IMPACT OF FRAMING OF THE KENYAN ECONOMY BY DAILY NATION AND THE STANDARD NEWSPAPERS DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC

BY

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DECLARATION

This Research Project Report is my original work and has not been presented for award of a degree in any other University.



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DEDICATION

I dedicate this assignment to my wife, Lucy Auma; my mother, Tabitha Auma; and my children, Emmanuel, Zawadi, Stanley and Kenana Junior. I am particularly grateful to Lucy who, with love, supported and allowed me to spend time away from her and the children during data collection and writing of the research report. I am obliged to pray God to bless you abundantly.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CBK Central Bank of Kenya COVID-19 Corona Virus Disease-19

OECD Organization for Economic Cooperation and

Development

GDP Gross Domestic Product
IMF International Monetary Fund
KEPSA Kenya Private Sector Alliance
KRA Kenya Revenue Authority
MES Managed Equipment Services

SARS-COV-2 Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome Corona Virus

2

UK United Kingdom US United States

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	ii
DEDICATION	iii
ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS	V
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
LIST OF TABLES	vii
LIST OF FIGURES	viii
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND	1
1.0 Overview	1
1.1 Background to the Study	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem	7
1.3 Broad Objective	9
1.3.1 Specific Objectives	9
1.4 Research Questions	9
1.5Justification for the Study	9
1.6 Assumptions of the Study	11
1.7 Scope	11
1.8 Delimitations of the Study	11
1.9 Operational Definition of Terms	12
1.10 Summary of Chapter	12
1.11 Organization of the Report	13
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW	14
2.0 Overview	14
2.1 Theoretical Review	14
2.1.1 Framing of the economy	16
2.1.2 Valence framing of the economy	17
2.1.3 Attribution of responsibility in the framing of the economy	18
2.1.4 Framing economic consequences	20
2.2 Theoretical Framework	21

2.3 Summary of Research Gaps	23
2.4 Summary of Chapter	28
CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	29
3.0 Overview	29
3.1 Philosophical Paradigm	29
3.2 Research Design	29
3.3 Research Approach	29
3.4 Research Methods	30
3.5 Data Collection Instruments and procedures	30
3.6 Types of Data and Sources	31
3.7 Study Population	31
3.8 Sample and Sampling Procedure	
3.9 Data Analysis and Presentation	34
3.10 Validity and Reliability	35
3.11 Ethical Considerations	
3.12 Summary of Chapter	36
CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION OF 37	FINDINGS
4.0 Introduction	37
4.1 Response Rate	37
4.2 No of Articles by Newspaper	38
4.3 Frame Orientation	38
4.4 Valence, and Type and Nature of Frames	42
4.4.1 Valence Framing	42
4.4.2 Attribution of Responsibility Framing	47
4.4.4 Economic Consequences Frame	50
4.5 Key Findings	53
4.6 Summary of Chapter	54
CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION, CONLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	54
5.0 Introduction	55
5.1 Summary	55
5.2 Conclusion	58
5.3 Recommendations	58
5.4 Areas Suggested for Future Studies	59
REFERENCES	59
Appendix 1: Code Book	64
Appendix 2: Coding Sheet	65

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1 Summary of Research Gaps			
Table 2.2 Operationalization of variable	28		
Table 3.1 Newspaper Distribution by Month	32		
Table 4.1 Response Rate	37		
Table 4.2 No of Articles by Newspaper	38		
Table 4.3 Frame Orientation	39		
Table 4.4 Frame Orientation by Valence	40		
Table 4.5 Frame Orientation by Attribution of Responsibility Frame	40		
Table 4.6 Frame Orientation by Economic Consequences Frame	42		
Table 4.7 Valence Framing	43		
Table 4.8 Valence by Newspaper	43		
Table 4.9 Valence by Source of Story	45		
Table 4.10 Valence by Covid-19 Wave	46		
Table 4.11 News Frames	47		
Table 4.12 Attribution of Responsibility	49		
Table 4.13 Economic Consequences Frame	50		
Table 4.14 Economic Consequences Frame by Valence	52		

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1Conceptual Framework27

ABSTRACT

Daily Nation and The Standard newspapers framed the Kenyan economy in some disparate way through reporting guided by institutional policies and taking into account wider socio-economic concerns in the context of Covid-19, yet there is examination on how it was done, from a scholarly viewpoint. This study therefore sought to establish the kind of framing applied by the Daily Nation and The Standard to report on the economy during the Covid-19 pandemic in the period March-October 2020. It content-analysed carefully selected articles in 168 Daily Nation and The Standard newspapers corresponding to the number of editions (87Daily Nation and 81 The Standard determined through purposive sampling. Quantitative content analysis was used to evaluate the objectives, which were three: to establish the valence in the framing of the economy by the Daily Nation and The Standard during March-October 2020; analyse how attribution of responsibility was done in the framing of the economy in the Daily Nation and The Standard during March-October 2020; evaluate the economic consequences frame used in reporting on the economy in the Daily Nation and The Standard during March-October, 2020. Descriptive statistics were used to analyse the data, and the findings presented in tables in form of counts, percentages, means and standard deviations. Interpretation and inference -making followed in line with the stated objectives. Coverage of the stories had a predominantly negative valence (86.3%). Attribution of responsibility framing was done as individual/Group responsibility," problem alleviation, suggested solution, government responsibility, and urgent solution. Economic consequences frame took the form financial loss or gains frame, cost/degree of expense, and economic consequences of taking/not pursuing a cause of action. Newspaper coverage of the economy tended to assume a negative or positive valence depending on the prevailing circumstances, and so, accordingly, the Covid-19 pandemic, which broke out in 2020 received negative coverage by the Daily Nation and The Standard. A balance of valence and framing is necessary to present an objective picture of the prevailing situation.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.0 Overview

This chapter provides a background to the concept of framing as applied in the two key newspapers in Kenya—Daily Nation and The Standard—in relation to the economy in 2020, especially in March-October. It then presents the other relevant elements of problem statement, study objectives, research questions, significance/justification of the study, scope, limitation and delimitation. The chapter ends with the operational definition of the key terms in the study, a summary of the contents, and the structure of the report.

1.1 Background to the Study

The global economic downturn in 2020 no doubt is a significant talking point, more so because its far-reaching cross-sectoral effects, as the Covid-19 pandemic, its main determinant, continues to evolve both in incidence and severity with adverse socio-economic effects (Brodeur et al. 2020; International Monetary Fund [IMF], 2020; World Bank, 2020; Socrates, 2020). The global economy was expected to deteriorate significantly due to Covid-19 with expected growth projected to contract by 3.0% in 2020 compared to a growth of 2.9% in 2019, and 6.3% lower than what was projected for January 2020 (IMF World Economic Outlook, cited in CBK, 2020a).

The general state of the global economic activity was subdued in the second quarter with an estimation of 4.9% contraction (CBK, 2020b). In the third quarter it was expected to worsen greatly due to the Covid-19 pandemic with expected growth projected to shrink by 4.4% in 2020 compared to a development of 2.9% in 2019 and 0.2% lower than the June 2020 projection (IMF World Economic Outlook, October 2020 cited in CBK, 2020c).

The global economic indicators for the fourth quarter of 2020 showed an economy on a recovery path from the negative impact of Covid-19 pandemic (CBK, 2020d).

Africa's economy in 2020 was set against a background of subdued economic

growth for most countries following a decade of expansion, the reduced growth being a result of low commodity prices, as well as slowed growth in emerging markets such as China and in the advanced economies (World Economic Forum, 2017). Besides, most economies in the continent need to enhance productive activities to generate quality employment that can improve the livelihoods of the growing population in the respective countries.

Similarly, the Kenyan economy in 2020 was under stress and remained as such for the four quarters, with overall inflation at 6.8% in the first quarter due to high food prices. The economy continued to perform well, however, despite the effects of Covidd-19 pandemic, growing by 4.9%, aided by improved agricultural production IMF World Economic Outlook, cited in CBK, 2020a).

Inflation stood at 5.3%, a decline from the 6.8% in the first quarter. Meanwhile, the economy went through a 5.7% contraction in the second quarter of 2020, the lowest in a long time, as the pandemic raged on. The various government remedial measures and seemingly realistic hopes of a Covid-19 vaccine development at global level were expected to mitigate further contraction though (CBK, 2020b).

The inflation recorded a decline of 4.3% from 5.3% in the third quarter, due to a decline in prices of food, although fuel inflation continued to increase, owing to increasing international prices of oil and increased transport costs resulting from strict social distancing measures effected in public transport, aimed at containing the spread of Covid-19. The Kenyan economy improved in the third quarter of 2020, recovering from the extreme Covid-19 shock witnessed in the second quarter. It made a recovery, a reduced contraction of -1.1% from a reduction of -5.5% recorded in the second quarter (CBK, 2020).

Overall inflation rose to 5.3% in the fourth quarter of 2020 from 4.3% in the third quarter as food and fuel prices shot up, coupled with sustained social distancing measures in public transport, to mitigate the spread of the virus (CBK, 2020c).

Framing—definition and application

According to Entman (2010) the essence of framing is in the formation of a narrative out of selected aspects of a reality. In this case then, salience of a particular issue is created as the focal objective of the framer of the narrative. Similarly, Brent and



Snow (2000) see framing as the purposeful shaping of one's thoughts in some predetermined strategic way, which then means that journalists, or newspapers, generally seek to streamline and create priorities and structure of what they deem newsworthy (Norris, 1995).

Framing, shares some similarity with the second level of attribute agenda-setting in that both lay emphasis on influencing the affective nature of the news items by adopting a particular perspective and tone of reporting—positive or negative. Thus, both seek to influence how the audience perceives what is reported (McCombs, Llamas, Lopez-Escobar, & Rey, 1997 cited in Li, 2013).

Framing assumes three main formats including communicators, text, receivers and culture (Entman, 1993). Communicators use personal purpose-based frames with the aim of influencing and shaping other people's (receivers') thoughts. The means of such conveyance to the public of these predetermined frames may include logos, words, sentences, or pictures laden with messages and values. Culture plays an important role in such transmission for the communicators align the frames with the existing culture to reflect the frames in the dominant discourse and thought in a social context. According to Wright and Reid (2010), of great import is that frame alignment paves the way for structuring of perception and enables sense-making, besides providing criteria for understanding of the issues at play. Consequently, a new social order emerges.

Li (2013) identified four functions of frames as defining problems, diagnosing causes, making moral judgments and suggesting remedies. Defining problems involves cost-profit measurement of the issue in question. Diagnosing causes has to do with the major force of the issue thus discussed or presented in the report. Determination of causes is then followed by labelling of the situation as unjust based on some moral criterion. Lastly, remedies are suggested or blames is put on the opposing side in the matter so discussed or presented. These processes do not always occur at the same time, appear in a single frame, but may be observed in combinations.

Media reporting on issues has also been studied from the perspective of five frames, namely attribution of responsibility (causal and treatment responsibility), conflict, human interest, economic consequences and valence (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).



Faming works by the highlighting and emphasis that a situation or event receives; thus frames persist in the memory of audience through repetition and salient reporting is applied. When frames are at variance with the audience, culture, values and viewpoints, however, resistance and less remembrance is expected. This means that difficulty accompanies the understanding, interpretation and apt understanding of the frames, which obviously originate with the communicators who may be communicating at cross-purposes with the audience.

Media plays an important role in the dissemination of information, ideas and thoughts on the economy, not least by providing a platform for discussion of relevant issues. Therefore, it not only serves public interest but also acts as an influence of public perception (Mack, 2009). Yet, media, as Yang (2003) observes, is not immune to and is greatly influenced by ideology, media organization and constraints, among other factors.

News frames have been applied in various contexts, for example politics, public health, agriculture, environment, food security, humanities and international news (Li, 2013; Ireri, 2013; Falling, 2020; Kuang & Wang, 2020).

While studies have indicated varying frames used to report on political issues, there are not too many studies that look at how different national newspapers frame the same issue. For example, a comparison of how Western and Eastern media covered SARS in 2002-2003 showed greater concentration on economic consequences, responsibility, leadership and conflict compared to the latter (Li (2013). Additionally, Kuang and Wang (2020) found that different newspapers, regardless of party affiliation, used similar frames when reporting on sensitive domestic issues since propaganda authorities control the framing of the issues.

Framing and the Economy

How a media outlet frames issues of business and the economy in a local context has a ripple effect on the global economy. Li (2013), for instance, reports that the reporting of the US debt crisis, dangerous factories in Mexico and unfair labour laws in the East especially had negative consequences on the economies of the affected countries.

