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Reviewed by Wilson Ugangu
Multimedia University College, Nairobi.
The idea of a journal was born in the early meetings of colleagues as they formed the East African Communication Association (EACA). There are a rapidly growing number of BA, MA and now PhD programmes of communication in East Africa, but lecturers and directors tend to work and think in isolation. The need was felt to come together to meet our fellow teachers and researchers in an annual conference but also to publish to share with our colleagues our ideas and arguments. We cannot do our research in isolation. We feel the need to test our ideas and find a stimulus for the beginnings of our thoughts among colleagues who offer their support. At times the challenge of the validity of our thinking is just as important.

We also feel the need to raise the standards of communication research in the East African region and throughout Africa. We want to publish the best of our research as a criterion of excellence and as a reference point for other research. The norms of excellence must be based on editorial leadership, a regional and international advisory board to serve as critical overseers. A rigorous peer-review process will help us to mutually develop our research criteria.

As we improve our research we will also be improving the quality of our media and the quality of other communication systems in the region. There is a general complaint that the enormous efforts of hundreds of MA theses and many PhD theses makes relatively little contribution to the improvement of media and other information services of the region. The featured speaker at the first conference of EACA, Prof. Shaukat A. Abdulrazak, Director of the National Council for Science and Technology, called upon those doing research in degree programmes and in research programmes.
of our faculties to make their research more relevant for the practical needs of Kenya and other countries of East Africa.

We also need a forum for the development of original theoretical thinking in the fields of communication in this region and in other parts of Africa. The communication challenges of East Africa and Africa in general in the areas of governance, economic development, health, environment and urbanization are unique and demand original theoretical explanation of the factors operating in these problems. We need to know the emerging theoretical explanations of our colleagues so that we can build on this and show that Africa is capable of developing theoretical explanations which are valid and powerful for understanding the roots of our own communication problems. A good journal brings a reflective appreciation of the local cultural identity and the creativity of the communication institutions of the region and the continent.

Equally important for this journal will be an exchange of information on our research programmes and publications. Too often excellent books published in one part of our region or in other parts of Africa are relatively unknown even in the region. Even within our national boundaries those teaching in one university are often strangers to others teaching next door. We do not know each other well.

Finally, of great importance are the friendships and human enjoyment that we cultivate as we get to know each other through our publications and ongoing discussion and debate of our favorite ideas.

At worst our scientific endeavors can breed rivalries and points of contestation. This we can overcome as we meet on the plane of our humanity and can mutually congratulate each other for the good intellectual work we are doing. A scientific journal is not just a forum for debate but it is a form of ujamaa and familyhood in the best African meaning of the term.

The committee for the launching of the African Journal of Communication:

Dorothy Njoroge, School of Communications, Daystar University, Nairobi
Wilson Ugangu, Multi-Media University College, Nairobi
Rahab Nyaga, School of Communications, Daystar University, Nairobi
Robert White, Hekima College and the School of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Nairobi
Three ambitions for media and communication research in East Africa

By Terje S. Skjerdal

Abstract
This article, which is a revisid version of an address presented at the inauguration conference of the East African Communication Association (EACA), outlines three ambitions for media and communication research in the region: First, it makes a call for research which is locally grounded, yet internationally interrelated. Second, it argues for scholarship which is compassionate, yet autonomous. Third, it emphasizes the need for applied research, yet quality-based. The article also addresses the frequently raised concern of African media and communication research as being a replica of Western research agendas. In this regard, the author questions the validity of portraying the situation as a contestation between an ‘African’ and a Western approach and instead argues for reciprocal stimulation between research communities within and across continents.

Introduction
The latest edition of the International Encyclopedia of Communication is a depressing read when it comes to describing media and communication research in Africa. The encyclopedia claims that the quality of the research is disappointingly low and that communication scholarship on the continent remains an import of Western theory and tradition (De Beer, 2012). The entry points to postcolonial legacy accompanied by a weak university tradition as explanations for the state of affairs. These observations are not new. Similar concerns were high on the agenda in the 1980s in the environment surrounding the African Council for Communication Education (ACCE), which for many years was an important forum for discussing the prospect for research grounded in local values and philosophy. Scholars declared a need for a philosophy of African communication (Okigbo, 1987) and called for a whole new methodology attuned to African conditions (Obeng-Quaidoo, 1986).

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When scholars today, almost three decades later, make the same kind of calls, it is time to reflect on two issues: First, is it so that no achievements been made in African media and communication research over the past three decades? Second, when scholars are as worried today as they were in earlier ages about the lack of indigenous research paradigms, does it mean that such paradigms are unrealistic? The answer to the first question is obvious. Achievements have been made, and they are of great value both for the local society and for the research community. The general quality of research has probably also improved (cf. Lugalambi, 2009). More research is conducted within African communication studies than ever before, and research centres are being established at universities and in regions with no past record in the field. One also observes, at least to some extent, collaboration between research units within the continent and internationally.

