

**Monitoring the response to the AIDS epidemic using print media in Kenya, Tanzania, and Zimbabwe.**

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## INTRODUCTION

A review of articles appearing in the major newspapers in a country is likely to provide an indication of the importance placed on issues and events discussed in those articles and prevalent attitudes toward them. To determine the viability of this method for monitoring response to the AIDS epidemic and to assess the political and social responses to the epidemic in Kenya, Tanzania and Zimbabwe, about 3,400 AIDS-related articles that were collected from resource centers in these countries were analyzed in three phases. In the first phase of analysis, the full-length articles were read and "coded" according to thematic area. Because reading a large volume of full-length articles is time-consuming, it was hypothesized that analysis of the newspaper title, rather than the entire article, would be a more efficient method of newspaper analysis. Therefore, in the second phase of analysis, a subset of article titles was read and coded. For the third phase of analysis, the accuracy of the title as a coding device was examined to determine whether the article title actually reflected the content of the article's text. Coding based on a reading of a newspaper title was first compared to coding based on a reading of the title plus the first paragraph of the article and then compared to coding based on a reading of the title plus the full length of the article text.

Results from all phases of this analysis should be interpreted with the knowledge that the decade-long process of newspaper collection was not monitored.

## LITERATURE REVIEW

Past studies monitoring trends in AIDS-related coverage in newspapers have been conducted. Hayashi et al. (1996) examined trends in the number of AIDS-related articles in the three major Japanese newspapers from 1981 to 1994. The first article appeared in 1982, with a peak in articles observed in 1987, concurrent with when first female died of AIDS (n=785 articles). No correlation was observed between the number of articles and the number of AIDS patients.

Tassew (1995) compared daily newspapers from the UK, Sweden, Kenya and Uganda from 1983-1990 for frequency, content and tone of AIDS-related articles. The European papers and the Ugandan paper gave more coverage than the Kenyan paper, measured in frequency of articles and space allotted. AIDS coverage increased steadily from 1983 till 1987, with most articles promoting prevention activities including informational campaigns, public education, counseling/therapy, screening, condom use, isolation and new laws. Coverage declined sharply after 1987.

An analysis of trends in national Zimbabwean newspapers from 1987 to 1991 was published by Pitts and Jackson (1993), who monitored not only the extent of the AIDS coverage but also changes in article content. The number of articles increased steadily from 115 in 1987 to 236 in 1991. A complimentary increasing trend in the number of square inches of newspaper space was also observed, with coverage steadily increasing from 17,935cm<sup>2</sup> in 1987 to 42,217cm<sup>2</sup> in 1991. Reporting on AIDS education or awareness remained stable through the five year period with a decline observed in 1990, presumably due to increased coverage of other categories or because the education and awareness messages were better understood. News about AIDS cure and treatment also remained stable over time.

Lupton et al. (1993) followed the Australian press for a seven-month period in 1990 reporting a decline in reporting from previous years. Reporting focused on people living with AIDS, AIDS awareness and risks, and AIDS policies and available treatments, demonstrating a shift in reporting from earlier in the epidemic when AIDS was characterized in the media as a gay disease.

Feijo et al. (1990) also analyzed articles (n=1,166) from important national and local papers in Spain, monitoring temporal evolution and the social and educational impact of news coverage.

Studies also have focused on the ability for the media to disseminate AIDS-related information. For example, Ross and Carson reviewed six major Australian newspapers to examine the efficacy of the media in delivering AIDS messages (1988). Similarly, Fan (1996) reviewed newspaper and television transcripts from 1992 to 1993 to assess the role of the media specifically on use of the CDC's AIDS hotline, concluding that coverage of AIDS in the media cannot be used as a predictor for AIDS hotline use. The CDC's public service announcements about the hotline, however, could be used as an explanatory variable for hotline use. A study in India examined the extent to which misconception, fear and lack of awareness about AIDS affects the media's role in disseminating AIDS information (Gan 1996). Analysis of 65 English and Hindi publications with infometric and statistical methods indicates that news sector professionals are strongly affected by negative attitudes towards AIDS, suggesting a suitable policy is needed for the media to more effectively fight the disease.

Another commonly examined aspect of AIDS-related media coverage is reporting on marginalized or stigmatized groups, such as homosexuals, prostitutes and migrants. King (1990) published a content

analysis of the New York Times and the Washington Post from 1985 to 1988 and suggests that coverage has allowed for the social construction of women prostitutes as transmitters of AIDS. More recently, Sacks (1996) has performed a similar study of the misrepresentation of women in the popular media and suggests that attention to gross stigmatization of risk groups such as prostitutes distracts from the socioeconomic context that may make it more difficult for some women to avoid infection. Recent studies have also focused on the media's stigmatization of other marginalized groups including homosexuals (Hallett and Cannella 1997, Myrick 1998) and migrants (Barua 1998).

The subjective nature of media analysis, due to biases inherent in categorizing the content of newsprint, may result in many analyses from being published. The data are not useful if study results cannot easily be generalized and compared. In the current study, attempts have been made to clearly define the categories used to describe the articles, though the subjective nature of such an analysis cannot be avoided.

## **METHODS**

A sample of approximately 3,400 AIDS-related articles was collected between May and July 1999 from resource centers in Kenya, Tanzania and Zimbabwe, countries that have experienced generalized AIDS epidemics for more than a decade. The AIDS NGO Consortium (KANCO) in Nairobi, Kenya, the National AIDS Control Programme (NACP) in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania and the Southern African AIDS Information Dissemination Service (SAfAIDS) in Harare, Zimbabwe collect HIV/AIDS-related newspaper clippings from government and independent daily and weekly newspapers. Article titles were also collected from other NGOs and newspaper libraries to supplement the sample. Supplemental clippings were especially important for the samples from Kenya and Zimbabwe, as files of clippings from the 1980s did not exist in either of these resource centers.

The number of newspaper sources from which articles were chosen varied between the three countries. In Kenya, articles were collected from the government paper "Kenya Times" and from the independent paper "Daily Nation." In Tanzania, the government papers included "Daily News" and "Sunday News," and its independent papers include "The Guardian," "Sunday Observer," "Business Times," "Family Mirror," "Weekend Magazine," "Daily Mail," "East African," "Express," "Personal Finance" and "Democrat." The sample of articles from Zimbabwe was collected from a number of government papers, including "Herald," "Business Herald," "Sunday Mail," "Sunday Mail Magazine," "Chronicle," "Business Chronicle," "Sunday News," and "Financial Gazette." Zimbabwe's independent newspapers include "Daily Gazette," "Standard," "Daily Mail," "Zimbabwean Mirror" and "Independent."

After the data collection, three phases of analysis followed. During the first phase of the study, a subset of articles (n=2,779) were coded on the sites of the data collection in Kenya, Tanzania and Zimbabwe. The information recorded for the newspaper article analysis includes:

- the date of publication
- country of publication
- press affiliation (government or independent press)
- newspaper title
- length of the article
- codes to identify the topics observed in the article (each title received zero, one or numerous codes)

A list of content codes were created by Elizabeth Pisani, a consultant for UNAIDS, including cure/vaccine, discrimination, sexual behavior and modes of transmission. Articles received zero, one or numerous codes in order to define the article as accurately as possible. See Appendix A (Coding Forms for Analysis of Full Text Articles) for a complete listing of all of the article topics coded and the key to their coding.

Reading a large volume of full-length articles on site of data collection is time-consuming, and off-site analysis of the entire article is difficult because photocopying equipment is scarce and costly. Therefore, the second phase of the study examined trends in AIDS coverage in the three countries based on reading and coding the article titles brought to Chapel Hill, NC (n=3,154). A second researcher reviewed the titles, identified repeated topics and developed a coding device without reviewing the coding key developed in the first phase of the study. The resulting content codes that were developed were similar to those used to in the first phase of analysis to code the entire article. Common topics identified included

AIDS awareness, AIDS action initiatives, behavior change, condom use, government response to the epidemic, stigma of AIDS, challenge to stigma, AIDS cure and treatment, response of the religious community and sensationalism in reporting. See Appendix II (Appendix B: Topic codes for Analysis of Newspaper Titles) for a complete listing of all article topics coded and the key to their coding. A Microsoft Access database was created to record information on the article titles, including:

- the date of publication
- country of publication
- press affiliation (government or independent press)
- newspaper title
- codes to identify the topics observed in the article (each title received zero, one or numerous codes)

Since a title does not cover the entire content of the article, it was of interest to assess the accuracy of the title as a coding device in the third phase of the study. Coding results based on the title were compared with coding results based on the title plus the first paragraph as well as with results based on the title plus the full length of the article. A subset of article titles (n=184) was extracted from the larger group of 3,154 titles and linked to the full-length articles which had been brought to NC from Kenya, Tanzania and Zimbabwe. Coding based on the previous reading of the titles was set aside. The title and the first paragraph - or the first two sentences of the article if the first paragraph was only one sentence - were read and coded without reviewing the previous coding of the titles. In the same sitting, when the researcher had read and coded the title and the first paragraph, she immediately proceeded to read and code the entire article in order to assess the number of additional codes identified by reading the entire article. The number of additional topics identified by reading the title plus the first paragraph and by reading the title plus the full text of the article was compared to the number of topics identified by the previous reading of only the article's title. The number times that analysis of the title plus the first paragraph contradicted analysis of the title was also assessed.

## RESULTS

### Part I: Results of response to AIDS in Kenya, Tanzania and Zimbabwe based on newspaper article analysis

Table 1. Number of newspaper articles on AIDS and number of months, number of articles per months and proportion of articles of local sources by newspaper and time period

		N articles	N months	N/month	Percent local
Kenya Times (government)	1988-93	56	8	7	76.8
	1995-97	28	4	7	82.1
	1998-99	88	8	11	70.5
Kenya Nation (independent)	1988-93	188	16	12	91.0
	1995-97	266	12	22	84.2
	1998-99	283	16	18	71.0
Tanzania Daily News (government)	1988-91	289	22	13	53.3
	1994-96	283	18	16	54.1
	1998	109	12	9	75.2
Tanzania Guardian (independent)	1988-91	na	na	na	na
	1994-96	36	6	6	72.2
	1998	118	12	10	78.8
Zimbabwe Herald (government)	1990-92	434	24	18	68.7
	1994-96	444	24	19	60.0
	1998	157	12	13	70.7

Table 1 shows the number of articles analyzed with the number of months for which clippings were analyzed. An increase in the number of articles may indicate that AIDS is becoming a more important topic in a country. The number of articles per month varies considerably between newspapers from 22 articles per month in 1995-97 in the Kenya independent newspaper and 7 in the Kenya government newspaper in 1988-93 and 1995-97. There is no clear trend in the number of articles per month (see Figure 1). The Kenya government newspaper and, though numbers are small, for the mid-nineties the Tanzania independent newspaper showed an increase in 1998-99 compared with earlier periods. Others showed a decline in the more recent period. There may also be seasonal variation in the number of articles, related to special events such as World AIDS day. The analysis showed only marginal seasonality (data not shown), with a slight increase towards the end of the year.

