-19 in Kenya

On 31st December 2019, the first cases of the novel coronavirus were documented in Wuhan, China. Based on the alarming rate of spread, on 11th March 2020, the World Health Organization (WHO) declared the virus COVID-19 a global pandemic. From the onset of the virus, there have been global incidents of stigmatization on Asians, Africans, people with COVID-19 symptoms, and people who have recovered from COVID-19.

Kenya's first case of the virus was confirmed on 13th March 2020. The case was of a Kenyan who had travelled from the United States of America via London. Patient zero, or the first case, faced cyberbullying when her identity was revealed to the press. The Kenyan public accused her of colluding with the government and giving false information about her quarantine location and age. The virus was treated with so much suspicion and fear that infected people would request health officials to pick them away from their residences to avoid stigma from their neighbours. The public also avoided hospitals because of fear of infection. Kimani et al. (2020) state that the decrease in antenatal attendance, immunizations, and hospital deliveries, along with an increase in stillbirths during COVID-19, can be attributed to city lockdowns and curfews imposed by the government. Enforcement of COVID-19 protocols also led to a rise in police brutality in low-income areas. A teenage boy was shot dead on his balcony during a corona curfew crackdown, and commuters in the coastal city of Mombasa were assaulted by police officers at a ferry crossing an hour before curfew (Bearak & Ombuor, 2020).

Burial practices were affected by the virus. Like the HIV/AIDS pandemic, the dead were put in body bags before being put into caskets. A maximum of 15 family members was allowed to attend burials, and caskets would not be opened for viewing. Moreover, public health officials in personal protective equipment (PPE) were the ones who buried the dead. According to Mutethya (2020), Kenyans felt stigmatized by these practices and welcomed the revision of burial protocols by the Ministry of Health. The revisions were in line with the WHO's guidelines that stated that the dead should be buried with dignity.

On 7<sup>th</sup> April 2020, the Star, a Kenyan newspaper, published an article alleging that 17 members of parliament had tested positive for COVID-19. The article elicited many discussions on social media. The discussions revolved around corruption, poor leadership, and COVID-19 precautionary measures. However, the newspaper was accused by government officials and health practitioners of being sensationalist and malicious for publishing that story.

Mass vaccination began in March 2021, and as of May 2021, only 1.5 % of the population had been vaccinated. Kenya and other African countries had the lowest vaccination rates because western countries were hoarding vaccines, and a few countries and pharmaceutical companies had refused an I.P. waiver that would allow countries to manufacture vaccines.

# 2.10 Media Framing of the COVID-19 Pandemic

Gabore (2020) explored Western and Chinese media representation of Africa in COVID-19 news coverage. The study involved content analysis of articles from CNN, BBC, France 24, CGTN, China Daily, and Xinhua websites. The articles were published between 23<sup>rd</sup> March 2020 and 29<sup>th</sup> March 2020. Overall results of the study suggested that Western media coverage of African events was not predominantly negative; and that Chinese media framing was uncommonly affirmative. The results also indicated that Western media also covered positive events in Africa in contrast to

the previous accusations for focusing only on disaster and conflict. Although this study focuses on framing by international media, its findings may help us compare Kenyan media framing of the COVID-19 Pandemic with international media's coverage of the Pandemic in the year 2020. In their study on the mental health repercussions of COVID-19 news coverage, Su et al. (2021) investigated ways that traditional media reported on COVID-19 and how information on social media could lead to mental health issues. The study found that there was intentional spread of misinformation and disinformation through social media platforms by groups with ulterior motives. Furthermore, the study revealed that misinformation and disinformation could fuel public alarm, doubt, and distrust, with serious individual and financial repercussions. In regards to the framing of the COVID-19 Pandemic by traditional media, the researchers argue that some media organizations can produce biased news that can cause substantial mental health concerns among the public. This research supports our argument that media framing affects public perceptions. Mutua and Oloo (2020) probed online news media framing of the COVID-19 Pandemic in international media. Using content analysis, framing, and consecutive day sampling, this study investigated the media coverage of the initial two months of the COVID-19 Pandemic by four international news media organizations, namely; BBC, CNN, Al-Jazeera, and the People's Daily. Sinophobia, crime, geopolitics, international relations, misinformation, and fake news, were the emergent themes that defined the angles from which the news media organizations viewed the Pandemic. The study observed that BBC, CNN, and Al-Jazeera news media coverage portrayed the disease outbreak as a Chinese issue, leading to stigmatization and Sinophobia on the Chinese by people from other countries for fear of contagion. This research supports our notion that how news is framed during pandemics can affect how we perceive the world around us.

Gui (2021) analyzed media framing of the COVID-19 Pandemic in Chinese social and cultural contexts by *Xinwen Lianbo*, one of China's established media. Findings revealed that the war metaphor was dominant because war metaphors are prevalent in Chinese culture. Culturally loaded metaphors such as "chess" and "combination blow" were also discovered. "Chess" refers to the Chinese chess game, *weiqi*, and "combination blow" refers to a technique in Chinese martial arts. The study concluded that framings by the Chinese mainstream media shaped what COVID-19 was, what parts people should play, and what actions could be taken. This study enriches our research by showing that further research can be done on how Kenyan social and cultural contexts shape media framing of the COVID-19 Pandemic by Kenyan media.

Thomas et al. (2020) investigated how Australian media attributed blame during the COVID-19 Pandemic. Newspaper articles from the Australian and the Sydney Morning Herald were sampled between 20th January and 31st March 2020. The results showed that instances of blame were scarce and implied using the cause and origin of the Pandemic. Furthermore, findings showed that the responsibility frame was not used until after the research period due to the perception of the pandemic as low risk by the media. This research states that the responsibility frame during Pandemics can also lead to stigmatization of minority groups and that media can mediate public behaviour. These two statements align with our assertion that media framing affects public perception and how society treats affected or infected groups.

# 2.11. Disinformation, Misinformation and Fake News during Pandemics

In crises such as pandemics, media plays a vital role in shaping our understanding of what is happening around us. However, Tagliabue et al. (2020) note that in such situations, people find themselves overwhelmed with fake news and misinformation, which, for those without the right skills, can be complicated to digest. UNESCO (2018) defines disinformation as deliberate (often

orchestrated) attempts to confuse or manipulate people through delivering false information to them and misinformation as misleading information created or disseminated without manipulative or malicious intent. The organization further claims that disinformation and misinformation in mass media result from weak journalism, which arises from poor research or sloppy verification and manipulation by stakeholders.

#### 2.11.1 Classification of Misinformation and Disinformation

Wardle (2021) classifies misinformation and disinformation into seven categories:

- 1. Satire or parody: No intention to cause harm but has potential to fool.
- 2. Misleading content: Misleading use of information to frame an issue or individual
- 3. Imposter content: When genuine sources are impersonated.
- 4. Fabricated content: When new content is 100% false and designed to deceive and do harm.
- 5. False connection: When headlines, visuals, or captions do not support the content
- 6. False context: When genuine content is shared with false contextual information.
- 7. Manipulated context: When genuine information is manipulated to deceive.

During pandemics, media may publish information that falls under any one of the seven categories. Such information is dangerous as it can lead to stigmatization or violence against infected and affected people. Wong (2020) believes that headlines such as "Yellow Peril', "Chinese virus Pandamonium," and "China Kids Stay Home" in French and Australian newspapers during the COVID-19 Pandemic may have fuelled anti-Asian sentiments in Europe. In May 2015, the WHO published a manual on the best practices for naming new human infectious diseases. The manual aims to reduce the adverse effects of disease names on business, travel, tourism, or animal welfare and to avoid offending any cultural, social, national, regional, professional, or ethnic groups. The manual states that ailment names must not include geographic locations, people's names, species/class of

animals or food, cultural, population, industry, occupational references, and terms that incite undue fear. By using words such as Chinese virus in their headlines, the newspapers made the Asian population in Europe a target to stigmatization.

UNESCO (2018) adds mal-information as another category of misleading information. Mal information is the transfer of messages to cause harm to a person or an organization. These messages can be about a person's HIV status, sexual orientation, or financial status. Disclosure of such information is a violation of privacy and can lead to stigmatization of the affected groups.

#### 2.11.2 Social Media and Fake News

According to Ogola (2020), official misinformation by governments in Africa has led to distrust among the public regarding public health messaging. This distrust has led to reliance on fake news circulated on social media. Bernard et al.(2021) define "fake news" as the online phenomenon of spreading misinformation and disinformation masquerading as news or factual reports on social media. Borchers (2018) and Wendling (2018) claim that the term "fake news" was first used by Hilary Clinton on 8<sup>th</sup> December 2016 in a speech informing Congress of "an epidemic of malicious fake news and false propaganda on social media that could have real-life consequences". Two days later, Donald Trump coined the term to mean news used by left-wing media to tarnish his name. "Fake news" creates fear that Ogola (2020) claims feeds existing attitudes relating to pandemics leading to the stigmatization of victims. Facebook, WhatsApp, and Twitter have been identified as significant conduits of fake news. Facebook has been identified as the worst and fastest spreader of fake news among the three social media platforms. It is alleged that fake news on social media during the 2017 Kenyan general election may have swayed the outcome of the elections. Cambridge Analytica, a U.K.-based consultancy firm, is accused of sponsoring Ads and campaigns on social media that influenced public opinion on the two presidential candidates, Uhuru Kenyatta

and Raila Odinga. In order to contain fake news, Facebook plans to verify the identity of its advertisers and the content of their advertisements before allowing them to post their ads. It also has third-party fact-checkers that identify, review and label false information. Regarding the COVID-19 Pandemic, Twitter, in its general guidelines and policies, declares that it will delete, apply a warning message to a tweet or suspend an account if a Twitter user is caught spreading false information regarding the Pandemic.

## 2.12 Public Perception and News Media

Media framing of an event influences the audience's reaction to it (Holbrook & Kisamore, 2018, p. 93). Public perception is the attitudes that audiences form during and after consuming information from news media. According to Tsfati and Cohen (2013), prior studies identified three vital kinds of attitudes towards media outlets: they relate to trust in media (Kohring & Matthes, 2007), perceptions as to whether media favour or are hostile toward specific topics or groups (Vallone et al., 1985), and beliefs about how powerful media are and how they affect the self, other individuals, and society (Davison, 1983). Cho and Gower (2006) use the term "hysterical journalism" to define the process which media use over-dramatized information that influences audiences' feelings and has adverse effects on their views on the actors mentioned. Entman (2007) states that this form of bias occurs when framing in individual news reports and editorials are prejudiced against one side in a disagreement. He calls this phenomenon a news slant. Hayakawa and Hayakawa (1990) first coined the term slanting and defined it as the process of choosing information that is beneficial or detrimental to the actors in a story.