The second question, however, is more complex. Obviously, the quest for local models and paradigms should always be a concern in Africa as elsewhere on the globe. There is nevertheless a need to look more closely at the premise of the question. If the basic motivation for an African communication philosophy is genuine concern for local thought and practice, then the demand is warranted. If, on the other hand, the quest for local paradigms is motivated by a distaste of outside influences, notably of the Western kind, then scholarship readily turns into a prejudiced and counterproductive enterprise. In this regard, in my view, blaming a deficient local research tradition on colonial (or postcolonial) legacy is becoming less and less persuading. Although the concern might have been legitimate in earlier ages, the fact is that today’s new generation of African researchers was not even born when colonialism was done away with. There is, of course, still the impact of post-colonialism and the many ways in which a foreign mindset continues to have an impression on local research, but an everlasting analogy to colonial rule is hardly productive. The attention should instead be drawn towards the opportunities that the growing scope of local media and communication research and literature creates for new and creative scholarship on the continent.

The establishment of the East African Communication Association (EACA) is an asset in this regard. Forming a regional association is constructive for more than one reason. While we have seen that a few pan-African initiatives, notably ACCE mentioned above, have been fruitful in the past, there is also a need for regionally based organisations in order to make connectivity easier on a smaller scale. For one, arranging conferences in the local region is important for the simple reason that more candidates can afford the travel expenses. A joint organisation for East Africa
is also important for the sake of raising scholarship in countries which only recently have started to embark on media and communication research. While established media environments like Tanzania and Uganda, and especially Kenya, already boast important research institutions in the field, countries like Ethiopia and Rwanda are up-and-coming and could perhaps at this stage benefit more from regional than pan-African collaboration.

To this end, this contribution will point to some of the challenges that contemporary media and communication research faces in the region in the near future. I will identify three driving forces which I believe should characterize regional research in the years to come: first, the need for locally grounded research, yet internationally correlated; second, the need for compassionate research, yet autonomous; and third, the need for applied research, yet quality-based.

1. The need for locally grounded research, yet internationally correlated

I sincerely believe that academic research is at its best when it grows out of a local context. To turn to Ethiopia, where I have devoted most of my research time over the past few years, some of the richest inquiries into media and communication practice come from students in a local master’s programme rather than from international professors. To be clear, that is not necessarily because the students’ use of theory or method is splendid, but because they know the language and local setting more than an outsider will ever be able to do.

Encouraging locally grounded research will be imperative in the years to come. At its best, geographically confined research serves as a corrective to commonly accepted theories in global scholarship. Unfortunately, contributions which comply with established genres in international academic writing tend to be preferred above local contributions even if they show very little emic understanding (i.e. insider knowledge). I have observed this in relation to academic publications concerning Ethiopia, where articles occasionally get away with serious gaps in local knowledge as long as they abide by acknowledged genre conventions (such as flawless structure, sound line of argument, using academic jargon, quoting the right scholars, etc.). A stronger regional research environment would make it harder for academic journals to accept such contributions without appropriate consultation in the review process.

In order for a sound regional research milieu to develop, there needs to be genuine collaboration between research units. Paradoxically, the situation today is that some institutions are skilled in international collaboration, but far less effective
when it comes to partnership with local and regional institutions. As pointed out by Ullamajja Kivikuru (2009, p. 192), south/south networks are weak in the area of media and communication studies. Part of the reason may be that the reward seems less in a south/south collaboration than along a south/north dimension, although the ultimate test of research strength is to what extent research units manage to nurture both dimensions. Solely cultivating relationships with northern networks would soon jeopardize the basic research objective revealed by the question: Is the research for personal gain rather than for the benefit of the local society?

On higher levels of media and communication research, it is nevertheless not an option to entertain local networks alone. In a globalized society, African media studies must go beyond the fixed boundaries and recognize that Africa is enmeshed in a globalized world (Ndlela, 2009, p. 66). However, this is not to say that the local research should be dictated by global research agendas. The research orientation should first and foremost emerge from local demands. The challenge, nevertheless, is to aim for international standards in the local research so that it does not remain in isolation but communicates with a wider academic and professional community. After all, we are not that many people who engage in media and communication research in this part of the world, or even internationally. A lot of the issues we struggle with resonate with those of other researchers, and networking across cultural and geographical boundaries is necessary for further development in the field.