Valence of the Coverage of the Economy



The pandemic necessitated measures such as sanitizing mask wearing and social distancing which meant that business establishments, schools, community centres and non-governmental organizations have been forced to close down. Lockdown measures were also put in place with restricted movement in different parts of the countries depending on the reported severity of the disease. Although the measures were meant to curtail the exponential increase of the infections and reduce the pressure on medical services (Brodeur et al., 2020), the economy suffered an almost irreparable damage.

The result of the Covid-19 containment measures in Kenya was an economic downturn that was felt throughout the country with the both global and national forecasts painting a dismal picture of slowed growth (KRA, 2020; IMF, 2020; World Bank, 2020). Terms such as low productivity, slowed activity, economic inequality, and uncertainty were used to refer to the new economic reality.

Different studies have shown that an association exists between news media type and application of frames (Ieri, 2013; Ochieng, 2019; Anyende, 2019 Kuang & Wang, 2020, the analyses being based on domestic media reports.

Some of the major frames used to report on the economy include attribution of responsibility (causal responsibility and treatment responsibility), conflict, human interest, economic consequences and valence (Semetko &Valkenburg, 2000 cited in Ireri(2013)). Valence framing of the economy means reporting either positively or negatively on the economy; thus providing an evaluative platform for shaping audience thoughts, attitudes and perceptions. In effect, valence applied in news frames has a bearing on learning and mobilization if positive, and cynicism and demobilization if negative. Newspaper reporting on the economy in 2020 was focused a lot on the negative impact of the pandemic (and government interventions) on the economy, health, social and general well-being of humanity (Bordeur, 2020; IMF, 2020; World Bank, 2020; Odoemelam, 2021).

Domestic and international economy, and the consequences, especially the financial fallout occupied space in major media channels in China, South Korea, United States (US) and United Kingdom ([UK], Colarossi, 2020). The topic remained throughout 2020, with coverage in the US, for instance, being at 26% of all Covid-19-related news.

In Nigeria, for example, six newspapers applied a mix of positive, negative and neutral frames to cover the economic issues in 2020, which must have resulted from editorial policies and political leanings (Odoemelam, 2021).

Where an economic issue is presented as misfortune engendered by factors outside the influence of relevant policymakers or a particular elite class, the debate about accountability is significantly different from what is directly attributable to such actors and seen to be avoidable under any circumstance (Bovens & t'Hart, 1996 cited in t'Hart & Tindall, 2009). Besides, in the event of critical economic exigencies politicians as well as senior public policymakers are characteristically expected to respond to questions such as: how bad the situation is, how it occurred, who/what bears the responsibility for it, and the sort of changes to current ideas and interventions are needed to handle it.

The IMF (2020) forecasted a contraction of the economy by three percent, later revising it to about five percent three months later in June. It compared the state of the global economy in 2020 to the 2008-9 Global Financial Crisis, observing that it was worse. Other institutions had even grimmer outlook, with the World Bank (2020) forecasting a five percent contraction of global Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) by six to eight percent.

Generally, pandemics affect economies as a result of avoidance reaction occasioned by social distancing, which means that people might forgo consumption and fail to purchase some goods and services (Jonas 2013 cited in Brodeur, 2020). There may also be small indirect costs, for example hospitalization and medical costs. Then, there are larger indirect costs such as labour and production costs. Lastly, there are offsetting and cascading effects, including disruption of services, travels, among others. Australian newspapers, *The Australian* and *Sydney Times* also reported on the economy from negative valence, using terms such as financial disruption to tourism and economic sectors (Thomas et al., 2020).

Daily Nation and The Standard

The Nation and the Standard are the two leading daily newspapers in Kenya, with the widest circulation. The *Daily Nation*, which was started in 1960, is owned by the Nation Media Group and is the dominant newspaper in the country. *The Standard*, is



Kenya's second leading newspaper established in 1902.and owned by the Standard Group. The Daily Nation is largest newspaper by circulation at 48.5% followed by *The Standard* at 26.9% (Business Today, 2019). These two newspapers publish stories on diverse concerns in the social, political and economic spheres. They comprise a range of formats from news to features to advertisements. Covid-19 pandemic, a global issue which had a significant bearing on the country's economy during the March-October period, received coverage in both newspapers in both newspapers.

Kenyan Economy

Kenya's economy is in the lower-middle income bracket, which no doubt was adversely affected by the downturn occasioned by the Covid-19 pandemic (Socrates, 2020; IMF 2020; World Bank, 2020; KRA, 2020), but even more so by the kind of adverse press coverage which had the effect of creating an atmosphere of hopelessness and gloom. The effect of the pandemic has been seen in such areas as labour markets, production supply chains, financial markets and the global economy. Moreover, concerns such as mental health have come into focus.

Kenyan being a globally interdependent economy therefore bore the brunt of negative reporting on the business activities and the economy in general. Such media coverage is assessed against a backdrop of the Covid-19 pandemic which caused a serious global economic downturn throughout 2020. Reporting on the economy continued throughout the period with various frames applied to highlight the issues around it, particularly those with impact on the ordinary citizens for whom life became increasingly unbearable due to loss of livelihoods. The situation continued to escalate and by mid-June there were 8 million cases globally and 436,000 deaths (Brodeur et al., 2020).

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Framing is important in newspaper reporting of economic stories, not least because it provides a lens through which the audience looks at and the schemata for interpretation of a story (Entamn, 1993; Kuang &Wei, 2020). Through framing the media play a role in the development of issues relating to health, the economy,



politics, social life, and culture that affect the society (Odoemelam, 2021). Besides, public perception can also at times influence policy (Mbamalu, 2020).

With the economic downturn experienced in 2020, owing mostly to the Covid-19 pandemic (IMF, 2020; World Bank, 2020; Socrates, 2020; Odoemelam, 2021), it is a legitimate expectation that the media, more so the two leading newspapers, *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard* were significant sources of information for an audience in dire need of credible information that could, among other things, explain the situation and provide important data on the economy, and probably inspire hope.

Communication, argue t'Hart and Tindall (2009), is important in financial and economic reporting, particularly in the context of a serious global concern such as a pandemic. Since economics is largely about psychology, improper use of terms such as crisis, recession or depression by those in authority can lead to self-fulling prophesies.

Remaining upbeat about the economy, adopting a business-as-usual stance, on the other hand, has the counter effect of creating an impression of being out of touch, ineptitude or incompetence, more so where public sentiment is already negative. This can create some kind of backlash in some markets and sectors. Thus, timing and tone used to convey the news—whether good or bad—on the economy in an atmosphere of uncertainty and anxiety is very critical (t'Hart & Tindall, 2009).

Such data would be crucial for decision making especially in the face of a sad state of economic affairs with reduced business activity, restricted movement and reduced consumption taking a toll on the people (IMF, 2020; World Bank, 2020; Odoemelam, 2021). Yet, there is no study so far that has examined how the media, particularly the two leading newspapers, framed stories on the economy and what impact if any, such framing had on how people perceived the state of the economy and government interventions, whether it inspired hope or created despondency.

Framing, which takes different forms and is determined by the newspaper, on the parameters of type and prevalence, valence, attribution of responsibility, economic consequences and identification of most-at-risk actors, is thus critical to examine, to the extent that it likely affected the audiences' perception, attitude and subsequent responsive actions in the wake of the economic downturn. The two major daily



newspapers framed the economy in some light, in line, no doubt with set institutional policies and with regard to the wider contextual socio-economic concerns, including the health sector guidelines, but there is no examination so far how this was done.

There was reporting on the interventions put in place by the government to reduce the morbidities and the adverse effects including the expected short-and long-term effects. Socio-economic consequences of the lockdown measures adopted and government interventions to alleviate the negative effects of these measures were also reported on. Studies are yet to look at comparative reporting, the similarity or lack of it, on the local economy by the two leading dailies, a gap that this study seeks to fill by focusing on themed disparities in the reporting. Such themes consisting in frames, of which three have been identified for analysis.

This study therefore sought to determine the type of frames applied by these two newspapers, the valence, economic consequences and most-at-risk victims of the economic situation so reported, and how the framing likely contributed to certain impressions by the readers of the state of the economy and affected their actions.

1.3 Broad Objective

The broad objective of this study was to establish the kind of framing applied by the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* to report on the economy in the period March-October 2020.

1.3.1 Specific Objectives

The study was guided by the following specific objectives:

- 1. To establish the valence in the framing of the economy by the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* during March-October 2020;
- 2. To analyse how attribution of responsibility was done in the framing of the economy in the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* during March-October 2020;
- 3. To evaluate how the economic consequences frame was used in reporting on the economy in the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* during March-October, 2020.

1.4 Research Questions

The study sought to answer the following questions:

- 1. What valence did the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* use in framing stories on the economy during March-October, 2020?
- 2. How attribution of responsibility was done in the framing of the economy in the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* during March-October 2020?
- 3. How was the economic consequences frame used in reporting on the economy in the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* during March-October, 2020?

1.5 Justification for the Study

Media plays a very crucially powerful role as conveyors, constructors of meaning and interpreters of social reality, something that they accomplish through framing of information in a specific way, besides acting as public watchdog (Entman, 1993; Scheufele, 1999; McCombs & Ghanem, 2001; Reese, Grandy & Gart, 2001; McQuail, 2005 cited in Chang, 2009). They also provide feedback on the issues of importance to the audiences, setting the agenda, filtering the stories so covered as well as accentuating certain specific positions. Media framing therefore occupies an integral part of how individuals' understand issues and events covered and portrayed, more so in uncertain times as the year 2020 presented (Papacharissi & de Fatima Oliveira, 2008 cited in Ireri et al., 2019).

It is expected that highlighting the valence—positive or negative reporting on the economy—together with the media frames will impact the audience to the extent that the frames provide an evaluative platform for shaping their thoughts, attitudes and perceptions.

In effect, valence applied in news frames has a bearing on learning and mobilization if positive, and cynicism and demobilization if negative (Ireri, 2013).

Significance of the study

The results of this study are expected to be significant to scholars in media research in terms of showing how the media frames economic news especially in the context



of a crisis such as a pandemic. Such information would point to the nature and suitability of frames used in the stories on the economy, the kind of valence applied, and the implications of such coverage on perception of the prevailing state of affairs and outlook.

It should also be of interest to policy makers in government, as framers of information, for it will provide them with evidence of the dominant frames in the newspapers around the economy. This is particularly important for the type of frames and kind of valence applied in the frames used to report on the economy, positive or negative outlook of the economy. Framing provides an evaluative platform for shaping audience thoughts, attitudes and perceptions. Thus, it will facilitate strategic provision of information to be carried in the papers.

Journalists, who are perhaps the most significant framers of stories in the media, could also benefit by learning about the sort of frames used, and the effect of these on people's attitude and perception of stories and issues thus reported.

The results of the study should add to the body of knowledge on framing of the economy and as a key development issue. Since newspaper stories necessarily adopt frames, as an intended action, or unintended, understanding the coverage of the economy from the perspective of news frames in context puts at the disposal of researchers information on how diverse economy variables, seen as frames, are covered, thus enabling them to advance scholarship by either building on the limitations or through replication. Lastly, the audience members will also benefit by understanding how newspapers frame stories of important national issues so that they can be more evaluative and make informed and not subjective decisions influenced by the frames used.

1.6 Assumptions of the Study

The study made the following assumptions:

- There was sufficient coverage of the economy in the period of interest by the Daily Nation and The Standard newspapers to provide sufficient data for analysis;
- 2. The stories in the two newspapers had the necessary content to evaluate the various parameters set out in the objectives;



3. The period allocated for the study would be sufficient to successfully conduct it and arrive at valid findings.

1.7 Scope

This study spanned January to August 2022 and involved analysis of two major daily newspapers, *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* published during March-October 2020. This period could give a proximately accurate or representative picture of the phases through which the economy went with the evolution of the pandemic on an incidence curve, from the first incidence in the country through the different waves. It also captured the relevant response measures employed by the government as the country went through the different waves, reaching key moments on the incidence/prevalence curve, including spikes and drops. Only the printed versions of these newspapers were used since people tend to believe they are more credible than their digital versions. It excluded other newspapers published in the country, for example, the *Star* and *People Daily*.

The variables in this study were limited to type of frames, attribution of responsibility and valence, economic consequences, and most-at-risk victims, which was evaluated through quantitative content analysis. Framing theory is applied to this study. The study used framing theory to examine how the newspapers reported on economic issues in the period of interest

1.8 limitations and Delimitations of the Study

The study limited itself to two leading daily newspapers in the country, although there are other newspapers, including *The Star* and *People Daily*, and broadcast media, which might also provide some important insights on the framing phenomenon as applied in newspaper coverage of economic stories. The period chosen does not cover the entirety of 2020 but was specific to March-October, and thus left out the rest of the year. Besides, there may be other frames used to report on economic stories, the study has chosen however to deal with three basic frames. Moreover, the focus was on quantitative content analysis, and so there is no qualitative analysis of the material obtained from the newspapers. These limitations, however, were not expected to affect the validity of the findings.