## 2.12.1 Criterion for Measuring Media Bias

D'Alessio and Allen (2000) identified gatekeeping bias, coverage bias, statement bias, and bias by source selection as types of media bias. Gatekeeping bias occurs when media selects stories from

one party over another (D'Alessio & Allen, 2000). Coverage bias is when media gives one party more coverage over another. For instance, during general election campaigns in Kenya, some media houses have been alleged to be owned by or affiliated with certain political parties because of the nature of their news coverage. One political party may receive more airtime or be painted in a better light than the other. Coverage bias reflects the duration or space each news item is given (Quackenbush, 2013). Statement bias or narrative bias entails journalists purposely interjecting their personal opinions or anecdotal knowledge about the legitimacy of objective facts (D'Alessio & Allen, 2000). Quackenbush (2013) claims that journalists sometimes hide or leave out facts that go against their opinions to further their ideologies. Finally, bias by source selection involves journalists obtaining information from sources that support their ideologies or sources that intentionally communicate information that will support the journalist's or the organization's ideologies. A news network owned by climate change deniers may interview a scientist who supports their belief that climate change is not real.

### 2.13. Conclusion

The two pandemics have some similarities even though they have occurred 36 years apart. News coverage of the first cases both led to discrimination. Kenya is a conservative country, and framing HIV/AIDS as a sex disease made society frown upon infected people. Fear of rejection and disgrace led to suicides. In the case of COVID-19, patient zero was bullied after her identity was revealed to the press. Some newspapers published articles that may have questioned the validity of her story. Therefore, the aim of our study was to evaluate how the Standard Newspaper framed the two pandemics, how the Kenyans perceived those frames and how the infected and affected coped with the effects of media framing.

#### CHAPTER THREE

#### MANIFESTATIONS OF MEDIA FRAMING IN PANDEMICS

#### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter delves into data presentation, which involves identifying, classifying, and illustrating generic frames. In the same chapter, data is analyzed and discussed using the tenets of the framing theory. Findings are also highlighted, and a conclusion is made on the presentation of the chapter.

# 3.2. Illustrations of Media Framing in Pandemics

The data presented was drawn from the Standard Newspaper, and it concerned media framing of the HIV/AIDS Pandemic and the COVID-19 Pandemic. The data collected was presented in the form of tables which contained media frames and public perception of the two Pandemics. The media frames were classified according to Gabore (2020)'s summary of generic frames and the six categories acquired from research by Kiptinness & Kiwanuka-Tondo (2019).

The first objective of our study was to investigate media framing of the HIV/AIDS Pandemic and the COVID-19 Pandemic. Content analysis of the 100 Pandemic-related articles revealed seven common frames. They included: the severity frame, the action frame, the eminence frame, the assurance frame, the conflict frame, the impact frame, and the beliefs about who is at risk frame. The tables below contain illustrations of the frames used by the Standard Newspaper in the coverage of the two Pandemics.

Table 3.2.1: The Severity Frame in the Framing of the AIDS Pandemic and the COVID-19 Pandemic

In the coverage of the HIV/AIDS and COVID-19 Pandemics, the severity frame highlighted the seriousness of the Pandemics using statistics and terminology. In table 3.2.1 below, statistics indicated the surge of infections and fatalities, and the number of people impacted by the

Pandemics. Words such as national disaster, alarming heights, and drastically expressed the gravity of the two Pandemics.

Frame	HIV/AIDS Pandemic	COVID-19 Pandemic
The Severity	Since the first AIDS case was diagnosed	About seven Kenyans have been
Frame	in 1984, AIDS sufferers had risen to	confirmed to have been infected
	9,000 in 1988, 12,000 in 1990, and now	with COVID-19. Globally, there
	17,000 this year.	were 254,801 as of the end of
		yesterday, out of which 10,447
		have succumbed to the deadly
		virus.
	By the year 2000, expenditure on AIDS	Evidence from other countries
	victims will have completely overrun	indicates that the number of
	budgetary provisions allocated to the	infected people increases
	Ministry of Health, the Manager of the	drastically in the second week
	National AIDS Control Programme, Dr.	following confirmation of the first
	Gilbert Jimbo, has said. Delivering a	case. Consequently, the next two
	paper on the AIDS programme for the	weeks are extremely critical for
	Kenyan Government and the United	this country.
	Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the	
	Manager said the scourge will have	
	caused more than one million orphans	
	by the year 2005.	

The vice-president and Minister for Planning and National Development, Prof. George Saitoti, yesterday said the dreaded AIDS was a national disaster...saying that AIDS was more than a personal tragedy, Prof. Saitoti told the participants that over 8000,000 Kenyans aged between 15 to 49 years representing over six percent of the productive population were HIV-positive.

Between March 12th and March 24th, corona cases rose from 1 reported incident to 25 cases, a 2,400 percent increase in 12 days. From March 24th to 28, Kenya recorded an increase of another 13 cases. A 58 percent increase in three days.

The Government is closely monitoring AIDS (Acquired Immunity Deficiency Syndrome) disease. We are keeping our fingers crossed. Although there were signs that AIDS was here, the situation had not reached the alarming heights it had in the US. We are not hysterical about it.

Kenya is entering a dangerous phase of the coronavirus pandemic that, if mismanaged, could see cases surge to 1,000 in 10 days, officials have warned. Authorities project that without drastic intervention to curb community infections, and if Kenyans drop their guard, cases could hit 1,000 by April 9th, rising to 5,000 by mid-April and 10,000 by the end of April.

Table 3.2.2: The Action Frame in the Framing of the AIDS Pandemic and the COVID-19 Pandemic

In table 3.2.2 below, the action frame appeared in the form of measures put in place to curb the two disease outbreaks. In the AIDS Pandemic, some of the measures included harsh sentencing for those who knowingly spread the AIDS virus, clemency for HIV-positive convicts, and the formation of a National AIDS Council for averting and controlling HIV/AIDS in the country. In the COVID-19 Pandemic, the Government suspended all public gatherings, set up at least 300 isolation beds in four South Rift counties and the High Court suspended sentencing inmates serving less than three years at Nakuru penal institution. De-congestion of prisons was a standard measure in the two Pandemics because the poor health and living conditions in prisons promoted the spread of viruses.

Frame	HIV/AIDS Pandemic	COVID-19 Pandemic
The Action	Rapists who have the AIDS virus	The Government has
Frame	will get a sentence of life	suspended all public gatherings
	imprisonment, parliament resolved	with immediate effect as
	yesterday. The House resolved that	Kenyans come to terms with
	anybody who deliberately infects	the reality of the coronavirus
	unsuspecting Kenyans with the	case confirmed in the country.
	virus will also face the same	The suspension, as announced
	sentence. The tough move on the	yesterday by Health Cabinet
	killer disease came into effect when	Secretary Mutahi Kagwe, will

the House passed a motion moved	affect church services, political
by Ndaragwa MP Mwangi Gichuki	rallies, prison visits, and
(DP) and seconded by Sirisia MP	interschool games. However,
(Ford Kenya) John Munyasia.	schooling will still go on as per
	the calendar. Prison visits have
	been suspended for 30 days.
	Church services can go on if
	they provide sanitisers.
"Twenty convicted Acquired	The High Court has suspended
Immune Deficiency Syndrome	sentencing 143 inmates serving
sufferers have been granted	less than three years at Nakuru
clemency and set free." Home	penal institution. According to
Affairs and National Heritage	judicial officials, the move is
Minister Francis Lotodo announced	aimed at decongesting male
yesterday. "Cases of seriously ill	and female jails at the Nakuru
prisoners will also be reviewed with	prison in the wake of the
the aim of releasing them" he	COVID-19 outbreak.
added.	
The Government will form a	At least 300 isolation beds
National AIDS Council for	have been set up in four South
prevention and control of	Rift counties to handle
HIV/AIDS in the country by the end	COVID-19. According to
of the year. The National AIDS	health officials in Nakuru,

Committee vice-chairman, Dr.	Kericho, Samburu, and Bomet
Sobbie Mulindi, said the council	counties, some 700 medical
will be the highest body dealing	officers have also been trained
with HIV/AIDS activities.	in readiness for any
	eventuality.

Table 3.2.3: The Eminence Frame in the Framing of the AIDS Pandemic and the COVID-19 Pandemic

The eminence frame was highlighted in instances where names of public figures and institutions were mentioned. In table 3.2.3 below, the former Minister of Health, Mr. Peter Nyakiamo; Nyeri Governor Mr.Mutahi Kahiga, and the Health Cabinet Secretary Mutahi Kagwe were mentioned. Institutions such as the WHO, the Kenya Medical Research Institute Welcome Trust-Kilifi, and the Kenya Medical Practitioners and Dentists Council (KMPDC) were mentioned. Furthermore, we observed that in the HIV/AIDS Pandemic, the eminence frame did not include names of prominent people who had succumbed to the disease, while the eminence frame in the COVID-19 Pandemic did. We attributed this to the nature of the spread of the disease. The AIDS Pandemic was framed as a sex disease that affected homosexuals, prostitutes, and drug addicts, while the COVID-19 Pandemic was known as a viral disease that affected everyone.