2. The need for compassionate research, yet autonomous

We like to think of communication and media research as playing an important role in policy development. At its best, our research is supposed to generate new knowledge that has consequences for the interaction between people and the interaction between people and authorities. Ultimately, we want our communication research to contribute to a better life for people. In order for this to happen, there needs to be an element of compassion in our academic endeavours. By this we mean that we must feel strongly for our work and believe it should be driven by a passion for social change.

However, there is also an inherent danger in making compassion a guiding principle for research. We risk that in our impatience to achieve the ultimate objectives, temptations abound to make shortcuts and subsequently push aside research ethics. Associated with this is the risk of neglecting disciplinary boundaries. This is easily seen in relation to development-oriented research, where different roles often get conflated. The argument goes that all forces have to join hands in the fight against poverty and
inequality. Noble as it might be, this incentive readily slips into some highly troubling research ethics, where we risk drawing conclusions before even entering the research field. It becomes a research exercise where the ends justify the means.

In this regard, we need to be cautious when associating the research community with political powers. We have seen some examples where such relationships have gone wrong. In Uganda a few years ago, media scholars from Makerere University were invited by a government ministry to conduct a study of the media situation in the country. When the study finally came to a conclusion, the report never came out as planned, supposedly because the research findings were controversial in the eyes of the authorities. However, we have also seen examples where partnerships between research environments and public authorities have been productive, so I am not suggesting that there should be no such collaboration. There needs however be a clear perception of the different roles that we are supposed to play as researchers and policy makers, respectively.

3. The need for applied research, yet quality-based

We want our research to be more than complex theories and funny concepts; we want it to be applicable to the world out there. This we do by treating issues that mean something to people, and by connecting theory with practice. We also try to make our research relevant for contemporary society. At the same time, becoming preoccupied with social trends may pose a threat to research quality. There is, in fact, a tendency within media and communication research to follow trends, illustrated by the upsurge of studies on social media networks like Twitter and Facebook. Although such studies are timely and truly needed, research into more classical means of communication and traditional mass media is also needed, perhaps more so today than ever before. In fact, taking development seriously means to be in touch with the reality of average people, more so than constantly hooking up with the latest trend in global research. I believe the aptitude to stand against popular trends, when necessary, is indeed a mark of good research quality.

Research quality, then, has to do with the serious treatment of social reality, which entails careful treatment of facts and information. Unfortunately, this is not always the case. It seems that when writing about an area that nobody knows anything about, it is incredible what one can get away with. To illustrate, an international research article concerning the media situation in Somalia which I recently read expressed that new media technology is on the rise in the country and that more than 70% of the
population now use the Internet. That is quite amazing if how can 70% of the Somali population possibly use the Internet when statistics from UNDP tell us that less than 30% can read and write? Or, to use an example from Ethiopia: A fresh article by an internationally acknowledged scholar declares that there are no private radio stations in Ethiopia, while the fact is that there are five. The trouble is that these pieces of information become part of a larger argument concerning media practice and policy in the countries concerned. When essential details are distorted, how can one trust the subsequent analysis?

Adding to the problem is the fact that many researchers are closely associated with Western rights organizations that have specific agendas to propagate. Because information from these organizations is much easier available than local accounts, the version conveyed by rights groups readily becomes the standard story in scholarly research as well. The local research community needs to take up its responsibility in this area. Facts and information should never be reproduced uncritically as they soon become part of common sense knowledge. In this regard, I note in East Africa a serious need for more studies which simply map out and describe the media and communication situation carefully and meticulously. Unfortunately, there is a trend in academic research to reject studies which are facts-oriented and report-like. The elevation of theory in much academic discussion makes empirical information seem less important, thus running the risk of becoming detached from local society. For example, concepts such as public journalism and the fourth estate are being used uncritically in an African context without taking into consideration that the concepts grew out of a particular North American societal setting. Maintaining research quality is therefore both about keeping the facts straight and knowing the local context.

Concluding remarks
I, for one, am uneasy speaking about African media scholarship as opposed to Western scholarship. For one, there is hardly just one tradition to speak about when it comes to media research in Africa. This is aptly illustrated by the East African situation, where institutions have quite diverse research portfolios. Some are linked up with Anglo-American institutions, others are members of Scandinavian networks, yet others are purely locally or regionally oriented, but there are also those who have gained from research collaboration with Eastern countries. The Ethiopian media research community, for example, although small, has several researchers with a past record from India. Looking at the continent at large, there are enough social and
linguistic indicators to question a single African media and communication research tradition. Ullamaija Kivikuru puts the question eloquently:

