

THE ROLE OF MASS MEDIA INTERVENTIONS IN INFLUENCING PUBLIC HEALTH
POLICY PROCESSES IN KENYA: A CASE OF COVID-19 PANDEMIC

GILBERT KHAYUMBI NAKWEYA

K50/81879/2015

A research project submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree
of Master of Arts in Communication Studies at the School of Journalism and Mass
Communication, University of Nairobi.

November, 2022

DECLARATION

This is original work, and no copies of this work have been submitted in part or whole to any other university for any other award.

Sign:  Date: December 14, 2022

Student Name: Gilbert Khayumbi Nakweya

Registration Number: K50/81879/2015

This research project has been submitted to the University of Nairobi for examination with approval as University Supervisor.

Sign:  Date: December 14, 2022

Supervisor: Prof. Ndeti Ndati, PhD.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my daughter Tessy Tuan Nakweya and my wife Winfred Barbari Kimachas for according me support and cheering me up throughout my academic journey. This work is also a special dedication to mass media researchers especially those interested in pursuing media effects on audiences with a nexus to policy making.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Gratitude to God for granting me good health and the wisdom to execute this work. Similarly, I acknowledge the fabulous job of my supervisor Professor Ndeti Ndati for the support and guidance. Special thanks to faculty at the University of Nairobi's School of Journalism and Mass Communication for equipping me with the necessary knowledge and skills to become a competent communicator.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	ii
DEDICATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
ABSTRACT	1
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	2
1.0 Overview	2
1.1 Background of the study	2
1.2 Statement of the Problem	4
1.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES	5
1.4 Research Questions	5
1.5 Justification for of the study	6
1.6 Significance of the Study	6
1.7 Scope and Limitations of the Study	7
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW	9
2.0 Overview	9
2.1 Media Coverage of Health Issues in Kenya	9
2.2 COVID-19 in Kenya	12
2.3 Media Coverage and Health Policy Interventions	13
2.4 Planned media interventions used in coverage of COVID-19	16
2.5. Influence of media coverage on implementation of public health policies during COVID-19 pandemic in Kenya	18
2.6. Dominant frames used during the coverage of COVID-19 pandemic outbreak by the Daily Nation and Standard newspapers in Kenya	21
2.7 Research Gaps	23
2.8 Theoretical Framework	23
2.8.1 Media Framing Theory	23
2.8.2 Social Representation Theory (SRT)	25
CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	28
3.0 Introduction	28
3.1 Research Design	28
3.2 Study Site	28

3.3 The Study population	28
3.4 Sampling Technique	29
3.5 Data Collection Method	29
3.5.1 Validity and Reliability	30
3.6 Data Analysis and Presentation	30
3.7 Ethical Consideration	30
CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS	32
4.1 Introduction	32
4.2 Number of Articles in the newspaper	32
4.3 General Information of Coverage	33
4.3.1 Nature of photo	33
4.3.2 Gender of the author	33
4.3.3 Format	34
4.3.4 Space allocated to the story	35
4.3.5 Topic/Theme	36
4.3.6 Main Subject who appeared in story	37
4.3.7 Gender Presence	38
4.4 Specific national policy issues	38
4.4.1 Public health policies and measures mentioned in the newspaper articles	38
4.4.2 Geographical frames in the newspaper	39
4.4.3 Media representation of key policy/regulation	40
4.4.4 Media attention to implication of COVID-19 to the body	40
4.4.5 Effect/Tone of coverage	41
4.4.6 Framing the story	42
4.5 Discussion of findings	42
CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION	45
5.1 Introduction	45

5.2 Summary of findings	45
5.3 Conclusion	46
5.4 Recommendations	47
REFERENCES	48
Appendix:	58

ABSTRACT

This study examined the role of mass media interventions in influencing public health policy processes in Kenya. The main objective of this study was to examine the role of mass media interventions in influencing public health policy processes in Kenya with a particular focus on the COVID-19 pandemic. The study covered a period between 13th March 2020 and 27th May 2020, and it highlighted major themes of the pandemic. A total of 5034 newspaper articles were analyzed with 60% (3021) in the Daily Nation and 40% published by the Standard newspaper. The analysis that entails a “systematic reading of a body of texts, images, and symbolic matter” to decipher meaning and respond to research questions to collect data for this study build on media framing and social representation theories. Specifically, the study’s objectives include identification of planned media interventions used in coverage of COVID-19 by Daily Nation and the Standard Newspapers, assessing the influence of media coverage on implementation of public health policies during COVID-19 pandemic in Kenya and identification of dominant frames used during the coverage of COVID-19 pandemic outbreak by the Daily Nation and Standard newspapers in Kenya. This study analyzed data both quantitatively and qualitatively using descriptive and inferential statistics. The study found that the media in Kenya majorly reported the pandemic in news reports (59%) and most certainly considering there could be some writers who conducted in-depth analysis of the pandemic, feature stories accounted for 10% of the total coverage. The study found that the newspaper articles largely provided pertinent information to their audience on how the pandemic might affect them, held authorities accountable, and offered independent advice. Most certainly this influenced the way government responded by coming up with various policy and regulatory measures. Indeed, the coverage of Covid-19 in the two newspaper (Daily Nation and the Standard) was in line with government imperatives.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.0 Overview

This chapter gives the background of the study, statement of the problem, the study objectives or the questions it aims to answer, justification and significance of the study, and scope and limitations with the operational definitions of terms.

1.1 Background of the study

The effects of the mass media are matters that have received global attention for a while (Borah, 2015). However, empirical evidence on the specific functions and influences of the mass media has been inconsistent making it a challenge to narrow down to its true and specific influence on many issues. For instance, a recent study on the impact of media interventions on health policy making found positive relationship between the two but some scholars argued that this is problematic because they believe it was methodologically biased (BouKarroum et al., 2017). The media in its various forms can have potential roles ranging from informing and educating through investigative journalism to persuading and possibly manipulating or even ‘duping’ the audience.

The outbreak of the novel Coronavirus (COVID-19) in Wuhan, China became a global pandemic and a major concern for public health. Like other public health crises such as the Ebola virus that plagued West and Central African countries, Coronavirus has hit headlines of various media platforms including Kenya. Sub-Saharan Africa is poised to experience the first economic recession over 25 years with the pandemic costing the region approximately USD \$37 billion to USD \$79 billion losses in 2020, according to the World Bank’s Africa Pulse report, Zeufack, Albert G et al. (2020). The report warns that this could push close to 43 million people in Africa into extreme poverty five years after the reversal of gains made to reduce poverty in the continent. As the virus sweeps globally, science communication becomes more essential than ever in keeping the public informed and making the right decisions as countries mop up efforts to control the spread of the virus.

The adoption of non-pharmaceutical interventions such as face masks and social distancing has become a key message for scientists and public health officers in their efforts to control the spread of the virus. Media initiatives may have a decisive effect on health policies (Bala et al., 2017). In public life, the media plays a major role in shaping citizens' interests and presenting many of the information and views that form today's subjects' perceptions. Gough et al. (2017) argue that media impacts evaluating policymaking research provided mixed findings on media's public policy effect. Besides, it is important to identify and consider key factors that inform the policy process to encourage evidence-based policy. When the mass media highlights certain topics in their coverage for a given period of time, it will play a significant role in influencing the public, and policymakers (Gabarron et al., 2018).

The current emphasis on healthcare consumerism underlines the possible important role of the mass media in raising public awareness of research results and encouraging efficient and effective health services. Mass media also report medical problems and influence healthcare practitioners and patients (Arigo et al., 2018). As mentioned above, Kim et al. (2017) add that policymakers should use quantitative and qualitative data to determine an effective policy response based on systematic evaluations and scientific work, including content analysis that provides evidence to inform decision-makers. For example, to minimize driving, smoking, and the use of healthcare, effective initiatives have been ongoing.

The capacity to produce and efficiently deliver productive multimedia presentations on social media channels at reduced expense strengthens the ability to execute health policies across the medium (Chou et al., 2018). The mass media can be viewed as a medium for transmitting to the general public symbols and messages. Publics and politicians receive signals at all government levels about what is relevant in individual relations, culminating in public affairs that became a public and social concern in the press. Scholars described the media as "guardians of the public interest," who advocate "truth, pluralism, objectivity, balance, and accuracy," but also the atmosphere in which media activity promotes the manipulation of journalists' sensationalism in the light of the need to tackle competition at the cost of larger socio-economic problems (Hyseni et al., 2017; Kazdin, 2019).

Media reports on medical issues usually raise misleading expectations and sometimes cause worry. Similarly, mass media could influence behavior change especially on healthcare and health policy matters on individuals. When media is used to promote existing programs, members of the public can familiarize themselves with the products and services that improve health behavior, and encourage the public to phone, write or engage in programmes (Elson et al., 2019). All decisions will affect sector budgets and priorities with some cost of opportunity; but health policy issues are also likely to include social issues beyond clinical results alone, such as issues of equity, justice or morality, which can all influence decision-making around the body of evidence of health (Griffith et al., 2020).

According to (Shelton et al., 2018), mass media can impact the usage of health services. While the nature of political systems, the role of institutional structures, and the political challenge of policy issues have long been regarded by social and political scientists as essential to understand decision-making, these issues remain largely undeveloped by scientists in evidence-informed policymaking.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Frequent disease outbreaks and poverty have continued to curtail efforts in improving healthcare in Kenya. The first case of Coronavirus in Kenya was confirmed at a time it was still dealing with other diseases like malaria, sexually transmitted infections, cholera, cancer and other non-communicable diseases. The government was forced to immediately implement emergency public health measures to mitigate and contain the impacts of the pandemic like displacing critical health resources and lives of frontline healthcare workers (Kauffer & Kauffer, 2020). For example, lockdowns imposed by the government curtailed critical lifesaving immunizations services and many people could not access vaccinations creating an opportunity for increased child mortality (Adamu et al., 2020). However, the media can address this problem by communicating health information to influence change and set the agenda for the public and policy makers (Mehraj et al., 2014).

Lin et al. (2014), argues that increased media awareness of prevention can reduce spread of infectious diseases. However, the media in Kenya has failed to adequately create awareness about control and spread despite owning the platform for setting the agenda for policy interventions to mitigate and contain COVID-19. Media awareness in Kenya is centered on creating awareness regarding new infections, number of hospitalization cases and death statistics. This implies that there is a research gap in understanding how the media can contribute to influencing policy making by agenda setting, formulation and implementation. Therefore, there is a need to set up a study to investigate the role of media interventions and how they influence health policy processes during COVID-19 pandemic period in Kenya.

1.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

1.3.1 General Objective

To examine the role of mass media interventions in influencing public health policy processes in Kenya with special focus on COVID-19 pandemic.

1.3.2 Specific Objectives

To examine media interventions used in coverage of COVID-19 by Daily Nation and the Standard Newspapers.

To find out the influence of media coverage on implementation of public health policies during COVID-19 pandemic in Kenya.

To investigate dominant frames used during the coverage of COVID-19 pandemic outbreak by the Daily Nation and Standard newspapers in Kenya.

1.4 Research Questions

How does media coverage influence health policy processes during the COVID-19 Pandemic in Kenya?

How do public awareness levels influence health policy processes during the COVID-19 Pandemic in Kenya?

In what ways do the media shape implementation of health policies during the COVID-19 Pandemic in Kenya?

1.5 Justification for of the study

With limited knowledge of Coronavirus among scientists, decision making at Government level has been a big challenge. Sometimes, many countries in the global south had to copy paste decisions made in the global north as they grappled with the control of Coronavirus.

As countries chart their journey to economic recovery, policy issues become critical more than ever. According to the World Bank's Global Economic Prospects report (2021), decisive policy actions will underpin economic recovery especially in protecting the most vulnerable groups while accelerating vaccination efforts to control the spread of Coronavirus. The media is critical in public policy making and it is critical that their agenda is pegged on facts communicated accurately and effectively to send the desired meanings that could help control or manage a crisis.

As research has shown, media could have a powerful influence on how societies and people view their world, their social-connectedness and action. This study would help:

Media houses and journalists enrich editorial planning and decision making to enhance policy making processes in Kenya; Media researchers and scholars in understanding media influence on policy making processes in the health sector especially pandemics; and Health sector policy makers understand how to utilize media coverage in policy making.