Frame	HIV/AIDS Pandemic	COVID-19 Pandemic
The Eminence	We noted that the eminence frame	The eminence frame appeared
Frame	included instances where public	in instances where names of
	figures such as politicians, scientists,	public figures who had died

institutions, and foreign media houses were mentioned in articles. For example, one of the articles sampled stated, "The Minister of Health, Mr. Peter Nyakiamo, gave the assurance yesterday when addressing a press conference attended by local and foreign journalists based in Nairobi. Also present was the Minister for Tourism and Wildlife, Mr. Andrew Omanga, and an Assistant Minister for Health, Mr. Henry Cheboiwo." Another article mentioned the scientists who reported the first case to succumb to HIV/AIDS in Kenya. The first case was a Ugandan journalist admitted to the Kenyatta Hospital on August 18th, 1983, and died from the illness on May 8th, 1984. The article stated, "The case was reported by Drs. AOK. Obel, A.K. Sharif, E. Gitonga and W. Gitau of the University of Nairobi.

from the virus were mentioned. For example, the Standard Newspaper reported the deaths of Dr. Vladamir Schunkin, a bariatric general and laparoscopic surgeon; Dr. Robert Ayisi, a renowned pediatrician and, the death of Dr. Daniel Alushula who, according to the Standard Newspaper, championed the establishment of institutions to train orthopedic surgeons across Africa. The eminence frame also included reports of politicians who had recovered from the virus. The Standard Newspaper reported Nyeri Governor Mr. Mutahi Kahiga's three-week ordeal with the COVID-19 Pandemic. Mr. Kahiga, according to the Standard Newspaper, was the

Commenting on the case, the panel observed that they wanted to alert medical practitioners to the possibility of AIDS occurring in Africans and to emphasize the point that no race may be exempted from this highly lethal syndrome." International media houses were mentioned when the Kenyan Government denied reports on the severity of the disease in Kenya. For example, "Meeting the World Health Organization (WHO) Regional Director for Africa, Prof. Gotlieb L. Monekoso, Mr. Matiba dismissed a recent Washington Post report that AIDS had escalated in Kenya's lake region and people were dying; in their thousands, daily."

first governor to speak publicly about his experience with the virus. The frame also appeared in cases where officials and organizations in the health sector were mentioned. Statements by President Uhuru Kenyatta, the Health Cabinet Secretary Mutahi Kagwe, and the Health Director-General Patrick Amoth were observed in the sampled articles. Furthermore, organizations such as the Kenya Medical Research Institute Welcome Trust-Kilifi, the World Health Organization (WHO), and the Kenya Medical **Practitioners and Dentists** Council (KMPDC) were mentioned.

Articles did not mention prominent people who were infected with or had died from the disease. Instead,

Articles mentioned prominent people infected by the virus, recovered from the virus, and

general information was given about
HIV-positive groups. The Standard
Newspaper published headlines such
as "382 KPA Employees are
Suffering from AIDS", "AIDS
Bankrupts Nyeri Knut Branch", and
"Shock as Aids Kills Four PCEA
Pastors."

died of the virus. On April 4th, 2020, the Standard Newspaper reported the death of Kenya Airways pilot Captain Dauti Kibati who died from COVID-19 a week after evacuating Kenyans from the USA. On April 29th, 2020, the Standard Newspaper also reported the death of Bishop Silas Njiru, who died from the virus in a hospital in Italy. The Standard also reported the death of former Changamwe MP Ramdhan Kajembe. The headline read, "COVID Kills Ex-MP, Wife, and Daughter in just One Month."

Table 3.2.4: The Assurance Frame in the Framing of the AIDS Pandemic and the COVID-19 Pandemic

In table 3.2.4 below, the assurance frame was used to affirm the public of their safety. In the HIV/AIDS Pandemic, the public was told that there was no proof that insects could spread the

disease, expectant women who tested positive for the virus were promised special care, and an international tour company assured Kenya that many of their clients still preferred Kenya as a travel destination, despite reports made by the BBC. President Uhuru Kenyatta, during the COVID-19 Pandemic, encouraged Kenyans by saying that the virus could be defeated. The Government also told Kenyans to remain calm and continue with their day-to-day activities. This statement from the Government informed Kenyans that although the virus was severe, it should not prevent them from living their ordinary lives.

Frame	HIV/AIDS Pandemic	COVID-19 Pandemic
The Assurance	There is confusion among the public	The Government would like to
Frame	about the spread of the disease. The	encourage Kenyans to remain
	disease is not as contagious as many	calm and continue with their
	people believe. There is no proof	regular day-to-day activities but
	that the disease can be spread by	stay vigilant, keep good hygiene,
	blood-sucking insects like	observe self-quarantine where
	mosquitoes, tsetse flies, and fleas.	necessary under law and observe
		precautionary measures
		announced by WHO and the
		National Emergency Committee.
	The Government is aware of the	When Kenya went on partial
	dangers posed by the HIV1virus,	lockdown on March 16 <sup>th</sup> , 2020,
	which is deadly. Tests are being	President Uhuru told Kenyans,

carried out on expectant mothers
nationwide so that those who test
positive can be given special
attention during their pregnancy. It
is the Government's desire to control
the spread of the virus, which is
transmitted only through sexual
contact. This is why the Government
has ordered that all blood for
transfusion should be screened.

"This Pandemic will test us, as it is testing all countries in every corner of the world. But I do not believe it will defeat us. If we pull together and everybody does their part, we shall overcome its worst impacts."

In 1987, after the BBC published reports that AIDS was rife at the Kenyan coast, there were claims that foreign tourists were cancelling flights and hotel bookings at the coast. To allay these fears, Mrs. Primrose Stobbs, a London Director of Abercrombie and Kent, stated, "The Nairobi head office told us to assure our clients that Kenya remained one of the healthiest countries in the world to visit. But so

far as we are concerned, there has

When the first recovery of the COVID-19 Pandemic was announced, President Uhuru Kenyatta stated, "We have registered one recovery of the patients. This is a clear indication that we can, and we will beat the virus."

been no reaction whatsoever to the
AIDS scare. We have not had a
single inquiry from our clients, and
no one has cancelled. Business is
exceptionally good and this year will
show a striking increase in our
Kenya books from Britain and
America. Abercrombie and Kent
have sent more than 20,000 visitors
to Kenya in the past two years,
during which period the killer
disease had received world
publicity."

Table 3.2.5: The conflict frame in the Framing of HIV/AIDS and COVID-19

In table 3.2.5 below, the conflict frame was noted in disagreements between countries, citizens and the Government, politicians, and members of the public. The conflict frame aimed to highlight the mistreatment of Kenyans in foreign countries, the Government's mishandling of COVID-19 funds, and crimes committed by HIV-positive criminals. Mention of the accused's HIV status may have given the impression that HIV-positive people were criminals.

Frame	HIV/AIDS Pandemic	COVID-19 Pandemic
The Conflict	The conflict frame appeared in the	The conflict frame appeared in the
Frame	form of disagreements between	concern over the treatment of
	countries. Kenya told Britain to	Kenyans and other Africans in
	apologise to Kenya after the BBC	China. There were claims that
	published reports that AIDS was rife	Africans were spreading COVID-19
	in Malindi and Mombasa. The	in China. These claims were
	Minister of Health, Mr. Nyakiamo,	accompanied by images from China
	denied these claims and stated, "The	showing Africans being forcibly
	Ministry is completely satisfied that	evicted from their homes and denied
	tourists and other visitors can visit	entry and services in public
	Kenya and enjoy the beauty of the	facilities such as shopping malls,
	country without undue risk to	hospitals, and eateries. The Chinese
	themselves. It is astonishing that	Ambassador to Kenya, Mr. Wu
	Kenya is being given such adverse	Peng, disputed those claims and
	publicity by international media, yet	stated, "The videos did not tell the
	it has a relatively small number of	whole story. The Africans, some of
	AIDS victims compared to some	whom do not have valid papers in
	developed countries. Kenya,	the country, violated public health
	therefore, feels justified to conclude	measures such as avoiding public
	that the current journalistic and other	gatherings and wearing masks.
	public humiliation in the	Later they showed symptoms of
	international media is nothing but a	

smear campaign against the good name of Kenya and the citizens of this country." In another incident, the Kenyan Government protested the expulsion of Kenyan students in India for allegedly being HIV-positive. In a ministerial briefing in parliament, an Assistant Minister for health, Mr. Henry Cheboiwo, stated, "The Government views India's action with serious concern. The Health Minister, Mr. Peter Nyakiamo, has even summoned the Indian High Commissioner to Kenya to his office and demanded an explanation over the matter. So far, we have not received an official reply. The Government is also equally concerned over the overt publicity on foreign students in Indian newspapers and adverse effects it was having on Kenyan students who

infection, but they have already transmitted to the community." The frame was furthermore observed in news stories regarding the missing COVID-19 funds. According to the Standard Newspaper, the Government had released Sh. 156.7 billion to jumpstart the economy but only Sh. 13.3 billion reached the pockets of ordinary Kenyans. The Standard Newspaper claimed that the remaining Sh.143.4 billion was stashed in banks by wealthy individuals and corporates. Treasury Cabinet Secretary Mr. Ukur Yattani denied this claim and stated that Sh. 38 billion was used to support the health sector, Sh. 5 billion was given to county governments, and the remaining Sh.157 billion was used to cushion the economy through programmes such as Kazi

were being victimised and discriminated against on the basis of sensational reporting." Mtaani. The former Prime Minister
Raila Odinga sided with
Government, and his show of
support was questioned by Deputy
President Wiliam Ruto and the
Kenya National Union of Nurses.
The Deputy President stated, "The
pretentious (former) opposition,
now turned Lords of corruption,
attempted defence of the Covid
grand larceny is not shocking."

The frame also appeared in instances that highlighted disputes among individuals. The Standard

Newspaper reported a case of a man who was charged with an attempt to swindle money and goods from a member of the public. The man was not immediately sentenced because he claimed he was HIV-positive.

The judge ordered the accused to take an HIV test which came out

The conflict frame appeared in the form of disagreements between the Kenyan public and the Government. There was public uproar when the Government, in February 2020, allowed a Southern China Airlines flight from Guangzhou to land at the Jomo Kenyatta International Airport. Unlike other countries that required passengers to quarantine in government isolation centers for 14 days, the Government allowed the

positive, and sentenced him to 18 months in prison.

239 passengers to self-quarantine. Kenyans were afraid that this move would lead to the spread of COVID-19 in Kenya as the passengers were coming from China, the epicenter of the virus. According to the Standard Newspaper, two petitions were made by the Law Society of Kenya (LSK), and two medical doctors Dr. Joseph Mithika and Dr. Thiankunu Cyprian claiming that the Government was gambling with Kenyans lives by allowing the Chinese to enter. High Court judge Justice James Makau instructed Interior CS Sicily Kariuki, Transport CS James Macharia, and Foreign Affairs CS Raychelle Omamo to trace, examine, confine and quarantine the 239 passengers in a Kenya Defense Force (KDF) facility to protect Kenyans from the Pandemic.

Table 3.2.6: The Impact Frame in the Framing of the AIDS Pandemic and the COVID-19 Pandemic.