Figure 1  
Number of articles per month on AIDS by newspaper and period

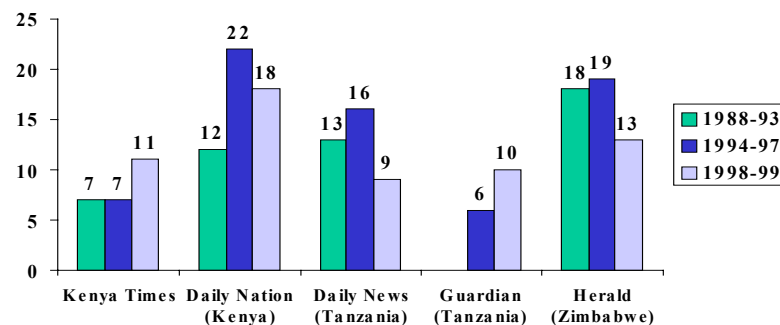
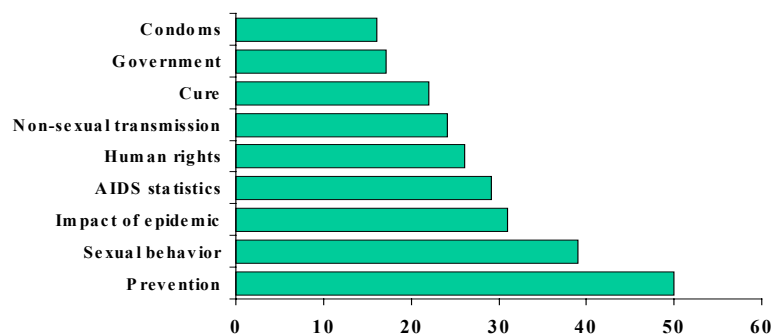


Table 2. Topics of newspaper articles on AIDS by government or independent source, all periods combined

	Kenya Govt (n=172)	Kenya Non govt (n=737)	Tanzania Govt (n=681)	Tanzania Non govt (n=154)	Zimbabwe Govt (n=1035)	All (n=2779)
Preventive interventions	50.6	38.5	50.1	54.5	56.3	49.6
Sexual behavior	42.6	43.3	35.2	39.6	37.4	38.9
Condoms encourage use	13.4	9.8	16.5	16.9	11.9	12.8
Condoms discourage use	3.5	4.5	3.4	1.3	3.1	3.5
Pregnancy/ FP / abortion	10.5	7.1	5.6	11.7	4.9	6.4
Non sexual transmission	24.4	20.0	24.2	28.6	24.6	23.5
Government commitment	15.7	14.9	12.3	5.2	6.0	10.5
Lack of government commitment	8.1	10.0	5.4	3.3	4.4	6.3
AIDS statistics	32.0	28.2	31.3	23.4	27.4	28.6
Mother to child transmission	4.7	3.3	5.7	4.6	7.4	5.6
Impact of the epidemic	25.0	15.7	33.8	41.6	39.4	31.0
Cure	25.6	19.0	21.6	11.0	24.9	21.8
Human rights, stigma etc.	27.3	29.3	25.6	26.0	24.5	26.3

The newspaper articles dealt with a wide range of topics, and often multiple topics were addressed in the same article (see Table 2 and Figure 2). The mean number of topics addressed in an article was 3.3 for all newspapers combined, ranging from 2.9 in the Kenya independent newspaper to 3.5 in the Tanzania and Zimbabwe government newspapers.

Figure 2  
Most common topics addressed in  
full-length AIDS articles during nineties



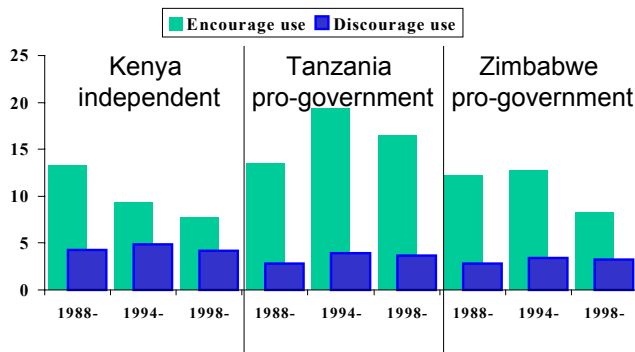
Preventive interventions, sexual behavior, impact of the epidemic, AIDS statistics, human rights and stigma all appeared in more than one-fourth of the articles. There are many similarities between the newspapers and the countries. With the exception of the Kenyan independent newspaper slightly over half of the articles include some sort of prevention effort. Sexual behavior issues are addressed in 35-43% of articles in all five newspapers, 23-32% provide AIDS statistics, 25-29% include issues of human rights and stigmatization, and 20-29% are on non-sexual modes of transmission. There are also differences. Cure is a more common topic in government newspapers in all three countries than in independent newspapers. Reproductive health issues (such as pregnancy, family planning and abortion) are more frequently included in the Kenya government newspaper and Tanzania independent newspaper than in the other three newspapers.

Of particular interest are condoms. Overall 13% of articles encouraged use, while 3.5% discouraged condom use (see Figure 3). The ratio encouragement-discouragement was highest in the two Tanzanian newspapers: 13 to 1 in the independent newspaper and 5 to 1 in the government newspaper. In the Kenyan and Zimbabwe government newspapers the ratio was 4 to 1 and 2 to 1 in the independent Kenya newspaper.

Government commitment is difficult to measure through newspaper articles. Articles in which there was a positive statement about government commitment now or in the future were coded as government commitment. Overall, 11% of articles indicated some form of government commitment but 6% could be classified as discussing lack of government commitment. The latter was more frequently observed in the Kenya newspaper (including the government newspaper) than in the other papers. The ratio government commitment/lack of commitment was highest in the Tanzania government paper (2.3), followed by the Kenya government paper (1.9), the Tanzania independent newspaper (1.6), the Kenya independent paper (1.5), and the Zimbabwe government paper (1.4) (see Figure 4).

Attempts were also made to measure human rights, stigma and discrimination. It was very difficult to classify articles into positive or negative. However, most articles listed under human rights, stigma and discrimination tended to be negative and focus on specific groups of the society considered to be high-risk groups (e.g commercial sexworkers).

**Figure 3**  
Condoms: newspaper articles encouraging or discouraging its use over time (% of all articles)



**Figure 4**  
Government commitment: newspaper articles indicating government commitment or lack thereof (% of all articles)

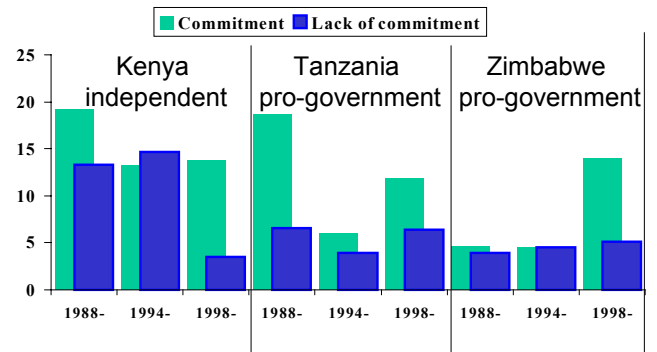
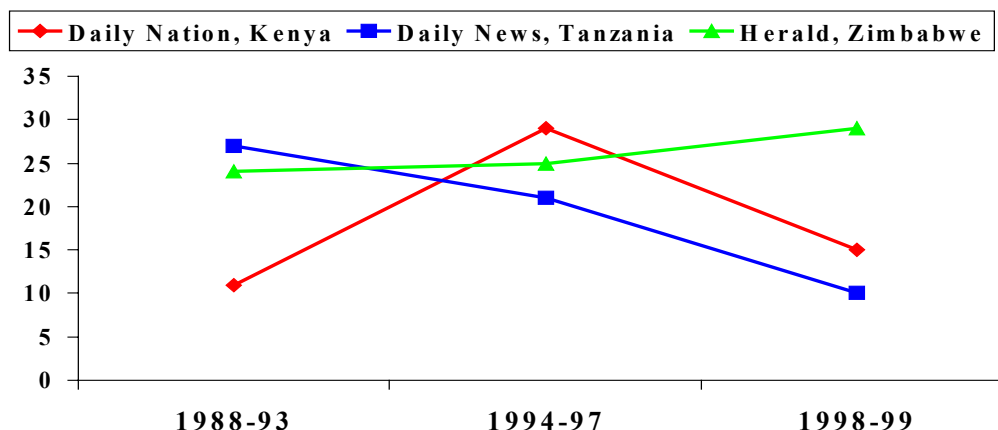


Table 3. Trends in topics of newspaper articles in each country, by early, middle or late time period

	Kenya			Tanzania			Zimbabwe		
	Non govt			Govt			Govt		
	1988-93 (n=188)	1995-97 (n=266)	1998-99 (n=283)	1988-91 (n=289)	1994-96 (n=283)	1998 (n=109)	1990-92 (n=434)	1994-96 (n=444)	1998 (n=157)
Preventive interventions	45.2	32.7	39.6	49.5	48.8	55.1	56.5	54.3	61.8
Sexual behavior	29.3	46.6	49.5	25.3	41.7	45.0	35.9	38.3	38.7
Condom use encouraged	13.3	9.4	7.8	13.5	19.4	16.5	12.2	12.8	8.3
Condom use discouraged	4.3	4.9	4.2	2.8	3.9	3.7	2.8	3.4	3.2
Pregnancy/ FP / abortion	6.9	8.7	5.7	1.4	4.6	19.3	4.2	6.3	3.2
Non sexual transmission	20.7	22.9	16.6	15.9	28.3	35.8	27.0	25.9	14.7
Government commitment	19.2	13.2	13.8	18.7	6.0	11.9	4.6	4.5	14.0
Lack of government commitment	13.3	14.7	3.5	6.6	3.9	6.4	3.9	4.5	5.1
AIDS statistics	43.1	17.7	28.3	31.1	32.9	27.5	32.0	21.9	30.6
Mother to child transmission	4.3	1.1	4.6	7.6	3.9	5.5	8.1	7.4	5.7
Impact of the epidemic	20.7	8.7	19.1	28.7	35.7	42.2	33.6	41.0	51.0
Cure	10.6	29.3	14.8	27.0	20.5	10.1	24.0	24.6	28.7
Human rights, stigma etc.	30.9	31.2	26.5	20.4	28.6	31.2	21.9	27.5	23.6

Table 3 shows the trends in coverage of specific topic groups for three newspapers with adequate numbers of articles in each of the three time periods. In the Kenya independent newspaper the first (1988-93) and the last period (1998/99) are remarkably similar. The main differences are greater emphasis of AIDS statistics in the early period and more frequent inclusion of issues related to sexual behavior in the latest period. Condom use is also less frequently encouraged in 1998-99 compared to earlier periods (see Figure 3). Furthermore, articles dealing with a lack of government commitment dropped fourfold in the most recent period. However, there was also a decline in the proportion of articles that could be classified as indicating government commitment (see Figure 4). The middle period (1995-97) shows a much higher proportion of articles dealing with cure (29%): this was the period in which a locally developed drug (called Pearl Omega) raised high expectations (see Figure 5).