1.9 Operational Definition of Terms

Framing: The selection of some aspects of a story, for example, attribution of responsibility, valence, economic consequences and most-at-risk victims, and making them more salient in a newspaper text.

Attribution of responsibility frame: The presentation of an issue in a manner that puts the responsibility for its occurrence or solution on either situation, an individual, group, or government

Valence: This is the use of negative or positive terms to report on the economy that newspapers adopt thus creating a sense of learning and mobilization or cynicism and demobilization.

Economic consequences frame: Reporting on the economic effects of an occurrence or issue—positive or negative—on an individual, group, sector, or country

1.10 Summary of Chapter

This chapter has provided a background to the concept of framing as applied in reporting on the economy within the global, regional and national contexts, and provided a sneak peek into the position of the Daily Nation and the Standard the Kenyan in the wider Kenyan print media context. It has also brought out the salient concern of economic framing in light of global pandemic, which affected the economy in 2020, and its implications for public interpretation of media stories, thus highlighting the major issue, problem that justifies this study. It has indicated the objectives and the corresponding research questions, and presented the assumptions on coverage, content and time. The scope, limitations and delimitations are also featured. Additionally. has provided justification/significance of the study from the perspective of four key terms, frames-attribution of responsibility, valence framing, economic consequences, and most-at risk victims, which terms it has proceeded to define.

1.11 Organization of the Report

This research project report has five chapters. Chapter one provides a background to the study, and presents the associated elements: problem statement, objectives, research questions, justification/significance, assumptions, scope, delimitations,



and operational definition of the variables. Chapter Two reviews literature on framing of the economy by global and national publications in line with the stated objectives, theoretical framework on which the study is based as a summary of the research gaps. Chapter Three provides the methodological framework for the study. Chapter Four is a presentation and analysis and interpretation of the data. Chapter Five provides a summary of findings, a conclusion, recommendations and suggested

areas for future studies

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Overview

This chapter presents a review of theoretical and empirical literature on the framing of the economy by the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* from March to October, 2020. It also looks at the theories that ground the study, the research gaps that form its basis, and the conceptual framework that provides the interplay of independent and dependent variables.

2.1 Theoretical Review

(i) News frames

Application of frames in news reports can take many different forms, although there is growing evidence that journalists tend to apply generic frames more widely than any other, which frames are not bound by time, place and subject (Drikx & Gelders, 2010; Chong & Druckman, 2007). Such frames are mostly quantitative deductive and can be contrasted to qualitative inductive framing, which though offering in-depth analysis of perspectives on an issue, are context-specific, and therefore do not allow for generalization and comparison of results of coverage of issues (de Vreese et al., 2001 in Chong & Druckman, 2007). Quantitative deductive frames, which are what this study applies, provide a means for comparison of reporting on the economy to determine similarities and dissimilarities in information across media outlets.

Frames have four characteristics that make them able, in the hands of different sources, to serve the function of portraying reality. They have organizing principles, are shared, persistent, symbolic, and have structure.

(ii) Organizing Principles of Framing

A frame serves a key function of organizing information, something that can occur at either cognitive or cultural level. As Khaneman and Tversky (1979) write, cognitive organization can happen either as simple emphasis on changes, or thematic versus episodic treatment of issues/events. Cultural organization, on the other hand, seeks to provide a relatively broader, deeper way to accept reality. Picking the frames without the accompanying structures, applying them implicitly, and normalizing them, causes them to have an organizing effect (Reece, 2001 cited in Frank, 2016). Frames are never overtly evident; rather they are abstract, and so caution must be taken to avoid taking manifest media content at face value without interrogating the

underlying framing principles.

(iii) Shared nature of frames

Entman (1993) proffers that establishing the effect of a frame is best done through a determination of how readily it is shared across varied media platforms, besides how strongly it is shared between the communicator, culture, text, and receiver. Moreover, the power of a frame is proportional to the extent to which it can be shared. Of note is that a frame has an inherent set of assumptions that make organizations and institutions communicate in a way that leads to the intended interpretation (Hertod & McLeod, 2001).

(iv) Persistent nature of frames

The persistent nature of a frame gives it power. Although literature on frames indicates that they are evolutionary, they are frames that are relatively stable over time, for example, "climate change" and "globalization." Such frames derive their stability from the fact that they serve a core function of organizing reality and thus provide a reliable mental, interpretive short cut for the public (Frank, 2016).

(v) Symbolic nature of frames

To the extent that frames are expressed through words and images, they are symbolic; and, as Frank (2016) observes, may include metaphors, catchphrases, depictions, exemplars and visual images. Further, frames can also suppress the content of a story thus altering its symbolic interpretation. Framing thus influences the choice of words that go into sentences, and the structure, the technical terms applied, and language use generally (Reese, 2001 cited in Frank, 2016).

(vi) Structural nature of frames

A frame structures the presentation of the world by using language-based, and other symbolic devices. In other words, it provides a pattern to social reality (Reese, 2001). Hertog and McLeod (2001), however, caution that the styling and format of a media item is not a structure nor does it have a framing effect. Such a style may be the hour-glass, inverted pyramid or other format of writing.

(vii) Framing Effects

The significance of framing in communication derives from the fact that they affect attitude and/or behaviour of the audience (Entman, 1993; Scheufele, 1999; Chong & Druckman, 2007; Dirikx & Gelders, 2010). Accordingly, different actors have been observed to adopt the frames used by others. For example, politicians use frames used by other politicians, the media or even citizens. Similarly, the media too does use frames applied by other media outlets, politicians, social activists, or citizens. The citizens too have been observed to mimic the frames used by other fellow citizens. Further, Chong & Druckman (2007) observe that most communication and related studies have focused on how frames applied in elite communication, that is, media outlets, politicians, and interest groups, have affected the citizens' frames and attitudes.

Although there is little to no consensus on the best way to gauge framing effects on audience, three possible tracts or standards exist (Druckman, 2001; Sniderman & Theriault 2004): variance observable in preference engendered by alternative frames on an issue; correlation variance between alternatively framed preferences and personal values held on an issue (large correlations here indicate large framing effects); and use of control treatment and control groups, where the latter is exposed to a description of the issue at stake but not to any frames. The efficacy of any of the standards depends on the nature of each study, including its assumptions and purpose. Different studies from experiments to surveys to case studies across a range of issues, however, have shown that either one or a combination of the standards can yield valid results.

How strong (or not) the effect of a frame is can be mediated by factors such as repetition of the frame, the competitive environment and individual motivation (Chong & Druckman, 2007). Additionally, individual predispositions, personal knowledge and source credibility can also moderate or condition the kind of effect a frame can have on an individual by limiting the effect of disconfirming information, for individuals who hold strong values are less like to change them (Gross, 2000; Brewer, 2003; Lau & Schlesinger, 2005; Shen & Edwards, 2005; Chong & Druckman, 2007).

2.1.1 Framing of the economy

Framing of the economy involves portrayal of the economy in one way or the other, which can be assessed based on a given set of factors. Since framing has consequences on reader perception of issues (Shen, 2004 cited in Fountain, 2008) media framing of the economy is expected to have an effect on readers in terms of opinion formation and building of perspective on an aspect of, or the overall state or condition of, the economy. It is the core idea of media framing that news frames provide a description and structure to the way an event is portrayed such that messages take on specific media-created shapes and/or meanings, an action that potentially alters the intent of the story in the end.

Thus, it can be said that news frames suggest the lens through which readers should perceive reality, and so when reporters, and other sources, frame news, they select, emphasize, exclude and elaborate some given aspect(s) of an issue or event, essentially narrowing the readers' frame and, by extension, their view of the events or issues so reported (Hendrick & Tankard, 1997 cited in Fountain, 2008). When facts are selected at the expense of others, which are excluded, a frame results, which then impacts both public opinion and how the public interprets issues. As Fountain (2008) argues, through selection, framing defines issues for readers rather than projecting an objective perspective.

Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) found five recurrent frames in news reporting, that is, responsibility, conflict, economic consequences, human interest and morality frames. This study applies three frames—valence attribution of responsibility, and economic consequences.

2.1.2 Valence framing of the economy

Valence refers to the fact of framing an issue either positively or negatively. The pandemic led to the institution of measures such as sanitizing, wearing of protective gear, including masks, and social distancing, with effect that business establishments, schools, community centres and non-governmental organizations were forced to close down. Lockdown measures effected also restricted human and vehicular movement in different parts of the countries depending on the reported severity of the disease and how critical the sector one operated in was. Thus,

essential services were spared the severest of lockdown measures. The measures were meant to curtail the exponential increase of the infections and reduce the pressure on medical services (Brodeur et al., 2020), but the economy suffered a great extent of damage.

The country suffered a serious economic downturn corollary of the Covid-19 containment measures so instituted This was felt throughout the country, with the both global and national forecast of much slowed or negative growth made (KRA, 2020; IMF, 2020; World Bank, 2020). In tandem with this negative turn of events, recurrent negative terms, including low productivity, slowed activity, economic inequality, and uncertainty, sprang up and found their way into reports on the economy. The IMF (2020), for instance, forecasted that the economy would contract by five percent, a revision from an earlier estimate of three percent.

The IMF (2020) carried out a comparative analysis of the state of the global economy in 2020 to the 2008-9 Global Financial Crisis, and the verdict was that the former was far worse. Other similar institutions provided an even bleaker outlook. The World Bank (2020) forecasted a five percent contraction of global Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) six to eight percent.

Pandemics certainly affect economies due to loss of life and social distancing, which means that people might forgo consumption and fail to purchase some goods and services (Jonas 2013 cited in Brodeur, 2020). Other mall indirect costs may also be incurred, for instance hospitalization and medical costs. That is besides the larger indirect costs such as labour and production costs. Offsetting and cascading also ensue, which comprise, for instance, disruption of services, travels. Global newspaper reporting also adopted a negative tone. As Thomas et al. (2020) write, negative valence was also applied by two Australian newspapers, *The Australian* and *Sydney Times* to report on the economy from negative valence, using terms such as financial disruption to tourism and economic sectors.

2.1.3 Attribution of responsibility in the framing of the economy

Attribution of responsibility frame means that responsibility or blame for the cause



or solution for whatever issue is in focus is placed on political authorities, individuals or groups (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). Attribution of responsibility has been a prominent frame in economic news coverage (An & Gower, 2009). This has had an effect on public opinion, engendering corresponding attribution of political responsibility in varying degrees among the news consumers (Feezell, Glazier & Boydstun, 2019). Indeed, studies demonstrate that citizen's evaluation of policy issues is influenced by their exposure to policy-related news frames, if only in an indirect way(Boukes, Boomgaarden, Moorman, & De Vreese, 2015). What it implies then is that media portrayal of a policy problem has an effect on the extent to which citizens assign responsibility to the government.

Attribution of responsibility is central to citizens' political dispositions (Damstra, Bourkes & Vliegenhart, 2021). Responsibility attribution therefore is the main mechanism through which citizens may or may not hold their political leaders accountable (Hobolt & Tilley, 2014 cited in Damstra et al., 2021). There are two explanations proffered for how attribution of responsibility happens: internal factors, including political values; and external influences, which assumes variation. In the first explanation, conservatives, for instance, are more likely to connect an individual to a given outcome compared to liberals. The implication, as lyengar (1994) writes, is that responsibility is relatively stable over time for it stems from long-standing political values. The second explanation, which focuses on external influences thus assuming variation, holds that most political issues are beyond people's personal experiences—that their perceptions are affected or mediated by information when it comes to holding responsible, actors or institutions for certain policy decisions and outcomes (Hobolt & Tilley, 2014). In this case then, attribution of responsibility by consumers of news is not stable but volatile for it shifts with media coverage

Since the global economy in 2020 certainly was affected by particular government policies due to and in spite of a global pandemic whose origin was widely reported to have been a result of human action, it is highly likely that attribution of responsibility frame will be applied in the reports on the Kenyan economy.

Damstra, et al. (2021) studied the asymmetric effects of credit and blame attributions in economic news on government evaluations. They did a content analysis of economic news in a wide variety of Dutch news outlets (N =



5,630)—newspapers, websites, and a select number of television programmes—and a three-wave panel survey (N = 3,240). The focus was economic news, which was broadly defined based on macroeconomic developments and on subthemes such as unemployment rates, inflation or the housing market. The analysis spanned January to April, 2015. The results of the study were that those who were exposed to news in which blame for the economy was directed at the government tended to adopt this same frame to assign responsibility to the government for the economic crisis.

Furthermore, by being exposed to negative attributions, the people negatively evaluated the government.