From table 3.2.6 below, we noted that the HIV/AIDS Pandemic and the COVID-19 Pandemic had economic and social effects on Kenyan society. The Pandemics affected the education sector, the hotel industry, and the job market. In both disease outbreaks, many teachers died from the diseases. The hotel industry lost many of its workers to the HIV/AIDS Pandemic, while hotels made huge losses when the Government banned public gatherings during the COVID-19 Pandemic. In addition to this, both pandemics led to job losses. HIV-positive people were denied employment opportunities, while the COVID-19 Pandemic led to salary cuts and job losses due to lockdowns and the ban on public gatherings.

Frame	HIV/AIDS Pandemic	COVID-19 Pandemic
The Impact Frame	The HIV/AIDS Pandemic	The impact frame was
	had adverse effects on the	observed in articles that
	lives of HIV-positive people	covered the economic
	and their families. In one of	consequences of the COVID-
	the articles, an HIV-positive	19 Pandemic on Kenya. A
	man stated, AIDS is a costly	potter from Kakamega whose
	disease. Any time I have	business was affected by the
	some opportunistic infection,	Pandemic stated,"This
	I do everything to attend to it.	business was started by our
	I have sold one shamba	late father while we were

because I was not able to repay our AFC loan because of illness associated with AIDS. All my lifetime savings have gone into buying drugs. I had 50 goats but sold them one by one to buy drugs. The drugs are just too expensive—but I have tried." The AZT drug, which is supposed to protect HIVpositive people from AIDSrelated diseases, cost between Shs. 15,000 and Shs. 29,000 per month in 1994. Raphael Tuju, the columnist of the AIDS Watch section, researched the average cost of healthcare for HIVpositive people and made the following observations. "If you are hospitalised at private hospitals like the

young. From it, we have been taken to school, but in the last few months, the losses we are posting are too huge to comprehend. The coronavirus has negatively affected us. Some people closed shop a long time ago when buyers stopped trooping in to buy their artwork. Marketing has been a challenge, and this is why we have been pleading with the county and national governments to help us address the issue."

month way should avenue to	
month, you should expect to	
pay a bill of roughly Shs.	
00,000 at the time of	
lischarge. Unfortunately,	
with AIDS, your discharge is	
not that you have been cured.	
Your discharge simply means	
hat this or that opportunistic	
nfection that brought you to	
he hospital has been	
controlled. Some other	
nfection will be putting you	
lown sooner or later."	
Socially, the HIV/AIDS	Socially, the Pandemic led to
Pandemic led to an increase	an increase in suicides.
n AIDS orphans. Dr. Job	According to the Standard
Amolo, the chairman of the	Newspaper, police records
Kisumu District Health	showed 418 suicide cases
Management Board, summed	between March and August
he gravity of the situation by	2020 compared to 421
saying, "The massive	reported for 2019. Rebecca
ntervention of HIV/AIDS	Chelagat, a mental health
	200,000 at the time of ischarge. Unfortunately, with AIDS, your discharge is of that you have been cured. Your discharge simply means that this or that opportunistic infection that brought you to me hospital has been controlled. Some other infection will be putting you own sooner or later."  Ocially, the HIV/AIDS andemic led to an increase in AIDS orphans. Dr. Job amolo, the chairman of the cisumu District Health Management Board, summed the gravity of the situation by aying, "The massive

infection in the last ten years has complicated all adverse conditions that have afflicted society. A new dimension is the great loss of an active, dependable population which has left an impoverished dependant population of children and the elderly. A grave situation we have to face! At the micro-level (that is the family level), the situation is desperate as we end up with closed homes when the father and mother die, leaving only young children who can not live alone."

specialist, attributed the rise in suicide cases to the stress caused by the COVID-19 Pandemic. She stated, "Parents are stressed, and children are also stressed because they are not attending school. The nation is stressed. It is a situation that requires the Government to invest heavily in mental health. We now have a situation where even marriages are on the verge of collapse due to financial burdens."

The HIV/AIDS Pandemic led to low productivity, job losses, and unemployment. A reader wrote to AIDS Watcha column in the health

The COVID-19 Pandemic led to unemployment and salary cuts. According to data from the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS),

section that answered the public's questions on AIDSdetailing how he lost a job after testing HIV-positive. The reader wrote, "Dear AIDS Watch, three months ago I was lucky to secure a job after being jobless for five months. I negotiated a very good salary package and other good terms and conditions, which this employer accepted. But before I could be engaged, I was sent for various medical tests, including an HIV test. Unfortunately, the results showed that I am HIVpositive. The employer has now refused to give me the job. When the doctor gave me the results, I was speechless."

the number of unemployed Kenyans shot up by more than half to 4,637,164 between April and June, from 2,944,724 in the January-March period. The data also revealed the following findings: The number of economically inactive Kenyans- sick people, students, and retireesincreased by 1 million to 9,774,700. 904,147 youth between the ages 20 and 34 fell out of the job market. 816,439 people above the age of 35 lost jobs. At least 620, 679 people between the ages of 25 and 29 lost their jobs.

	Unemployment was blamed	1,841,918 Kenyans were
	for fuelling the spread of the	actively looking for
	HIV/AIDS Pandemic.	employment.
	According to Dr. Sobbie	The unemployment rate
	Mulindi, the National Aids	increased to 10.4 percent in
	Committee vice-chair,	the second quarter of 2020,
	idleness contributed to the	compared to 5.2 percent
	involvement of the	recorded in the first quarter.
	unemployed youth	Due to the COVID-19
	population in drugs and	Pandemic, Kenya Airways
	promiscuous lifestyles.	was forced to reduce 65% of
	Other AIDS experts blamed	flights. Mr. Allan Kivaluka,
	Kenya's education policy that	the airline's chief executive,
	made young people stay	stated that to enable the
	home for months or years	airline to continue with its
	before joining universities	operations, he and Kenya
	and colleges for promoting	Airways staff would have to
	the virus's spread.	take temporary pay cuts and
	led to job losses and	unpaid leave to prevent
	unemployment.	employees from losing their
		jobs.
	The education sector was	The education sector was
	affected because a large	affected as schools were
<u>L</u>		

number of teachers were dying from the virus. On February 10<sup>th</sup>, 2000, the **Teachers Service** Commission (TSC) instructed all district and municipal education officers to provide a monthly list of teachers who were too weak to perform their duties and the number of teachers who had passed away from the disease. In a circular to the educational officers, the TSC justified this directive by saying, "The TSC is not in a position to assess the impact of HIV/AIDS on the number of teachers because the casualty returns only indicate that the teachers have passed away. The death certificates normally take a little longer

closed to curb the spread of the virus. Lporos Primary School in Samburu, Kolanya Boys High School in Busia County, Mama Ngina Girls High School, Tononoka Boys Secondary High School, and Star of the Sea Girls Secondary School in Mombasa County were shut after teachers tested positive for COVID-19. Data from the teacher's medical insurance scheme revealed that between March and November 2020, 36 teachers had died from the COVID-19 Pandemic. The Kenya Union of Post Primary **Education Teachers** (KUPPET) Secretary-General Akello Misori stated that the teachers who had

to be received, and even they may not indicate the deaths of the teachers are HIV/AIDS-related. In view of the seriousness of this problem and the need to keep track of the trend of teacher numbers, it has been decided that you be asked to provide statistics on the effects and impact of HIV/AIDS in your district/ municipalities on a monthly basis. The statistics should indicate how many teachers may be too weak to continue performing their duties and how many passed away in the previous month." In 2001, Kenya's late former President Moi stated that 18 teachers died daily from HIV/AIDS. In the same year, Professor Ochola Ayayo, the

succumbed to the virus had pre-existing conditions.

According to the Kenya
Secondary School Heads
Association (KESSHA)
chairman Kahi Indimuli, 15
principals had died from the virus.

Director of the Institute of	
Population Studies and	
Research, at a Global	
Leadership Training	
Programme stated that the	
University of Nairobi lost at	
least two individuals per	
month to the disease.	
The hotel industry was hard	The service industry was the
hit by the HIV/AIDS	hardest hit by the COVID-19
Pandemic. According to	Pandemic. The ban on public
Nyali Beach Hotel general	gatherings led to the closure
manager Mohammed Hersi,	of hotels and entertainment
many industry workers had	spots. The sealing of borders
died of complications	reduced the number of flights
associated with the disease.	coming into the country,
	which affected the hotel and
	tourism industry.

Table 3.2.7: The Beliefs about who is at Risk frame in the Framing of the AIDS Pandemic and COVID-19 Pandemic.

From table 3.2.7 below, in the HIV/AIDS Pandemic, foreigners, commercial sex workers, and homosexuals were perceived to be at risk of contracting the disease. Foreigners were perceived as

a high-risk group because Kenyans believed that AIDS originated among homosexuals in the US. In the COVID-19 Pandemic, visually impaired people, people living in slums, truck drivers, health workers, police officers, and prison warders were considered vulnerable groups. Visually impaired people were at risk because they relied on touch and could easily come into contact with contaminated surfaces. Regular handwashing and social distancing are ways people could avoid contagion; however, people living in slums did not have access to water or space to practice social distancing. Truck drivers, police officers, and prison warders interact with many people on a daily basis and are prone to catching the virus. Health workers might catch the virus when attending to sick patients.