Figure 5  
Newspaper articles addressing issues related to a cure for AIDS (% of all articles)





In the Tanzania government newspaper the most pronounced increases in press coverage were observed for reproductive health issues, impact of the epidemic, human rights, and non-sexual transmission (such as risks with intravenous drug use and blood transfusion). As in Kenya, sexual behavior is more frequently discussed in the more recent periods than during 1988-91. There was no increase in the government commitment/lack of commitment ratio (see Figure 4). The percent articles referring to cure halved by 1998 when (see Figure 5).

In Zimbabwe in 1998 62% of articles dealt with preventive interventions and 51% with impact of the epidemic. In particular the frequency of articles on impact of the epidemic increased rapidly. Government commitment increased from 5% to 14% of articles, with no change in lack of commitment articles (see Figure 4). In contrast with newspapers of the other two countries, cure remained a common topic (29%) in 1998 (see Figure 5). The majority of these articles dealt with traditional medicine. There was a decline in articles encouraging condom use and no change in those discouraging use.

Table 4. Comparison of topics in government and independent newspapers in Kenya and Tanzania, in the most recent period

	Kenya		Tanzania	
	Govt (n=88)	Indepdenent (n=283)	Govt (n=109)	Independent (n=118)
Preventive interventions	55.7	39.6	55.1	52.5
Sexual behavior	54.6	49.5	45.0	42.4
Condom encourage use	18.2	7.8	16.5	18.6
Condom discourage use	4.6	4.2	3.7	1.7
Pregnancy/ FP / abortion	13.6	5.7	19.3	8.5
Non sexual transmission	34.1	16.6	35.8	29.7
Government commitment	12.5	13.8	11.9	5.9
Lack of government commitment	8.0	3.5	6.4	3.4
AIDS statistics	37.5	28.3	27.5	22.9
Mother to child transmission	8.0	4.6	5.5	4.2
Impact of the epidemic	30.7	19.1	42.2	40.7
Cure	15.9	14.8	10.1	10.2
Human rights, stigma etc.	27.3	26.5	31.2	26.3

Table 4 presents differences observed between government and independent papers of Kenya and Tanzania (the sample size of the Zimbabwe independent paper was too small to make the comparison). In Tanzania, the differences in type of topics addressed in the AIDS articles between the government and independent newspaper are small. The government paper presents more articles on commitment but also has more on lack of commitment than the independent paper. Condom use is more frequently encouraged than discouraged in the independent newspaper than in the government newspaper.

In Kenya, the main difference is that the government newspaper more frequently encourages condom use than the independent newspaper. The government newspaper articles also put more emphasis on impact of the epidemic. Interestingly, lack of commitment is more commonly featured in government articles than in the independent newspapers.

## Part II: Results of newspaper title analysis

Table 5 shows the distribution of titles by country, newspaper source and time period. A total of 3,154 newspaper article titles were analyzed, including 1150 from Zimbabwe, 1056 from Tanzania and 948 from Kenya. Government sources were a larger contributor than independent sources in both Zimbabwe (1089 and 61 titles, respectively) and Tanzania (769 and 287 titles, respectively), while the sample from Kenya is comprised of more articles from the independent source (746 titles) than from government source (202 titles).

Table 5. Number of newspaper titles on AIDS by newspaper and time period

Country and source	Time Period of Articles			Total n
	Early <1994 n	Middle 1994-1997 n	Late 1998+ n	
Kenya <sup>1</sup>				
Government (Kenya Times)	37	56	109	202
Independent (Daily Nation)	158	309	279	746
Tanzania <sup>2,3</sup>				
Government (Daily News/Sunday News)	383	289	97	769
Independent (The Guardian/Sunday Observer)	32	93	162	287
Zimbabwe <sup>2</sup>				
Government*	483	440	166	1089
Independent**	2	57	2	61
Total				3154

1 Kenya's articles begin in 1988

2 Tanzania's and Zimbabwe's begin in 1985

3 1993 is included in the middle period for Tanzania to balance the sample sizes

\*Includes: Herald, Business Herald, Sunday Mail, Sunday Mail Magazine, Chronicle, Business Chronicle, Sunday News, Financial Gazette

\*\*Daily Gazette, Standard, Daily Mail, Zimbabwean Mirror, Independent

The average number of newspaper article titles shows no trend over time. When the article titles are separated by time period, the largest sample occurs prior to 1994, the earliest time period. Government papers contribute more than independent papers during the earliest time period in both Zimbabwe (483 and 2 titles, respectively) and Tanzania (383 and 32 titles, respectively), while the independent paper contributes more than the government paper in Kenya (158 and 37 titles, respectively). A total of 981 articles are categorized in the period from 1994-1997, the middle time period. Government papers, again, contribute more than independent papers in both Zimbabwe (440 and 57 titles, respectively) and Tanzania (289 and 93 titles, respectively), while the Kenya independent paper contributes more than its government paper (309 and 56 titles, respectively). The smallest sample of titles occurs latest time period (815 titles). Government papers contribute more than independent papers in Zimbabwe (440 and 57 titles, respectively) while independent papers contribute more than government papers in Tanzania (162 and 97 titles, respectively) and Kenya (279 and 109 titles, respectively).

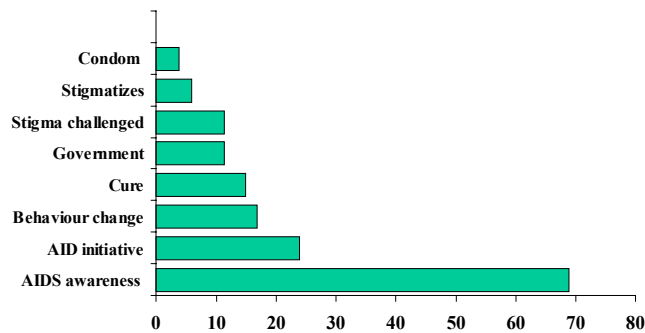
The most commonly coded topics are grouped into four categories: (1) “AIDS awareness and action initiatives” includes the codes “AIDS awareness,” “AIDS initiative,” “Government responsive,” “Government criticized” and “Government, total,” (2) “AIDS prevention” includes the codes “Behavior change, discouraged,” “Behavior change, encouraged,” “Behavior change, total,” “Condom use, encouraged,” “Condom use, discouraged” and “Condom use, total,” (3) “Attitudes towards people with HIV/AIDS” includes the codes “Stigma, real concern,” “Stigma, oppressive” and “Stigma, total” and (4) “Emphasis on AIDS cure” includes the codes “Cure, discouraged,” “Cure, encouraged” and “Cure, total.” The average number of topics per article is 1.7, with some articles coded in several topic categories and other articles coded in zero topic categories.

Table 6. Topics of newspaper titles on AIDS by government or independent source, all periods combined

	Percentage of articles					
	Kenya		Tanzania		Zimbabwe	
	Govt (n=202)	Indepen (n=746)	Govt (n=769)	Indepen (n=287)	Govt (n=1089)	Indepen (n=61)
<b>AIDS AWARENESS AND ACTION INITIATIVES</b>						
AIDS awareness	67.3	68.5	71.7	71.1	66.3	78.7
AIDS initiative	21.8	19.3	29.5	27.9	22.1	27.9
Government responsive	11.4	6.3	7.7	5.2	7.4	6.6
Government criticized	2.5	4.8	1.7	3.1	1.9	1.6
Government, total	13.9	11.1	9.4	8.3	9.3	8.2
<b>AIDS PREVENTION</b>						
Behavior change, discouraged	1.5	3.4	1.6	2.4	1.2	3.3
Behavior change, encouraged	14.4	22.1	14.4	22.3	8.7	8.2
Behavior change, total	15.9	25.5	16	24.7	9.9	11.5
Condom use, discouraged	2.0	2.1	1.6	1.4	0.6	1.6
Condom use, encouraged	1.0	2.0	1.5	6.9	2.6	1.6
Condom use, total	3.0	4.2	3.1	8.3	3.2	3.2
<b>ATTITUDES TOWARDS PEOPLE WITH HIV/AIDS</b>						
Stigma, real concern	4.5	3.4	2	2.8	0.7	1.6
Stigma, oppressive	4.9	4.6	2.8	5.6	3	5
Stigma, total	9.4	8.0	4.8	8.4	3.7	6.6
Stigma challenged	8.9	14.3	11.7	19.2	7.6	9.8
Sensational tone	15.4	11.4	11.4	17.4	7.9	9.8
<b>EMPHASIS ON AIDS CURE</b>						
Cure, discouraged	3.5	5.9	3.3	3.5	4.2	4.9
Cure, encouraged	12.9	9.4	12.7	6.3	10.9	8.2
Cure, total	16.4	15.3	16.0	9.8	15.1	13.1

Table 6 shows the distribution of newspaper topic coverage in titles by country and newspaper source, and Figure 6 illustrates the most common topics. Promotion of AIDS awareness is the most commonly cited topic for each country (between 66 to 79 percent). AIDS awareness coverage includes titles that promote knowledge about the existence and extent of the epidemic, such as, “*Mandela urges South Africans to end silence over AIDS*,” “*Public lacks constant information on AIDS*” and “*AIDS orphans now 100,000*.” Titles coded as “*AIDS awareness*” also discuss transmission risks, “*People with wounds must be cautious in handling body fluids*” and encourage knowledge about HIV status, “*Voluntary counseling and testing promotes HIV prevention*.” “Awareness” also could counter myths about transmission, “*Mosquitoes ‘don’t transmit Aids*,” and challenge stigmatization of people with AIDS, “*AIDS patients up against being discharged*.” Finally, titles reporting celebrities with AIDS or about events to raise awareness are coded as “*AIDS awareness*,” “*Tennis great Arthur Ashe dies from AIDS*.”