Thomas et al. (2020) analysed the content of two Australian media outlets, *The Australian* and *Sydney Herald*, in the initial 11 weeks immediately following the first publications on COVID-19 pandemic, on how the outlets assigned responsibility for Covid-19. The newspapers were accessed through the electronic database, Factiva. The analysis included 310 articles, with the main frames of societal, problem definition and morality. Societal frame was the most dominant and included themes such as disruption of business, education and sports, which was a result of the government pandemic containment measures. The study used qualitative content analysis to uncover the frames and themes.

2.1.4 Framing economic consequences

Economic consequences frames focus on the economic effects of an issue/event on a group of people (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000; Dirikx & Gelders, 2010; Chiumbu et al., 2018). The economy matters for public and, by extension, political opinion (Damstra et al. (2021). Studies have been done from the perspective of tone of economic news reporting, operationalizing the variable as a general sentiment and not a specific reference to a pre-determined issue, for example, recession (Boydstun, Highton & Lyn, 2018).

A number studies have analysed how the state of the economy in 2020 affected Kenyans with the general negative tone of reduced or decimated livelihoods (Central Bank of Kenya [CBK], 2020; IMF, 2020; World Bank, 2020). Frank (2016) writes that the press coverage of Chinese effect on the South African economy has been cautiously done. The author studied the introduction of Mandarin language in the South African school curriculum, and the kind of relationship that existed between



the frame sponsors and the frames the media employed. He examined how the media reported on the activities of Chinese government in South Africa, which were often considered predominantly as the binary of Chinese imperialism or a developmental relationship. The study analysed 50 articles published in the South African print media between March and October, 2015.

The results revealed two dominant frames, namely Chinese imperialism and a developmental relationship—a normal aspect of market dynamics. On the relationship between the frame sponsors and the type of frames employed, it was revealed that majority of the sponsors were government, trade unions and academic sources. The framing showed a stark difference across sources in that while the government sources adopted mostly a globalist perspective of the relationship, the trade union sources took a more imperialist or nationalist view.

Odoemelam (2021) studied Covid-19 health crisis and its framing, focusing on how the print media covered it especially in Nigeria. The study's interest was in the different approaches used by the Nigerian newspapers to cover the pandemic. The results showed that the six newspapers considered in the studied used key frames such as economics, public health crisis, healthcare workers strike and corruption with varied intensity. The dominant frames were economic issues, public health crisis and corruption. This was done at varying degrees. The dominant tone used in the framing of the three issues was mostly negative.

Chiumbu et al. (2018) used framing analysis and critical economy insights to study how stories of socio-economic rights were framed in three South African newspapers with national circulation. The results of the study were that the newspapers laid emphasis on the importance of socio-economic rights and recognized the voices of the marginalized. However, majority of the stories were rather deficient in their reporting and silent on the structural causes of inequality and socio-economic injustices in the South African society. The study concluded that there was real need to re-imagine normative media frameworks to aid in developing a practice of journalism that would be more sensitive to the social and economic polarizations and factual inequalities in the country.

Makata (2021) studied how the Corona Virus pandemic affected the framing of news about China in three Nigerian newspapers, *The Sun*, *The Nation* and *The Punch*. The



study utilized qualitative content analysis method to inductively determine the dominant frames in the news reports of which three emerged: economic consequences, human interest and conflict. The results showed that the coverage encompassed both negative and positive news about China globally, although most of it was negative. The newspapers, highlighted the economic benefits and citizen's perceived negative consequences of the relations between Nigeria and China.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

This study adopts framing (Entman, 1993) as the explanatory framework for the understanding of print media, especially The *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspaper framing of the economy in 2020. Entman, arguably the most prominent proponent of framing theory, sees it as:

Select[ing] some aspects of a perceived reality and mak[ing] them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described. (Entman, 1993)

Although framing theory finds its origin in the works of Gofman (1974), in particular, *Frame Analysis*, it has been extended by media scholars, of whom Entman (1993) is most prominent, to suit the purpose of media studies. In its initial conceptualization, frames were seen "as cognitive structures which include elements of organization and subjectivity that help guide representations and perceptions of reality" (Chiumbu et al., 2018, p.4). What a frame does is to organize everyday reality (Tuchman, 1978 cited in Chong & Druckman, 2007). How this happens is by providing meaning to what is happening (Gamison & Modiaglini, 1987) and promoting a given way of defining and interpreting political issues (Shah et al., 2002 cited in Chong & Druckman, 2002).

The main premise of framing is that perspectives on one issue or event can be different and varied. It means then that the issues or events thus framed will be construed as having implications for varied values and concerns (Chong & Druckman, 2007). Framing is important for problem definition, causal interpretation and treatment recommendation (Entman, 1993; Pieri, 2019; Thomas et al., 2020).

Framing of issues or the identification of frames in communication texts has occupied a lot of communication scholarship, gaining much importance, as scholars track frames to uncover patterns in how issues are defined, covered across media outlets, and even how frames vary by media (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).

Typically, a frames analysis study follows four steps that include identifying an issue of interest to the study. As Chong and Druckman (2007) argue, a frame can only be identified for a particular issue or event, or a political actor. Second, where the aim is to assess how frames in communication affect a given public opinion of a particular event or issue, there is need to isolate or pick a particular attitude. This could be cumulative dispositions or specific attitude relating to the issue.

Third, an inductive identification of frames is conducted, which leads to a coding scheme. Existing literature, academic or otherwise, on a particular topic can be a reliable source of popular frames. Further to this, one may examine the frames that elite actors produce, on both sides of the issue in court opinion and briefs, editorial writings and the publications of different social organizations or groups. This makes it possible for one to access popular and culturally available frames present in elite discourse (Gamison &Madiaglini, 1987). Apart from these elite sources, sampling individuals and recording considerations that they can think of on a given issue can also provide suitable frames. Fourth, sources for analysis are identified, which often comprise mass media outlets such as newspapers, magazines, websites, and television broadcasts.

Framing theory is applicable to this study to the extent that it seeks to do a quantitative deductive content analyses of frames applied in the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspaper reports on the Kenyan economy in 2020, which frames have been identified as attribution of responsibility, valence and human economic consequences. It is postulated that the newspapers' application of the identified frames potentially shaped public opinion on the economy, which probably led to thoughts about and recall of issues around the economy, formation of certain aggregate attitudes on the economy, perception or risk, and mobilization, and perhaps influenced subsequent government policy.

2.3 Summary of Research Gaps

This study draws from the insights created by the empirical findings of studies on framing and the economy and related issues, and the gaps left, to assess the application of valence, attribution of responsibility and economic consequences frames in select print media, *Daily Nation* and *The Standard*, reports on the Kenyan economy in 2020. The following is a summary of the evident gaps in reviewed empirical literature both globally and nationally.

Table 2.1
Summary of Research Gaps

Variable	Author & Year	Title	Findings	Gap
Attribution of	Damstra, et al. (2021)	To credit or to blame?	Exposure to news in which blame for the	The previous study uses content-
responsibility		The asymmetric Impact	economy was directed at the government led to	analyses to study two specific
		of government	citizens' tendency to adopt this same frame to	constructs, that is, govt.
		responsibility in	assign responsibility to the government for the	responsibility (antecedent) and
	economic news economic crisis.	economic crisis.	positive/negative evaluation. The	
				current study considers framing on
	Exposure to negative attributions led to citize negatively evaluating the government.	Exposure to negative attributions led to citizen's	the basis of four frames, attribution	
		negatively evaluating the government.	of responsibility, valence, and	
			economic consequences.	
			The previous study is on the Dutch	
			situation in the first three months of	
				2015 while the current one is on the
				Kenyan situation in a pandemic year
			2020, spanning eight months—Marc	
			to October, 2020	
	Thomas et al. (2020)	How the media places responsibility for the Covid-19 pandemic—An Australian media analysis	Societal frame was the most dominant and included themes such as disruption of business, education and sports, which was a result of the government pandemic containment measures.	The previous study used qualitative inductive content analysis to uncove the frames and themes. The current study uses quantitative deductive analysis with pre-set frames. While the previous study focused on the pandemic per se in the Australia context, the current study focuses of the Kenyan economy

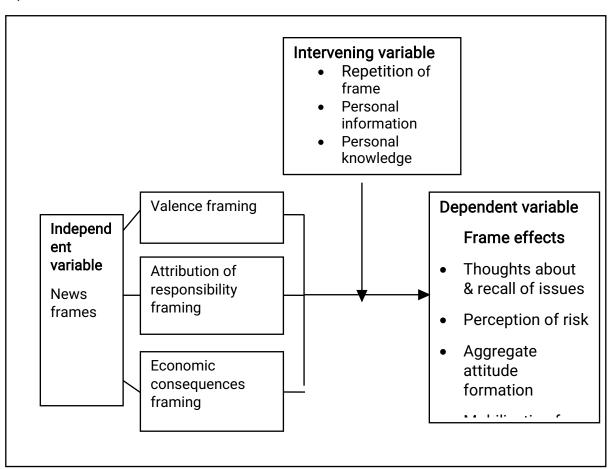
Valence	Odoemelam (2021)	The COVID-19 Health Crisis and Its Framing: Approaches Used by the Print Media for Coverage	The dominant tone used in the framing of the economy, public health crisis was mostly negative.	Odoeman (2021) study considers valence on positive-negative binary, the current study assesses the correlation between valence and the three media frames—attribution of responsibility, economic consequences and human interest
	Makata (2021)	Framing a pandemic: evaluating Nigerian print media reportage of china before and following the coronavirus (covid-19) pandemic	Positive and negative coverage of China and Chinese interests, but mostly negative	Makata (2021) study makes reference to positive and positive reporting of China and Chinese interests in Nigeria but does not conceptualize valence as a standalone variable. The current study operationalizes valence framing as a specific variable and seeks to discover how it was applied in reporting on the Kenyan economy
Economic consequences	Odoemelam (2021)	The COVID-19 health crisis and Its Framing: approaches used by the print media for coverage	Economics, public health crisis, healthcare workers strike and corruption were the key frames used in news coverage. The dominant frames were economic issues, public health crisis and corruption. This was done at varying degrees.	While the previous study employs quantitative inductive frames to assess newspaper coverage of the pandemic, the current study applies quantitative deductive content analysis to analyse the use of economy specific variables.
	Chiumbu et et al. (2018)	Social justice for the poor: The framing of socioeconomic rights in selected South African newspapers	Newspapers emphasized on the importance of socio-economic rights and recognized the voices of the marginalized Majority of the stories were rather deficient in their reporting and silent on the structural causes of inequality and socio-economic injustices in the South African society.	The previous study used qualitative content analysis to study the framing by a selection of newspapers of an aspect of the economy in South Africa. The current study aims to study quantitatively the framing of the Kenyan economy as a whole.

2.3 Conceptual Framework

Framing in its different forms affects how the public perceives news in turn leading to different consequences. Figure 2.1 is a representation of the link between news frames used in reporting on the Kenyan economy in March-October, 2020, and the consequences they might have on the audience's perception of the news on the state of the economy.

Figure 2.1

Conceptual Framework



The conceptual framework in Figure 2.1 depicts a relationship between the independent and dependent variable. News frames (valence framing, attribution of responsibility, economic consequences, and human interest) is postulated to have a relationship with framing effects (thoughts about and recall of issues, perception of risk, aggregate

attitude formation, and mobilization for action). The variables are operationalized as shown in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2 *Operationalization of Variables*

Variable	Indicator	Measurement level	Source
Attribution of responsibility frame	-Suggested government ability to alleviate the problem -Government responsibility for the issue/problem -Suggested solution(s) to the problem/issue -Responsibility for the issue/problem -Suggested urgency for action	Categorical Ordinal	Semetko & Valkenburg (2000)
Valence frame	Positive adjectives used to refer to the economyNegative adjectives used to refer	Categorical Ordinal	Semetko & Valkenburg (2000)
	to the economy		
Economic consequences frame	 Mention of (financial) losses or gains now or in the future Mention of the costs/degree of expense involved Reference to (economic) consequences of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action 	Categorical Ordinal	Semetko & Valkenburg (2000)
Themes	Thematic versus episodic framing	Categorical nominal	lyengar (1991)

Source: Adapted from Semetko and Valkenburg (2000)

2.4 Summary of Chapter

This chapter has reviewed literature on framing, and narrowed down to framing of the economy highlighting specific generic frames used in deductive quantitative content analysis, that is, attribution of responsibility, valence, economic consequences and human interest. The analytical framework, framing theory and the conceptual framework, have been discussed and applicability demonstrated, including how the

independent and variables are linked (and how they have been operationalized). A summary of research gaps based on empirical literature review has been presented, including conceptual and methodological gaps. The next chapter presents research methodology.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Overview

Contained in this chapter is the philosophical paradigm and design that give rise to the study, besides approach, method, data collection instruments and procedures, types and sources, study population, sample and sampling population, data analysis and presentation. It also contains the considerations of validity and reliability, and ethical considerations

3.1 Philosophical Paradigm

This Study was based on the positivist philosophical paradigm which provides a framework for the study of a social science in a similar manner to a natural science. It entails the collection and analysis of quantitative data through statistical techniques including computations in specific software and generalization of findings to the population, beyond the sample. The paradigm is also linked to objective reality as a means of understanding the world.