Frame	HIV/AIDS Pandemic	COVID-19 Pandemic
The Beliefs about who is at	At the beginning of the	People living with special
Risk Frame	HIV/AIDS Pandemic, the	needs were considered
	disease was perceived to be a	vulnerable to the COVID-19
	disease that affected	Pandemic. According to Mr.
	foreigners. When Western	Anderson Gitonga, the
	press reported that AIDS was	Executive Director of United
	rampant in Africa, Mr.	Disabled Persons of Kenya,
	Simon Shitemi, the	the visually impaired were
	Permanent Secretary at the	the most affected group
	Ministry of Health, told	among people living with
	Reuters, "Just three people	special needs. He said that
	have died in this country, all	the visually impaired were at

of them expatriates. You risk because they relied on can't call this rampant. There their sense of touch to find is an element of racism in all their way and identify this. AIDS surfaced in the objects. A visually impaired US, but now they are saying person who gave an ordeal of there is an African AIDS. If her experience with the COVID-19 Pandemic stated, the source of AIDS was Africa and one-tenth of the "I cannot keep social population are infected, why distance and avoid touching surfaces when I am outside. I are Africans not dying in large numbers, such as is rely on my daughter on being experienced almost everything I do. That elsewhere?" puts me at risk of contracting the virus since I cannot observe social distancing. Since I have no sense of sight, the sense of touch and instincts are my only guide." Commercial sex workers Truck drivers, health workers, police officers, and were thought to be at risk. A member of the public stated, prison warders were "There are no reasons to considered part of the justify prostitution. God has vulnerable groups to the

COVID-19 Pandemic given every person a talent that each of us should because of the nature of their exploit. In fact, the work. To control the spread Government should ban of the virus in correctional prostitution. There should be facilities, the National a regular check on prostitutes Council on the Administration of Justice to keep the disease under control." (NCAJ) released 11,000 petty offenders and convicts who were about to complete their respective jail terms. Homosexuals people were People living in slums were thought to be the main group perceived to be at risk affected by the HIV/AIDS because of a lack of access to Pandemic. In a Ministerial clean water for washing Statement, the Minister of hands and space to practice Health, Mr. Peter Nyakiamo, social distancing. A resident stated, "The commonest of the Mukuru Slum in Nairobi stated, "It is not sufferers of AIDS are people with unusual sexual possible for us to separate a behvaior, mainly child from another in case of homosexuals and their any infection. We don't have contacts. Seventy percent of any space. There are no

the AIDS victims acquired	rooms here. The government
the disease through	should take the infected
homosexuality; five percent	people to hospital."
by normal sexual intercourse	
(heterosexual); 17 percent by	
intravenous injection of	
drugs, as is common with	
drug addicts, with transfusion	
contributing less than one	
percent of the known cases."	

The second aim of our research was to identify public perception of news framing of the AIDS and COVID-19 Pandemics by the Standard Newspaper. Table 3.2.8 below contains the public perceptions identified for each frame and their illustrations in the coverage of the two Pandemics. Table 3.2.8: Public Perceptions of Media Framing of the HIV/AIDS Pandemic and the COVID-19 Pandemic

From table 3.2.8 below, we observed that concern, discontentment, fear, and denial were common perceptions of the generic frames used. Furthermore, we observed that the two pandemics were perceived as foreign diseases and punishment from God. The belief that the two disease outbreaks were foreign diseases stemmed from the notion that the HIV/AIDS Pandemic originated from America and the COVID-19 Pandemic from China. The public viewed the pandemics from a religious perspective because the majority of Kenyans are Christians.

No.	Frame	Public	HIV/AIDS Pandemic	COVID-19 Pandemic
		Perception		
1.	The	Fear	Although experts have	Kenyans deserve
	severity		assured us there is no	nothing but the truth
	frame		evidence this dreaded and	about coronavirus to
			hitherto incurable pestilence	help stem spreading
			is spread by insect bites;	panic. There are too
			one thing is clear: blood-to-	many theories out there
			blood contact is one sure	that do not help. How
			method for transmission of	true is the claim that the
			AIDS. It is difficult to	virus is not transmitted
			believe that the use of	through air that it gets
			unsterilized needles by drug	into the body through
			users would spread the	membranes, namely the
			disease while a mosquito or	eyes, nose, and mouth?
			flea bite could not. To allay	If coronavirus is a
			our fears, let the experts	respiratory disease,
			give us sound scientific	surely, can't air transmit
			reasons why AIDS cannot	it? Is it also true that
			be transmitted through	face masks pose even
			blood-sucking insects.	greater danger of
				infection if improperly
				used in susceptible

			environments?
			Someone, please help
			confused Kenyans.
	Fear	Can this be AIDS? I am a	As you walk on the
		single lady aged 23 years. I	streets of Nairobi, you
		have a cold that has lasted	are bound to witness a
		for one and a half months. I	person with a mask on,
		also cannot breathe	and you wonder if they
		properly. I feel as if there is	know something you do
		something blocking my	not. A certain percentage
		windpipe, and as a result of	of us are
		this, I sometimes get	hypochondriacs, people
		headaches and chest pain. I	who fear that diseases
		have not yet seen a doctor.	will afflict them. Well,
		Can you be of some help? I	the use of masks widely
		am worried.	is not called for now.
	Denial	In my opinion, and I don't	The Government has
		care what anybody else	sometimes acted in ways
		says, the dreaded disease	that play into the hands
		AIDS does not exist! It is	of those who claim
		just a moralist scare. What	COVID-19 was a hoax,
		do its creators expect of the	even though it isn't.

		unmarried who have to do a	Kenyans recall that in
		bit of sampling before	recent times, because of
		settling for one? Mr. Editor,	COVID-19, burials were
		our health authorities	conducted by fully kitted
		should show us	out medical staff in the
		photographs of victims. Let	presence of not more
		us know AIDS patients'	than 15 mourners.
		wards so that the majority	Corpses could spread the
		may have a clue of its	virus, the Government
		actual existence. Otherwise,	warned. Then out of the
		all these posters and	blue, the Ministry of
		political verbiage is all	Health now says dead
		hogwash.	bodies are not
			infectious! What took
			them so long to discover
			this?
	Denial	The cause of AIDS seems	Travel upcountry
		to be exaggerated by	revealed to Palaver that
		scientists. The Ministry of	while in some areas
		Health tells us that fever,	people take the threat of
		prolonged cough, shortness	coronavirus seriously,
		of breath, and skin diseases	others don't. From a
		are some of the symptoms	loud conversation on a

am not a doctor, but I think these are diseases of their own, and they are not associated with AIDS.  Sweating at night is normal to many places, large gatherings could be seen at bus stages, waiting for confuse us that these are symptoms of AIDS.  Foreign disease  It would be justifiable to strongly inform the Western countries that we Kenyans were not born yesterday and have in our possession indepth information on the preparedness and			of this dreaded disease. I	shuttle, there are those
own, and they are not associated with AIDS.  Sweating at night is normal to most people, and there is no way somebody can confuse us that these are symptoms of AIDS.  Foreign disease  It would be justifiable to strongly inform the Western countries that we Kenyans were not born yesterday and have in our possession in-  keep people away from social places. Indeed, in many places, large gatherings could be seen at bus stages, waiting for matatus having just come from attending funerals. Public awareness through counties must be stepped up; otherwise, people could make matters worse through ignorance.  At the initial stages, our focus was mainly on keeping the virus out of the country rather than turning focus on			am not a doctor, but I think	who still believe
associated with AIDS.  Sweating at night is normal to most people, and there is no way somebody can confuse us that these are symptoms of AIDS.  Foreign disease  It would be justifiable to strongly inform the Western countries that we Kenyans were not born yesterday and have in our possession in-  at bus stages, Indeed, in many places, large gatherings could be seen at bus stages, waiting for matatus having just come from attending funerals. Public awareness through counties must be stepped up; otherwise, people could make matters worse through ignorance.  At the initial stages, our focus was mainly on keeping the virus out of the country rather than turning focus on			these are diseases of their	COVID-19 is a prank to
Sweating at night is normal to most people, and there is no way somebody can at bus stages, waiting for confuse us that these are symptoms of AIDS.  Come from attending funerals. Public awareness through counties must be stepped up; otherwise, people could make matters worse through ignorance.  Foreign disease  It would be justifiable to strongly inform the Western countries that we Kenyans were not born yesterday and have in our possession in-  Table 1. In many places, large gatherings could be seen at bus stages, waiting for matatus having just come from attending funerals. Public awareness through ignorance.  At the initial stages, our focus was mainly on keeping the virus out of the country rather than turning focus on			own, and they are not	keep people away from
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countries that we Kenyans keeping the virus out of were not born yesterday and the country rather than have in our possession inturning focus on		Foreign disease	It would be justifiable to	At the initial stages, our
were not born yesterday and the country rather than have in our possession inturning focus on			strongly inform the Western	focus was mainly on
have in our possession in- turning focus on			countries that we Kenyans	keeping the virus out of
			were not born yesterday and	the country rather than
depth information on the preparedness and			have in our possession in-	turning focus on
			depth information on the	preparedness and

		originality of AIDS.	mitigation. This was
		originality of AIDS.	mugation. This was
		Without speculation and	thought to be a Chinese
		regardless of how the West	disease; hence our major
		would react, the dreaded	concern was with flights
		killer disease originated	and travelers from the
		from the United States of	Asian country. By doing
		America and was further	this, we may have
		widely spread among the	delayed the vulnerable
		country's homosexuals.	population's safety.
	Foreign disease	On behalf of all Kenyans, I	Two days ago, 16
		am appealing to the	Chinese nationals were
		Government to tighten	caught trying to sneak
		security on borders because	into Kenya from
		AIDS has reached Tanzania	Tanzania through the
		and has claimed many. The	Lunga Lunga border
		Government should start	entry point. It is
		inspecting tourists and	assumed the fellows
		people coming into the	avoided the Jomo
		country.	Kenyatta International
			Airport to evade
			screening for COVID-19
			and attempted to sneak

			into the country by road.
			Isn't it bad enough that
			coronavirus, whose
			origin is in China, has
			caused panic across the
			world without these
			Chinese nationals trying
			to add to our miseries by
			putting more Kenyas at
			risk should it turn out
			they have the virus?
	Impartiality	If one is married and his/her	Coronavirus does not
		partner gets the disease;	discriminate based on
		they should not divorce	age, gender, race, or
		because since they love	class. We should come
		each other, they should live	together. The fortunate
		together in times of	should extend a hand to
		happiness and even in times	those who are
		of problems and need.	struggling. Stop
		AIDS is like a disease like	hoarding and sell at
		any other.	reasonable prices. We
			can get through this

			better if we work
			together.
	Moral	"Who knows, the world	From the locust invasion
		could be coming to an end.	to the COVID-19
		God works wonders, and	Pandemic, I feel like we
		there's evidence to show	are reliving the Exodus
		that man has come short of	stories in the Bible that
		the glory of God. The world	spoke of human
		has become the Bible's	destruction as a
		Sodom and Gomorrah. The	punishment for
		only thing left is turn to the	disobeying God. The
		Lord."	only difference is that
		Other readers felt that	this time, we are our
		following Bible teachings	slave owners. There are
		was a way to prevent the	no Egyptians to suffer
		spread of HIV/AIDS.	the plagues. With these
		In another letter, a reader	misfortunes, it's upon us
		stated, "So, the best	humans to reflect and
		preventive technique to	see where we went
		AIDS or any venereal	wrong. Among those
		disease is following Bible	who should reflect are
		counsel regarding sex:	churches. I mean, the
		avoid immoral intercourse	church is a safe haven

			and have sex only with your	for us all when we start
			marriage mate. 1	getting scared and
			Corinthians 6:18 says, "He	thinking maybe this is an
			that practices fornication is	apocalypse, but the
			sinning against his own	church in itself is rotten
			body." Hence, dreadful	to the core. All kind of
			diseases are what we reap	sin is found in the
			by our immoral conduct.	modern church, from
			Let us do the right thing, at	greed for worldly wealth
			the right time and with the	to lust for the human
			right person.	flesh. Still, we remain
				silent and continue with
				our normal church
				activities.
2.	The action	Concern	We welcome the	The sad reality is that
	frame		Government's statement on	coronavirus has thrown
			the extent to which	the world into a total
			Acquired Immune	spin, and there is little
			Deficiency Syndrome	mankind can do at this
			(AIDS) exists in Kenya. So	stage except for grope in
			far, the disease has been	the dark to find a
			discussed widely among the	solution. Victims of
			public, but without official	COVID-19 are now