Figure 6  
Most common topics addressed in  
AIDS articles (% of all articles)



Reports of AIDS action initiatives to address the epidemic were the second most common topic, with especially strong coverage observed in both Tanzanian government and independent papers (30 and 29 % of article titles, respectively) and in Zimbabwean independent papers (28% of article titles). Titles coded as “AIDS initiative” include reports of action by the government, groups or individuals, such as “*WHO unveils new AIDS strategy*,” and, “*Farmers join in the battle against AIDS*.” Titles coded in this category could also call for involvement in AIDS initiatives, such as, “*National policy on HIV/AIDS needed*” or “*Let’s curb Aids spread in Kisumu*.”

About a quarter of titles in Kenyan and Tanzanian independent papers contain discussion of behavior change, though government papers in these countries contain considerably less coverage (about 16% of articles). Zimbabwean sources are the least likely to contain articles about behavior change (about 10% of articles). Article titles encouraged behavior change by advising, “*Strive to keep off casual sex*,” and by reporting safe sexual behavior, “*Villagers rush for condoms*.” Attention to prevention and education is also considered promotion of behavior change, “*Focus on AIDS prevention, Africa told*” and “*Child to child project imparts children with health education*.”

The topic AIDS cure receives a strong percentage of coverage in all of the countries’ papers (between about 10-16 percent), with reporting much more likely to encourage than to discourage belief in a cure or treatment. Titles thought to encourage a cure reported advances in both biomedical treatments, “*Govt says Obel’s Aids drug works*” as well as traditional cures, such as “*Human urine cure for AIDS?*” Some titles emphasized the primary importance of a cure, “*AIDS: Focus is on finding cure*.”

Percentages of sensational titles range from eight to about 17 percent, with slightly lower percentages observed in Zimbabwe than in Kenya and Tanzania. Though percentages of sensational titles were relatively low, extreme sensationalism that leaves emotional impact was observed. Titles could discourage prevention with sensational metaphors, such as, “*Counting on Condoms is Flirting with Death*.” In addition, some titles portrayed HIV/AIDS as a quick-striking disaster, using words such as “scourge,” “[death] toll,” and “spectre.” The disease’s movement is described by startling verbs such as “alarms,” “looms,” “menaces,” “decimates,” “mauls,” “wrecks havoc,” “rampages,” “lurks,” “gnaws,” “stalks,” “spreads like bush fire,” “leads to extinction,” “cripples,” “invades,” “devastates,” “cuts it way through.” HIV and AIDS is personified as “killer,” “deadly,” “dreaded,” “fatal,” “menacing,” “alarming,” “dangerous,” “ferocious,” “horrendous,” “frightening,” “devastating,” “ruthless,” “heart-rendering.” Description of AIDS initiatives could also be sensationalized, “*Anti-Aids squad grapples with the deadly scourge*.”

Some of the most striking examples of titles coded as sensational also stigmatize AIDS and people with AIDS. Though stigmatization was observed in less than 10% of the articles in each of the countries, its presence remains striking. Sensational and/or stigmatizing articles included, “*The needy street child is a harbor of AIDS*,” and “*Discussions on the problems of women*,” “*Educate a woman & you educate a nation*.” People with AIDS are both stigmatized and sensationalized, described as “victims,” “suffers,” “carriers” who are “contaminated,” “infected,” “contagious,” and “suspect.” Criminalization by the media was also observed, such as in “*Aids: confine them*.” Titles could also stigmatize certain groups at risk,

implying they are the cause of the epidemic. Articles targeted groups such as “women,” “homosexuals,” “the poor,” “sex workers,” “truck drivers,” “migrant workers,” “prisoners,” “street children,” “foreigners,” “tourists,” “military personnel,” and “fishermen/sailors.”

Although media coverage stigmatizes AIDS, a greater percentage of titles challenge stigmatization of AIDS. Tanzanian government and independent papers contain the greatest ratios of articles that challenge stigma to articles that stigmatize. Kenyan government papers are the only exception to the trend, containing a greater percentage of articles that stigmatize AIDS than articles that challenge to stigma. Some titles overtly reported that, “*AIDS victims should not be stigmatized*” and “*It's not just about one group but everyone is at risk and everyone is involved in prevention.*” Other titles indirectly de-stigmatized by explaining circumstances underlying risk factors for the disease, “*Economic disparities lead to teenage prostitution.*” Titles are also considered to challenge stigma if they suggest a change in behavior or attitudes, report on stigmatization or describe a movement to fight stigma.

Both government and independent papers contain greater percentages of articles coded as “government responsive” than articles coded as “government criticized.” As would be expected, government papers in each of the three countries contained better reporting on government response to AIDS. Percentages of articles that criticize the government are low in all three countries, with the government and independent papers in Kenya slightly more likely to contain article on this topic (13.9 and 11.1%, respectively) than in Tanzania (9.4 and 8.3%, respectively) and Zimbabwe (9.3 and 8.2%, respectively). A title was considered to describe a positive response by the government if it reported on policy initiated for prevention programs, AIDS awareness and/or protection of AIDS patients, “*New laws protect HIV positive employees from discrimination*” and “*Senate passes Aids testing Bill.*” Promotion of AIDS awareness and changes in sexual behavior by government officials was also considered a positive government response, “*AIDS danger in Tanzania real - government official,*” “*Minister decries casual sex,*” and “*Prime Minister to attend AIDS rally in Arusha.*” Criticism of the government included reports that the government had failed to implement appropriate policy, “*Gweru fails to cope with TB patients,*” “*Call to amend law to curb spread of Aids,*” “*Government leaders should act on AIDS charlatans*” and “*UNICEF blames Tanzania's health care.*” Reports of statements by governmental officials that negatively respond to prevention of AIDS or to caring for people with AIDS were also considered in this category “*No future care for AIDS victims, says Angatia.*”

Coverage of condom use in all three countries is generally low according to analysis of newspaper titles (three to four percent), with slightly better coverage observed only in the Tanzanian independent papers (eight percent).

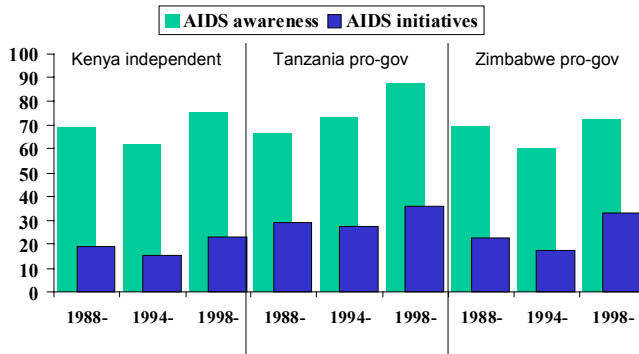
Table 7. Trends in topics of newspapers titles in each country, by early, middle or late time period

TOPICS	Kenya independent paper			Tanzania government papers			Zimbabwe government papers		
	Percentage of articles			Percentage of articles			Percentage of articles		
	<1994 (n=158)	1994-1996 (n=309)	1998+ (n=279)	<1994 (n=383)	1994-1996 (n=289)	1998+ (n=97)	<1994 (n=483)	1994-1996 (n=440)	1998+ (n=166)
<b>AIDS AWARENESS AND ACTION INITIATIVES</b>									
AIDS awareness	69.0	61.8	75.6	66.6	73.0	87.6	69.6	60.5	72.3
AIDS initiative	19.0	15.2	23.3	29.2	27.7	36.1	22.8	17.3	33.1
Government responsive	9.5	4.9	6.1	8.0	6.5	9.3	9.7	3.9	9.6
Government criticized	3.2	6.8	3.6	1.3	1.0	5.2	1.9	2.3	1.2
Government, total	12.7	11.7	9.7	9.3	7.5	14.4	11.6	6.1	10.8
<b>AIDS PREVENTION</b>									
Behavior change, discouraged	0.6	4.2	3.9	2.1	1.4	0.0	2.1	0.7	0.0
Behavior change, promoted	7.6	23.3	29.0	10.4	14.5	29.9	8.1	9.1	9.6
Behavior change, total	8.2	27.5	33.0	12.5	15.9	29.9	10.1	9.8	9.6
Condom use, total	1.3	5.8	4.0	3.6	2.4	2.1	3.9	2.7	1.8
<b>ATTITUDES TOWARDS PEOPLE WITH HIV/AIDS</b>									
Stigma, but a real concern	1.9	2.3	5.4	1.8	1.7	3.1	0.8	0.7	0.6
Stigma, oppressive	8.9	3.2	3.9	3.2	3.5	0.0	2.7	3.2	3.0
Stigma, total	10.8	5.5	9.3	5.0	5.2	3.1	3.5	3.9	3.6
Stigma challenged	5.7	16.2	17.2	6.0	14.5	25.8	6.6	8.2	9.0
Sensational tone	13.3	9.1	12.9	9.4	14.2	11.3	10.6	4.8	8.4
<b>EMPHASIS ON AIDS CURE</b>									
Cure, discouraged	2.5	10.4	2.9	3.7	3.5	1.0	3.5	5.5	3.0
Cure, promoted	8.9	12.6	6.1	14.4	12.8	5.2	11.4	9.8	12.1
Cure, total	11.4	23.0	9.0	18.1	16.3	6.2	14.9	15.3	15.1

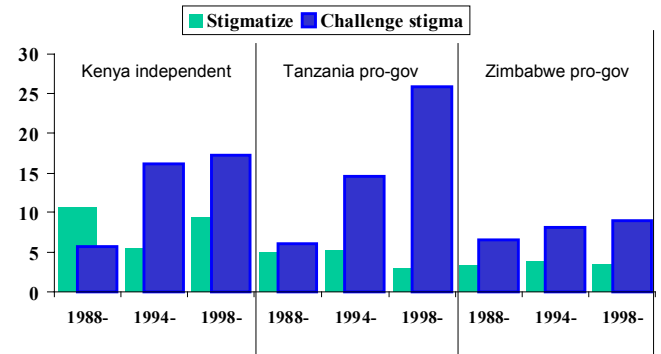
There are similarities in trends over time observed in Kenya, Tanzania and Zimbabwe, suggesting similar responses by the media in each country to changes in the epidemic (see Table 7). For example, reporting on AIDS awareness and AIDS initiatives is strongest in the late period after a general decline in reporting on these topics during the middle period (see Figure 7). Challenge to stigmatization of AIDS increases over time for each country, with Tanzanian government papers containing especially strong reporting of this topic. By the late period, each country observes a greater percentage of articles challenging stigma than stigmatizing (see Figure 8). Reports of government response also follow a similar trend in the three countries. Slightly better reporting of government response observed in the early and late periods compared with the middle period (see Figure 9).