1.6 Significance of the Study

The results of the study made use of advice on the importance of mass media use in establishing awareness to media companies. In order to ensure peaceful coexistence among the many communities of the nation, this would assure media companies not only play their part in reporting but also in health issues Journalism. The conclusions from this study provide advice on the role of media in pandemic coverage for national and county policymakers. This study emphasizes the necessity to advocate for the use of mass media in health and pandemic awareness for national and regional political figures.

The study also promotes policies that will ensure the coverage of health issues through the use of mass media in a transparent way. This study will be the basis for additional research into the use of mass media to ensure the fair coverage of pandemics. This research supports future researchers who need literature evaluation on the function of media in appropriate and fair coverage of the pandemic.

1.7 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The study examined the influence of media interventions on public health policy processes in Kenya based on the coverage of only two leading Kenyan newspapers by circulation and readership namely the Daily Nation and the Standard, from March 13, 2020, to May 13, 2020. The analysis was from March 13 because it's the day when the first case was reported in Kenya and the country began to put in place containment measures.

The study took a two-month coverage period which ends on May 13, at a time when the country has increased and changed a number of containment measures. The study's database was thus limited to a relatively short period of time when media effects are at peak whereas according to LaCroix et al (2014), media effects are likely to disappear over time. The pandemic has been evolving characterized by waves of infections and the study could not be able to analyze the entire pandemic period. Additionally, the study was confined to only two newspapers despite the country having other mainstream media channels such as television, radio and other newspaper outlets.

1.8. Operational Terms

Mass Media: these are the communication channels used to convey or deliver information to large numbers of people almost instantaneously.

Media Coverage: refers to news and feature articles that are published in print media written by media professionals particularly on COVID-19 pandemic.

Media interventions: refers to organized and targeted activities used to inform, persuade or motivate populations through mass media channels (Sixmith et al, 2014).

Public Health policy: a set of rules, laws, regulations and guidelines implemented within an area targeting certain set health goals.

COVID-19: a disease caused by corona virus (WHO).

Communication: a process of sharing information to create a common understanding.

Pandemic: a disease outbreak that spreads through the human population, affecting a substantial number of people, a sizable proportion of a state, an entire nation, a continent, or a part of the whole globe (Samal, 2014).

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Overview

This chapter delves into the academic literature relevant to the study topic variables namely media interventions and health policy processes. It also presents a theoretical review, empirical review and the study's conceptual framework.

2.1 Media Coverage of Health Issues in Kenya

In May 2020, it was anticipated by the World Health Organization (WHO) that up to 190,000 deaths and 44 million infections in Africa might be reported by COVID-19 in their first year if mitigation measures are not followed systematically. On 15 March 2020, a variety of mitigation actions were put in place after Kenya confirmed the first case of COVID-19 in Kenya. The actions include the travel ban for foreigners, the closure of schools, the establishment of an unpaid telephone to report suspected COVID-19 cases, the directive on working from home for non-essential private and public institutions and forbidding all social and religious meetings, and mandatory visitation of nationals, residents and those who have contacted individuals in a quarantine facility where all international flights were stopped later in March.

For individuals who disregarded the mitigating measures, forced stay in quarantine centers were imposed and the national dawn curfew established. The stoppage of movement to and from the Nairobi Metropolitan Area, Mombasa County, Kilifi County, Mandera County and Kwale County was effective in July to restrict the spread of COVID-19 (Ministry of Health, 2020). Similarly on 4 April, the government ordered masks to be used in all public areas.

As authorities and scientists were still grappling with understanding the virus, there were a wide-ranging disagreement over COVID-19 spread control interventions adopted in Kenya. There was criticism of the horrendous living conditions in quarantine centers, which make it almost hard to implement the appropriate physical distance and sanitary measures (Mutahi, 2020). The government of Kenya and the police also examined the use of excessive violence to strengthen the curfew (Nyabola, 2020) and sanitary measures (Mutahi, 2020). The government of Kenya and the police also examined the use of excessive violence to strengthen the curfew (Nyabola, 2020).

A review of the most frequented websites in Kenya has shown that news sources such as Standard Media, Nation, Tuko, Kenyans, Google, and Yahoo became popular (Reelforge & Tifa Research, 2019). With smartphones and internet access in Kenya growing, media outlets will continue to digitize and digital news will probably boost their reader experience. News media have been acknowledged as an important element in establishing the agenda and shaping public opinion (McCombs, 2011).

As what is published in the media influences a lot our perspective of events, “the media’s priorities substantially impact the public’s priorities” (McCombs, 2011). The media focuses on specific subjects and consequently shapes public opinion and priorities (Seale, 2002). The 2017 UN Women Europe and Central Asia media coverage of the 2017 Gender-based violent manual deals with media reports and underlines the significance of “competent reporting” of SGBV, which can have an impact on public perceptions of SGBV (UN Women, 2017).

The COVID-19 pandemic brought science into the limelight globally leading to increased interactions on the spread of the virus causing the disease. The mass media and social media became instrumental in the sharing of information for public consumption on the pandemic. This empowered people with information and knowledge to assess the role and authority of science and discuss the ramifications of policy and regulation. COVID-19 has enabled the dynamic, intensive and complex social science talks that take place around the globe to be traced and documented.

The media is usually the main platform through which major policy decisions and scientific reasons for their formulation are announced. People receive information through mass media for risk assessment and self-protection and this information influences public perspective on the consequences of the pandemic. Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, and WhatsApp are used by people to share information, obtain news, information, and views, and participate in social talks [Anderson, Brossard & Scheufele 2010; Brossard 2013; Brossard & Scheufele 2013]. Media provide an extensive record which we are able to explore in a better way to understand how science is conveyed and disputed.

A review of the most frequented websites in Kenya has shown that news sources such as Standard Media, Nation, Tuko, Kenyans, Google, and Yahoo became popular (Reelforge & Tifa Research, 2019). With smartphones and internet access in Kenya growing, media outlets will continue to digitize and digital news will probably boost their reader experience. News media have been acknowledged as an important element in establishing the agenda and shaping public opinion (McCombs, 2011).

As what is published in the media influences a lot our perspective of events, “the media’s priorities substantially impact the public’s priorities” (McCombs, 2011). The media focuses on specific subjects and consequently shapes public opinion and priorities (Seale, 2002). The 2017 UN Women Europe and Central Asia media coverage of the 2017 Gender-based violent manual deals with media reports and underlines the significance of “competent reporting” of SGBV, which can have an impact on public perceptions of SGBV (UN Women, 2017).

The COVID-19 pandemic brought science into the limelight globally leading to increased interactions on the spread of the virus causing the disease. The mass media and social media became instrumental in the sharing of information for public consumption on the pandemic. This empowered people with information and knowledge to assess the role and authority of science and discuss the ramifications of policy and regulation. COVID-19 has enabled the dynamic, intensive and complex social science talks that take place around the globe to be traced and documented.

The media is usually the main platform through which major policy decisions and scientific reasons for their formulation are announced. People receive information through mass media for risk assessment and self-protection and this information influences public perspective on the consequences of the pandemic. Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, and WhatsApp are used by people to share information, obtain news, information, and views, and participate in social talks [Anderson, Brossard & Scheufele 2010; Brossard 2013; Brossard & Scheufele 2013]. Media provide an extensive record which we are able to explore in a better way to understand how science is conveyed and disputed.

2.2 COVID-19 in Kenya

The new coronavirus COVID-19 was initially detected in December 2019 as an infectious disease in China. According to WHO (2020), COVID-19 is an infectious disease caused by coronavirus characterized by mild to moderate respiratory illnesses in many patients but may cause serious and deadly illness among the elderly people and those living with underlying disease conditions such as cancer and diabetes.

In January 2020, cases of COVID-19 increased in Wuhan, China and began to spread to other countries such as Japan forcing WHO to convene a meeting in the third week of the same month to analyze the spread of COVID-19, (WHO 2020). This meeting's task force analysis found substantive evidence suggesting human-to-human transmission in Wuhan.

At the end of January, WHO declared COVID-19 an international emergency of international concern, (WHO 2020). The disease was later declared a pandemic in March, 2020 following its widespread spread especially in Europe. According to the Center for Disease Control (CDC 2021), COVID-19 mainly spreads when an infected person breathes out droplets and small particles that are inhaled by another person. Countries globally began to enforce measures to contain the spread of COVID-19.

Statistics revealed that over 120 countries had by April 10, introduced social protection measures especially for vulnerable children and families to cushion them from adverse economic effects of the pandemic, UNICEF (2020). According to Anwar, et al (2020) media's coverage of COVID-19 was largely pegged in multiple social, cultural, and economic matters. Globally, the COVID-19 pandemic led to massive economic and livelihoods shake-ups. Equivalent to the economically-privileged regions in the world, African countries are fortunate to escape the heavy burden of disease; but they enforce what may be more stringent public health responses which severely restrict the social and economic freedoms of their people-a condition which is overwhelmingly supported by the urban poor (Hafez & Attia, 2020).

During a pandemic, critical concerns about privacy and confidentiality are raised in the midst of a pandemic or disease and should they still be respected (Dhital & Walton, 2020).

When privacy is guaranteed, patients are likely to adhere to actions that promote prevention of spread of disease as they know their health information will not be open to public scrutiny. This is because, in a person who has tested positive for COVID-19 exposure, whether purposely or unintentionally, details might be required for monitoring, screening and testing purposes (Slim, 2020).

However, the right to privacy and privacy is not an absolute right and its protection is accepted unless it is released by order of the court or informed consent for the purposes of health research and policy preparation. Similarly, the Public Health Act provides for the reporting of infectious diseases (Minten et al., 2020).

The Kenyan Government through the Ministry of Health and Interior, released a statement to the effect that its orders should be enforced by the National Police Service and administrative apparatus (Sharma & Borah, 2020). The challenge for frontline workers is that stigma attached to contacts of victims could lead to people hiding and not disclosing crucial information to aid contact tracing.

The COVID-19 pandemic brought critical global challenges perhaps not faced by public health in the recent past in some jurisdictions. Ethical solutions to these issues are a prerequisite of public health, but must take account of context (James & Alihodzic, 2020). Like many parts of the world this was a key issue of concern in Kenya as authorities responded to control the spread of the virus through enforcement of travel and economic activity restrictions, threatening the livelihoods of vulnerable households.

2.3 Media Coverage and Health Policy Interventions

Media interventions are targeted communication activities aimed at persuading populations towards a particular course of action. Media interventions can be used to pass health and health-related pieces of information such as research evidence to aid decision making for policymakers, health professionals and the general public, Wilson et al (2004). Media interventions could significantly enhance public understanding of the parameters used in government policy decisions thus improving the quality of democratic debate, critical during pandemic periods when authorities

may make decisions that infringe on fundamental human rights of people, Ogbogu & Hardcastle (2021).

An assessment of the print media framing of policy issues during enforcement of COVID-19 control measures in Canada found that print media analysis of policy issues was more descriptive than critical analysis of the determinants for classification of a service as essential. In this study, Ogbogu & Hardcastle (2021) argue that the emergency nature of COVID-19 and public pressure to release information may have limited the media from exploratory journalism.

According to Cochran and Malone (2005), public policy comprises decisions and actions taken by the government pertaining matters of public interest. Mass media can be used in the process of public policy making in various ways. Lancaster, K et al (2011) posit that mass media could indirectly determine the decision and attitudes of individuals and community towards a risk through agenda setting and by framing topical issues through selection and salience.

Since the late 1980s a significant effort has been paid to enhance the fit between science and practice and to promote evidence-based public health practice (Fleerackers et al., 2021). These initiatives coincide with the increase of the influence on clinical practice of evidence-based medicine and have supported substantial advances in increasing the quality and effect of public health interventions. Good public policy must support public health practices.

New tactics such as media advocacy and public health promotion bring specific assessment issues. Assessment is vital for feedback to practitioners in the media on how to improve their work and funding agencies and scholars who aim to evaluate the success of media advocacy as a strategy for health promotion. The research on media advocacy assessments provides instances of promising, though changing evaluation methodologies (Viscusi, 2020). A detailed methodology is offered for assessing media advocacy. It presents a set of indicators and research methodologies for evaluating media advocacy at the level of the formative, process and outcome evaluations based on current approaches in media advocacy and current thinking surrounding assessments in the field of health promotion.