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			coming into the country.	vulnerable and poor
			Tourists should also be	population across the
			checked for this deadly	country will be put to
			disease.	good use. Chances are
				that most of the money
				will be diverted by our
				leaders. What
				parameters will be used
				to list the needy? There
				are many concerns that
				should be addressed
				first. Thereafter, I will
				support the initiative.
3.	The	Impartiality &	Anybody can suffer and die	When I heard that 17
	eminence	Disbelief	of AIDS. Stars, Lords, and	members of parliament
	Frame		millionaires have died of it,	had tested positive for
			and nobody is an exception.	coronavirus, two
			Many could be having it	questions came to my
			since the incubation period	mind. Is this story true?
			varies between six months	If yes, why did the
			and five years, and if it	Government fail to
			dates as far back as 1982,	disclose this information
			there is a likelihood of	to the public? Given that

		many other cases coming	COVID-19 is a highly-
		up.	infectious respiratory
			disease, the disclosure
			would help Kenyans to
			take precautionary
			measures whenever they
			interacted with their
			lawmakers. This would
			send a clear sign that
			COVID-19 was not
			sparing anyone.
			Kenyans would no
			longer take lightly
			reports that some top-
			notch leaders and their
			close family members in
			other parts of the world
			had been infected.
The	Concern &	The recent report that HIV-	Must politicians put
eminence	Discontent	related cases at the	their names to each and
frame		Kenyatta National Hospital	everything they touch?
		make up to 50 percent of	Why do they find it
		the total bed occupancy was	impossible to work

			a sobering reality about	silently, unobtrusively
			AIDS. Being our national	just for once, especially
			referral institution, the	now that we are worried
			Kenyatta case shows how	more about cleanliness
			widespread the disease is in	to avoid contracting the
			our country. A lot more	dreaded coronavirus
			needs to be done to arrest	than knowing which
			the high rate of infection.	politician did what? It is
				insulting that some
				leaders now seek
				political mileage from
				donating sanitizers and
				water containers that are
				emblazoned with their
				pictures, names, and full
				titles. Come on, give us
				a break, please!
4.	The	Concern &	During the last few months,	This is not the time to
	assurance	Impartiality	we have heard of cases of	discriminate or
	frame		AIDS in various hospitals	speculate. COVID-19 is
			of which doctors and	not a death sentence. Of
			specialists have confirmed.	the 220,313 cases,
			Eventually, there are a few	almost 40 percent, or

		individuals countrywide	85,769, have recovered.
		who are neither doctors nor	Only four percent,
		do they excel in that field of	8,981, have succumbed
		medical science, but whose	to the disease. This is
		"job" is to preach to the	not a call for
		public the terrible effects of	complacency but
		AIDS, thus subjecting the	understanding. An
		whole public to	understanding that if we
		unnecessary fears and	apply the right control
		nervousness. However, we	measures to this crisis,
		would like the authority	we will defeat it. As
		concerned to enlighten us	President Uhuru
		on various measures which	Kenyatta said, we have
		can be taken to curb this	faced a greater crisis; we
		catastrophic ailment.	will defeat it.
	Discontent	Medical and other	Although there is no
		professionals dealing with	cure for coronavirus, the
		the dissemination of AIDS	Centre for Disease
		information are realising	Control and Prevention
		the need to look for more	indicates that
		appropriate ways to do this.	coronavirus is treatable.
		Previously, the public has	As such, it is not the
		been bombarded with	death penalty. Globally,
1			

			information that spelt doom	thousands of patients
			and preached fire and	have fully recovered
			brimstone for those who did	from the virus and
			not adhere to what the	joined their families. Let
			experts said were safe sex	us spread hope.
			practices that would protect	
			those who heeded the	
			message from the dreaded	
			disease. Now, it has been	
			realised that this way is	
			counterproductive and	
			could even misfire.	
5.	The	Discontentment	Since this disease was	The Government came
	conflict		discovered, a lot has been	under fire when a China
	frame		said about it. One is its	Southern Airlines plane
			origin, how you can get it,	landed at Nairobi's Jomo
			and how you can avoid it.	Kenyatta International
			Now, this issue has been	Airport with over 230
			turned political by some	passengers in February.
			countries in especially	At the time, other
			Europe and Asia. Some	countries had banned air
			time ago, India expelled	travel because of
			three Kenyan students	COVID-19. A CS

studying there who were found to be having the AIDS virus. This expulsion was given a lot of publicity, something which could have been settled in normal diplomatic channels, and in that way, both sides would have been served without embarrassing Kenyans. Britain was not left behind, for it banned its 500 parachuters regiments from going to Mombasa or Malindi in fear that they might contract AIDS from local prostitutes. Following this ban, many tourists canceled their bookings in Malindi and Mombasa...let those behind this campaign know that AIDS is everywhere, and a great

defended the move by saying it was all about commercial interests. Now that there are reports that Kenyans in China have been forced out of their houses to live on the streets, what happened to the "commercial interests"? The Government should bring back these Kenyans while reassessing its relationship with China. It is that simple.

		number is to be found in	
		Europe and especially in	
		Britain, where last year 293	
		deaths were reported	
		compared to 39 here in	
		Kenya out of which some	
		were foreigners.	
	Discontentment	In Kenya, AIDS became a	The contempt with
		disaster the day the	which the bureaucracy
		Government buried its head	holds the Kenyan public
		in the sand and pretended	was in full view on the
		that HIV had not come to	day that a planeload of
		Kenya to stay. Disaster	passengers from China
		struck when the Kenya	landed at the Jomo
		Government pretended that	Kenyatta Airport and the
		even if there was AIDS in	passengers allowed into
		Kenya, it would not kill	the country, the only
		Kenyans. That was the day	requirement being that
		Kenyans hushed up news	they "self-quarantine."
		about AIDS in Kenya to	
		convince tourists that the	
		country was AIDS-free.	

			Tourist dollars were put	
			above the lives of Kenyans.	
6.	The impact	Concern	Much has been said about	While there have been
	frame		AIDS, which has instilled	reports of amazing
			dread in many, and you find	sacrifices by health
			that people do not want to	workers in response to
			shake hands with	the growing coronavirus
			everybody for fear that they	cases in the country,
			might catch AIDS. Others	there have also been
			express fear that they do not	breaking news of those
			want to eat in hotels	who have been forced to
			because they have the	flee health facilities for
			conception that the AIDS	fear of contracting the
			virus could be left in badly	virus. Last month, in
			washed utensils. Others fear	Makueni County, five
			that sweaty seat marks in	Chinese patients who
			buses, matatus, and other	were driven to Makindu
			places could be carrying the	Sub-County Hospital
			AIDS germ.	unwittingly caused a
				spectacle as health
				workers scuttled for
				safety. More than that,
				last week, doctors at a

			Kakamega hospital ran
			from a patient who
			exhibited symptoms
			associated with COVID-
			19. These two cases are
			grim reflections of the
			working conditions that
			health workers have
			been subjected to in
			recent times.
The impact	Positive	Before I hit my point, I	It is better to engage
frame		must congratulate the	learners through radio
		Standard Newspaper on its	teaching for the duration
		excellent performance on	of the lockdown than do
		AIDS awareness. I had not	nothing at all. Children
		taken it seriously until I saw	are at home to avoid the
		a person, if not a skeleton,	spread of the novel
		dying of it. Before he died,	coronavirus; thus,
		he told us that it spares	confining them in their
		neither the old nor the poor-	homes will, in a big
		not even the unborn. I am	way, help contain the
		talking about this monster	spread.
		AIDS.	

7.	The beliefs	Disdain &	Mombasa, Lamu, Malindi,	Kenya's fight against
	about who	Concern	and other coastal towns	coronavirus has been
	is at risk		have a record of	commendable. Besides
	frame		homosexuals, sodomy, and	the Government's
			catamites, and if AIDS	introduction of travel
			were to hit, then these	restrictions and random
			places would be the first to	screening, it has been
			be affected. If you happen	persistent in sharing
			to walk along the Kibokoni	preventive and hygiene
			area, you will no doubt	information as well as
			come across some lazy-	updates on new
			looking men who use make-	scientific findings as the
			ups, seat themselves in	Pandemic evolves
			corridors, and look like	worldwide. But when
			women. You should not be	communicating
			surprised to hear them talk	coronavirus advisory
			about their husbands with	information to the
			feminine tones. They do not	public, we have
			feel ashamed wearing	forgotten about people
			petticoats or lessos. The	living with disabilities
			world is a funny place. If	(PWDs), yet they also
			swoops were to be carried	have the right to proper
			out, police should visit such	healthcare and

		places where they will	information pertinent to
		definitely find male	their social wellbeing.
		prostitutes. Thus preventing	
		possible outbreak of AIDS	
		would be better than curing	
		it.	
	Impartiality	Despite ups and downs in	Congestion can lead to
	and concern	our country, many	the outbreak of diseases,
		professionals have been left	hence the advisory by
		untaxed. Some of the	health experts for people
		professionals have stayed in	to avoid crowds and
		business for quite a long	keep a respectable
		time, and many of them	distance from each other
		have, in fact, advanced	in the fight against
		financially. Examples of	COVID-19. The
		such businessmen and	situation is dire in our
		women are drug dealers and	prisons, where inmates
		prostitutes. All the	can easily contract
		Government has done is to	communicable diseases
		try to control drug dealing	like tuberculosis. One
		activities but has failed to	way the authorities can
		curb prostitution.	fight this latest health
		Prostitutes should be taxed	menace is by releasing

	so that they can participate	petty offenders to create
	directly in nation-building.	space in our prisons.
	The Government would get	Right now, if a new
	a lot of revenue to finance	prisoner who has the
	most of its development	virus is taken to the
	plans in so doing. In any	cells, all other inmates
	case, prostitution is not all	could be affected.
	that bad if it could be	
	appropriately organized.	
	Prostitution brings in a lot	
	of foreign exchange.	