Zimbabwe differed from Kenya and Tanzania in reporting on both behavior change and AIDS cure (see Figure 10). While reports of behavior change steadily increased in Kenya and Tanzania to a high of about 30% in the late period, reporting in Zimbabwe remained at 10% through the three periods. Though reporting on the possibility of a cure peaked during the middle period in Kenya, reflecting the development of Kemron, a possible AIDS drug, emphasis on an AIDS cure declined by the late period for both Kenya and Tanzania. Reporting on an AIDS cure remains at 15% in Zimbabwe through the three time periods.

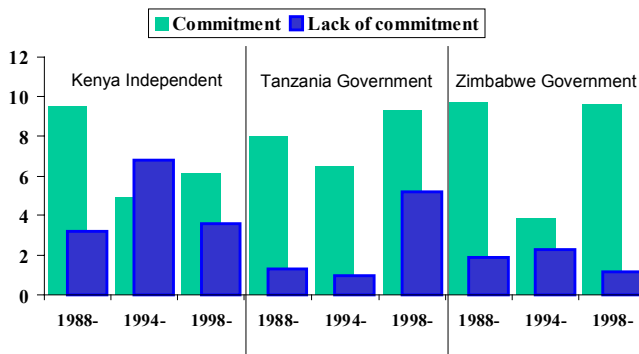
**Figure 7**  
AIDS awareness and AIDS initiatives  
(% of all articles)



**Figure 8**  
Stigma of AIDS versus challenge to stigma  
(% of all articles)



**Figure 9**  
Government commitment versus lack of government commitment (% of all articles)



**Figure 10**  
Promotion of cure versus promotion of behavior change (% of all articles)

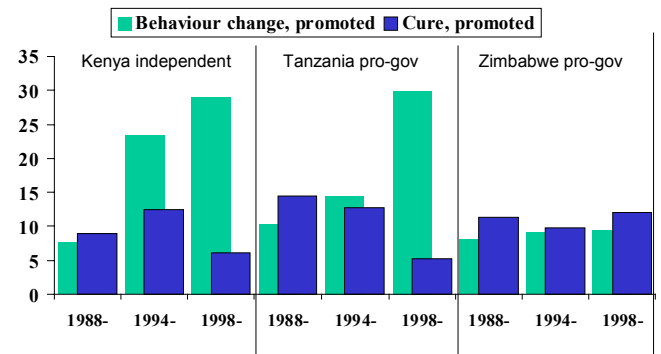




Table 8. Comparison of topics in government and independent papers of Kenya and Tanzania, all periods combined

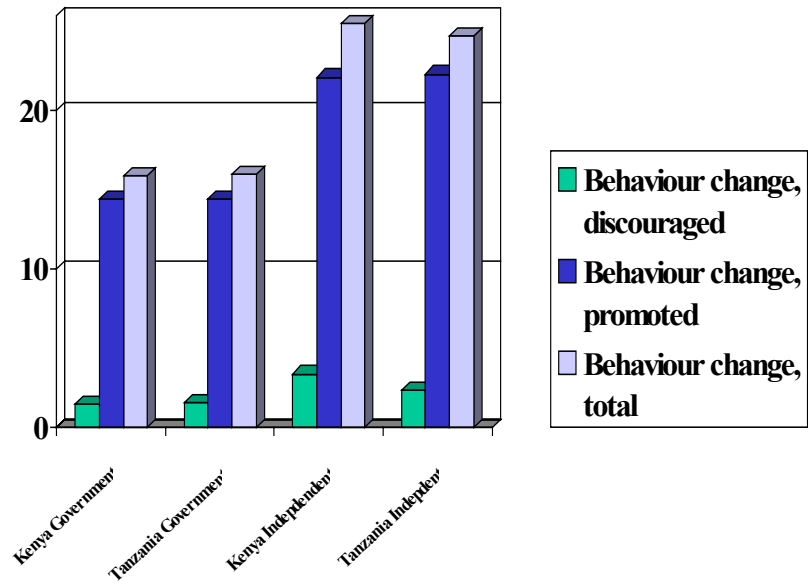
	<b>Kenya</b>		<b>Tanzania</b>	
	Government (n=109)	Independent (n=279)	Government (n=97)	Independent (n=162)
<b>ANTI-AIDS AWARENESS AND ACTION INITIATIVES</b>				
AIDS awareness	67.3	68.5	71.7	71.1
AIDS initiative	21.8	19.3	29.5	27.9
Government responsive	11.4	6.3	7.7	5.2
Government criticized	2.5	4.8	1.7	3.1
Government, total	13.9	11.1	9.4	8.3
<b>AIDS PREVENTION</b>				
Behavior change, discouraged	1.5	3.4	1.6	2.4
Behavior change, encouraged	14.4	22.1	14.4	22.3
Behavior change, total	15.9	25.5	16	24.7
Condom use, discouraged	2.0	2.1	1.6	1.4
Condom use, encouraged	1.0	2.0	1.5	6.9
Condom use, total	3.0	4.1	3.1	8.3
<b>ATTITUDES TOWARDS PEOPLE WITH HIV/AIDS</b>				
Stigma, real concern	4.5	3.4	2	2.8
Stigma, oppressive	4.9	4.6	2.8	5.6
Stigma, total	9.4	8.0	4.8	8.4
Stigma challenged	8.9	14.3	11.7	19.2
Sensational tone	15.4	11.4	11.4	17.4
<b>EMPHASIS ON AIDS CURE</b>				
Cure, discouraged	3.5	5.9	3.3	3.5
Cure, encouraged	12.9	9.4	12.7	6.3
Cure, total	16.4	15.3	16.0	9.8

Analysis of the titles indicates a few minor differences between coverage in government versus independent papers in both Kenya and Tanzania (Table 8). The greatest difference between the sources is that the independent paper is more likely than the government paper to report on behavior change. The independent papers in both countries also contain greater percentages of titles that challenge stigma compared with the government papers, though the Tanzania independent papers are also more likely than the government papers to contain stigmatizing titles. In addition, the government papers in both countries are more likely than the independent papers to report on government response to AIDS, while the independent paper is more likely than the government paper to criticize the government response. Though reporting on condoms in the titles is low in all sources, reports of condoms are more likely to appear in independent papers than in government papers, particularly in Tanzania.

Differences in government and independent sources are not always consistent when comparing countries. While emphasis on AIDS cure is similar in the Kenya government and independent sources, the government paper in Tanzania is more likely to report cure than the independent paper. Sensationalism is more likely to be observed in the Kenya government paper than its independent paper, while the Tanzania government papers are more likely than its independent papers to have sensational titles.

In both countries, the government and independent papers had similar percentages for reporting on AIDS awareness, AIDS initiatives.

Figure 11  
Differences between government and private sources on coverage of behavior change (% of all articles)



### Part III: Validation study

One would expect that analysis of the full article would yield more information than the title. In analysis in which coding was based on the article (Part I), greater percentages of topics were identified in the sample compared with analysis of the title (Part II). The validation study confirmed that the title yields the least amount of information compared with coding based on the title plus the first paragraph and coding based on the title plus the entire text.

Table 9. Number of articles identified using the title versus the title plus the first paragraph

Subject of article	N topics identified by titles	N topics identified by title + first paragraph
Condom use	9	21
Cure/medical research	24	37
Government involvement	28	76
Behavior change/education	21	54
Aids initiative	13	39
AIDS awareness promoted	109	140
Stigmatization challenged	12	32
Stigma	12	24
Sensational tone	47	78
Total	275	501

Table 9 demonstrates the logical outcome that coding based on the title plus the first paragraphs yields greater depth of analysis, as additional subject areas are identified that are not observed by reading the title only. The table shows differences in the most commonly cited topics. According to the validation analysis of the 184 articles, a total of 501 codes were identified based on the title plus the first paragraph while only 275 codes were identified when coding was based on the title (55% of the 511 codes). Comparing the coding for the title with coding for the title plus the first paragraph indicates that the title alone "misses" relevant codes and articles that can be identified when the text of the article is also analyzed. The most common topics to be "missed" when the title alone is analyzed were AIDS initiatives and government response to AIDS. While the title gave less information than the first paragraph, the distribution of major topics did not dramatically change between the two coding methodologies.

Table 10 indicates the additional codes identified when the researcher proceeded beyond the first paragraph and read the entire article. Reading the entire article is particularly helpful in gaining additional information about behavior change, AIDS initiatives, condom use and challenge to stigmatization.

Table 10. Additional codes checked for each topic by reading entire article that were not checked by reading either the title only or the title plus the first paragraph

Subject of article	N articles identified in topics
Condom use	34
Cure/medical research	22
Government involvement	18
Behavior change/education	56
Aids initiative	37
AIDS awareness promoted	9
Stigmatization challenged	29
Stigma	16
Sensational tone	14
Total	235

Although reading the first paragraphs and the full-length text in addition to the title provided a greater depth of analysis, comparison between the methodologies indicates that the coding based on the titles rarely contradicted the most prominent message of the articles included in this sample (n=184). The greatest number of contradictions were observed in the category related to stigma. While 22 titles were categorized as “Stigma, total” based on reading the title, a total of four of these 22 articles were categorized as “Stigma, challenged” based on the title and the first paragraph. Likewise, of 18 article titles coded as “Stigma, challenged” based on reading the title, two were coded as “Stigmatizing” based on a reading of the article and the first paragraph.

Additional examples when coding based on the title plus the first paragraph contradicted coding based on the title related to condom use and government response to the epidemic.

Additional contradictions were not observed in the categories that could have been contradicted during Phase B. In particular, coding based on a reading of the title only “Condom use, encouraged,” “Treatment, encouraged,” and “Treatment, discouraged,” were not coded in the contradictory categories of “Condom use, discouraged,” “Treatment, discouraged,” and “Treatment, encouraged,” respectively when the first paragraph was also read. The lack of contradiction between coding based on the title compared with coding based on the title plus the first paragraph suggests the title can be used as a marker of AIDS trends in the media, acknowledging that analysis would be more complete and informative if the first paragraph was read as well.