In the third week of March, 78% of democrats in the US reported that the outbreak of coronavirus was a major threat to the entire health of the American population, according to published report by *Pew Research Center*, Van Green & Tyson, (2020), and only 52% of Republican people agreed to that opinion. In contrast to only 31% of Republicans, almost half (48 percent) of the Democrats had believed that people in all parts of the country don't take the virus seriously.

Media analysis helps to understand both the media's reflecting and influence roles in a public health policy issue as such reports usually mirror dominant societal attitudes and obesity discourses (McMahonid et al., 2020). Or the media can impact how individuals and government players see and understand the complicated political elements of obesity and chronic diseases connected with it through their power to define policy concerns. Additionally, the media could influence the how public policy makers assesses and interpret issues.

The media may focus on specific policy concerns and public and political attention. The various governments reporting on obesity show that obesity, health and economic consequences connected with this are a topic of policy concern (Ali & Puppis, 2018). The need of evaluating the performance of the media advocacy approach as feedback to practitioners about the ways in which they may improve efforts and funders and researchers (Abdullahi et al., 2020).

Given the complexities of our socially-sorting, fragmented environment, researchers in political communication and health communication are compelled to make sense of ever more politically-focused health occurrences. However, many researchers lack the necessary understanding to develop efficient explanatory and predictive modeling for politicized health attitudes and behaviors, without the necessary know-how in the theory of health communication and political communication. According to Gorwa and Guilbeault (2020), health politics is “which leads people to view politics as heuristic health issues with a political or ideological slant” when political indicators or symbols become integrated into public presentation of a politicized health question.

As healthcare and science become more politicized in the United States, researchers in communication are beginning to address the nature and impact of this phenomenon, and how, due

to journalistic tendencies towards drama and conflict, partisan message frames related to health and science are forming news coverage and the impact of this message.

2.4 Planned media interventions used in coverage of COVID-19

During a pandemic, timely information is important for supporting a health communication that will be believed by the public and stimulate compliance actions. According to Manganello et al. (2020), the urgency in communication is a recipe for creating awareness by the media during a pandemic. As such, traditional media, especially print media have an important role to play because they are perceived as public sphere for engaging citizens about a pandemic. This is an important platform for discussing progress, challenges and plans for containing the spread of COVID-19. Hart et al. (2020), found out that, planned media interventions like timely provision of information are required by the media to shape public opinion concerning the health risks with the aim of stimulating behavioral changes.

COVID-19 generated a lot of news reports across the world that led to confusion among many people in the world. According to Mahon (2021), COVID-19 generated a lot of news that led to false information and created a difficult situation for citizens to access accurate information concerning an unknown virus. Planned media interventions have been found to influence trust of audience towards news created by the media. The print media is regarded as a legacy media and can positively improve the level of trust among the target audience (Tsai et al., 2020). Therefore, failure of the media to properly plan their information will lead to mistrust by the audience (Tsai et al., 2020).

Sharma (2021) posits that the print media is pivotal in sharing information about a health crisis, but its role is subject to external influence by extraneous factors. These factors influence planning of media news especially in selection and positioning, which can have both direct and indirect effects in changing and creating a particular perception about the pandemic. Dong and Zheng (2020), through a cross-sectional study in print media coverage in China found out that planning was sufficient in sensitizing the audience. Similarly, the study noted that “exaggeration” of news during planning engendered panic and stress to the public. In a similar study in the US, failure of proper planning during early coverage of COVID-19 was negatively affected by polarization and

politicization of its information about the virus. According to Hart et al. (2020), political leaning of a particular print media influenced planning leading to polarized attitudes about COVID-19 information.

Media interventions are focused on a particular framing pattern of the pandemic and this creates a certain mental health implication to the audience (Zheng et al., 2020). Similarly, Haroon and Rizvi (2020) found out that framing patterns used by print media have financial market stability of the country. Yu et al. (2020) and Dong and Zheng (2020) argue that framing patterns used by the media during planning interventions affect the tourism sector and impose stress disorders to the public respectively. According to Liu et al. (2021) planned media interventions can mitigate can spread of COVID-19, but external factors can influence trust levels of the public and this limits news from institutions and health policy makers (Mandelbaum, 2020; Motta et al., 2020).

The COVID-19 pandemic has created a lot of news interest among the public in Kenya and print media is a reliable source of information (Mahon, 2021). Information from scientific studies and publication can be carried by the print media, but majority of the studies published in the print media have been carried out in China or the Western countries (Mandelbaum, 2020). The print media in Kenya has failed to effectively play its role in promoting communicative discourse concerning the COVID-19. As such, the public has relied on global print media like journals or global health organizations for information about how the world is dealing with containing and treating the virus.

The print media in Kenya, through its reporting of the pandemic has influenced the attitudes, perception and shaped the opinion of citizens (Kiptiness & Okoye, 2021). This is a crucial role because print media is at the center of socio-political discourse in the Kenyan society. Several studies have identified external factors that shape planning of interventions by the print media in shaping public opinion and policies for mitigating and containing the virus. In particular, uncertainties, emotional fatigue, panic and racist underpinning of the pandemic have been identified as the main factors shaping planning of interventions for shaping public opinion by print media in Kenya (Sylvia & Bundenz, 2020; Haroon & Rizvi, 2020; Lwin et al., 2020; Ruiz et al.,

2.5. Influence of media coverage on implementation of public health policies during COVID-19 pandemic in Kenya

Studies have elaborately highlighted the influence of journalism in shaping policy implementation in different social contexts. The print media, as a section of journalism, has its own practice of influencing policy change in different social contexts. Kenya is a democratic society and this influences how the print media covers the pandemic (Christians et al., 2009). According to prior studies, the influence of print media in implementation of public health policy is influenced by the political or economic power and civil society on different points of the spectrum. The studies have identified the influence of print media in influencing implementation of public policy as facilitative, collaborative, radical and monitorial (Christians et al., 2009).

Christians et al. (2009), have theorized that the facilitative role of print media is founded on the framework of allowing ordinary citizens to pull together and realize a common good. Specifically, the print media provides a platform for citizens to air their views about the pandemic through intense deliberations. According to Christians et al. (2009), the print media allows citizens to deliberate and provide an opportunity to identify, clarify and resolves challenges accompanying the global pandemic. Consequently, implementation of healthcare policies becomes easy because different viewpoints are considered and possibility of evaluating alternatives are also considered. Therefore, the print media as a platform for deliberations serves a central role in achieving the specific healthcare policy objectives for mitigating COVID-19 which is not obstructed by social, cultural and political underpinnings in the country (Christians et al., 2009).

The second role played by the print media in influencing public policy is collaboration with the government in addressing the pandemic. According to Christians et al. (2009), the print media is a link that foster collaboration at local, regional, national and global arena. In the case of COVID-19, which was an unknown virus, it was prudent for the public to identify their government interests on improving the livelihoods and wellbeing of its people by proving crucial content information (Christians et al., 2009). The print media plays a major role of fulfilling government interests, but it is expected that the state must meet the needs of the print media. Consequently, proper levels of collaboration between the media and government will lead to achievement of desirable objectives and outcomes. Christians et al. (2009), have found out that this realization

must be founded on mutual trust and collaborative commitment set out within a framework of agreed terms.

The third function of the print media in influencing policy implementation is a radical role. According to Christians et al. (2009), the print media's radical role requires that they must uphold equality in their coverage. Injustices in coverage of information in the print media have found to stem from the level of social concentration of political power by a few people. Christians et al. (2009), have argued that print media can defeat this obstacle by providing unsolicited and fair content to dismantle the concentration of social power. Dismantling of the social power is a key factor in ensuring the print media is able to create a platform for policy implementation (Christians et al., 2009). The influence of print media in this case will be creating an unconstrained flow and access to communicative information for all its audience and ensure success of healthcare policies (Christians et al., 2009).

The last role of print media in influencing policy implementation is monitorial. According to Christians et al. (2009), they postulated that this role shows that level of commitment to providing adequate informational needs of its audience relating to that pandemic. Print media can effectively play its role on monitoring through developing a robust system of collecting views and feedback about a certain policy (Schudson, 1998). According to Christians et al. (2009), they revealed that the print media can effectively achieve its role of monitoring by considering relevance, significance and existing normative frameworks that govern print media in presentation of information.

Print media frames of the Coronavirus are bitter and have a relationship with politics and authority in the community (Caron, 2021). Communicative information is integral to the role of print media in mitigating the effects of COVID-19. However, information communicated by print media is influenced by the source and statements issued by government agencies. According to Noar and Austin (2020), they argued that a proper national message is crucial in developing unity and trust that are key in mitigating the effects of the pandemic.

Increased access to print media information because of technological development of smartphones and internet has become an important medium of communication during the Coronavirus pandemic (Yu et al., 2020). This has democratized access to health information because it is affordable and its more functional (Schillinger et al., 2020). As such, print media information is accessed faster and effectively leading to better levels of influencing behavioral change during Coronavirus pandemic (Dong & Zeng, 2020). However, framing of news by the print media has become a major limitation for exploiting this opportunity created by the internet technology in increasing access to communicative information about the Coronavirus pandemic.

The main challenge facing framing of news related to COVID-19 are false information and misinformation of facts. According to Manganello et al. (2020), the print media faces a backlash from the conspiracy theory in advocating for positive behavioral change in dealing with Coronavirus. Studies have pointed out that, depending on how messages are presented to the audience, untrue information and fakes news can still be taken as truth to a level to discount factual health information from credible sources (Schwarz & Jalbert, 2021). Perception of information carried by print media can endanger lives of citizens and it is prudent that communicative information is accurate as possible (Viswanath et al., 2020).

Planning of print media intervention is crucial in combating COVID-19 by focusing on how people respond to a pandemic. Panic has been found to be a common reaction among people during a pandemic and it is vital that print media understand how people approach COVID-19 as an object of public opinion especially during the onset of the pandemic (Southwell et al., 2020). According to Kaur-Gill (2021), planning print media interventions is significant in improving the health outcomes and should be the core of communicative information. Metamorphosis of the global health pandemic provides a platform for contestation of meanings influence by conspiracy theories leading to promotion of misinformation. Culloty and Suiter (2021) have found out that misinformation during Coronavirus pandemic results in consequences that confuse and harm citizens.

The print media in Kenya has been found to have promoted misinformation about the coronavirus according to the Infordemic Report 2020. Wright (2021) found out that infordemic resulted in

unhealthy negative effects in Kenya. Similarly, another study showed that infodemics obstruct the ability and credibility of health experts to communicate facts about COVID-19 as a basis for policy interventions (Levi et al., 2021). The EID communication has been proposed as a suitable approach to build trust while at the same time leveraging on the crisis of communicative information. According to Holmes et al. (2009), the print media should be at the center of the communication in order to result in positive health outcomes.

2.6. Dominant frames used during the coverage of COVID-19 pandemic outbreak by the Daily Nation and Standard newspapers in Kenya

Print media coverage of global health pandemics has resulted in concentrated opinion as the quest for information soars. There is a particular pattern in which the media frames pandemics and differences in how the COVID-19 pandemic was covered. According to Tian and Stewart (2005), they found out that during the spread of SARS the media was concerned with spread, impact to the public health and tourism, and providing content of a global perspective. In a similar study, focusing on the Ebola outbreak, Pieri (2018) found out that contagion risks, localization, regional crisis, outbreak and global security were among the major frames by the in covering the pandemic.

Lee and Basnyat (2013) while researching on the news frames of the H1N1 pandemic found out that emotional appeals, positive tone, favoring positions held by public health agencies and thematic framing were common in the media. In another study, Shih et al. (2008) identified action and consequence as the major frames used by the print media while communicating information about the West Nile Virus by the New York Times. The findings showed that framing of global health pandemics is event based relating to new cases and state actions (Shih et al., 2008).

Health organizations like the WHO and CDC play a pivotal role of connecting people by using the media to mitigate morbidity and deaths that are likely to be caused by a pandemic (Reynolds & Quinn Crouse, 2008). The manner in which health organizations, government and policy makers depict an issue has a major impact during the onset of a pandemic (Liu & Kim, 2011). News framing plays a pivotal role in connecting with citizens by providing information about the pandemic (de Vries, 2004). According to Entman (2003), news framing focuses on identifying specific messages to define the pandemic situation and stimulate public policy discourse. It is in

this way that the Daily Nation and the Standard newspapers had different framing of the global pandemic with the focus on influencing policy implementation.