3.2 Research Design

A cross-sectional descriptive design was adopted for this study, for there is need to describe the framing of the Kenyan economy by the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* within a set time span, March to October, 2020, with three selected frames aiding in that process: attribution of responsibility, valence and economic consequences. Besides, a description of the nature of themes in the coverage will be done. The design therefore set the ground for quantitative approach to data collection and analysis, both of which this study employs.

3.3 Research Approach

Quantitative approach was used in this study. Quantitative approach to data collection and analysis is employed in this study, where generic, pre-determined codes with scale items are used to categorise information from the articles in the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard*. The data were collected in form of counts of catchphrases, metaphors, depictions and exemplars, and used to determine the prevalence of the frames and assess the themes necessary to answer the research questions.

3.4 Research Methods

The study used quantitative deductive content analysis to discover the prevalence of three news frames used in two daily newspapers, namely, Attribution of responsibility, valence and economic consequences Analysis was done deductively, putting relevant sentences, phrases and other paragraph-level symbols into the pre-set categories. The value of content analysis is in how it provides new insights, increases researchers' understanding of particular phenomena or informs practical actions (McQuail, 2000; Krippendorf, 2004). Various studies have used content analysis to study one aspect or the other of media framing (Thomas et al., Ochieng, 2019; Anyende, 2019; Odoemelam, 2021; Makata, 2021). Content analysis was well suited for the study of how the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers framed the economy in 2020. Only secondary data obtained through multistage newspaper-article sampling were used to carry out the analysis. Descriptive statistics were used to analyse the data before interpreting the resulting information in line with the stated objectives and research questions.

3.5 Data Collection Instruments and procedures

Data from the newspapers were collected from hard copies of the newspapers from the Kenya National Library. Coding sheets were used to enter the information into the existing categories, with some important text, including quotes, noted in a notebook to provide complementary narratives to the quantitative frequency presentations of the frames. Two research assistants, coders, assisted in the data collection exercise, after training on what is required to effectively carry out the exercise.

The study used Semetko and Valkenburg's (2000) list of 20 questions (see Appendix 2) which measure the underlying concepts or frames. The questions are supposed to elicit responses on a three-point scale ranging from "Don't agree," "Largely agree," and "Completely agree." Dirikx and Gelders (2010) used these questions to uncover the underlying frames in their study of framing of climate change by two Dutch newspapers, *De Volkskrant* and *NRC Handelsblad*, and two French, *Le Monde* and *Le Figaro*.

The unit of analysis was the article, taking into account the headings, subheadings, leads and the other parts of the article. The article was also the unit of analysis for the type of frame, whether episodic or thematic. Episodic frames were those that were tied to a specific event/case, which are largely anecdotal or focused on individual cases; whereas thematic framing was about the placement of an issue in its wider social context thereby creating a bigger picture.

A frame was counted once in an article. Where more than one frame/theme is evident in an article, they were considered as separate distinct cases. Occurrence of the same frame or theme more than once in an article was treated a single occurrence.

3.6 Types of Data and Sources

Secondary data were used in this study, which data came from newspaper articles, stories, published in the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard*. Although the data as they appear in the newspapers are naturally qualitative and quantitative, in this study, the focus is mainly on their quantitative in nature in that collection was based on the frequency of specific, pre-set and related themes—episodic or thematic. Secondary is the type of data that is derived from were taken into account: news, features, columns, commentaries and editorials.

3.7 Study Population

This study examined a sample of articles from 488 (244x2) newspapers published between March 1 and October 31, 2020, assuming a publication on each day for the entire period. This period was chosen because it captures the time following the index case of the Covid-19 pandemic in February, and its evolution into the three waves (1^{st} , 2^{nd} and 3^{rd}), which had serious economic ramifications due to the government-



sanctioned lockdown measures.

The *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers have been chosen for this study for their perceived credibility, perceived quality (including being the most prominent agenda setters) of the information they contain since they are the two most widely circulated and profitable newspapers in the country. Ordinarily, and very importantly, newspapers provide in-depth accounts and analysis, including expert opinion, which makes them very valuable in the study of framing of societal issues such as the economy (Farnsworth & Lichter, 2012 cited in Ireri et al., 2019). These newspapers are a source of comprehensive and elaborate communication on the economy. Most studies on newspaper content analysis have also focused on these two newspapers (Anyende, 2019; Ochieng, 2019; Ireri et al., 2019).

The study focused on a specific period of the year 2020, March to October, during which period the economy faced the reality of Covid-19 and the resultant government measures on the mitigation of the disease. It covered the critical moments with a significant impact on the economy, that is, the three main waves—first, second and third—that characterized the disease.

3.8 Sample and Sampling Procedure

The study adopted purposive sampling, meaning that aside from selecting all the newspaper publications in the specified period, all the articles touching on the economy were included in the analysis—the only inclusion criterion being if an article fitted into any of the frame categories.

Table 3.1 represents the newspaper population from which the study used to select a sample of articles.

Table 3.1 *Newspaper Distribution by Month*

Month	Month Newspaper editions						
	Daily Nation	The Standard					
March	31	31	62				
April	30	30	60				
May	30	30	60				

June	30	30	60
July	31	31	62
August	31	31	62
September	30	30	60
October	31	31	62
Total	244	244	488

Table 3.1 shows that 488 editions (244 from each newspaper were used for content analysis. The editions yielded 168 articles on the economy where at least one of the three frames was applied.

Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis in this study is the articles appearing in the two newspapers in the period of interest.

The variables used in this study are the frames: attribution of responsibility, valence, economic consequences and human interest.

Testing of data collection instrument

It is always important to test a data collection instrument (Hennick et al., 2011). The coding sheet was tested with the objective of making sure the category questions/scale items relate to the underlying construct, in this case, the frame. Therefore, it was important in determining if the research questions are appropriate and consistent with the aim of the study. Lastly, the test helped in gauging how coherent, or not, the overall design of content analysis is in relation to the broad objective of the study: to investigate the framing of the Kenyan economy by the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers during March-October, 2020.

3.9 Data Analysis and Presentation

Data Analysis

The data collected from the newspaper articles was transferred from the coding sheet into the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS Version 23) for cleaning and analysis. This software is widely used in social science studies. The different frames and themes were numerically coded in the software and descriptive statistics used to generate the necessary statistics, including frequencies and percentages. Cross tabulations were used where appropriate to classify the frame distribution across general variables such as newspaper and story source, and to aid in the inferential determination of association through chi-square test of independence.

Objectives one through three were evaluated using descriptive statistics, that is, frequency computations and computation of other related statistics—means, standard deviations

Data Presentation

The resulting information, in form of counts, percentages, means, standard deviations and coefficients, were presented as tabular summaries, and in figures—charts and graphs, as is relevant.

3.10 Validity and Reliability

Validity

The study ensured the validity of the data used by, first of all, subjecting the coding sheet to expert, particularly the supervisor, and peers, who checked to see that the questions were based on well-thought-out constructs (face validity), besides observing accuracy throughout the data management process. Then, there was a check performed on the data for intra-and inter-construct validity, or convergent and divergent validity, in that order. External validity was also a key concern of the study guaranteed

through the choice of newspaper and number of editions (and articles) included. For generalization purposes, a reasonable proportion of articles appearing in the editions across the specified period formed part of the study.

Reliability

To check that the instrument, coding sheet, was able to accurately capture what it is designed to capture in terms of the frames and related components, it was subjected to expert and peer evaluation before being applied on the newspaper stories. It was also pre-tested on a few articles taken from each of the newspapers, and the information obtained subjected to a statistical reliability test—Cronbach's alpha (coefficient), where the scale relating to the different individual frames was assessed for internal consistency. A cut-off/threshold of .7 was set for determining a reliable scale. Together with the feedback from expert evaluation, the results of the reliability test aided in the application of necessary remedial procedures, including redefining and deletion of items, to enhance the reliability of the coding sheet. It was also, after the pilot on a few articles from a different newspaper (from the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard*), refined accordingly.

3.11 Ethical Considerations

Necessary documents were sought as part of the rubric of academic research, including obtaining of the required permission from the School of Journalism and Mass Communication (SoJM), University of Nairobi. A duly signed Certificate of Field Work was also obtained from the school and presented to the Graduate School as part of the research documentation. Authorization from the Nation Media Group's and Standard Group's library departments was sought to be able to access their databases for the copies of the newspapers required for the study.

The study upheld accuracy in the recording of the information from the articles and posted it to the right category, frame, to maintain integrity of the data collection process. Further, the information obtained was treated objectively and utilized as was for purposes of analysis, without any manipulation. This extended to the findings from the analysis process, which was presented and interpreted without understating or

exaggeration.

The sources used in the research were acknowledged and antiplagiarism test

conducted as is provided for in the Final Project guidelines to ensure originality is

ascertained and at the required level.

Only authorized software, SPSS, was used in data management, that is, coding, entry

and analysis.

3.12 Summary of Chapter

This chapter has shown the methodological framework on which the study is based—it

has considered how positivist paradigm, which sets the ground for use of quantitative

secondary data in quantitative content analysis of newspaper articles through SPSS (by

way of descriptive and inferential statistics). In addition, it has presented the target

population and the sampling methodology. It has demonstrated how data was collected

using a coding sheet with pre-determined deductive frames and shown how face and

criterion validity of the study was ensured, besides indicating the intention to use

Cronbach's Alpha to make the coding sheet more reliable. Lastly, it has shown how the

obligatory procedures for research authorization was followed including obtaining

research authorization documents from SoJ, Nation Media Group and Standard Group.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND INTERPRETATION OF **FINDINGS**

4.0 Introduction

This study was aimed at establishing the kind of framing applied by the Daily Nation and

the Standard to report on the economy in the period March-October 2020. Three

specific objectives were formulated: To establish the valence in the framing of the

economy by the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* during March-October 2020; to analyse

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how attribution of responsibility was done in the framing of the economy in the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* during March-October 2020; and to evaluate how the economic consequences frame was used in reporting on the economy in the *Daily Nation* and the *Standard* during March-October, 2020.

Descriptive statistics was used to analyze the data and provide the relevant statistics including frequencies and percentages, which are presented in Tables and Figures and interpreted in line with the stated objectives.

4.1 Response Rate

The target number of newspapers for this study was 192, out of which 162 met the criteria for inclusion in the sample, had the relevant stories with the required data. Table 4.1 shows the distribution of the response rate by newspaper.

Table 4.1 *Response Rate*

Newspaper	No of Issues					
	n	%				
Daily Nation	87	51.8				
The Standard	81	48.2				
Total	168	100.0				

Source: Research Data (2022)

Table 4.1 shows that 87 Daily Nation newspapers were sampled compared to 81 The Standard, translating to 51.8% and 48.2% respectively.

4.2 No of Articles by Newspaper

The study tallied the number of articles touching on Covid-19 during the period of interest (March-October, 2020) and classified them by the number of articles, which categories were 1, 2, 3 and 4, and newspaper. Table 4.2 shows the frequency distribution of the articles in each newspaper.

Table 4.2 *No. of Articles by Newspaper*

Newspaper		No. of Articles							Total		
		1	2		3		4				
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	Ν	%	
Daily Nation	61	36.3	22	13.1	2	1. 2	2	1. 2	87	51.8	
The Standard	56	33.3	21	12.6	4	2. 4	-	-	81	48.2	
Total	117	69.6	43	25.6	6	3. 6	2	1. 2	168	100.0	

Source: Research Data (2022)

Table 4.2 indicates that the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers was dominated by one article (69%) with two having 36.3% and 33.3% single article. There were also 2 (25.6%)-, 3 (3.6%) - and 4 (1.2%) - article issues. Classification by newspaper shows that the *Daily Nation* had two issues (1.2%) with the highest number of articles (4). Overall, all the issues examined (168) had at least a story on the pandemic. These results show that the newspapers had other stories to cover besides those on the Covid-19 pandemic, which is not unusual for established newspapers like the two.

4.3 Frame Orientation

The study sought to determine the orientation of the frame of coverage of the news on the pandemic, with three orientations identified for discussion: episodic, thematic, and a combination of episodic and thematic framing. Episodic frame is concerned with whether the story presents anecdotes or vignettes, and a combination of these two. Thematic frame is about whether the story refers to or provides information about contextual facts. Table 4.3 shows a summary of the frame orientation of the stories in the issues.