Coding based on the full length of the article often resulted in contradictory topic codes (data not shown), as opposing views are often presented in a full-length article even if the tenor of the article emphasizes one perspective. For example, an article promoting condoms may also explain why there may be negative reactions to condoms or possible negative effects of condom use, meaning this article would be coded both as “Condom, encouraged” and “Condom, discouraged.”

## DISCUSSION

### **An increase in positive response to AIDS is observed in Kenya, Tanzania and Zimbabwe based on newspaper title and article analyses**

Analysis of newspaper titles and articles indicates an increase in positive response to the AIDS epidemic in Kenya, Tanzania and Zimbabwe during the nineties, including increased emphasis on AIDS awareness and action initiatives. Reporting on AIDS awareness was the most common topic (ranging from 66 to 79% of titles), with the greatest coverage in the latest period. The general nature of the category of AIDS awareness helps explain that it is the most commonly observed topic of both government and independent papers. Strong reporting of AIDS initiatives is also observed in all countries (at least 25% of all titles) and was also greatest in the late 1990s. This category includes initiatives organized by government, community and international aid organizations.

A focus of newspaper coverage on issues related to a cure for AIDS rather than behavior change may indicate a lack of emphasis by governmental and non-governmental organizations on behavior change, or prevention. Trends over time indicate that Tanzania and Kenya tend to focus on promotion of behavior change, while the focus of articles in Zimbabwe has continued to be cure. About 30% of titles for government and independent papers in Kenya and Tanzania promoted change in the late period, while reporting in Zimbabwe on this topic remained at less than 10% of titles throughout the three periods. While reports on the cure in Kenya and Tanzania decreased in the late period to 15% and 10%, respectively, reporting on the cure increases over time in Zimbabwe and is greatest in the late time period (29%).

Analysis indicates that attitudes of people with AIDS improved over time. While percentages of titles that challenged stigma increased in Kenya and Tanzania from about 6% in the early period to 17 and 26%, respectively, in the late period, titles to challenge stigma remained below 10% in Zimbabwe's papers. Fortunately, percentages of titles that stigmatize the epidemic remained relatively low in the three countries (less than 10%), particularly in Zimbabwe. Stigmatizing titles included titles in which language was extreme and oppressive as well as titles that isolated certain groups despite the validity of the statements (such as, "*Three out of four city prostitutes have AIDS*").

Though reporting on condoms was low, analysis of the full-length articles indicates that papers in all countries tended to promote condom use (13% of articles) rather than discourage condom use (3.5% of articles). Tanzanian papers had the highest ratio of encouragement to discouragement.

Sensationalism is common in the media's reports, and article titles tend to be particularly sensationalist. Though the HIV/AIDS epidemic is indeed a disaster that should cause alarm, repeated sensational language may detract from efforts to address the epidemic calmly and rationally. No clear trend in a decline in sensationalist articles was observed for the three countries. In the late period, the percentage of sensationalist titles in government and independent sources remained highest in Kenya (13%), followed by Tanzania (11% and Zimbabwe (8.4%).

Government commitment was particularly difficult to measure through newspaper analysis. Analysis of titles was particularly difficult, as initiatives discussed in the article were not consistently reflected in the title. Regardless, certain similarities and differences between countries and news type could be detected regarding praise of government action or criticism of governments' response. According to analysis of the article text, reporting of positive government response to the epidemic was more common (11% of articles) than was criticism of the government (6% of articles) in both government and independent papers in each country. As would be expected, government papers in each of the three countries contained more articles reporting positive government response to AIDS. Trends over time are not clear, though slightly more articles reporting positive government response was observed in the early period, prior to 1994, and in the late 1990s than was reported in the mid-1990s.

## **An assessment of study methodology indicates the title and first paragraph is potentially the most feasible and effective coding tool**

Advantages of analyzing the simply title are multiple. Titles are short and can easily be copied. Compared with analysis based on the entire article, a fairly objective and documented coding system can be developed, while multiple coders can also be used to enhance accuracy. In addition, discourse analysis can more easily be performed on the title than on the entire article, owing to its short length. A title, however, may not adequately cover the content of the article.

Detailed analysis of titles and first paragraph likely provides the best combination of feasibility and data quality. Reading the first paragraph provides much more information than basing analysis solely on the title. Comparing the coding for the title with coding for the title and the first paragraph indicates that the title alone “misses” relevant codes and articles that can be identified when the text of the article is also analyzed. The most common topics to be “missed” when the title along is analyzed involved AIDS initiatives and government response to AIDS. While the title gave less information than the first paragraph, the distribution of the major codings did not dramatically change between the two methodologies, and the additional information from the first paragraph rarely contradicted the coding based on the title.

Although more information is obtained by reading the entire article, coding becomes more difficult. First, considerably more time was needed to perform this analysis (approximately three to seven minutes for an entire article, compared with the less than one minute for coding the title and the first paragraph). A newspaper article often presents opposing views, so coding for the entire text of the article often included contradictory codes. Therefore, coding based solely on analysis of the title and first paragraph is a better analytical tool because the article’s primary point of view is generally expressed in the first lines of the article.

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## Appendix A: Coding Forms for Analysis of Full Text Articles

### I. Kenya Coding Form

**Title ID- ID# - \*Title & Subtitle**

**Year** \_\_\_\_ **Month** \_\_\_\_\_

**Newspaper - NewP** \_\_\_\_\_

**Type - NPTyp**

- 1 Pro Govt Daily
- 2 Pro Govt Other
- 3 Independent Daily
- 4 Independent Other

**Author type - AuTyp**

- 1 Own journalist - person named
- 2 Local news agency - Daily Nation Reporter, Kenya Times Correspondent
- 3 AIDS org
- 4 Intl news agency
- 5 Reader (letter to the editor)

**Article type - ArtTyp**

- 1 Editorial
- 2 Front page
- 3 Health/feature
- 4 Letter
- 5 News pages
- 6 Opinion/column
- 7 Regular feature
- 8 Youth pages
- 9 Not clear
- 10 Education feature

**Article length - Length**

- 1 <250 words
- 2 250-600 words
- 3 >600 words

**National relevance - NatlRel**

- 1 Home country
- 2 Other African countries/Kenya and Africa
- 3 Industrialized nations
- 4 Other continents/global

**HIV/AIDS focus - Focus**

- 1 article Lead of
- 2 Mentioned in article
- 3 Not mentioned
- 4 Prominent in article

**Tone of Article - Tone**

- 2 Info about epidemic
- 3 Personal opinion
- 4 Reports news events/meeting/conference

**Condoms - Condm**

- 1 Encourages use
- 2 Discourages use
- 3 Not mentioned

**Indicator Evaluation-Policy**

- 1 Correct & supportive
- 2 Incorrect or not supportive
- 3 No policy mentioned, govt not mentioned



**Indicator Evaluation-Stigma (2 possible)**

- 1 Positive/supportive **event**
- 2 Negative **event**
- 3 Supportive **attitude**
- 4 Negative **attitude**

5 No opinion expressed

**Subject Matter – SM 1-5**

**I. Attitude**

- 1 Community response to HIV
- 2 Discrimination/stigma

**II. Behavior/Practices**

- III. 11 Alcohol abuse
- 12 Circumcision
- 13 Cultural practices-scarification, piercing
- 14 Religious responses to morality
- 15 Sexual behavior
- 16 STDs

**IV. Children**

- 21 Infant feeding
- 22 Orphanhood
- 23 Sexual behavior of young people
- 24 Street children

**Court**

- 31 Legal cases
- 32 Confidentiality

**Government commitment**

- 41 Government commitment
- 42 Lack of government commitment
- 43 Speech/statement by President
- 44 Speech/statement Minister
- 45 Speech/statement Deputy, Permanent Secretary
- 46 Speech/statement MP (Member of Parliament)
- 47 Speech/statement by other official
- 48 New govt AIDS policy/legislation

**Prevention**

- V. 51 Art and HIV
- 52 Condoms
- 53 FP/adolescent pregnancy
- 54 Quarantine
- 55 Sex education/awareness
- 56 Vaccine/cure
- 57 Abstinence
- 58 Abortion

**VI. Statistics**

- 61 HIV/AIDS statistics
- 62 Testing/counseling

**VII. Symptoms/Outcomes**

- 71 Mortality
- 72 Nosocomial infection
- 73 Seropositive personality
- 74 Symptoms related to AIDS
- 75 TB
- 76 Infertility

**VIII. Transmission**

- IX.80 Drug injection
- 81 Heterosexuality

- 82 Homosexuality
  - 83 Mosquito
  - 84 Occupational risk
  - 85 Petty trader
  - 86 Rape/gender violence
  - 87 Sex work
  - 88 Tourists
  - 89 Truck driver
  - 90 Vertical transmission
- X. Treatment**
- 91 Modern Tx
  - 92 Local Tx

## **II. Tanzanian Coding Form**

**Title ID- ID# - \*Title & Subtitle**

**Year \_\_\_\_\_Month\_\_\_\_\_**

**Newspaper - NewP \_\_\_\_\_**

**Type - NPTyp**

- 1 Pro Govt Daily
- 2 Pro Govt Other
- 3 Independent Daily
- 4 Independent Other

**Author type - AuTyp**

- 1 Own journalist-person named, author of opinion column
- 2 Local news agency - Newspaper correspondent with or without name mentioned
- 3 AIDS org - UNICEF, WHO, NACP, etc
- 4 Intl news agency - AP, Xinhua, AFP, Reuters
- 5 Reader or advertiser
- 6 Shihata, Maelezo
- 7 Tanzanian agency
- 8 African news agency

**Article type - ArtTyp**

- 1 Editorial
- 2 Front page
- 3 Health/feature/cartoon/Triple Jeopardy
- 4 Letter
- 5 News pages
- 6 Opinion/column
- 8 Advertisement
- 9 Not clear

**Article length - Length**

- 1 <250 words
- 2 250-600 words
- 3 >600 words

**National relevance - NatlRel**

- 1 Home country
- 2 Other African countries/Tanzania and Africa
- 3 Industrialized nations
- 4 Other continents/global

**HIV/AIDS focus - Focus**

- 1 Lead of article
- 2 Mentioned in article
- 3 Not mentioned
- 4 Prominent in article

**Tone of Article - Tone**

- 2 Info about epidemic/community response/human interest
- 3 Personal opinion/letter/column
- 4 Reports news events/meeting/speech/new statistics/research

**Condoms - Condm**

- 1 Encourages use
- 2 Discourages use
- 3 Not mentioned - neither encourages nor discourages

**Indicator Evaluation-Policy**

- 1 Correct & supportive - allocation of money, policy, speech/statement
- 2 Incorrect or not supportive - "govt must do more"
- 3 policy or govt not mentioned