Iyengar (1994) through studies identified two particular frames used by print media to disseminate information about a particular pandemic. Conflict, human interest, economic implications, morality and responsibility were found as the main influence of media framing of a global pandemic (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). While performing a follow-up study on the study by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), Ogbodo (2018), revealed that print media are also framed on the basis of ethnicization and politicization of information.

The coronavirus was a new virus whose information was limited across the world. Different print media adopted different news framing to communicate information about the pandemic and this is likely to have caused different effects to policy implementation. According to Ogbodo (2020), people perception and the manner in which they interpret COVID-19 is founded on how the pandemic was framed by the print media. For example, exaggerating information about the pandemic would create panic and create an opportunity for development of additional health complications. Thus, constructive coverage through framing of news about the pandemic is required for proper containment of the pandemic because it minimizes fear.

The outbreak of the Coronavirus in 2019 added pressure to the print media to provide communicative information. Studies have shown that when a message is released by the media, the audience are concerned with how it is said. As such, it implies that the media can accentuate or mitigate the pandemic based on the frames they adopt while reporting the pandemic. According to Ogbodo et al. (2020), they found out that human interest and fear were the major media frames of COVID-19. This finding was consistent with the constructionist frame postulation that media acts as an information processor that creates an interpretative package to reflect on culture and stimulate audience response (Ogbodo et al., 2020). The study found out that gloom, hope, safeguard and frustration were framed at different proportions during media reporting of COVID-19 (Ogbodo et al., 2020). From this study, it can be concluded that COVID-19 coverage by the media was high, but how the print media framed the pandemic showed lack of coherence and self-

efficacy because of being obsessed with breaking news. Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), Ogbodo

2.7 Research Gaps

The literature analysed by the researcher revealed that there is inadequate research into the effects of media interventions on public health policies. This implies that most studies have not investigated media interventions as a standalone but as part of multi-component interventions. During the period of study, with confusion around COVID-19 and how it spreads, scientists and governments were grappling with intervention efforts to control the spread of the disease. At some point, journalists covered stories banning the use of facemasks and after a few weeks, the media was covering stories recommending the use of facemasks to control the spread of COVID-19. Although the media has been poised to play an integral part in policy making, current media investigations are centered primarily on contributions to policy outputs and little on contributions to the policy making processes.

As much as the media may not independently impact the outcomes of public health policies, it is critical that the role of the media is examined as an independent component. Additionally, the literature reveals inadequate evidence on planned media interventions with most studies based on media coverage of health issues which may not necessarily be planned. This study will assess planned and unplanned coverage and its likely impact on public health policy making in Kenya. Besides, most of the studies published on media and policy issues are done in the global north with very few studies done in the global south.

2.8 Theoretical Framework

This section covers the theories that anchored this study. The study was grounded on two theories namely; Peace Journalism theory and agent setting theory.

2.8.1 Media Framing Theory

At first, under the title Frame Study, Goffman proposed a theory (De Vreese, 2005). He suggested that people view what is happening all over the world through their key structure. This system is mainly considered as is agreed by the consumer. It is not important to be useful as a framework for other frameworks. Goffman notes that two variations exist within primary frameworks: natural social (Simon & Xenos, 2000). Both play a role in helping individuals to interpret data.

Natural frames describe events as physical phenomena that take natural quotations and do not assign social forces to event cause. Social environments consider activities as social events due to other social players' moods, goals and manipulations (people). Social structures are based on natural frames. These structures and frames are essential to the way data is interpreted, processed and shared.

Goffman's fundamental premise is that every day, whether you know them or not, you will use these mechanisms. In turn, framing theory shows how something is communicated to the general public and how people choose how the data is treated. Frames are abstracts that arrange or structure the message's context (Jewkes, 2005). In the sense of the information, they relay in news or media, the most common usage of frames. They are meant to affect the interpretation of the news by the media so that it can be viewed as a program of the second stage so that the listeners can think of what they need and think of the issue in public (second-level agenda setting, framing theory).

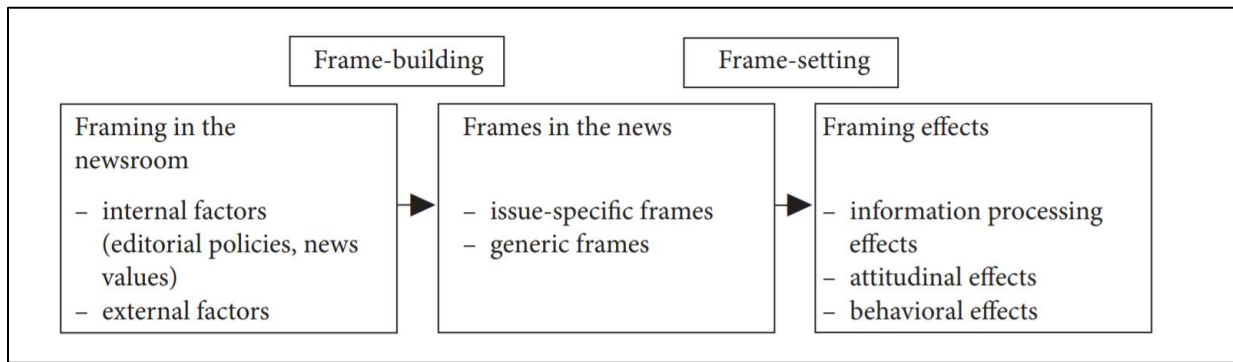


Figure 2.1: Integrated framing process model (de Vreese, 2005)

The media can also influence how the public and politicians interpret or think about those topics by collecting and promoting them in a communication document. The shaping of public opinion, which forces politicians to respond, can influence the media in policy making (Andsager, 2003). For example, media activism is a common public health tactic that can help raise public officials' consciousness and mobilize them.

Process-inhibiting and enabling influences are complex and similarly complicated. There are very different stages or "streams", as Kingdon notes, when combined, the odds of adopting a policy

increase. The first stream is setting the problem agenda and how certain problems or conditions are regarded as governmental intervention issues. The second stream is alternative policy approaches to address these issues. The third stream, policy, recognize those factors that influence the policy process, both inside and outside government. Public policies need to be of this; when combined, there is an improvement in odds for implementing the policy. The first stream is establishing a problem agenda and the way certain problems or conditions are seen as issues of government intervention.

2.8.2 Social Representation Theory (SRT)

The study was led by the Social Representation Theory (SRT) of Serge Moscovici, as published in its 2001 edition (Moscovici in 2001). Theory became a hallmark of media studies, despite it originally being utilized in human psychoanalysis, when Moscovici investigated the spread in French culture of media psychoanalytic thinking and its metamorphosis into ordinary social representations (Moscovici, 2001). The theory of social representation as a theory of communication aims to connect the media and the public by communicating the anchoring and objectification mechanisms.

The theory says that the media offer their viewers a framework through the techniques of representation that allows them to sense their social reality and grasp their social challenges (Moscovici, 1984; 2001; Wagner & Hayes, 2005). By anchors, the media reveal a weird and unknown event when they tie it to well-known and already existing notions in order for their audience to understand and compare.

On the other hand, the media will try to make the unknown known by using the objective process by translating it into something specific that its public can feel, touch, and understand (Moscovici, 2001; Markova, 2003). The theory is thus relevant to media research and communication science like this, as media scientists can understand how phenomena are transmuted and transformed into what is perceived as common sense by the public through the promotion of the two mechanisms of representation, which finally contribute to their understanding of them (Bauer, & Gaskell, 1999).

Although this theory has a social psychology, it has been widely recognized and employed by numerous media academics in analyzing the way media and public opinion depict social and political concerns that affect the media (Biling, 1993; Lippman, 1998; Berglez, et al, 2009; Höijer, 2011; Olausson, 2010). For example, Lippmann (1998) linked the communication mechanism of name theory (by means of anchoring) with the idea of stereotyping to analyze how medium messages could be used to create discrimination, power and domination, consciously or unwittingly.

Similarly, Joffe (2002) promotes the use of theory in media or communication study to evaluate emotions by using emotionally subtle symbols. On this basis, Hoijer (2009) used the theory to analyze the media's emotions during climate reports. The purpose of this study is also to contribute to this mediumistic discussion by establishing the communicative strength of the two objectification and anchoring mechanisms employed for reporting on the Kenyan ICC cases. This study will be used in the media.

Bauer and Gaskell (1999) also claim that the theory provides a broad range of quantitative and qualitative methods of empirical research that can be used to research communication by providing the opportunity to develop a relationship between the theoretical and empirical levels of research methodology. For example, Jodelet, (1991), is in favor of the application of theory in anthropological methods where focus groups are used, but Duveen (1992) advises use of the theory in observer techniques for the analysis of dialogue and interaction. In discourse theory and content analysis, De Rosa (1994) also promotes the study of communicative texts and images, combining qualitative and quantitative methodologies. The theory says that the media also supplies them with a code for social exchange while allowing communication between members of a society to take place. The code helps them to identify new phenomena in their surroundings.

The first theory principle suggests that each of the mechanisms (objectification & anchoring) is supported by elements. The identification of these elements is helpful when the mechanisms and their use in a text are studied. The study determined quantitatively the elements to check how the two journals use and occur. The second argument is that knowledge through their diverse meanings and effects on the user is facilitated by different parts of representation. In order to comprehend

their consequences on the whole representation of the health policy process, the study qualitatively will examine the various interpretations of the discovered features.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter covers the research approach to this study. It highlights the technique used to collect and evaluate the data. This included the design of the research, the sample population, the data collection methodology and the method of analysis and presentation of the data collected.

3.1 Research Design

The researcher used content analysis in this study. Content analysis is a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from the data to their context (Krippendorff, 2018). According to Dumay and Cai (2015), content analysis is the method of creating inferences by identifying systematically and accurately the definite characteristics of information and using the same technique to relate to the trending facts. Content analysis is often used to find out certain factors that are connected to a specific idea or phenomenon.

Content analysis requires coding systems that enable the researcher to observe the content of communication and categorize them, to observe trends and frequencies to make comparison and deduce meaning. Content analysis is an effective research method because it provides data that is empirical, systematic, and objective (Chan & Cheng, 2012). According to Chandelier, Steuckardt, Mathevet, Diwersy, and Gimenez (2018) for the result of the analysis to be meaningful, different analyses should be able to arrive at the same results by using the same coding systems.

3.2 Study Site

The study was conducted among two leading newspapers: Daily Nation and the Standard newspaper. Specifically, data for this study was extracted from archives of Kenya National Library head office in Nairobi County. The choice of the two newspapers was considered because of their wide coverage in Kenya, and the East Africa region Mwita, C et al (2021).

3.3 The Study population

There are six daily newspapers in Kenya, including the Daily Nation, Standard, Star, People Daily, Business Daily and Taifa Leo (Internews, 2021). Therefore, this constitutes the target population of the study. The study analyzed stories published between March 13, 2020, and May 27, 2020,

the first one and a half months after COVID-19 outbreak was officially confirmed in Kenya. As such, the population of the study is 90 copies of the two newspapers. The study selected study period is when the country first recorded cases of COVID-19 and began issuing containment measures to control the spread of the disease in the country.

3.4 Sampling Technique

The study utilized purposive sampling to Daily Nation and Standard newspapers. This sampling technique requires that the researcher should have prior knowledge about the purpose of their studies so that they can properly choose and approach eligible participants for the study. Researchers use purposive sampling when they want to access a particular subset of people, as all participants of a survey are selected because they fit a particular profile (Johnson & Christensen, 2012). Therefore, the study targeted all articles published between March 13 and May 30 that have COVID-19 articles or information. The first case of COVID-19 was confirmed in Kenya on the 12th of March 2020 according to MOH (2020). As opined by Bryman (2016), the aim of purposive sampling is to identify study participants that are relevant to the research objectives and questions.

3.5 Data Collection Method

The study used the coding book data collection method to collect data from the two newspapers (Daily Nation, and the Standard). The researcher identified and extracted all articles on COVID-19. Both quantitative and qualitative data was collected and analyzed where quantitative were in form of numeric while qualitative in thematic format. In order to systematically and broadly code and analyze the content from the newspapers, mixed-method content analysis was used. The study used quantitative analysis in assessing the frequency of content in articles and also performed qualitative analysis of the more in-depth analysis of the media coverage responses.