# 3.3 Data Interpretation and Discussion

In this segment, the information presented was analyzed and discussed in relation to the aims of our research. The first aim of our research was to investigate the Standard Newspaper's framing of the HIV/AIDS and the COVID-19 Pandemics. The data analyzed revealed that seven generic frames were present in the framing of the two Pandemics. Table 3.3.1 below shows the frequency of each frame in the reporting of the AIDS Pandemic and the COVID-19 Pandemic.

Table 3.3.1: Frequency of Generic Frames Used by the Standard Newspaper in the Coverage of the HIV/AIDS Pandemic and the COVID-19 Pandemic

No.	Frame	HIV/AIDS Pandemic	COVID-19 Pandemic
1.	Eminence	36	36
2.	Severity	23	21
3.	Action	14	22
4.	Assurance	10	9
5.	Conflict	7	3
6.	Beliefs about who is at risk	7	2
7.	Impact	2	7
	TOTAL	100%	100%

In the table above, the eminence frame, the severity frame, and the action frame were dominant frames in the coverage of the two disease outbreaks. The three frames were dominant because they contained incidence rates of the pandemics, efforts various government officials and organizations were taking to curb the spread of the Pandemics, and names of people who had succumbed to the diseases. In the articles sampled, the impact frame (2%) was the least used in the framing of the AIDS Pandemic, while the beliefs about who is at risk frame (2%) was the least used frame in the framing of the COVID-19 Pandemic.

#### 3.3.2 The Eminence Frame

The Standard Newspaper used the eminence frame to highlight prominent figures such as politicians, medical officials, and well-known establishments. We observed that the WHO, KEMRI, and the Kenyatta National Hospital frequently featured in the framing of the two disease outbreaks. The mention of organizations such as the WHO, KEMRI, and the CDC reinforced the validity of the information being conveyed because the organizations are well known by the public. In the HIV/AIDS Pandemic, names of public figures who had succumbed to the disease were not mentioned. In the 1980s, AIDS in Kenya was framed as a sex disease, and due to the nature of its spread, people feared the stigma and shame associated with it. We noted that the church, which was supposed to be empathetic to the plight of HIV-positive people, harbored feelings of contempt towards them. At a funeral service, one of the leaders of the PCEA church, revealed the identities of three PCEA pastors who had died from HIV/AIDS. He further described some pastors as mere pretenders hiding behind cassocks and church cloaks and asked church members to keep an eye on them. Disclosure of the pastors' identities was insensitive as it may have exposed their families to stigma. We also noted that in the two pandemics, religious leaders were not cooperative. In the HIV/AIDS Pandemic, religious leaders were against the introduction of sex education in primary schools, while in the COVID-19 Pandemic, religious leaders broke the Government's COVID-19 protocols. Some leaders were caught secretly opening places of worship to the public and others flouting self-isolation guidelines. The Standard Newspaper did a poll that asked the public if churches are the weak link in the war against the COVID-19 Pandemic, and a reader who answered yes, stated:

"To some extent, the church has impeded the Government's war against COVID-19. Over the weekend, some church leaders defiantly continued to lead their flocks in services despite

government warnings. Some clergymen and women vowed to continue with prayers in their respective churches. This is not only unfortunate but irresponsible of people who are considered to be leaders of the flock". However, some people disagreed with this notion and claimed that church leaders had been great partners of the state in the fight against COVID-19.

On the other hand, the eminence frame in the framing of the COVID-19 Pandemic highlighted names of public figures that had recovered or died from the virus. The Standard Newspaper reported the death of Captain Dauti Kibati, a KQ pilot who contracted COVID-19 while evacuating Kenyans from the USA; the deaths of Dr. Vladamir Schunkin, a bariatric general and laparoscopic surgeon and, Dr. Robert Ayisi, a renowned pediatrician. News on the demise of public figures was an indication to the public that everyone was vulnerable to the virus. A reader stated, "In the space of just one week, we have lost three musicians of world acclaim. First was Kenny Rogers, whose family said he died of natural causes. Before country music fans could assimilate that, those among them who love Lingala music were hit by news of renowned Congolese musician Aurlus Mabele's death in Paris. The cause? Coronavirus. While still coming to terms with that, the great Cameroonian musician Manu Dibango also succumbed to coronavirus, also in Paris. Coronavirus is not a prank. Take care and stay safe".

## 3.3.3 The Severity Frame

The severity frame in the framing of the two disease outbreaks was observed in statistics and wording. Statistics in the framing of the AIDS Pandemic contained the number of new cases and fatalities. In contrast, statistics in the coverage of the COVID-19 Pandemic indicated the number of new infections, recoveries, and fatalities. We attributed this difference to the fact that the AIDS Pandemic does not have a cure or a vaccine, hence no record of recoveries. Apart from statistics, words were used to denote the seriousness of the Pandemics. The HIV/AIDS Pandemic was

referred to as "the dreaded disease AIDS", "the incurable disease AIDS", and "the horror disease called AIDS", while the COVID-19 Pandemic was called the "deadly coronavirus". The purpose of the severity frame was to inform the public of the gravity and progression of the Pandemics. Prominent coverage of the severity frame had various effects on the public. Some people feared contagion; others went into denial and others tried using religion to explain the occurrence of the disease outbreaks. Fear of contagion in the two pandemics led to stigma. In one of the articles sampled, an HIV-positive man detailed how his family isolated him after discovering his status. He stated, "I was given some drugs, and doctors told me I was suffering from an acute bout of malaria. Later on, the doctor who had the blood test carried out summoned my brother to his office for a discussion. It was after that session that strange things began to happen in my brother's household. For reasons not immediately clear to me, my brother became very hostile and unfriendly. I was taken home and ordered never to leave my bedroom whenever there were visitors around. For many days, the sheer brutality of what I was being subjected to because of my condition, about which I wasn't quite aware, baffled me. I was quarantined in my brother's house for two months. I realised something must have been very wrong as they would not even share a cup with me".

# 3.3.4 The Action Frame

The purpose of the action frame in the coverage of the two Pandemics was to create public awareness on ways to avoid contagion and highlight the Government's efforts in curbing the disease outbreaks. The action frame enabled the public to gauge the Government's preparedness in preventing the spread of the diseases. We observed that in both Pandemics, Kenyans felt that the Government was not providing adequate information on the diseases. At the beginning of the HIV/AIDS Pandemic, the Government was in denial about the presence of the disease in Kenya

and did not provide the public with information. Although the Health Cabinet Secretary Mutahi Kagwe held daily press briefings on COVID-19, a small number of Kenyans still felt uninformed. One reader stated, "there is a lot of conflicting information out there that does not help the fight against the coronavirus. First, some scientists claim the virus is not airborne. Others say the virus can stay in the air for hours. While some scientists are of the opinion that only those with COVID-19 symptoms should wear masks to avoid spread, others say we must all wear face masks to stop infections. Kenyans need concrete information to stop police from harassing and extorting money from those found without masks". The lack of adequate information may have led to laxity among some members of the public. A reader wrote, "Those who laugh at others wearing masks specifically to stop them from contracting the dreaded coronavirus and call them names such as 'Corona,' 'COVID-19' or 'cowards" should know that cowards live much longer. Those who sit on shop verandas, or on top of balconies or at market places laughing at some of us who strictly cover up our mouths and noses to keep safe should know that who laughs last, laughs loudest". In the action frame, we observed instances where the Standard Newspaper used headlines that linked HIV-positive people with criminal activity. The newspaper had headlines such as "AIDS Prisoners Pardoned"; "HIV Rapists to Face Life in Jail"; and "Twenty AIDS Convicts Free". By highlighting the criminals' HIV status instead of the Government's actions, the public may have assumed that HIV-positive people are heavily involved in criminal activity.

# 3.3.5 The Assurance Frame

The assurance frame in the Standard Newspaper was used to affirm the public of their safety. The frame gave the public confidence that the Government was in control. A reader stated, "I want to convey my gratitude to President Uhuru Kenyatta for appointing Mutai Kagwe Health Cabinet Secretary. Kagwe has done well so far by giving Kenyans hope and telling them what to do. To

the Standard editor Andrew Kipkemboi for his wise opinion on our nation, may the Lord grant you wisdom to do more. To Kenyan citizens, let's listen to what we are advised to do and do so without contradiction. May God help us and heal the world of coronavirus". From this statement, we observed that affirmations of safety encouraged Kenyans to follow COVID-19 protocols. This was because government health officials informed Kenyans that the virus could be controlled if they followed the safety measures. However, in the HIV/AIDS Pandemic, the assurance frame was used to hoodwink the public. At the emergence of the Pandemic, the Government denied the presence of the disease in Kenya, and as a result, made statements that misinformed the public. Such comments included, "AIDS is not rampant here", "routine screening of blood donors is unnecessary because only healthy people are allowed to donate blood" and, "the commonest sufferers of AIDS are homosexuals and their contacts". These statements may have encouraged laxity among the public because the Government was informing them that the disease was not severe.

#### 3.3.6 The Conflict Frame

The Standard Newspaper used the conflict frame to reveal the mistreatment of Kenyans in foreign countries, the misuse of public funds, and the Government's mismanagement of the disease outbreaks. In the two Pandemics, the conflict frame led to concern and uproar among the public. In 1987, three Kenyan students were expelled from India for allegedly having AIDS. The Indian High Commissioner to Kenya was summoned by the Minister of Health, Mr. Nyakiamo, to explain the Indian Government's actions. The Indian Minister for External Affairs, Shri Narayan Datt Tiwari, who was on a brief visit to Kenya during that incident, claimed that the decision by the Indian Government to test all foreigners was not discriminatory, but a means to fight the AIDS epidemic. During the COVID-19 Pandemic, Kenyans were dissatisfied with the

handling of the Pandemic and filed a case against the Government demanding the tracing of 239 passengers from a China Southern Airlines flight and a ban on international flights into the country.