**Indicator Evaluation-Stigma (2 possible)**

- 1 Positive/supportive **event**
- 2 Negative **event**
- 3 Supportive **attitude**
- 4 Negative **attitude**
- 5 No opinion expressed
- 6 Sensational wording - scourge, killer/deadly/dreaded disease, calamity, full-blown Aids, ugly, ferocious beast, maul, time bomb, alarming, dangerous disease, menace, spread like bush fire

**Subject Matter – SM 1-5****XI. Attitude**

- 1 Community response to HIV
- 2 Discrimination/stigma/silence

**XII. Behavior/Practices**

- XIII. 11 Alcohol abuse
- 12 Circumcision
  - 13 Cultural practices-scarification, piercing
  - 14 Religious responses to morality/church/Bible
  - 15 Sexual behavior/promiscuity
  - 16 STDs/increased chance of transmission with STDs

**XIV. Children**

- 21 Infant feeding
- 22 Orphanhood
- 23 Sexual behavior of young people
- 24 Street children

**Court**

- 31 Legal cases/law/human rights
- 32 confidentiality - right not to test

**Economic Impact**

- 36 economic impact - lost work/business
- 37 Medical care costs

**Government commitment**

- 41 Government commitment
- 42 Lack of government commitment, government should do more
- 43 Speech/statement by President, VP
- 44 Speech/statement Prime Minister
- 45 Speech/statement Minister (excluding MoH)
- 46 Speech/statement MP (Member of Parliament)
- 47 Speech/statement by other official - regional, district, ward
- 48 New govt AIDS policy/legislation
- 49 NGO programme or allocation of funds
- 50 statement by employee of MoH

**Prevention**

- XV. 51 Art and HIV
- 52 Condoms

53 FP/adolescent pregnancy/FP methods

54 Quarantine

55 Sex education/awareness

56 Vaccine/cure/medical research

57 Abstinence/monogamy

58 Abortion

**XVI. Statistics**

61 HIV/AIDS statistics

62 Testing/counseling

**XVII. Symptoms/Outcomes**

71 Mortality/life expectancy

74 Symptoms related to AIDS/opportunistic infections

75 TB

**XVIII. Transmission**

78 Deliberate transmission

79 Blood, untested blood, razors

XIX. 80 Drug injection/needle exchange

81 Heterosexuality

82 Homosexuality

83 Mosquito/bedbugs

84 Occupational risk/medical personnel's risk

85 Petty trader

86 Rape/gender violence/child abuse/women submissive to men

87 Sex work/barmaids

88 Tourists

89 Truck driver

90 Vertical transmission/child born HIV+

**XX. Treatment**

91 Modern Tx

traditional healers/Kemron

## Appendix B: Topic codes for Analysis of Newspaper Titles

### I. "AIDS AWARENESS"

1. Promotes end to the silence.
    - "AIDS: Tell us more"
    - "STDs not given enough attention"
    - "I love... Minister of Health Dr Timothy Stamps for giving us AIDS statistics"
    - "Public lacks constant information on AIDS"
    - "Mandela urges South Africans to end silence over AIDS"
    - "No need for panic over Aids, says WHO official"
    - "Britain compiles booklet on HIV to guide journalists towards accurate reporting on Aids"
  2. Promotes awareness of the extent of disease spread (within country and globally) and warns people about spread of AIDS.
    - "AIDS orphans now 100,000"
    - "AIDS kills 62 in Mtwara"
    - "India discovers AIDS virus"
    - "AIDS cases rise"
  3. Encourages people to know HIV status and symptoms of HIV/AIDS.
    - "Symptoms of AIDS"
    - "AIDS test center set up"
    - "Voluntary counselling and testing promotes HIV prevention"
  4. Explains means of contracting virus and/or corrects the false myths that exist.
    - "People with wounds must be cautious on handling body fluids"
    - "Mosquitoes 'don't transmit Aids'"
    - "More blood donors found with AIDS"
    - "New AIDS fears"\*
    - "Stop courting death, warn Aids experts"\*
    - "Chilling facts about AIDS"\*
- \*Even titles which can be categorized as "SENSATIONALIZES" can also increase awareness and will be included in "AIDS AWARENESS"
5. Promotes awareness of AIDS patients or groups at risk of AIDS or other sexual/reproductive abuse. Information on these groups could include the context in which they contracted the disease and the support they need.
    - "The world of child prostitutes"
    - "AIDS patients up against being discharged"
  6. Reports on celebrities who promote AIDS awareness.
    - "Tennis great Arthur Ashe dies from AIDS"
    - "Paul Simon to perform in Dallas for the benefit of Aids victims"
  7. Reports on events held for AIDS, such as World Aids Day.
    - "Puppets and films carry aids festival message"
    - "Dar marks World AIDS Day today"

8. Educates on the behavioral risks associated with contracting AIDS, therefore all titles which are categorized in **“BEHAVIOR CHANGE, ENCOURAGED”** also are categorized in this category of awareness.
  - “AIDS: Why won’t Kenyans change their sex habits?”
  - “AIDS prevention tough in developing world”
9. Promotes AIDS patients, groups at high risk of HIV/AIDS and/or women and children at risk of sexual abuses in response to stigmatization and oppression that they face, therefore all titles which are categorized in **“STIGMA CHALLENGED”** also are categorized in this category of awareness.

Reports on planned action against AIDS, such as a campaign, agreement, research and debates, therefore all titles which are categorized in **“AIDS INITIATIVE”** are also categorized in this category of awareness.

## **II. “AIDS INITIATIVE”**

This title will also be categorized in **“AIDS AWARENESS.”**

1. Report of action against AIDS or the involvement to fight AIDS. Some titles may also be categorized in the category **“BEHAVIOR CHANGE, ENCOURAGED.”**
  - “It’s a first against Aids”
  - “Fresh move to curb AIDS”
  - “Farmers join in the battle against AIDS”
2. Call for involvement in anti-AIDS action from government, other organization or individuals.
  - “Let’s curb Aids spread in Kisumu”
  - “Experts urge campaigns to combat AIDS”
  - “National policy on HIV/AIDS needed”
  - “Centre wants better sexual abuse law”
3. Reports on the development of a committee, campaign or agreement to control spread of AIDS. These actions can come from either governmental, non-governmental or independent organizations. When it is clear that the committee is governmental, these titles are also categorized under **“GOVERNMENT RESPONSIVE.”**
  - “WHO unveils new AIDS strategy”

- “Anti-AIDS pact to be signed in London”
- “Aids control plan launched (launching of NASCOP)”
- “Aids committee established”
- “Society needs to act on Aids”

NOT including research studies or conferences, which would only be classified “**AWARENESS.**”

- “Aids grant renews hope – Kenya is focus of study”
- “Researchers muse on ‘Aids puzzle’”

### III. “GOVERNMENT RESPONSIVE”

1. Reports on a policy initiated for prevention programs, AIDS awareness and/or protection of AIDS patients.
  - “New laws protect HIV positive employees from discrimination”
  - “Senate passes Aids testing Bill”
2. Reports on a government official promoting AIDS awareness and/or change in sexual behavior.
  - “‘AIDS danger in Tanzania real’ - government official”
  - “Minister decries casual sex”
  - “Mwinyi against vices in society”
3. Reports on the presence of governmental officials at events for AIDS awareness.
  - “PM to attend AIDS rally in Arusha”
  - “Chiduo speaks on AIDS”
4. Reports of statements by a governmental officials on the number of cases of AIDS and AIDS-related illnesses (thereby acknowledging the impact).
  - “Forty test positive in Garissa”
  - “Angatia: 800,000 Kenyans HIV positive”
  - “Infant death rate in focus”
  - “TB forecast to kill 3 million”
5. Praises government’s efforts made on AIDS and AIDS -related issues.
  - “WHO names Tanzania one of big TB fighters”

### IV. “GOVERNMENT CRITICIZED”

Titles which criticize lack of policy or government action call for increased action, so therefore they will also be categorized under “**AIDS INITIATIVE.**”

1. Reports that the government has failed to implement policy or that the current law is inadequate.
  - “Gweru fails to cope with TB patients”
  - “Call to amend law to curb spread of Aids”
  - “[Government leaders] should act on AIDS charlatans (n’angas)”
  - “UNICEF blames Tanzania’s health care”

2. Reports statements by governmental officials which negatively responds prevention of AIDS or to caring for people with AIDS.
- “No future care for Aids victims, says Angatia”

### “**BEHAVIOR CHANGE, ENCOURAGED**”

This title will also be categorized in “**AIDS AWARENESS.**”

Titles which report on health initiatives are also classified as “**AIDS INITIATIVE.**”

Initiatives or statements on prevention and education which are made by the government are classified under “**GOVERNMENT RESPONSIVE**”

1. Promotes education and discussion of AIDS virus, sexual behavior and prevention.
  - “Reproductive health ‘merits people’s attention”
  - “Focus on AIDS prevention, Africa told”
  - “Anti-Aids campaign: Prevention ‘only hope”
  - “USAID hails anti-AIDS groups”
  - “Child to child project imparts children with health education”
  - “Aids awareness programme gets much needed boost”
  - “DC urges parents to discuss Aids”
2. Advocates a change in behavior that would affect sexual relationships, familial relationships.
  - “Get married to Avoid AIDS”
  - “Strive to keep off casual sex”
3. Reports on behavior which has increased spread of AIDS and encouraged oppressive gender roles, sexual relationships (thereby encouraging people to change behavior).
  - “Aids cases high among polygamous Tonga people”
  - “Female genital mutilation deplored”
  - “Bid to end pregnancy-linked deaths”
  - “Child prostitutes in Tanzania ‘a national disaster”
  - “Poverty cause for commercial sexual exploitation”
  - ““Spreading STD, HIV may become criminal offence”
  - “We must be open about STDs (MP-AM)”
4. Reports on new social and governmental policies that encourage behavior change. Such titles may also be categorized in “**GOVERNMENT RESPONSIVE**” and “**AIDS INITIATIVE.**”
  - “Kemri backs sex education”
  - “States plan joint activities – EAC targets disease prevention. . .”
  - “State to set up unit for anti-Aids campaign (Minister of Information, Posts, and Telecommunications)”
5. Reports a change in behavior, regardless of policy.
  - “Villagers rush for condoms”
  - “Levirate in decline in Mwanza”

### “**BEHAVIOR CHANGE, DISCOURAGED**”

1. Discourages education of AIDS virus and sexual behavior.
  - “Sex education does not encourage self control”
  - ““Sex’ studies not the panacea”



2. Discourages a change in behavior that would affect sexual relationships, familial relationships or increase safety.
  - “Premarital HIV test violates marriage law.”
  - “There is no rape in marriage”
  - “The Drawback in TB-AIDS Tests”
3. Reports on policies or statements which discourage change.
  - “Health minister rejects licensing of prostitutes”
4. Discourages condom use and reports on rejection of condoms.
  - “Youth reject condom use campaign.”
  - “Fidelity ‘answer to Aids’ – Medical expert dismisses condoms, drugs”
  - “Counting on Condoms is Flirting with Death”

#### V. **“CONDOM USE, ENCOURAGED”**

1. Advocates condom use or assures the efficacy of condoms.
  - “A condom for every reader”
  - “Condom tests are thorough – expert (University of Nairobi Prof of Microbiology)”
2. Reports on wide use or distribution of condoms with neutral stance/tone.
  - “Youths sell condoms in Karagwe.”
3. Reports on condom use of related issues, but whose title is neutral in stance/tone.
  - “HIV AIDS and condoms”
  - “Attitudes towards condom use”

#### VI. **“CONDOM USE, DISCOURAGED”**

1. Denounces efficacy of condoms, including their inability to function and/or their contribution to stopping the spread of the virus.
  - “Counting on Condoms is Flirting with Death”
  - “When condoms lead to murder...”
  - “Condoms no answer to Aids – Auret”
2. Reports on condom controversy, though it remains neutral in its stance.