Data used in this study was extracted from Kenya National Library archives. COVID-19 was used as keywords and only articles mentioning the selected pandemic were coded and analyzed. The following information was extracted from each article by one reviewer: Title of the article, publication type (newspaper) and publication date.

3.5.1 Validity and Reliability

To ensure the suitability of study instruments, the researcher used content validity. The researcher worked with the academic supervisor to obtain advice on the research tools and their adequacy in addressing the question about the content validity. Reliability refers to how dependable, consistent, stable and stable estimate scale or test is (Hair Jr, 2015). The degree to which test scores are free of measurement errors called reliability.

To ensure its validity and reliability, the researcher carried out a pilot testing of research items. Bryman and Truman and Humphries (1994) argue that the instrument test with reasonable respondents can assess if the research participants will find the instrument problematic. To assess the validity and reliability of the examinee, the researcher selected a 10% pilot team. This level of confidence is estimated using alpha (α) of Cronbach. Ghauri et al. (2020) mandates that research tools should be approximately 0.70 or more reliable.

3.6 Data Analysis and Presentation

All the articles with the adopted keyword were extracted and entered into excel sheet and later Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) data analysis software. Data analysis is the cleaning and organization with inclusive interpretation of the findings from collected data. This study will adopt descriptive content analysis both quantitatively and qualitatively using descriptive and inferential statistics to analyze the data collected. Findings of the study were keenly interpreted and tabulated (where applicable) for the illustrative purposes and easier understanding. Illustration was done on tables, charts, graphs and pie charts where applicable. The study was presented in both qualitative and quantitative form. Qualitative data was presented in narration form since it entailed content analysis of the two newspapers. Moreover, the narration form of presentation allowed for more information on the analysis to be recorded.

3.7 Ethical Consideration

Observing research ethics is an important practice in research. This builds on affirming and developing trust in the findings and appreciating the source of data or information (Bukve, 2019). This study took strict measures to observe all ethics pertaining to conducting a successful research study. The study ensured that data collected from was properly stored and not accessible to any

unauthorized parties (Diaz-Diaz & Semenec, 2020). This is aimed to maintaining the privacy of the data and sources who provided the information. In all instances and all research assistants involved in this study strictly complied with all the research ethics and therefore make the study a success.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS

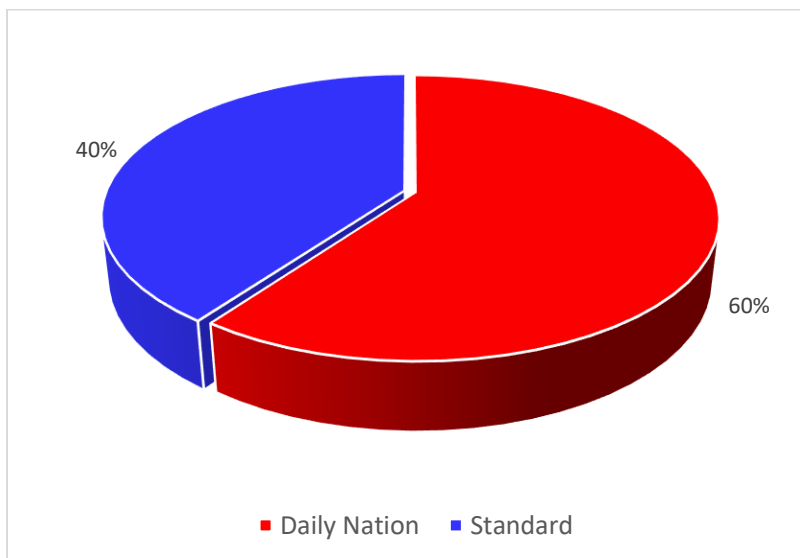
4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents findings of newspaper analysis to examine the role of media in influencing public health policy process. First, the chapter begins with presentation of general information of the newspaper analysis, the policy interventions and finally present discussion of findings and as well as the summary of findings of the chapter.

4.2 Number of articles in the newspapers

Figure 1 indicates the total number of newspaper articles analyzed in each of the sampled newspapers. The study presents findings from the content analysis, highlighting major themes related to COVID-19 pandemic and covered the two most widely circulated daily newspapers in Kenya. A total of 5034 articles were identified, extracted, and analyzed and 3021 (60%) of the stories on the pandemic appeared in Daily Nation while 2013 (40%) appeared in the Standard. This illustrates that all the sampled newspaper gave prominence to the COVID-19 pandemic signifying that a well-designed messages by media are delivered to the intended audience with sufficient reach and frequency to be seen or heard and remembered.

Figure 2 Number of articles in the newspapers



4.3 General information of coverage

4.3.1 Nature of photo

Graphics especially photographic tend to trap readers and this influence actions of the readers. In this study, the study examined nature of photo used (whether black and white or colored) to demonstrate the weight of the story. Table 1 presents the findings. We can see that 2776 (55%) articles didn't use photos with 1598 (32%) using colored photos and 660 (13%) accompanying the text on the pandemic with black and white photos. Most certainly as previous scholars report, newspapers are very important in creating visual frames (Ojala, Panthi & Kangas, 2017; Wozniak, Luck & Wessler, 2015). Scholars further agree that visual messages contained in newspapers of the COVID-19 have a bearing on the impression and government's willingness to formulate and implement interventions to curb the pandemic.

Table 1 Nature of photo

			Daily			
	Standard	%	Nation	%	Total	
Black and white	240	12%	420	14%	660	13%
Colored	647	32%	951	31%	1598	32%
N.a	1126	56%	1650	55%	2776	55%
	2013	100%	3021	100%	5034	100%

4.3.2 Gender of author

The gender imbalance at the heart of the Kenyan media has been laid bare by the study confirming that male still dominate newspaper journalism. As shown in Table 2, a majority of the newspaper stories on COVID-19 were published by men compared to 31% by women. Similarly, newspaper article son COVID-19 pandemic published by both men and women accounted for 10% of the total coverage and only 8% of the pandemic stories were written by people identified as either Daily Nation or the Standard team.

Table 2 Gender of author

			Daily			
	Standard	%	Nation	%	Total	
Both male and female	210	10%	318	11%	528	10%
Female	610	30%	931	31%	1541	31%
Male	1020	51%	1542	51%	2562	51%
n.a.	173	9%	230	8%	403	8%
	2013	100%	3021	100%	5034	100%

4.3.3 Format

Majority, representing 59% of the COVID-19 stories published were presented through news report format. The study findings further show that feature and Opinion Piece (Op-ed page) are the second and third segment which covered the pandemic allowing experts to strongly provide their opinion regarding salient issues on the COVID-19 pandemic without editorial interferences. The newspaper articles analyzed reported the pandemic in the press release and letters to the editor sections of the newspaper. Moreover, newspaper run advertisements on the pandemic accounting for 9% of the total stories.

Table 3 Format

			Daily			
	Standard	%	Nation	%	Total	
News report	1185	59%	1780	59%	2965	59%
Feature	150	7%	330	11%	480	10%
Editorial	78	4%	98	3%	176	3%
Opinion Piece (Op-ed page)	130	6%	176	6%	306	6%
Letter to the editor	110	5%	130	4%	240	5%
Press release	40	2%	60	2%	100	2%

Pictorial	29	1%	45	1%	74	1%
Cartoon	18	1%	32	1%	50	1%
Advertisement	190	9%	240	8%	430	9%
Other	83	4%	130	4%	213	4%
	2013	100%	3021	100%	5034	100%

4.3.4 Space allocated to the story

The researcher collected data on space allocation and publication rate of COVID-19 issues to gauge the prominence given to the pandemic by the newspapers under study as presented in Table 4. Majority representing 34% of the COVID-19 issues were covered in half a page while a quarter a page space was allocated to 27% of the issues covered. Similarly, 16% of the issues covered on COVID-19 were allocated more than half a page of the total coverage.

Table 4 Space allocated to the story

	Standard		Daily		Total	
		%	Nation	%		
More than one page	150	7%	230	8%	380	8%
Entire page	286	14%	311	10%	597	12%
More than half a page	340	17%	450	15%	790	16%
Half page	630	31%	1100	36%	1730	34%
Quarter page	520	26%	820	27%	1340	27%
One eighth page	87	4%	110	4%	197	4%
	2013	100%	3021	100%	5034	100%

4.3.5 Topic/theme

As outlined in Table. 5 below, healthcare was the most covered topic in relation to COVID-19 in Kenya. Based on the coding frame, healthcare services are mainly preventative services majorly vaccination and healthcare boosting services such as exercising. Similarly, other topics that featured prominently during the pandemic period coverage are politics, corruption and economy related matters.

Table 5 Topic/theme

			Daily			
	Standard	%	Nation	%	Total	
Agriculture	110	5%	207	7%	317	6%
Corruption	137	7%	280	9%	417	8%
Economy and commerce	62	3%	98	3%	160	3%
Education	130	6%	174	6%	304	6%
Diplomacy	110	5%	150	5%	260	5%
Political	208	10%	230	8%	438	9%
Healthcare	882	44%	1060	35%	1942	39%
Leisure and entertainment	124	6%	224	7%	348	7%
Law and Order	168	8%	220	7%	388	8%
Legislation	31	2%	129	4%	160	3%
Women issues	21	1%	102	3%	123	2%
Religion	19	1%	88	3%	107	2%
War / National Security	11	1%	59	2%	70	1%
	2013	100%	3021	100%	5034	100%

4.3.6 Main subject/people who appeared in the story

As shown in Table. 6, majority 39% of the newspaper articles under review used professional associations to comment on COVID-19 issues. During the period under review, 8% of the articles used artists and celebs as agents for creating awareness about COVID-19 pandemic, religious leaders (7%), diplomat (6%) and academics (6%) depicting diversity of information sources covered by the press. The framing reveals more coverage of celebrities and politicians while frontline health workers are least covered.

Table 6 Main subject/people who appeared in the story

			Daily			
	Standard	%	Nation	%	Total	
Academic	110	5%	207	7%	317	6%
Artist / Celebrity	137	7%	280	9%	417	8%
Businessman/woman	62	3%	98	3%	160	3%
Diplomat	130	6%	174	6%	304	6%
NGO's	110	5%	150	5%	260	5%
Politician	208	10%	230	8%	438	9%
Professional						
Association	890	44%	1060	35%	1950	39%
Religious Leader	124	6%	224	7%	348	7%
Sports man/woman	160	8%	220	7%	380	8%
State Official	31	2%	129	4%	160	3%
Trade Union	21	1%	102	3%	123	2%
Woman/man on the street	19	1%	88	3%	107	2%
Other	11	1%	59	2%	70	1%
	2013	100%	3021	100%	5034	100%

4.3.7 Gender presence

As shown in Table. 7, the study found gender imbalances in the media coverage of COVID-19 pandemic in Kenya with men 44% dominating and being central to most of the stories covered while a paltry 11% for women to comment on the issues covered. These findings suggest journalistic resource is a critical resource that can help in closing gender imbalances in coverage.

Table 7 Gender presence

			Daily			
	Standard	%	Nation	%	Total	
Both women and men central to the story	463	23%	460	15%	923	18%
Men central	880	44%	1320	44%	2200	44%
Women central	140	7%	411	14%	551	11%
n.a.	530	26%	830	27%	1360	27%
	2013	100%	3021	100%	5034	100%

4.4 SPECIFIC NATIONAL POLICY ISSUES

4.4.1 Public health policies and measures mentioned in the newspaper articles

The study found different health policy issues covered by the media in the two newspapers under review that are related to COVID-19 during the period under study as tabulated in Table 8 below. During the period under review, the two newspapers under study published 5034 issues that were directly or indirectly related with COVID-19. From these issues, approximately 1780 (35%) were about social distancing, 1186 (22%) were about testing and contact tracing of people who had tested positive for COVID-91 whereas 13% of the issues were about vaccinations and treatment of COVID-19. According to the findings, public health can have a more productive engagement with the mass media if there is greater understanding of how health news is constructed within media organizations.