# 3.3.7 The Impact Frame

The impact frame in the framing of the AIDS Pandemic and the COVID-19 Pandemic was used to highlight the effects of the outbreaks on society. The media influences how we see the world around us. The stories covered may make us or break us. In one of the articles, a young woman was inspired by a feature on people living with AIDS to accept her HIV status. She said, "When I started losing my hair because of stress, it did not make me look good. I then stopped for a moment and thought: I have been seeing others showing themselves on TV and declaring they are HIV-positive, and some have been alive for years, and they are still looking good and healthy. If they have learned to accept their status and have coped, I can too. I looked up places of help for people living with HIV/AIDS. I joined the HOPE Worldwide support group in Soweto for women and men living with HIV/AIDS. I gave myself a mission to learn more about my new companion, HIV. For me, it only made sense that if I can learn and understand more about HIV, I will know how to move on with a normal life."

## 3.3.8 The Beliefs about Who is at Risk Frame

The Beliefs about who is at risk frame was used to highlight the groups susceptible to the Pandemics. In the HIV/AIDS Pandemic and the COVID-19 Pandemic, petty offenders, truck drivers and, people with special needs were considered high-risk groups. In the HIV/AIDS Pandemic, women were blamed for spreading the disease because the public associated them with prostitution. In one of the articles, a member of the public stated, "AIDS is a deadly virus coming

from women. We urge the Government to intervene and help us by informing and educating us more about the disease. Those with the disease should be removed completely from our midst...". Such sentiments may have led to stigma against women. In one of the articles, a member of the public revealed that when he was in Nyeri, he avoided girls for fear of contracting AIDS. He also said that he would not return to the town until a cure was found. Contrary to the belief that women spread AIDS, a member of the public stated, "Men seem to be blaming women for AIDS. Men are also to blame."

# 3.4 Findings

From our analysis, we observed that although Kenya reported its first HIV case in 1984, it took the Government a year to officially admit the disease's existence in Kenya. The Government only came out with statistics on the virus after western media published reports of high HIV prevalence rates in Kenya.

Furthermore, Kenyan newspapers were censored from reporting on HIV/AIDS in Kenya. We observed that in 1984, despite Kenya having reported its first HIV case, the Standard Newspaper prominently featured articles on HIV/AIDS in foreign countries. This type of coverage, we believe, gave Kenyans a false sense of security that AIDS was not in Kenya and that it only affected foreigners.

The HIV/AIDS Pandemic had a toll on Kenya's workforce. In 2000, the Kenya National Union of Teachers (KNUT) reported losing members faster than it could replace them. The Kenyan military also reported losing at least two members every week. Companies felt that frequent hospitalizations and sick-offs by HIV-positive employees affected their companies' productivity, and as a result, HIV tests became a prerequisite for potential employees. This requirement denied

HIV- positive people opportunities as they were judged based on their HIV status rather than their qualifications.

In the 1990s, Kenyan scientists made attempts to come up with an AIDS cure. The Kenya Medical Research Institute (KEMRI) unveiled an AIDS drug called Kemron. The public warmly welcomed news of the drug, and people across the world travelled to Kenya to test it. However, some scientists had doubts on the efficacy of the drug because its results were too good to be true. Kenya could not patent the drug because an American pharmaceutical company claimed ownership of the technology used to fabricate the drug. Professor Obel, a Kenyan researcher also invented an AIDS drug called Pearl Omega. However, the drug was rejected because of claims that it had not been tested for its safety, efficacy and economic value by the Pharmacy and Poisons Board (PPB). The COVID-19 Pandemic also inspired local innovations. Students from Kenyatta University came up with a prototype ventilator called Tiba Vent. The students told the Standard Newspaper that the innovation was inspired by the global shortage of ventilators. The Principal Secretary for Culture, Heritage, and Sports also urged herbalists to collaborate with Kenya Medical Research Institute (KEMRI) researchers to find a cure for the COVID-19 Pandemic.

Public awareness campaigns in the two the Pandemics did not consider the plight of people with special needs. In the HIV/AIDS Pandemic, the director of the Kenya Society for Deaf Children (KSDC), Mr. Ogutu Adera stated that no effort had been made to produce public awareness materials targeting the deaf and hard of hearing on health issues particularly AIDS. According to an opinion piece in the Standard Newspaper, advisory information on the COVID-19 Pandemic, only targeted "normal people". In the opinion piece, the contributor stated, "COVID-19 treatment and prevention services are typically available through visual and audio media: radios,

newspapers, posters, flyers, SMSs, TVs and magazines. Thus, they are discriminative courtesy of the fact that they are not easily accessible to individuals who are visually impaired, the deaf or those with other forms of disabilities. As a result, PWDs are more likely to struggle with adherence to prevention measures. This leaves them particularly vulnerable to deficiencies present in favored communication outlets and tools used to deliver information within our health service. This information gap puts them at risk of contracting, COVID-19."

## 3.5 Conclusion

This chapter found that generic frames were present in the framing of the AIDS Pandemic and COVID-19 Pandemic. The generic frames used elicited mixed reactions from the public. Some people feared contagion, while others believed that the pandemics were non-existent. Fear of contagion in the two pandemics led to the stigmatization of individuals; commercial sex workers in the HIV/AIDS Pandemic and truck drivers in the COVID-19 Pandemic. The media, therefore, needs to understand how crucial frames are in shaping the public's understanding of disease outbreaks.

#### **CHAPTER FOUR**

# SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 4.1 Introduction

The previous chapter used purposive sampling to select 50 HIV/AIDS-related articles and 50 COVID-19 related articles from the Standard Newspaper. Content analysis was performed on the articles according to our study's objectives, and the results were discussed and presented in tables. This chapter summarizes our results, concludes our research, and provides recommendations for future research on media framing.

# 4.2 Summary of Research

This study aimed to research media framing and public perception of the HIV/AIDS Pandemic and the COVID-19 Pandemic. We sought to investigate the types of frames used to cover the two Pandemics, the perception of those frames by the public, and to demonstrate their effects on society. Content analysis of the 100 pandemic-related articles revealed that the Standard Newspaper used seven frames: the severity frame, the action frame, the eminence frame, the assurance frame, the conflict frame, the impact frame, and the beliefs about who is at risk frame. In both coverages, the eminence frame was dominant. The impact frame and the beliefs about who is at risk frame were the least used frames in the HIV/AIDS Pandemic and the COVID-19 Pandemic respectively. The eminence frame highlighted names of public figures and organizations involved in curbing the diseases. In the framing of the HIV/AIDS Pandemic, names of prominent people who succumbed to the disease were not disclosed. We attributed this to society's perception of the nature of the spread of the disease. The eminence frame also reminded the public of their vulnerability to the diseases.

The severity frame, the second dominant frame, appeared in the form of statistics and wording. Unlike the COVID-19 Pandemic, statistics from the HIV/AIDS Pandemic did not include the number of recoveries because AIDS is a chronic disease.

The action frame which was the third dominant frame was highlighted in instances that mentioned the Government's efforts in curbing the two Pandemics. We noted that in both Pandemics, the government decongested prisons and the public was dissatisfied with the Government's actions. In the framing of the two Pandemics, the Standard Newspaper used the assurance frame to affirm the public of their safety. In the COVID-19 Pandemic, the frame contained messages of hope and encouragement from the president while in the HIV/AIDS Pandemic, the frame contained misinformation from Government officials. The conflict frame revealed the mistreatment of Kenyans in foreign countries, the misuse of public funds, and the Government's mishandling of the Pandemics. The impact frame highlighted the Pandemics' effects on Kenyan society. We noted that the education sector, the job market, and the hotel industry were badly hit in both Pandemics. Finally, the beliefs about who is at risk frame contained information on the groups susceptible to the disease outbreaks. In the HIV/AIDS Pandemic, foreigners, prostitutes, homosexuals, and drug addicts were mentioned as high-risk groups while in the COVID-19 Pandemic, slum dwellers, truck drivers, health workers, police officers, and prison warders were considered high-risk groups. Furthermore, in the HIV/AIDS Pandemic, women were blamed for spreading the virus because they were associated with prostitution.

The second aim of our research was to identify public perception of news framing of the HIV Pandemic and the COVID-19 Pandemic. Fear, denial, concern, discontentment, and impartiality were common perceptions of the seven media frames. In addition to this, the public viewed the Pandemics as foreign and, punishment from God.

Our third objective was to demonstrate how society coped with the effects of media framing of the HIV/AIDS and COVID-19 Pandemics. From our findings, we observed that the severity frame may have led to the isolation of HIV-positive people and denial of the existence of the Pandemics. The assurance frame may have led to compliance with COVID-19 protocols and, the impact frame may have led to awareness and acceptance among HIV-positive people.

## 4.3 Conclusion

In conclusion, media framing affects public perception. The media in the coverage of disease outbreaks should be cognizant of their news frames because they have a direct impact on society.

## 4.4 Recommendations

We recommend further study on media framing of the two disease outbreaks from other news outlets. Further research will provide a broader perspective on the coverage of the Pandemics by Kenyan media. Moreover, we propose additional research on the public perception of the COVID-19 Pandemic, with social media as a data source as our study was limited to the Standard's print newspapers.

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# AIDS ravages teachers' college

EVERY week a student dies of the Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS) at the Migori Teachers Training Col-

lege in South Nyanza.

The college's principal, Mr John Pesa, while making the revelation to South Nyanza university students at a ceremony in the college, expressed concern at the rising rate of AIDS cases.

Mr Pesa advised the students to observe strict moral standards.

Speaking at the same function, a professor of philosophy at the University of Nairobi, Prof Odera Oruka, advised the community to respect moral standards to achieve maximum development because the morals of the community influences development.

The Minister for Transport and Communication, Mr Dalmas Otieno, appealed to Luos to co-operate with the Government so that development projects are enhenced. Standard Correspondent

Commenting on the Narok-Ntimaru-Sori-Homa Bay road the Minister said Luos needed to justify their demands to the Government that it be upgraded.

He insisted that the Luo community must support the Government for it to put up the

road.

Mr Otieno in his address to members of the South Nyanza Student Association, confirmed that the Government was willing to hold talks with the opposition on development issues.

Meanwhile, the Kirinyaga District Youth Training Officer, Mr Francis Miano, helped raise Shs 30,000 for upgrading Kibigoti Youth Polytechnic in Ndia division in Kirinyaga at the weekend.

He appealed to parents to encourage their children to join polytechnics after leaving school.





## ANNEX B: COVID- RELATED ARTICLES