Table 4.3 *Frame Orientation*

Orientation	Ep	isodic	Thematic Episodic & Thematic		Total			
	n	%	n	%	n %		n	%
Daily Nation	-		30	17.9	57	33.9	87	51.8
The Standard	2	1.2	-	-	79	47.0	81	48.2
Total	2	1.2	30	17.9	136	81.0	168	100.0

Source: Research Data (2020)

Table 4.3 shows more of a combination of episodic and thematic (81.0%) coverage than either episodic (1.2%) or thematic coverage (17.9%) of stories in the issues. Across newspaper results show the *Daily Nation* did not do episodic coverage of the stories, while *The Standard* had two newspapers covering the stories episodically. Equal proportion (17.9%) of *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers did a thematic coverage of their stories. Greater proportion of The Standard (47.0%) newspaper issues than the *Daily Nation* (33.9%) combined episodic and thematic coverage. Episodic framing is evident in a story by Olingo and Kitimo (2020): "Importers and Small Traders Association Chief Executive Officer Samuel Karanja said that business owners have lost almost Sh30 billion since the outbreak with their goods stuck in China with factories not operating" (*Daily Nation*, March 2, 20220, p.3).

By contrast, an instance of episodic framing is seen in an article in the *Daily Nation* on March 1, 2020: "Covid-19 outbreak had affected over 85,000 people globally by March 1, 2020, and killed 2,900" (Angela Oketch, 2020, p. 5). The story provides context by first of all referencing WHO (2020) and then explains that ".....most countries are likely to experience a shortage of drugs and an increase in their pricing in the next few as the outbreak continues to afflict China's manufacturing and overseas trade" (p. 4).

The results show that the stories provided contextual factors around the pandemic for the most part, although overall there was a combination of anecdotes/vignettes and information about contextual facts.

4.3.1 Frame Orientation by Pandemic Wave

Frame orientation was classified by valence to show the spread of the themes across the two Covid-19 waves, 1st and 2nd. Table 4.4 shows the results.

Table 4.4 *Frame Orientation by Valence*

Orientation	Ep	isodic	Thematic		•	odic & matic	Total		
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
1 st Wave	2	1.2	30	17.9	125	74.4	157	93.5	
2 nd Wave	-	-	-	-	11	6.5	11	6.5	
Total	2	1.2	30	17.9	136	80.9	168	100.0	

Source: Research Data (2020)

Table 4.4 shows that most of the stories in the issues were covered both episodically and thematically (80.9%) across the two Covid-19 waves compared to either episodic (1.2%) or thematic (17.9%) framing separately. Besides, episodic and thematic framing dominated the two waves at 74.4% and 6.5% in the first and second wave, respectively. The second wave had no episodic or thematic framing. These results highlight the variations in the depth coverage of the stories, which depth appears to have been greater in the first than the second wave, although the disparity is attributable partly to the rather large proportion of issues covering the pandemic during the first wave, given the short duration, October.

4.3.2 Frame Orientation by Attribution of Responsibility Frame

The study looked at how the themes, episodic, thematic and a combination of the two, was distributed across the sub-group of attribution of responsibility framing: problem alleviate, government responsible, suggest solution, individual/group responsible, and urgent solution. Table 4.5 displays these results.

Table 4.5

Frame Orientation by Attribution of Responsibility Frame

Attribution of	-	Theme						
Responsibility Sub-Group	Episod	ic			Episodi Themat			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Problem Alleviate	-	-	5	3.7	129	96.3	134	100.0
Government Responsible	1	1.0	24	24.2	74	74.7	99	100.0
Suggest Solution	2	1.8	26	22.8	86	75.4	144	100.0
Individual/Group Responsible	1	0.7	23	16.8	113	82.5	137	100.0
Urgent Solution	2	2.2	29	32.6	58	65.2	89	100.0

Source: Research Data (2022)

Table 4.5 shows higher prevalence (96.3%) of a combination of episodic and thematic frame orientation of the coverage frames within problem alleviate sub-group of attribution of responsibility frame. Solely thematic orientation coverage follows at just 3.7%. This trend obtains in the other sub-groups: "government responsible" frame (episodic and thematic framing, 74.4%; thematic framing orientation, 24.2%; episodic framing orientation, 1.0%), "suggest solution" (episodic and thematic framing orientation, 75.4%; thematic framing orientation, 22.8%; episodic framing orientation, 1.8%), "individual/group responsible" (combined episodic and thematic framing orientation, 82.5%; thematic framing orientation, 16.8%; episodic framing orientation, 0.7%), and "urgent solution" (episodic and thematic framing, 65.2%; thematic framing orientation, 32.6%; episodic framing orientation, 2.2%). Attribution of responsibility is clearly expressed in a March 1 Daily Nation news report: "Government bureaucrats last week allowed in travelers from 18 high-risk cities in mainland China" (Oketch, 2020, p.4). The newspaper went on to explain: "Last Wednesday, Kenya allowed in passengers who had arrived aboard a China Southern Airlines flight from Guangzhou" (p.4). It can be deduced from these results that regardless of the type of framing used in the coverage of the stories, the orientation was both episodic and thematic, implying that the framing tackled the issues through a presentation of anecdotes or vignettes and provided information about contextual facts.

4.3.3 Frame Orientation by Economic Consequences Frame

The study sought to determine how the framing orientation was spread across the three categories of economic consequences frame: financial gains or losses, cost/degree of expense, and economic consequences of taking/not pursuing a course of action. Framing orientation was conceptualized as episodic, thematic, and a combination of the episodic and thematic. Table 4.6 shows the frame classification of frame orientation by the categories of economic consequences frame.

Table 4.6 *Frame Orientation by Economic Consequences Frame*

Economic consequences Sub-		F	rame	Orienta	ation		Total	
Group	Ep c	isodi	Ther	natic	Episo Them			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Financial gains or losses	2	1.3	19	12.7	129	86.0	15 0	100.0
Cost/degree of expense	2	1.5	24	18.5	104	80.0	13 0	100.0
Economic consequences of taking/not pursuing a course of action	2	1.2	28	17.2	133	81.6	16 3	100.0

Research Data (2022)

Table 4.6 shows that a combination of episodic and thematic frame (86.0%) orientation was most dominant within financial gains/losses frame category. This orientation was equally dominant in the two other categories: cost/degree of expense (episodic and thematic orientation, 80.6%; thematic orientation, 18.5%; episodic orientation, 1.5%), and economic consequences of taking/not pursuing a course of action (combined episodic and thematic orientation, 81.6%; thematic orientation, 17.2%; episodic orientation, 1.2%).

4.4 Valence, and Type and Nature of Frames

The study assessed two key variables relating to valence, and type and nature of frames (attribution of responsibility and economic consequences).

4.4.1 Valence Framing

The first objective of the study aimed to assess the valence framing of the stories in the two newspaper issues, with the variable being dichotomized as either positive (use positive adjectives to refer to the economy) or negative (use negative adjectives to refer to the economy). Therefore the questions asked were: Does the story use positive/negative adjectives to refer to the economy? Table 4.7 is a collation of the frequency of the nature of valence adopted in the stories.

Table 4.7 *Valence Framing*

Valence	п	%
Positive	43	25.6
Negative	125	74.4
Total	168	100.0

Source: Research (2022)

Table 4.7 shows that overall there were more stories with a negative coverage (74.4%) of the economy compared to positive (25.6%). Most of the stories used negative adjectives to cover the economy with the implication that both the current and future state of the economy was gloomy. The widespread disruptions in the day-to-day activities and the attendant financial costs must have warranted or at least informed some of the negative coverage the stories on the economy received in the two leading newspapers. As KPA said it was yet to quantify the business loss, adding that if the virus was not contained soon, it expected a reduced number of vessels especially from China, it observed also that the virus had seen some traders contemplate closing down their shops due to lack of stock."

A September 2, 2020 *Daily Nation* article titled "The making of a mega Covid-19 scandal" (Wafula & Owino, 2020,) also speaks to the negative valence to which the coverage of the economy was subjected.

These results speak to the fact of the great extent of damage inflicted on the economy mirror the findings by the measures meant to curtail the exponential increase of the infections and reduce the pressure on medical services (Brodeur et al., 2020).

Valence by Newspaper

The valence, positive or negative coverage of stories, frame was classified by newspaper to determine the variations in the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers. Table 4.9 shows the distribution of the valence frame in the two newspapers.

Table 4.8

Valence by Newspaper

Newspaper		Vale	Total			
	+	+ve		-ve		
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Daily Nation	20	11.9	67	39.9	87	48.2
The Standard	23	13.7	58	34.5	81	51.8
Total	43	25.6	125	86.3	168	100.0

Source: Research Data (2022)

Table 4.8 shows that the coverage of the economy in the two newspaper issues was dominated by negative valence at (86.3%) compared to positive (25.6%). Within valence distribution shows that negative coverage dominated, with *Daily Nation* having at least three times (39.9%) more negative stories than the positive ones (11.9%). *The Standard* similarly had more than twice the proportion of issues adopting a negative valence (34.5%) compared to a positive valence (13.7%). Within newspaper distribution shows indicates that *The Standard* newspaper had relatively more issues (13.7%) with positive valence than the *Daily Nation* (11.9%). The *Daily Nation* (39.9%), accordingly, had more issues with negative valence compared to The Standard (34.5%).

A June 9 2020 article in the *Daily Nation* spoke of the IMF revising "Kenya's debt distress level from moderate to high due to impact of the Covid crisis" (Wafula, 2020, p.7); thus underlining the negativity that characterize the reporting on the economy The story went into contextual details explaining that "since taking over from the Kibaki administration the Jubilee government had been on a voracious path of borrowing." An even more ominous tone was used to say that the "the moment of reckoning is here." An image of a sinking ship accompanied the story.

These results imply that most of the articles in the two newspapers did negative coverage of the economy, understandably because the pandemic had caused a lot of problems to operations in both the public and private sector in terms of business or otherwise, as government-sanctioned containment measures continued to bite. The variation in the frequency of coverage by the two newspapers speaks to the fact of *The Standard* being more positive or optimistic about the state of the economy compared to the *Daily Nation*.

Predominantly negative valence seen in the two newspapers corroborate the reports on the negative turn the economy had taken the effect of which was felt throughout the country, with the both global and national forecast of much slowed or negative growth made (KRA, 2020; IMF, 2020; World Bank, 2020). In tandem with this negative turn of events, recurrent negative terms, including low productivity, slowed activity, economic inequality, and uncertainty, sprang up and found their way into reports on the economy

Valence by Source of Story

The study classified valence, whether there was a positive or negative coverage of a story, by the source of story (reporter, commentary or combination of reporter and commentary). Table 4.9 shows the results.

Table 4.9

Valence by Source of Story

Source		Vale	Total			
	+ve		_'	ve		
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Reporter	43	25.6	120	71.4	143	97.0
Commentary	-	-	1		1	0.6
Reporter &	-	-	4	2.4	4	2.4
Commentary						
Total	43	25.6	125	74.4	168	100.0

Source: Research Data (2020)

Table 4.9 shows that most of the stories by the newspaper reporters were negative (71.4%) compared to the positive (25.6%). One story was by the reporters and it was

negative. Some (2.4%) of the issues carried stories by both reporters and commentators and these were mainly negative stories. The results indicate that most of the reporting on the pandemic was by reporters besides the fact that there was little to no commentary as facts on it were still limited. Hence the reportage was largely negative as the focus was on its ravages with little to report on regarding the solution, for even vaccine trials were in their nascent stages. A story titled, "Fish prices to surge amid COvid-19 health protocols" (Agimba, 2020, p.10), exemplifies the reportergenerated Standard newspaper (November 5, 2020) articles covering the pandemic. In the story, a kilo of fish sold for Sh500-700 up from the Sh300 it cost in the pre-Covid period. Similarly, the June 29, 2020, Daily Nation feature article reported that "the horticulture industry" was "losing Sh100m daily" (Mburu, 2020, p.9). That negative valence was applied in the Daily Nation and The Standard is consistent with application elsewhere, for instance, valence was applied by two Australian newspapers, The Australian and Sydney Times to report on the economy from negative valence, using terms such as financial disruption to tourism and economic sectors (Thomas et al., 2020).

Valence by Covid-19 Wave

The study classified valence framing by wave, whether first or second, to determine the pattern in the newspaper issues. Table 4.10 presents the results.