Table 8 Public health policies and measures mentioned in the newspaper articles

	Standard		Daily Nation		Total	
		%		%		%
Social distancing	740	37%	1040	34%	1780	35%
Testing and tracing	340	17%	746	25%	1086	22%
Protective equipment and disinfection practices	513	25%	615	20%	1128	22%
Vaccine and treatment	260	13%	370	12%	630	13%
Other policies	160	8%	250	8%	410	8%
	2013	100%	3021	100%	5034	100%

4.4.2 Geographical frames in the newspapers

Over half of the newspaper articles analyzed covered the COVID-19 issues from a locally (Kenya) based frames while 30% took a global context and 16% in a regional frame. This finding is supported by previous studies which reported that proximity is often considered more newsworthy and results to significant number of detailed news reports (Kwon, Chadha & Pellizzaro, 2017). Most certainly the findings indicate that during the pre-crisis period, the media in Kenya focused on communication of measures undertaken by the government and dissemination of health knowledge.

Table 9 Geographical frames in the newspapers

	Standard		Daily Nation		Total	
		%		%		%
Local (Kenyan)	1128	56%	1600	53%	2728	54%
Regional	325	16%	480	16%	805	16%
Global	560	28%	941	31%	1501	30%
	2013	100%	3021	100%	5034	100%

4.4.3 Media representation of key policy/regulations

The study findings indicate that media interventions may have a positive impact when used as accountability tools leading to prioritizing and initiating policy discussions, as tools to increase policymakers’ awareness. This can be seen when 44% of the sampled articles mainly covered government’s control measures such as travel restrictions. Similarly, the closure of public spaces is another policy issue that interested journalists getting 29% coverage. Most certainly the media questioned the manner in which it was conducted as it affected the lives of many residents despite seen as an effective way of controlling spread of COVID-19. This means that policy implication can be derived in terms of how we respond to the decline in deaths during the COVID-19 pandemic and media can still play a role after recovery/post-COVID-19.

Table 10 Media representation of key policy/regulations

	Standard	%	Daily Nation	%	Total	
Restriction on traveling	870	43%	1320	44%	2190	44%
Enforcement of a compulsory quarantine	463	23%	460	15%	923	18%
Avoidance of social gathering	150	7%	311	10%	461	9%
Closure of public places	530	26%	930	31%	1460	29%
	2013	100%	3021	100%	5034	100%

4.4.4 Media attention to implications of COVID-19 to the body

The impact of COVID-19 to human body can create fear if media plays its greater role. As shown in Table 11, majority 63% of the newspaper articles focused on respiratory system effects ranging from fever, cough, and shortness of breath. Moreover, 37% concentrated on spread of COVID-19 especially droplets, airborne and contact. According to the findings, paying so much attention to details of COVID-19 pandemic by the media can significantly impact public opinion and although the newspaper articles do not explicitly provide evidence for the link between public opinion and

policy adoption, they make a clear statement supporting that link: the pro-fluoridation decision can be influenced by the majority of community support for the COVID-19 intervention measures.

Table 11 Media attention to implications of COVID-19 to the body

	Standard		Daily Nation		Total	
		%		%		%
Symptoms fever, cough	1203	60%	1985	66%	3188	63%
Modes of spread range from droplets, airborne, to contact spread.	810	40%	1036	34%	1846	37%
	2013	100%	3021	100%	5034	100%

4.4.5 Effect/Tone of coverage

Tonality measures the effects for tone of coverage during COVID-10 pandemic, three categories were defined based on prior research (Vasterman & Ruigrok, 2013). The tone was categorized into positive, neutral, and negative. The study findings indicate that COVID-19 stories in the major media outlets are much more negative at 28% and the negativity does not respond to changes in new cases of the pandemic (see Table 12). However, most 57% of the newspaper stories were positive with only 15% presented as neutral. While we cannot answer whether the media in Kenya were “doing enough” to promote transmission-reducing behavior in absolute terms, we can compare how emphasis of the benefits of mask wearing or social distancing varied across newspaper articles.

Table 12 Effect/Tone of coverage

	Standard		Daily Nation		Total	
		%		%		%
Positive	1148	57%	1730	57%	2878	57%
Neutral	312	15%	450	15%	762	15%
Negative	553	27%	841	28%	1394	28%
	2013	100%	3021	100%	5034	100%

4.4.6 Framing the story

From the study findings, the researcher found health messages being more effective in risk communication and persuading people who consume such them. The study findings indicate that newspaper articles focused on fatality (47%) and awareness (30%) as the most salient frames. Attention was focused on deaths reported in the country on a daily basis by the government.

Similarly, the researcher found that framed messages can communicate government's intervention and as pointed out earlier, the daily COVID-19 reports were majorly on statistics on new infections, hospitalisations and deaths.

Table 13 Framing the story

	Standard	%	Daily Nation	%	Total	
Awareness frame	520	26%	970	32%	1490	30%
Containment frame	130	6%	160	5%	290	6%
Fatality frame	1062	53%	1320	44%	2382	47%
Conspiracy frame	125	6%	320	11%	445	9%
Support aid frame	109	5%	140	5%	249	5%
Misinformation frame	40	2%	60	2%	100	2%
Stigmatization frame	27	1%	51	2%	78	2%
	2013	100%	3021	100%	5034	100%

4.5 Discussions of findings

The study sought to examine role of mass media interventions in influencing public health policy processes in Kenya with particular focus on COVID-19 pandemic. Overall, print media coverage was more diverse and varied giving readers relative plurality of viewpoints. The primary goal of any health educator is to persuade desirable behaviors that culminates in positive health outcomes in the society. In this context, media messages are usually analyzed based on whether they can focus on stories that promote good health behavior as was the case during the emergence of the pandemic especially after it was reported in Kenya. Many media houses including print media took it incumbent upon themselves to run public health campaigns which can be seen through widespread adoption of containment measures by the authorities. In the same vein, Kenya's

Ministry of Health daily updates on the course of the pandemic that included policy interventions to contain the pandemic were widely and timely covered by the media.

The rate at which COVID-19 appeared in media during the period under study demonstrates the role of media as a catalyst in promoting health at all levels. The containment measures widely covered were hand washing, social distancing, use of face masks with the media giving a platform to scientists, researchers and authorities a platform to raise the level of awareness on the dangers of the virus in the country.

The pertinent role of the media during the pandemic was also evident when the Government through the Media Council of Kenya granted journalists special passes allowing them to work during curfew hours as essential service providers. As the virus began spreading in the country claiming lives, journalists constantly found themselves at crossroads between spreading fear which can be maladaptive resulting in mental health problems and minimizing fearful messages which could also jeopardize containment efforts as the public may ignore policy makers' directive to contain the spread of the pandemic.

The sustained coverage of the pandemic through the media including print media played a pivotal role in keeping the country responsive and in some instances proactive creating a feeling of hope as opposed to fear hence fueling control interventions by authorities. Indeed, the print media played a crucial role in providing a platform where the government and health experts were able to connect with the public timely and in some instances almost instantaneously aiding the timely sharing of messages including guidelines in combating the pandemic.

In most cases, anxious and fearful people tend to be keen on information related to an imminent threat or risk facing them. The pandemic being a serious public health concern was given prominence by the media especially how it spreads with fear that it could be airborne. This made anyone at risk especially frontline workers getting keener on spread management measures such as mask wearing, hand washing, quarantining and social distancing.

Media's health campaigns can reach masses almost instantaneously and relatively cheaply. However, the efficacy of these media interventions especially on policy decisions has often been critiqued on the grounds of sensational reporting that give prominence to, for the COVID-19 case, number of infections, hospitalisations and death with little focus on how to control the spread of the pandemic. The researcher posits that media perhaps forms a small part of the real influencers of behavior change and policy interventions and urges public health researchers with an interest in media interventions to dig deep into the setters of the agenda and the role of media ownership on this.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter has discussed the summary of findings, conclusion, and recommendations. They have been discussed in detail in the following subsections.

5.2 Summary of findings

The main objective of this study was to examine role of mass media interventions in influencing public health policy processes in Kenya with particular focus on COVID-19 pandemic. The study covered a period between 13th March 2020 and 27th May 2020, and it highlighted major themes of the pandemic. A total of 5034 newspaper articles were analyzed with 60% (3021) in the Daily Nation and 40% published by the Standard newspaper. This implies that the two newspapers gave prominence to the COVID-19 pandemic stimulating some conversations on government's interventions during the pandemic period.

As part of its role in influencing public health interventions, the newspaper articles used or accompanied text with colored photos in 32% of the articles studied suggesting the level of attention in which media gave the pandemic could influence public health interventions arising from public outcry. There was gender imbalance on journalists who published the stories on the pandemic and also news sources and experts given opportunity to comment or discuss the COVID-19 pandemic. About 51% of the stories were written by male authors and 44% of the news sources/experts were also male. While the study didn't delve so much into these imbalances, previous studies points to some factors influencing how journalists can determine or select news sources or experts for their coverage and includes time pressure, availability of sources, editorial strategies, and organizational routines.

Additionally, the study finds that the quick spread of the virus from the country of origin to the rest of the world led to sensationalisation of the pandemic which affected how journalists covered it. The study found that the print media in Kenya majorly reported the pandemic in news reports (59%) and most certainly considering there could be some writers who conducted in-depth analysis of the pandemic, feature stories accounted for 10% of the total coverage. The study also examined

space allocation to determine the level of influence and found that newspaper articles predominantly allocated half a page. The space allocation contributes significantly to the underlining importance of information required to help policy makers respond to any emergency within the public space.

Regarding specific policy areas, the study findings show that public health policies consistently covered throughout the time include social distancing, testing, and tracing as well as protective equipment and disinfection. As expected, geographic frames on COVID-19 pandemic were higher on locally based stories including communication on measures undertaken by the government to curb the spread of the pandemic. Moreover, restrictions on travel (44%) and closure of public places (29%) were the most covered policy areas.

5.3 Conclusion

This study has examined role of media in public health policy process, and it concludes that the media is an integral player in relaying news stories and also deeply analysing the aspects in those news items using frames such as politics, policy, economy and the environment. Since the beginning of 2020, stories about various aspects of COVID-19 dominated the news coverage not only global media but also in the Kenyan media. The media, by their selection and framing of public issues, are powerful in deciding what the public discusses and renders important and they frame stories for their audiences on what concerns them.

The study concludes that the Kenyan newspapers were the most inward-looking and at some point, the editorials adopted a very alarming tone. In terms of editorial content, the newspaper articles largely provided pertinent information to their audience on how the pandemic might affect them, held authorities accountable, and offered independent advice. Most certainly this influenced the way government responded by coming up with various policy and regulatory measures. Indeed, the coverage of COVID-19 in the two newspaper (Daily Nation and the Standard) was in line with government imperatives.

5.4 Recommendations

The study recommends the adoption of a framework that incorporates both the tenets of agenda setting and framing in communication of messages during pandemics, to balance between causing panic and influencing public health interventions. This will create public awareness and making them take responsibility of controlling the spread of the virus.

Additionally, the researcher recommends a study to delve into the lived experiences of the people affected by the pandemic including policy makers and how the media shaped their decisions throughout the pandemic period.