#### **“STIGMA, OPPRESSIVE”**

1. Stigmatizes: Indicates that the disease is tied to certain groups, such as: “Women,” “homosexuals,” “the poor,” “sex workers,” “truck drivers,” “migrant workers,” “prisoners,” “street children,” “foreigners,” “tourists,” “military personnel,” “fishermen/sailors.”
  - “Homosexuality in our institutions – Protection of victims will help reduce incidents”
  - “The needy street child is a harbour of AIDS”
  - “Discussions on the problems of women (“Educate a woman & you educate a nation”)
2. Stigmatizes: Describes AIDS patients in derogatory language which sensationalizes their illness.

Adjectives: “Contaminated,” “infected,” “contagious,” “suspect”

Nouns: “Victims,” “suffers,” “carriers”

- “A meeting with an Aids sufferer”
  - “Full-blown confessions of an HIV victim”
3. Criminalization of HIV/AIDS patients.
    - “SA man faces Aids charge”
    - “No clemency for AIDS prisoners”
    - “I have AIDS, suspect pleads”
    - “Victims of Aids’ jailed”
    - “Aids: confine them”
    - “Woman charged with poisoning after lover gets AIDS”

4. Oppresses: Title's tone takes oppressive/unsympathetic tone towards "underrepresented" groups, namely children and women (especially prostitutes).
  - "Wife beating cements relations"
  - "Prostitution: Moral decay to blame"
  - Prostitution: A social vice all Tanzanians have to fight – Is rounding up prostitutes by police a lasting solution? – Should socio-economic hardships be taken as excuse for women to be prostitutes? No other alternatives?
  - We must fight prostitution
  - Child prostitutes in Tanzania 'a national disaster'

#### **"STIGMA, REAL CONCERN"**

Identifies HIV/AIDS with a certain group. For example, women, the poor, homosexuals and prostitutes may have a higher HIV/AIDS prevalence rate. However, continually emphasizing HIV/AIDS is linked to these groups discourages all members of society from taking responsibility for HIV/AIDS prevention.

#### **"STIGMA CHALLENGED"**

This title will also be categorized in "**PROMOTES AIDS AWARENESS & INVOLVEMENT.**"

1. Denounces the acts of stigmatization and /or oppression, advocates support for these group and/or reports support given to these groups. Titles which refer to governmental actions would also be classified in "**GOVERNMENT RESPONSIVE.**"
  - "AIDS victims should not be stigmatized"
  - "Lotodo to prisons: Free Aids carriers"
  - "Support for AIDS patients to continue"
  - "Gender parity vital for democracy"
  - New laws protect HIV positive employees from discrimination"
  - ". . .Sex crimes bill"
  - "Shirima [political leader] opens workshop on poverty eradication"
  - "Homosexuality acceptable in Denmark"
2. Reports oppression/stigmatization of certain groups, including hardships they endure.
  - "Zambia abusing HIV positive officers".
  - "Schoolgirls not protected"
  - "Over 300 women die of delivery problems"
  - "Unsafe abortions increase in Africa"
  - "Girls circumcised"
3. Reports from the perspective of underrepresented groups (i.e, AIDS patients, women, children), including economic, social and cultural context which underlies their position.
  - "AIDS positive pleads for sympathy (HIV man talks)"
  - "AIDS, reproduction and mother hood"
  - "Seminar mentions causes of prostitution in Tanzania"
  - "Economic disparities lead to teenage prostitution"
  - "Poverty cause for commercial sexual exploitation"
  - "Prostitutes along Tanzan highway are powerless when it comes to condom use"
4. Reports when oppressed/ stigmatized groups stand up for their rights (in rallies, demonstrations, etc.)
  - "HIV patient enters plea"
  - "Jijenge! Centre Brings Women's Health and Human Rights to the Grassroots" (Jijenge = help yourself)

5. Reports rape crimes or negative actions against sexual offenders (thereby acknowledging the unacceptability of rape).
  - “Women raped, villages torched in police raids”
  - “Rape suspect attacked by mob”
  - “Alert over rape drug as hundreds fall victim”
  - “Sex manias should be executed by firing squad”
  
5. Reports on men’s involvement in the AIDS campaign (or the necessity of men’s involvement) as well as male reproductive health and behavior issues.
  - “Wanted: Men’s participation in reproductive health”
  
6. Promotes idea that all people are at risk of AIDS, responsible for the conditions which have promoted its rapid spread and responsible for solution.
  - “It’s not just about one group but everyone is at risk and everyone is involved in prevention”
  - “Child prostitutes in Tanzania ‘a national disaster’”
  - “No one safe from AIDS”
  - “Rehabilitating street children is for all”
  - “Demand for collective action against AIDS”
  - “Communities urged to look after local Aids orphans”
  
10. Reports on social/political forces which hinder action against AIDS.
  - “Pakistan’s ideology mutes AIDS fight”
  - “Witchcraft, gossip weakens AIDS fight”

**“SENSATIONAL TONE”**

In general, I was particularly watchful of when a title sounded sensational, even the language was not particularly extreme. For example, the use of the phrases “AIDS [death] toll” and “AIDS kills” may be completely appropriate to describe the situation in sub-Saharan Africa and optimal in convincing people of the deadly nature of the disease. I classify these as sensational, nonetheless. If a person was to hear “cancer toll in Chapel Hill, NC is 1,000” or “cancer kills 1,000 in 1999,” she would recognize that this language is “charged.” The repeated use of these terms to describe the disease creates the idea that HIV/AIDS is a quick-striking disaster, akin to a flood or a hurricane. It is true that the epidemic is a disaster, but to prevent the spread of the disease, readers must feel that HIV/AIDS is something they must control by behavior change (not a hurricane that leaves them paralyzed). Repeated sensational language reinforces the idea that the disease cannot be dealt with calmly and rationally.

1. Uses any of the following nouns, verbs and/or adjectives to describe the disease or its effect.

Nouns: “scourge,” “[death] toll,” “spectre”

- “When having fun ends in death”

Verbs: “alarms,” “looms,” “menaces,” “decimates,” “mauls,” “wreaks havoc,” “rampages,” “lurks,” “gnaws,” “stalks,” “spreads like bush fire,” “leads to extinction,” “cripples,” “invades,” “devastates,” “cuts it way through SA mines”

Adjectives: “killer,” “deadly,” “dreaded,” “fatal,” “menacing,” “alarming,” “dangerous,” “ferocious,” “horrendous,” “frightening,” “devastating,” “ruthless,” “heart-rendering”

2. Uses any of the following nouns and/or adjectives to describe people living with HIV

Nouns: “victims,” “suffers,” “carriers”

- “Let us castrate sex maniacs”
- “Sex maniacs should be executed by firing squad”

Adjectives: “contaminated,” “infected,” “contagious”

3. Uses sensational/non-“professional” adjectives to describe behavior

“loose sexual behavior”

4. If subject matter is not “professional” and out of place, even if no single word is especially sensationalist.
  - “News Flash On Aids”
  - “No clemency for AIDS prisoners”
  - “Willful spread of AIDS”
  - “Watch out: One in every 10 persons is HIV positive”
  - “War on AIDS.”
  - “Ecstasy as women’s own condom is launched”
  - “Aids man bit guard”
  - “Dicing with Death”

**“CURE, ENCOURAGED”**

1. Reports that finding cure is the focus or reports on discussions of possible cure held by medical, governmental, ngo or independent organizations.
  - “AIDS: Focus is on finding cure”
2. Reports on break through or development in true or mythical cure, vaccine or other medical research for HIV/AIDS and other STDs.
  - “Hidden cure in sperms”
  - “Ministry to talk on Mm-1 AIDS drug”
  - “Govt says Obel's Aids drug works”
3. Reports on common use of treatment (even if its faulty, such as human urine or rape) in which tone remains neutral, non-critical.
4. Reports money donated for drugs and research or other supplies donated for AIDS.
  - “Two companies donated \$180 000 to Aids centre.”
  - “NORAD donates 26m/- to UNICEF.”
5. Presents news on possible cures or the medical profession which are neutral or questioning in tone.
  - “Human urine cure for AIDS?”
  - “Traditional healers.”
6. Report on progress in other countries
  - “Aids appears to stabilise in EU states”

**“CURE, DISCOURAGED”**

1. Reports ineffectiveness, unavailability or prohibitive cost of a prospective treatment.
  - “AIDS vaccine ‘won’t be available now””
  - “No cure yet”
  - ““Doctors’ maintenance costs too high”
  - “IS PEARL OMEGA ANOTHER CASE OF 'McKENNA'S GOLD'? - Angatia ties himself in knots of contradiction...”
2. Reports of a cure with a critical or skeptical tone.
  - “Obel drug ‘ready””
  - “IS PEARL OMEGA ANOTHER CASE OF 'McKENNA'S GOLD'? - Angatia ties himself in knots of contradiction...”
3. Reports on medical profession with a critical or skeptical tone.
  - “Traditional healers not co-operating with police to stop sexual abuse”

4. Reports of action which promotes skepticism of drug.
- “Widow sues over Aids drug”
  - “New tests predict drug resistance in HIV patients”
  - “Multi-resistant strain of HIV reported”