Table 4.10

Valence by Covid-19 Wave

Wave		Val	Total			
		+ve		ectives		
	adjed	ctives				
	n	%	n	%	n	%
First Wave	41	24.4	116	60.9	157	93.5
Second Wave	2	1.2	9	5.4	11	6.5
Total	43	25.6	125	74.4	168	100.0

Research Data (2020)

Table 4.10 shows that overall there was more negative coverage (74.4%) of the economy by the newspapers compared to the positive (25.6%). The coverage of the economy was mainly negative across the first and second waves of Covid-19 at 60.9% and 5.4%, with evidently higher proportion during the first wave. The disparity is explained by the larger number of newspaper issues (157) covering the period of the first (March to September) compared to the second (October) wave (11). While the trend is the same for positive coverage, it is observable that the first wave had a larger proportion of positive valence. Within wave results show that both first and second waves have more newspaper issues with negative (first wave, 60.9%; second wave, 1.2%) than positive (first wave, 24.4%; second wave, 1.2%). These results ought to be interpreted with some level of caution though, as far as the disparities go, for the overrepresentation of newspaper issues during the first wave, which fact is contributed by the nature of the study. These results are consistent with the observation existing in various literature on the pandemic, which painted a grim picture of the global economy, including The IMF (2020) whose verdict was that the pandemic had worse effect on the economy compared to the 2008-9 Global Financial Crisis, and The World Bank (2020), which forecasted a five percent contraction of global Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) six to eight percent. A section in *The Daily Nation* of October 4, 2020, titled, "How Uhuru's MES programme went to the dogs (Oketch & Owino, 2020, p. 7)" presents an example of during the second wave. An almost similar story published on negative reporting October 21 read, "Kenya to borrow Sh600bn from the domestic market" (Ambani, 2020, p.27).

For balance, a somewhat positive story in the *Daily Nation* on March 23, 2020 reported that "your net salary will rise as Uhuru's tax measures take force"(p.5) These stories show variation of valence across the waves.

4.4.2 Attribution of Responsibility Framing

The second objective was to analyse how attribution of responsibility was done in the framing of the economy in the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* during March-October 2020



Coverage of stories in a newspaper always adopts a particular frame, either deliberately or inadvertently, which then creates a certain impression on the audience, as result emphasizing or diminishing certain aspects of the story. The study sought to identify the various themes of attribution of responsibility frame used in the coverage of stories on Covid-19 pandemic appearing in the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* in the period March-October 2020. Table 4.11 shows the analysis of the frame based on a predetermined set of themes.

Table 4.11

News Frames

Frame	п	%
Attribution of Responsibility	_	
Individual/Group Responsible	137	23.9
Problem Alleviate	134	23.4
Suggest Solution	114	19.9
Government Responsible	99	17.3
Urgent Solution	89	15.5
Total	573	100.0

Source: Research Data (2022)

Table 4.11 shows the pattern of application of attribution of responsibility frame. This type of framing was dominantly represented by "individual/group responsible" (23.9%), "problem alleviate" (23.4%), "suggest solution" (19.9%), "government responsible" (17.3%), and "urgent solution" (15.5%) in that order. The results imply that the responsibility for the occurrence of Covid-19 and the pertaining issues were attributed majorly to individuals or groups, or to the government, especially seeing as the adherence to the government containment measures was an individual affair; yet the government was also blamed for the laxity at the Airport that allowed the entry of the index case of Covid-19 disease into the country. The stories indicated some level of alleviation of the problem of Covid-19 through the government or individual interventions. *The Standard* on July 2, 2020, for example, headlined a section with these optimistic words: "Kenya safe for tourists after Covid-19 protocol" (Ng'ang'a, 2020, p.8). This pronouncement by the Tourism Cabinet Secretary Najib Balala came after the

country received a "Safe Travel" stamp from the World Tourism and Travel Council (WTTC).

The stories suggested solutions to the pandemic, what either the government or other entities considered to be practicable solutions to the pandemic. There were instances, as it were, where the government was seen to have been the reason the first incident of the disease was reported in the country after lax travel restrictions at the Jomo Kenyatta International Airport allowed passengers from China, the epicentre of the pandemic, to get into the country. This while many countries around the world had issued travel restrictions with respect to arrivals from countries experiencing Covid-19. The situation had reached dire proportions, and so the stories urged for urgent solutions to change it for better. An excerpt from the Daily Nation on March 1, 2020 illustrates the gravity of the concern: "Last Wednesday, Kenya allowed in passengers who had arrived aboard a China Southern Airlines flight from Guangzhou" (Oketch, 2020, p.4). Explaining further that "It took a court order for Kenya to temporarily stop flights from China," the newspaper even carried an editorial titled "Kenya must make tough decisions, including suspending flights from high-risk countries." The editorial thus implied a warning to the government of consequences of not acting decisively and fast to contain the pandemic and by extension the potential economic consequences of failure to act. Similarly, The Standard newspaper article on July 2, 2020 suggested a solution in the Ministry of Health opening up the country in July, not later, as doing so would result in comparatively less negative impact, 20% less than if it was opened a couple of months later.

The current results are consistent with the observation that attribution of responsibility has been a prominent frame in economic news coverage (An & Gower, 2009), which has had an effect on public opinion, engendering corresponding attribution of political responsibility in varying degrees among the news consumers (Feezell, Glazier & Boydstun, 2019). They are also consistent with the finding of analysis of assigning of responsibility in newspaper coverage of COVID-19 pandemic, with government responsibility shown through a societal frame with themes such as disruption of business, education and sports (Thomas et al., 2020).

Attribution of Responsibility by Valence

Attribution of responsibility frame was classified by valence (positive or negative use of adjectives in the stories), and the five sub-groups (problem alleviate, government Responsible, suggest solution, individual/group responsible, urgent solution) were assessed for their distribution across valence coverage. Table 4.12 shows the results.

Table 4.12 *Attribution of Responsibility*

Valence	Attribution of Responsibility Sub-Group									
	Problem Alleviate		Government Responsible		Suggest Solution		Individual/Gro up Responsible		Urgent Solution	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Positive	35	26.1	27	23.7	33	28.9	34	24.8	19	21.3
Negativ e	99	73.9	72	76.3	81	71.1	103	75.2	70	78.7
Total	134	100.0	99	100.0	114	100. 0	137	100.0	89	100.0

Research Data (2022)

Table 4.12 shows that the five "attribution of responsibility" themes were mostly associated with negative valence: problem alleviate (negative, 73.9%; positive, 26.1%), government responsible (negative, 76.3%; positive, 23.7%), suggest solution (negative, 71.1%; positive, 28.9%), individual/group responsible (negative, 75.2%; positive, 24.8%), and urgent solution (negative, 78.7%; positive, 21.3%). It is to be deduced from these results that the stories presented responsibility in the light of the failure of one entity or other to act as was expected given the magnitude of the pandemic particularly the effect it had on the economy in the period of interest.

In a September 4, 2020, *Daily Nation* story, "The making of a mega Covid-19 scandal" (Wafula & Owino, 2020, p.6) responsibility is put at the door of Kenya Medical Supplies Agency (KEMSA), with the paper reporting that "Flip Flop Manjari makes an about turn after telling lawmakers last week he got orders from CS Kagwe." Thus the story attributes the making of the scandal to the agency and, by reference at least, to the Cabinet Secretary.

There were also indications of the harsh economic crisis being alleviated in a story the *Daily Nation* ran titled, "Your net salary will rise as Uhuru's tax measures take effect (Wafula, 2020, p. 4)." Further, there is call for urgent solution in the statement: "Kenya must make tough decisions, including suspending flights from high-risk countries" (*Daily Nation*, March 1, 2020).

4.4.3 Economic Consequences Frame

The third objective aimed to evaluate how the economic consequences frame was used in reporting on the economy in the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* during March-October, 2020. The frame sub-categories targeted included economic consequences of taking/ not pursuing a course of action, financial losses or gains, and cost/degree of expense. Table 4.13 shows the results.

Table 4.13 *Economic Consequences Frame*

Frame	n	%
Economic consequences of taking/ not pursuing a course of action	163	36.8
Financial Losses or Gains	150	33.9
Cost/Degree of Expense	130	29.3
Total	443	100.0

Research Data (2022)

Table 4.13 shows that in terms of economic consequences, the frames adopted related to financial losses or gains (33.9%), economic consequences of taking/ not pursuing a course of action (36.8%) and cost/degree of expense (29.3%), What it means is that the dominant frame had to do with the losses, in particular, occasioned by Covid-19, which

ranged from losses to government to losses incurred in corporate or individual finances as the containment measures continued to disrupt business both nationally and globally. *The Standard* on July 9, 2020, for instance, had a section headed "Rental yields drop on the back of Covid turbulence" (Theuri, 2020)

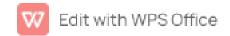
The failure by the government to put in place stricter containment measures in some public places, for instance, was feared to have potentially dire effect on the economy in future, beyond what was currently being experienced. At times the stories provided real-term description of the cost of the pandemic, mentioning the losses incurred by both public and private businesses.

The July 9 2020 *The Standard* newspaper article explained that "average returns dropped to 7.4pc and 5.1pc, for retail, office and residential sectors, respectively compared to 7pc, 7.8pc and 5.2pc in the previous quarter." Similarly, the *Daily Nation* on March 2 reported KPA as saying that "it is yet to quantify the business loss, adding that if the virus is not contained soon, it expects a reduced number of vessels especially from China." (Olingo & Kitimo, 2020)

These results validate other studies that have analysed how the pandemic-induced economic downturn in 2020 affected Kenyans' livelihoods, where generally a negative tone was adopted of decimated livelihoods (Central Bank of Kenya [CBK], 2020; IMF, 2020; World Bank, 2020). Equally, they are consistent with studies, such as Frank (2016) that used frames such as imperialism and developmental relationship in covering Chinese effect on the South African economy, which was said to have been cautiously done. Finally, a more specific and relatable coverage in previous literature is observed in Odoemelam (2021) study of the Covid-19 health crisis and its framing, focusing on how the print media covered it especially in Nigeria, where in the six newspapers under investigation the key dominant frames were economic issues, public health crisis and corruption. The dominant tone used in the framing of the three issues was mostly negative.

Economic Consequences Frame by Valence

Economic consequences frame was classified by valence, the application of positive



and negative adjectives in the reportage on the economy. The frame had three categories relating to financial losses or gains, cost/degree of expense, and economic consequences of taking/not pursuing a cause of action. Table 4.14 shows the results.

Table 4.14

Economic Consequences Frame by Valence

Valence	Economic consequences sub-group							
	Financial losses or gains		Cost/degree of expense			Economic consequences of taking/not pursuing a cause of action		
	n	%	n	%	n	%		
Positive	39	26.0	33	25.4	40	24.5		
Negative	111	74.0	97	74.6	123	75.5		
Total	150	100.0	130	100. 0	163	100.0		

Research Data (2022)

The results in Table 4.14 indicate that economic-consequence framing, across the three attributes was negative. Specific results within attribute shows that financial loss or gains frame had 74.0% negative coverage (valence) and 26.0% positive. Cost/degree of expense frame was not any different (negative, 74.6%; positive, 25.4%), nor was economic consequences of taking/not pursuing a cause of action (negative, 75.55%; positive, 24.5%). These results mean that regardless of the attribute of economic consequences, framing was negative as the papers sought to present the gravity of the pandemic with all the disruptions caused in the social and economic life.

The failure by the government to act more strictly on the flouting of its containment measures more so in some public places, for instance, was feared not to augur well for the economic outlook in the long term, beyond the present reality. The *Daily Nation* on March 3, 2020 exemplifies this situation: "The Kenya Private Sector Alliance (Kepsa) said on Friday the pandemic will hit big and small businesses alike, dealing a heavy blow to the economy. We will work with the government on economic mitigation actions

during this season" (Munda, 2020).

At times the stories provided real-term description of the cost of the pandemic, mentioning the losses incurred by both public and private businesses, as happened in the *Daily Nation* on March 3, 2020: "Imports from China have plunged by sh58.4 billion in the first two months of the year on the back of the deadly coronavirus outbreak" (Munda, 2020). "This was a 36.63% fall compared to a similar period in 2019."

These results validate other studies that have analysed how the pandemic-induced economic downturn in 2020 affected Kenyans' livelihoods, where generally a negative tone was adopted of decimated livelihoods (Central Bank of Kenya [CBK], 2020; IMF, 2020; World Bank, 2020). Further, they reflect Odoemelam (2021) study of Covid-19 health crisis and its framing, focusing on how the print media covered it especially in Nigeria, with the dominant tone applied being negative. The study found that the key frames used included economics, public health crisis, healthcare workers strike and corruption with varied intensity. The dominant frames were economic issues, public health crisis and corruption. They contradict, however, the result of a study of press coverage of Chinese effect on the South African economy, which was reportedly cautiously done to present a binary of Chinese imperialism or a developmental relationship.

4.5 Key Findings

The study, which sought to establish the kind of framing applied by the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* to report on the economy in the period March-October 2020, arrived at three major findings corresponding to the three objectives formulated.