REFERENCES

- Abdullahi, L., Onyango, J. J., Mukiira, C., Wamicwe, J., Githiomi, R., Kariuki, D., Mugambi, C., Wanjohi, P., Githuka, G., Nzioka, C., Orwa, J., Oronje, R., Kariuki, J., & Mayieka, L. (2020). Community interventions in Low—And Middle-Income Countries to inform COVID-19 control implementation decisions in Kenya: A rapid systematic review. In *PLoS ONE* (Vol. 15, Issue 12 December). <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0242403>
- Adamu, A. A. et al. (2020). Covid-19 and routine childhood immunization in Africa: Leveraging Systems Thinking and Implementation Science to Improve Immunization System Performance. *International Journal of Infectious Diseases*. Elsevier.
- Ali, C., & Puppis, M. (2018). When the watchdog neither barks nor bites: Communication as a power resource in media policy and regulation. *Communication Theory*, 28(3), 270–291. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ct/ctx003>
- Andsager, J. L. (2003). [Book Review: Framing Public Life: Perspectives on Media and Our Understanding of the Social World]. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 67(2), 298–302. <https://doi.org/10.1086/374577>
- Pearman, O., Boykoff, M., Osborne-Gowey, J., Aoyagi, M., Ballantyne, A. G., Chandler, P., ... & Ytterstad, A. (2021). COVID-19 media coverage decreasing despite deepening crisis. *The Lancet Planetary Health*, 5(1), e6-e7.
- Ahmed, W., Bath, P. A., Scaffi, L., & Demartini, G. (2019). Novel insights into views towards H1N1 during the 2009 Pandemic: a thematic analysis of Twitter data. *Health Information & Libraries Journal*, 36(1), 60-72.
- Arigo, D., Pagoto, S., Carter-Harris, L., Lillie, S. E., & Nebeker, C. (2018). Using social media for health research: Methodological and ethical considerations for recruitment and intervention delivery. *Digital Health*, 4, 205520761877175. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2055207618771757>
- Bala, M. M., Strzeszynski, L., & Topor-Madry, R. (2017). Mass media interventions for smoking cessation in adults. In *Cochrane Database of Systematic Reviews* (Vol. 2017, Issue 11). <https://doi.org/10.1002/14651858.CD004704.pub4>
- Befani, B., & Stedman-Bryce, G. (2017). Process Tracing and Bayesian Updating for impact evaluation. *Evaluation*, 23(1), 42–60. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1356389016654584>
- Belov, M. V., & Novikov, D. A. (2020). Methodology of Complex Activity: Foundations of Understanding and Modelling. In *Studies in Systems, Decision and Control* (Vol. 300, pp. 1–

- 223). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-48610-5_1
- Bou-Karroum, L., El-Jardali, F., Hemadi, N., Faraj, Y., Ojha, U., Shahrouf, M., Darzi, A., Ali, M., Doumit, C., Langlois, E. V., Melki, J., AbouHaidar, G. H., & Akl, E. A. (2017). Using media to impact health policy-making: An integrative systematic review. In *Implementation Science* (Vol. 12, Issue 1). <https://doi.org/10.1186/s13012-017-0581-0>
- Bryman, A. (2016). *Social Research Methods* (Fifth).
- Bukve, O. (2019). Designing Social Science Research. In *Designing Social Science Research*. Springer International Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-03979-0>
- Caron, J.-F. (2021). *A sketch of the world after the COVID-19 crisis: Essays on political authority, the future of globalisation, and the rise of China*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Chou, S., Oh, A., & Klein, P. (2018). Addressing Health-Related Misinformation on Social Media. In *JAMA - Journal of the American Medical Association* (Vol. 320, Issue 23, pp. 2417–2418). <https://doi.org/10.1001/jama.2018.16865>
- Christians, G., Theodore, L., McQuail, D., Kaarle, N. & White, R. (2009). *Normative Theories of the Media. Journalism in Democratic Societies*. USA: University of Illinois.
- Culloty, E., & Suiter, J. (2021). *Disinformation and manipulation in digital media: Information pathologies*. Routledge.
- De Vreese, C. H. (2005). News framing: Theory and typology. *Information Design Journal*, 13(1), 51–62. <https://doi.org/10.1075/idjdd.13.1.06vre>
- de Vries, M. S. (2004). Framing crises: response patterns to explosions in fireworks factories. *Adm Soc.*, 36(5):594-614.
- Dhital, S., & Walton, T. (2020). Legal empowerment approaches in the context of COVID-19. In *Journal of Human Rights* (Vol. 19, Issue 5, pp. 582–592). Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14754835.2020.1816164>
- Diaz-Diaz, C., & Semenc, P. (2020). *Posthumanist and New Materialist Methodologies*. Springer Singapore. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-2708-1>
- Dong, M., & Zheng, J. (2020). Letter to the editor: Headline stress disorder caused by Netnews during the outbreak of COVID-19. *Health Expectations*, 23(2), 259–260.
- Dumay, J., & Cai, L. (2015). Using content analysis as a research methodology for investigating intellectual capital disclosure: A critique. *Journal of Intellectual Capital*, 16(1), 121–155. <https://doi.org/10.1108/JIC-04-2014-0043>

- Elson, M., Ferguson, C. J., Gregerson, M., Hogg, J. L., Ivory, J., Klisanin, D., Markey, P. M., Nichols, D., Siddiqui, S., & Wilson, J. (2019). Do Policy Statements on Media Effects Faithfully Represent the Science? *Advances in Methods and Practices in Psychological Science*, 2(1), 12–25. <https://doi.org/10.1177/2515245918811301>
- Entman, R. M. (2003). Cascading activation: contesting the White House’s frame after 9/11. *Polit Commun.*, 20(4):415- 32.
- Farrell, T., Gorrell, G., & Bontcheva, K. (2020). Vindication, virtue, and vitriol. *Journal of Computational Social Science*, 3(2), 401–443. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s42001-020-00090-9>
- Fleerackers, A., Riedlinger, M., Moorhead, L., Ahmed, R., & Alperin, J. P. (2021). Communicating Scientific Uncertainty in an Age of COVID-19: An Investigation into the Use of Preprints by Digital Media Outlets. *Health Communication*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10410236.2020.1864892>
- Gabarron, E., Arsand, E., & Wynn, R. (2018). Social media use in interventions for diabetes: Rapid evidence-based review. In *Journal of Medical Internet Research* (Vol. 20, Issue 8). <https://doi.org/10.2196/10303>
- Gaille, L (2020). Advantages and Disadvantages of Cross-Sectional Studies. <https://vittana.org/19-advantages-and-disadvantages-of-cross-sectional-studies>
- GeoPoll (2015) <https://www.geopoll.com/blog/data-on-newspaper-magazine-readership-in-kenya/>
- Ghauri, P., Grønhaug, K., & Strange, R. (2020). Research Methods in Business Studies. In *Research Methods in Business Studies*. <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108762427>
- Gorwa, R., & Guilbeault, D. (2020). Unpacking the Social Media Bot: A Typology to Guide Research and Policy. *Policy and Internet*, 12(2), 225–248. <https://doi.org/10.1002/poi3.184>
- Gough, A. et al. (2017). Tweet for behavior change: Using social media for the dissemination of public health messages. In arXiv. <https://doi.org/10.2196/publichealth.6313>
- Griffith, E. F., Pius, L., Manzano, P., & Jost, C. C. (2020). COVID-19 in pastoral contexts in the greater Horn of Africa: Implications and recommendations. *Pastoralism*, 10(1). <https://doi.org/10.1186/s13570-020-00178-x>
- Hafez, H. M., & Attia, Y. A. (2020). Challenges to the Poultry Industry: Current Perspectives and

- Strategic Future After the COVID-19 Outbreak. In *Frontiers in Veterinary Science* (Vol. 7).
<https://doi.org/10.3389/fvets.2020.00516>
- Hair Jr, J. F. (2015). Essentials of Business Research Methods. In *Essentials of Business Research Methods*. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315704562>
- Haroon, O., & Rizvi, S. (2020). COVID-19: Media coverage and financial markets behavior-A sectoral inquiry. *Journal of behavioral and experimental finance*, 27, 100343.
- Hart, P. S., Chinn, S., & Soroka, S. (2020). Politicization and Polarization in COVID-19 News Coverage. *Science Communication*, 42(5), 679–697.
- Henderson, L., & Hilton, S. (2018). The media and public health: where next for critical analysis? In *Critical Public Health* (Vol. 28, Issue 4, pp. 373–376). <https://doi.org/10.1080/09581596.2018.1482663>
- Henson, S., Kambhampati, U., Mogue, T., Olsen, W., Prowse, M., Ramos, R., Rand, J., Rasiah, R., Roelen, K., Tiessen, R., & Yap, O. F. (2020). The Development Impacts of COVID-19 at Home and Abroad: Politics and Implications of Government Action. In *European Journal of Development Research* (Vol. 32, Issue 5, pp. 1339–1352). Palgrave Macmillan. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41287-020-00334-4>
- Hill, M. & Varone, F. (2014) *The Public Policy Process*. Routledge Taylor and Francis Group: London and New York
- Hyseni, L. et al. Systematic review of dietary salt reduction policies: Evidence for an effectiveness hierarchy? In *PLoS ONE* (Vol. 12, Issue 5). Public Library of Science. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0177535>
- Iyengar, S. (1994). *Is Anyone Responsible? How Television Frames Political Issues*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- James, T. S., & Alihodzic, S. (2020). When is it democratic to postpone an election? elections during natural disasters, covid-19, and emergency situations. *Election Law Journal: Rules, Politics, and Policy*, 19(3), 344–362. <https://doi.org/10.1089/elj.2020.0642>
- Jewkes, Y. (2005). Review of Framing Abuse: Media Influence and Public Understanding of Sexual Violence against Children. In *Sociology of Health & Illness* (Vol. 27, Issue 5, pp. 674–675). <http://orca.cf.ac.uk/id/eprint/3993>
- Johnson, B., & Christensen, L. (2012). Educational Research: Quantitative, Qualitative, and
- Kauffer, A., & Kauffer, A. (2020). Covid-19 and Alternative Media in Kenya: Case Studies To

cite this version : *Halshs.Archives-Ouvertes.Fr*, 0–14. <https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-03078601/>

- Kaur-Gill, S. & Dutta, M. (2021). *Strategic communication campaigns in health*. In C. H. Botan (Ed.), *The handbook of strategic communication*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Kazdin, A. E. (2019). Annual Research Review: Expanding mental health services through novel models of intervention delivery. In *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry and Allied Disciplines* (Vol. 60, Issue 4, pp. 455–472). Blackwell Publishing Ltd. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jcpp.12937>
- Kim, S. J., Marsch, L. A., Hancock, J. T., & Das, A. K. (2017). Scaling Up Research on Drug Abuse and Addiction through Social Media Big Data. *Journal of Medical Internet Research*, 19(10), e353. <https://doi.org/10.2196/jmir.6426>
- Kiptiness, E. & Okoye, J. (2021). Media coverage of the novel Coronavirus (Covid-19) in Kenya and Tanzania: Content analysis of newspaper articles in East Africa. *Cogent Medicine*, 8(1).
- Kwon, K. H., Chadha, M., & Pellizzaro, K. (2017). Proximity and terrorism news in social media: A construal-level theoretical approach to networked framing of terrorism in Twitter. *Mass Communication and Society*, 20(6), 869-894.
- LaCroix et al. (2014). Effectiveness of Mass Media Interventions for HIV Prevention, 1986–2013, *JAIDS Journal of Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndromes: Issue* - p S329-S340 doi: 10.1097/QAI.0000000000000230
- Lancaster K, et al. (2011) Illicit drugs and the media: models of media effects for use in drug policy research. *Drug and Alcohol Review*.
- Liu, B. & Kim, S. (2011). How organizations framed the 2009 H1N1 pandemic via social and traditional media: Implications for U.S. health communicators. *Public Relat Rev.*, 37(3):233-44.
- Liu, N., Chen, Z., & Bao, G. (2021). Role of media coverage in mitigating COVID-19 transmission: Evidence from China. *Technological Forecasting and Social Change*, 163, 120435.
- Lundgren, R & McMakin, A. (2018) *Risk Communication: A Handbook for Communicating*

Environmental, Safety, and Health Risks. John Wiley & Sons

- Lwin, M. O., Lu, J., Sheldenkar, A., Schulz, P. J., Shin, W., Yang, Y. & Yang, Y. (2020). Global sentiments surrounding the COVID-19 pandemic on twitter: Analysis of twitter trend. *JMIR Public Health and Surveillance*, 6(2), 1–4.
- Mahon, C. M. C. (2021). *Introduction*. In C. M. Mahon (Ed.), *Psychological insights for understanding COVID-19 and media and technology*. Routledge.
- Mandelbaum, J. (2020). COVID-19 Pandemic Highlights the Need for Teaching Health Communication to Public Health Students. *Pedagogy in Health Promotion*, 7(1), 7–10.
- Manganello, J., Bleakley, A., & Schumacher, P. (2020). Pandemics and PSAs: Rapidly changing information in a new media landscape. *Health Communication*, 35(14), 1711–1714.
- McMahonid, D. E., Peters, G. A., Iversid, L. C., & Freemanid, E. E. (2020). Global resource shortages during covid-19: Bad news for low-income countries. In *PLoS Neglected Tropical Diseases* (Vol. 14, Issue 7, pp. 1–3). Public Library of Science. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pntd.0008412>
- Minten, B., Mohammed, B., & Tamru, S. (2020). Emerging Medium-Scale Tenant Farming, Gig Economies, and the COVID-19 Disruption: The Case of Commercial Vegetable Clusters in Ethiopia. *European Journal of Development Research*. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41287-020-00315-7>
- Mixed Approaches (Fourth). Oxford University Press.
- Muraya, K., Ogotu, M., Mwachhi, M., Mikusa, J., Okinyi, M., Magawi, C., Zakayo, S., Njeru, R., Haribondhu, S., Uddin, M. F., Marsh, V., Walson, J. L., Berkley, J., & Molyneux, S. (2021). Applying a gender lens to understand pathways through care for acutely ill young children in Kenyan urban informal settlements. *International Journal for Equity in Health*, 20(1), 17. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12939-020-01349-3>
- MoH, (2020). <https://www.health.go.ke/first-case-of-coronavirus-disease-confirmed-in-kenya/>
- Mwita, C et al. (2021). The Kenya Media Assessment. Internews
- Neuner, F. G., Soroka, S. N., & Wlezien, C. (2019). Mass Media as a Source of Public Responsiveness. *International Journal of Press/Politics*, 24(3), 269–292.