Valence Framing of the Stories

Coverage of the stories had a predominantly negative valence (86.3%) compared to positive (25.6%), as mostly negative adjectives were used to cover the stories on the economy implying that both its current and future state was gloomy. *The Standard* newspaper had relatively more issues (13.7%) with positive valence than the *Daily Nation* (11.9%). The *Daily Nation* accordingly, had more issues with negative valence



(39.9%) compared to The Standard (34.5%).

Attribution of Responsibility framing

Five themes were identified under the attribution of responsibility framing. These were individual/Group responsible," "problem alleviate," suggest solution, Government, responsible, urgent solution. The five attribution-of-responsibility themes were mostly associated with negative valence: problem alleviate (negative, 73.9%; positive, 26.1%), government responsible (negative, 76.3%; positive, 23.7%), suggest solution (negative, 71.1%; positive, 28.9%), individual/group responsible (negative, 75.2%; positive, 24.8%), and urgent solution (negative, 78.7%; positive, 21.3%).

Economic Consequences Framing

Three themes were constituted economic consequences framing: Economic consequences of taking/ not pursuing a course of action, financial losses or gains, cost/degree of expense.

Economic-consequences framing, across the three attributes was negative, with specific, within attribute results showing that financial loss or gains frame had 74.0% negative coverage (valence) and 26.0% positive. Cost/degree of expense frame was not any different (negative, 74.6%; positive, 25.4%), nor was economic consequences of taking/not pursuing a cause of action (negative, 75.55%; positive, 24.5%).

4.6 Summary of Chapter

This chapter has provided an analysis of the data and given the key findings as relate to the three specific objectives focusing on the valence, nature of attribution of responsibility, human interest and economic consequences frames used in the coverage of the economy during the Covid-19 pandemic period, March-October 2020. It has shown that there was majorly negative valence, three key frames were used, namely attribution of responsibility and economic consequences, with each the frames having specific indicators.

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION, CONLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

While overall the study sought to establish the kind of framing applied by the Daily Nation and the Standard to report on the economy in the period March-October 2020. Three specific objectives were formulated: to establish the valence in the framing of the economy by the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* during March-October 2020; to analyse how attribution of responsibility was done in the framing of the economy in the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* during March-October 2020; and to evaluate how the economic consequences frame was used in reporting on the economy in the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* during March-October, 2020.

This chapter looks at the summary of the findings, the conclusions, recommendations and suggestions for further studies.

5.1 Summary

The study found that coverage of stories on the economy in the period March-October 2020 assumed a predominantly negative valence (74.4%) on the economy compared to positive (25.6%). Most of the stories used negative adjectives to cover the economy with the implication that both the current and future state of the economy was gloomy. The widespread disruptions in the day-to-day activities and the attendant financial costs must have warranted or at least informed some of the negative coverage the stories on the economy received in the two leading newspapers. For illustration, *The Standard* on July 2, 2020, headlined a section with these positive-sounding words: "Kenya safe for tourists after Covid-19 protocol." This pronouncement by the Tourism Cabinet Secretary Najib Balala came after the country received a "Safe Travel" stamp from the World Tourism and Travel Council (WTTC).

The Daily Nation also reported positively, stating that "your net salary will rise as Uhuru's

tax measures take effect" (Wafula, 2020, p.4).

A March 3, 2020 *Daily Nation* publication reported a negative story: "The Kenya Private Sector Alliance (Kepsa) said on Friday the pandemic will hit big and small businesses alike, dealing a heavy blow to the economy," which statement was attributed to the CEO Carole Kariuki.

A section in the *Daily Nation* of October 4, 2020, titled, "How Uhuru's MES programme went to the dogs (Oketch & Owino, 2020)," presents an example of negative reporting.

Thus the newspaper stories showed varied application of valence in the reporting.

Regarding the type and nature of frames, three basic frames were identified: attribution of responsibility, human interest and economic consequences Attribution of responsibility frame was dominantly represented by "individual/group responsible" (23.9%), "problem alleviate" (23.4%), "suggest solution" (19.9%), "government responsible" (17.3%), and "urgent solution" (15.5%) in that order. Stratified by valence, attribution of responsibility was seen to be negative across its five themes: problem alleviate (negative, 73.9%; positive, 26.1%), government responsible (negative, 76.3%; positive, 23.7%), suggest solution (negative, 71.1%; positive, 28.9%), individual/group responsible (negative, 75.2%; positive, 24.8%), and urgent solution (negative, 78.7%; positive, 21.3). It is to be deduced from these results that the stories presented responsibility in the light of the failure of one entity or other to act as was expected given the magnitude of the pandemic particularly the effect it had on the economy in both the short- and long-term.

The gravity of the effect of the pandemic is well illustrated in an excerpt from the *Daily Nation* on March 1, 2020: "Last Wednesday, Kenya allowed in passengers who had arrived aboard a China Southern Airlines flight from Guangzhou" (Oketch, 2020). This put the responsibility for the index case of the disease on the government of Kenya. The paper also published a story, "The making of a mega Covid-19 scandal" (Wafula & Owino, 2020), where the responsibility then is put squarely at the door of Kenya Medical Supplies Agency (KEMSA), with the paper reporting that "Flip Flop Manjari makes an about turn after telling lawmakers last week he got orders from CS Kagwe." Thus the

story not only attributes the making of the scandal to the person of Jonah Manjari, but also, by reference at least, to the Cabinet Secretary.

A related aspect of attribution of responsibility, "suggesting a solution," got treatment in the instance where *The Standard* newspaper published an article on July 2, 2020, which suggested a solution in the Ministry of Health opening up the country in July, not later, as doing so would result in comparatively less negative impact, 20% less than if it was opened a couple of months later.

The results imply that the responsibility for the occurrence of Covid-19 and the pertaining issues were attributed majorly to individuals or groups, or to the government, especially seeing as the adherence to the government containment measures was an individual affair; yet the government was also blamed for the laxity at the Airport that allowed the entry of the index case of Covid-19 disease into the country. The stories indicated some level of alleviation of the problem of Covid-19 through the government or individual interventions. The stories suggested solutions to the pandemic, what either the government or other entities considered to be practicable solutions to the pandemic. There were instances, as it were, where the government was seen to have been the reason the first incident of the disease was reported in the country after lax travel restrictions at the Jomo Kenyatta International Airport allowed passengers from China, the epicentre of the pandemic, to get into the country.

Eeconomic consequences framing, the other type of framing used, centred on economic consequences of taking/ not pursuing a course of action (36.8%), financial losses or gains (33.9%), and cost/degree of expense (29.3%).

Economic-consequences framing followed a predominantly negative valence across the three attributes or themes, with specific, within attribute results showing that financial loss or gains frame had 74.0% negative coverage (valence) and 26.0% positive. Cost/degree of expense frame was not any different (negative, 74.6%; positive, 25.4%), nor was economic consequences of taking/not pursuing a cause of action (negative, 75.55%; positive, 24.5%).



The July 9 2020 *The Standard* newspaper article explained that "average returns dropped to 7.4pc and 5.1pc, for retail, office and residential sectors, respectively compared to 7pc, 7.8pc and 5.2pc in the previous quarter." Similarly, the *Daily Nation* on March 2 reported KPA as saying that "it is yet to quantify the business loss, adding that if the virus is not contained soon, it expects a reduced number of vessels especially from China." The grim reality was also painted in the simple statement the paper carried: "Small scale traders in a panic as global economy takes massive hit."

A positive story in the *Daily Nation* ran to the effect that "your net salary will rise as Uhuru's tax measures take force (Wafula, 2020, p.4)." .

The implication was that the main frames had to do with the losses, in particular, resulting from Covid-19, which ranged from losses to government, corporate or individual finances as the containment measures continued to disrupt business both nationally and globally. Government failure at instituting stricter containment measures in some public places, for instance, was feared to have potentially severe effect on the economy in the long run, beyond the current state. Real-term presentation of the cost of the pandemic appeared at times in the papers, for both public and private entities.

5.2 Conclusion

It is concluded that newspaper coverage of the economy tends to assume a negative or positive valence depending on the prevailing circumstances, and so, accordingly, the Covid-19 pandemic, which broke out in 2020 received negative coverage by the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard*. Moreover, newspapers adopt different types of frames to highlight certain aspects of stories while diminishing others, with such frames being aligned to certain key issues or variables with specific indicators. The two newspapers adopted attribution of responsibility and economic consequences frame thus creating a nexus that portrayed the pandemic as a concern that required a multi-agency approach to deal with. The solution, it was shown, lay in concerted individual and government effort, for it had a negative effect on the individual livelihoods and the national economy. Coverage of economic stories, whether intended or not, tended to be lopsided, perhaps on account of what individual journalists or sponsors of the various stories felt was important to highlight. A balance of valence and framing is necessary to present an

objective picture of the prevailing situation.

5.3 Recommendations

Based on the findings on the three objectives, the study recommends as follows:

Valence Framing

The study established a high percentage of negative valence stories on the economy. A fair and more balanced coverage is needed to ensure that the newspapers strike a balance between creating a feeling of despondency and giving hope to the citizens during hard economic times as the Covid-19 pandemic period was.

Attribution of responsibility framing

In terms of attribution of responsibility, the difference in the proportion of specific themes including individual/group responsible, problem alleviate, suggest solution, and government responsible, with larger proportion going to individual/ group responsibility, the newspapers need to strike a balance so that the frames are proportionally represented.

Economic Consequences Framing

Economic consequences frame, which applied economic consequences of taking/not pursuing a course of action, financial losses or gains and cost/degree of expense as the frame sub-groups, showed a rather skewed use of the foregoing themes, relying disproportionately on the economic consequences of taking/not pursuing a course of action, more balanced use to include the other sub-groups is necessary.

5.4 Areas Suggested for Future Studies

In light of the findings, the study suggests the following for future studies:

- There is need to assess the kind of effect the type and nature of framing of economic news in the two dailies had on the audiences' perception of the economy, perhaps through a survey;
- 2. Valence and its effect on audience understanding and perception of the economy should be studied through a mix of content analysis and survey involving a cross-

section of particular audience members;

3. Frame orientation and its effect on the understanding and appreciation of content of stories on the economy should be studied.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Code Book

This study aims to investigate the framing of the state of the Kenyan economy in the



Daily Nation and The Standard, March-October, 2020.

1. Attribution of responsibility frame

Attribution of responsibility frame means that responsibility or blame for the cause or solution for whatever issue is in focus is placed on political authorities, individuals or groups (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000).

2. Valence frame

Valence refers to the fact of framing an issue either positively or negatively.

3. Economic consequences frame

Economic consequences frames focuses on the economic effects of an issue/event on a group of people

4. Framing orientation

The type of framing—episodic or thematic

- -Episodic: Frames are tied to a specific event/case, which are largely anecdotal or focused on individual cases
- -Thematic: An issue is placed in its wider social context thereby creating a bigger picture.

Appendix 2: Coding Sheet

(Coding questions representing latent frames in *The Nation* and *The Standard*)

Scale: 1 = "Don't agree," 2 = "Largely agree," and 3 = "Completely agree"

Coder's name	
Number of article	
Newspaper name	
Article title	
Date of newspaper edition with the story_	

Attribution of responsibility

- Does the story suggest that some level of government has the ability to alleviate the problem?
- Does the story suggest that some level of government is responsible for the issue/problem?



- Does the story suggest solution(s) to the problem/issue?
- Does the story suggest that an individual (or group of people in society) is responsible for the issue/problem?
- Does the story suggest that the problem requires urgent action?

Valence framing

- -Does the story use positive adjectives to refer to the economy?
- -Does the story use negative adjectives to refer to the economy?

Human interest frame

- Does the story provide a human example or "human face" on the issue?
- Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy, caring, sympathy, or compassion?
- Does the story emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by the issue/problem?
- Does the story go into the private or personal lives of the actors?
- Does the story contain visual information that might generate feelings of outrage, empathy, caring, sympathy, or compassion?

(Economic) consequences frame

- Is there a mention of (financial) losses or gains now or in the future?
- Is there a mention of the costs/degree of expense involved?
- Is there a reference to (economic) consequences of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action?

Frame orientation

-Episodic

Does the story present anecdotes or vignettes?

-Thematic

Does the story refer to or provide information about contextual facts?

Coding Sheet Sample





Generalla	formation	n		Attributio	n of Respo	nsibility (A)		Valence	ramin of B	Human in	terest (C)				Econ omi	c conseque	ences(D)	Theme (E)
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Appendix 3: Work Plan

Activity	Timeline										
	May, 2021	June, 2022	July, 2022	August 2022	September, 2022	September, 2022					
Writing Proposal											
Defending proposal											
Data Collection											
Data entry and analysis											
Report writing											
Final defence											
Submitting of final, clean copy											