<https://doi.org/10.1177/1940161219832416>

Noar, S. M., & Austin, L. (2020). (Mis)communicating about COVID-19: Insights from health and crisis communication. *Health Communication*, 35(14), 1735–1739.

Ogbodo, J. N. (2018). *Domestic Media Coverage of Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria*. University of Central Lancashire.

Ogbodo, J., Onwe, E., Chukwu, J., Nwasum, C., Nwakpu, E., Nwankwo, S., Nwamini, S., Elem, S. & Iroabuchi Ogbaeja, N. (2020). Communicating health crisis: a content analysis of global media framing of COVID-19. *Health Promot Perspect*, 10(3):257-269.

Ojala, M. M., Pantti, M. K., & Kangas, J. (2017). Whose War, Whose Fault? Visual Framing of the Ukraine Conflict in Western European Newspapers. *International Journal of Communication*. *International Journal of Communication*, vol. 11, pp. 474-498. <<http://ijoc.org/index.php/ijoc/article/view/5917/1912>>

Pieri, E. (2018). Media framing and the threat of global pandemics: The ebola crisis in UK media and policy response. *Sociological Research Online*, 24(1), 73–92.

Reynolds, B. & Quinn Crouse, S. (2008). Effective communication during an influenza pandemic: the value of using a crisis and emergency risk communication framework. *Health Promot Pract.*, 9(4):13 -7.

Richter, A., & Wilson, T. C. (2020). Covid-19: implications for insurer risk management and the insurability of pandemic risk. *GENEVA Risk and Insurance Review*, 45(2), 171–199. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s10713-020-00054-z>

Ruiz, N. G., Horowitz, J. M., & Tamir, C. (2020). *Many Black and Asian Americans say they have experienced discrimination amid the COVID-19 outbreak*. Pew Research Centre.

Schillinger, D., Chittamuru, D., & Ramirez, S. (2020). From ‘infodemics’ to health promotion: A novel framework for the role of social media in public health. *American Journal of Public Health*, 110(9), 1393–1396.

Schudson, M. (1998). *The Good Citizen*. New York: Free Press.

- Shor, E., Van De Rijt, A., Miltsov, A., Kulkarni, V., & Skiena, S. (2015). A paper ceiling: Explaining the persistent underrepresentation of women in printed news. *American Sociological Review*, 80(5), 960-984.
- Schwarz, N., & Jalbert, M. (2021). *When (fake) news feels true: Intuitions of truth and the acceptance and correction of misinformation*. In C. M. Mahon (Ed.), *Psychological insights for understanding COVID-19 and media and technology*. Routledge.
- Semetko, H. & Valkenburg, P. (2000). Framing European politics: a content analysis of press and television news. *J Commun.*, 50(2):93-109.
- Semetko, H. A., & Valkenburg, P. M. (2000). Framing European politics: A content analysis of press and television news. *Journal of Communication*, 50(2), 93–109.
- Sharma, A., & Borah, S. B. (2020). Covid-19 and Domestic Violence: an Indirect Path to Social and Economic Crisis. *Journal of Family Violence*. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10896-020-00188-8>
- Sharma, P. (2021). *Coronavirus news, markets and AI: The COVID-19 diaries*. Routledge.
- Shelton, R. C., Cooper, B. R., & Stirman, S. W. (2018). The Sustainability of Evidence-Based Interventions and Practices in Public Health and Health Care. *Annual Review of Public Health*, 39, 55–76. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-publhealth-040617-014731>
- Shih, T., Wijaya, R., & Brossard, D. (2008). Media coverage of public health epidemics: Linking framing and issue attention cycle toward an integrated theory of print news coverage of epidemics. *Mass Communication and Society*, 11(2), 141–160.
- Slim, H. (2020). Electoral process in Africa: The impact of COVID-19 and challenges for the EU. *European View*, 178168582097122. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1781685820971223>
- Soroka, S., & Wlezien, C. (2019). Tracking the Coverage of Public Policy in Mass Media. *Policy Studies Journal*, 47(2), 471–491. <https://doi.org/10.1111/psj.12285>

- Southwell, B., Kelly, B., Bann, C., Squiers, L. B., Ray, S. & McCormack, L. A. (2020). Mental models of infectious diseases and public understanding of COVID-19 prevention. *Health Communication*, 35(14), 1707–1710.
- Sylvia, W.-Y., & Bundenz, A. (2020). Considering emotion in COVID-19 vaccine communication: Addressing vaccine hesitancy and fostering vaccine confidence. *Health Communication*, 35(14), 1718–1722.
- Tian, Y., & Stewart, C. M. (2005). Framing the SARS Crisis: A computer-assisted text analysis of CNN and BBC online news reports of SARS. *Asian Journal of Communication*, 15(3), 289–301.
- Truman, C., & Humphries, B. (1994). *Re-thinking social research: anti-discriminatory approaches in research methodology*.
- Tsai, J.-Y., Phua, J., Pan, S., & Yang, C. (2020). Intergroup contact, COVID-19 news consumption, and the moderating role of digital media trust on prejudice toward Asians in the United States: Cross-sectional study. *Journal of Medical Internet Research*, 22(9), 1–15.
- Unterhalter, E., & Howell, C. (2021). Unaligned connections or enlarging engagements? Tertiary education in developing countries and the implementation of the SDGs. *Higher Education*, 81(1), 9–29. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10734-020-00651-x>
- Viscusi, W. K. (2020). Pricing the global health risks of the COVID-19 pandemic. *Journal of Risk and Uncertainty*, 61(2), 101–128. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11166-020-09337-2>
- Viswanath, K., Lee, E. W., & Pinnamaneni, R. (2020). We need the lens of equity in COVID-19 communication. *Health Communication*, 35(14), 1743–1746.
- Wickramage, K., Vearey, J., Health, A. Z.-..., & 2018, U. (2021). Migration and health: a global public health research priority. *Bmcpublichealth.Biomedcentral.Com*. <https://bmcpublichealth.biomedcentral.com/articles/10.1186/s12889-018-5932-5>
- Wiek, A., & Lang, D. J. (2016). Transformational Sustainability Research Methodology. In *Sustainability Science* (pp. 31–41). https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-017-7242-6_3
- Williams, O. D. (2020). COVID-19 and Private Health: Market and Governance Failure. *Development (Basingstoke)*, 63(2–4), 181–190. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41301-020-00273-x>

- Wright, K. B. (2021). *Social media, risk perceptions related to COVID-19, and health outcomes*. In H. D. O'Hair & M. J. O'Hair (Eds.), *Communicating science in times of crisis: COVID-19 pandemic*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Wozniak, A., Lück, J., & Wessler, H. (2015). Frames, stories, and images: The advantages of a multimodal approach in comparative media content research on climate change. *Environmental Communication*, 9(4), 469-490.
- Yaya, S., Yaya, S., Otu, A., Otu, A., & Labonté, R. (2020). Globalisation in the time of COVID-19: Repositioning Africa to meet the immediate and remote challenges. *Globalization and Health*, 16(1). <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12992-020-00581-4>
- Yu, M., Li, Z., Yu, Z., He, J., & Zhou, J. (2020). Communication related health crisis on social media: a case of COVID-19 outbreaks. *Current Issues in Tourism*, 1–7.
- Krippendorff, K. (2018). *Content analysis: An introduction to its methodology*. Sage publications.
- Chan, K., & Cheng, Y. (2012). Portrayal of females in magazine advertisements in Hong Kong. *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication*, 22(1), 78-96.
- Chandelier, M., Steuckardt, A., Mathevet, R., Diwersy, S., & Gimenez, O. (2018). Content analysis of newspaper coverage of wolf recolonization in France using structural topic modeling. *Biological conservation*, 220, 254-261.
- Internews (2021). *The Kenya Media Assessment 2021*. https://internews.org/wp-content/uploads/legacy/2021-03/KMARReport_Final_20210325.pdf

Annexation

Section A: codebook for media coverage of public health policy processes in Kenya - covid-19 pandemic

Section A: General Coding	
Variable	Description
Coder	Name of Media Monitor
Source 1. Standard 2. Daily Nation	Name of newspaper
Source Date	Date of Broadcast (dd/mm/yyyy)
Page number	Page in which the story is appears
Title/Headline	Title/Headline of Item (e.g. of News Report)
Photo 1. Black 2. Colored 3. N.a	Story accompanied by photo
Presenter	Presenter of Programme (Name)
Presenter Gender 1. Both male and female 2. Female 3. Male 4. n.a.	Gender of Presenter - In case of: no name, reporter, team - in case of mixed team

<p>Format</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. News report 2. Feature 3. Editorial 4. Opinion Piece (Op-ed page) 5. Interview 6. Letter to the editor 7. Talk Show 8. Press release 9. Advertisement 10. Other 	<p>What type of story format of item</p>
<p>Space allocated to the story</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. More than one page 2. Entire page 3. More than half a page 4. Half page 5. Quarter page 6. One eighth page eight 	<p>The amount of space allocated to the story on COVID-19</p>
<p>Topic</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Agriculture 2. Corruption 3. Economy and commerce 4. Education 5. Diplomacy 6. Political 7. Healthcare 8. Leisure and entertainment 9. Law and Order 10. Legislation 	<p>Interpretation</p> <p>What is the main subject of the story (as defined by the headline and first few sentences)?</p>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 11. Women issues 12. Religion 13. War / National Security 	
<p>Main Subject</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Academic 2. Artist / Celebrity 3. Business man/woman 4. Diplomat 5. NGO's 6. Politician 7. Professional Association 8. Religious Leader 9. Sports man/woman 10. State Official 11. Trade Union 12. Woman/man on the street 13. Other 	<p>Dominant actor in the item or individual commenting about COVID-19</p>
<p>Gender Presence</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Both women and men central to the story 2. Men central 3. Women central 4. n.a. 	<p>Who is covered as the main subject of the item, men or women? Who are the sources, men or women?</p>

Section B. Specific national policy issues	
<p>Most prominent national policy issue mentioned in the story</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. No policy mentioned 2. Policy mentioned 	
<p>Geographical frames in the newspapers</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Local (Kenyan) 2. Regional 3. Global 	How the story is framed based on the geographical location
<p>Media representation of key policy/regulations</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Restriction on traveling 2. Enforcement of a compulsory quarantine 3. Avoidance of social gathering 4. Closure of public places 	This relates to the level of coverage to key interventions approach by the government
<p>Media attention to implications of COVID-19 to the body</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Respiratory system effects with symptoms ranging from fever, cough, and shortness of breath. 2. Modes of spread range from droplets, airborne, to contact spread. 	How much attention did the media dedicate to COVID-19?

<p>Effect/Tone of coverage</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Positive (e.g. presents the fight against COVID-19 as improving (or COVID-19 effect is declining etc)) 2. Neutral (gives a balanced narration) 3. Negative (e.g., the government has been defeated in fighting COVID-19 etc.) 	<p>Measures how COVID-19 was portrayed in the newspapers; categorized as positive, neutral or negative</p>
<p>Framing the story</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Investigation (does the media present acts of experts/scholars conducting drug investigations) 2. Remedial action (does the media suggest change to be taken to correct the violations of guidelines/policies?) 3. Systematic analysis (putting together the pieces of information from diverse sources to create a strong story) 4. Human story (presenting people and their problems, concerns, or achievements in a way that brings about interest, sympathy or motivation in the reader or viewer) 5. Other (specify) 	<p>How is the story framed by the newspapers?</p>