   How could anyone dream of grouping together, in a single basket, Sub-Saharan African researchers, who are divided by a huge territorial area and some 40 me-dia systems, by three lingua franca each with their own strong colonial legacies, by hundreds of African languages also with their own impact on today’s situation, and finally by individual educational histories, from home as well as from the West? (Kivikuru, 2009, p. 187)

Moreover, the portrayal of a Western antagonist in media and communication research must be questioned. In Africa, it is difficult to speak of the Western perspective in singular. There is a variety of approaches within a Western research tradition, even on the fundamental philosophical level. There has also been continuous changes in the emphasis of various strands of Western media and communication research throughout the decades. Paradoxically, paradigms and theories which were once deemed obsolete by established research environments for carrying a pro-Western bias, may still thrive in non-Western research contexts. In this regard, one could perhaps speak of an unsolicited form of knowledge colonialism (De Beer, 2010, p. 213). However, I strongly doubt that there is a conscious effort among Western researchers to exercise any type of imperialism in the academic domain.

At the end of the day, the only viable route is reciprocal stimulation. African research should be inspired by Western efforts, and Western research should be inspired by achievements in African research. At the same time, I should be the first person to admit that academic environments in Europe and North America have been poor at considering and incorporating African efforts in their research. To take but one example, the renowned Global Journalist survey, now in its second edition, seeking to map out journalism cultures on a global scale, has no representation of Africa in the 33 countries covered in the study (Weaver and Willnat, 2012). Without knowing the reason for excluding the African continent in the particular study, I should add that in general, negligence of Africa is also partly a result of few and weak scholarly environments on the continent.

It is to be hoped that the establishment of EACA will further the attention in global media research to East Africa in particular and Africa in general. The main calling of media and communication research in East Africa, nevertheless, is to the local society primarily and only secondarily to the international research community.
Notes
The article is a revised version of a paper delivered at the opening plenary session at the first conference of the East African Communication Association, Nairobi, Kenya, 7th 9 September 2011.

References
Media ethics in the Kenyan media?:
Understanding the disconnect between the
classroom and practice

A. L. Lando

Abstract
The media in Kenya are increasingly criticised for their one-sided reporting, sleasy tabloid style of
pornographic content, and control by the business interests of proprietors and advertisers. Yet nearly all
of the staff of Kenyan media are now graduates of university programmes stressing media ethics and a
large percentage are graduates of media degrees from confessional, Christian universities which place a
high priority on forming professionals of personal integrity and ethical practice. To discover the causes of
this disconnect between strong ethical formation and weak ethical practice, this study interviewed
85 graduates of Christian universities working in the Kenyan media. These graduates report that they
appreciate the attempts to give them a solid ethical foundation but that in the pressures to get and
maintain employment in the Kenyan media it is often impossible to carry out the ethical principles they
learned in the classroom. This article makes recommendations for improved teaching of ethics, especially
in confessional, Christian media training programmes.

Key words: Communication ethics, communication education in Christian universities,
ethics in Kenyan media.

Situating the research problem in context
In contemporary Africa, many people are disgruntled with the low ethical standards
of the media. The FM radio stations, newspapers, TVs and Magazines for example,
are more often than not criticized for their unethical practices while discharging their
duties. Areas of complaint include one-sided and distorted reporting, pornographic

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communication and culture

and oversexed content, and acceptance of the brown envelope practice (Dirbaba, 2010; Helander, 2010; Kasoma, 2010; Mabweazara, 2010; Mare, 2010; Mpagaze & White, 2010; Nwabueze, 2010; Skjerdal, 2010; and Mfumbusa, 2008).

Paradoxically, a number of universities and colleges in Africa, be they confessional or not, have ethics as a course. Those that teach journalism or communication include communication ethics or media ethics in their course offerings. Confessional universities and colleges go a step further. They engage in holistic education that aims at challenging the learner so that after graduation, the *alumna/alumnu* of a Christian university or college becomes a critical and active promoter of high moral standards in government, the business world and other areas of public and private responsibility. This is integration of faith and learning and integration of faith and work, respectively, which implies that “on one hand, during and after the period of studies, a beneficiary of such education demonstrates behaviour and an approach that is biblical. On the other hand, the academician, possessing such knowledge and values must live and demonstrate the same in his or her life” (Lando, 2012, p. 254). Hence, the *alma mater* expects to see the success of their integration of faith and learning in their graduates in the field.

One discipline that Christian universities and colleges strive to rigorously train their students in is the field of professional media work. A global look would be too broad, even an African look. Hence, this study focuses on Kenya. A quick skim through the Kenyan ministry of Education official website reveal that Christian universities and colleges in Kenya that are registered with the ministry of higher education and Commission for Higher Education (CHE) indicate that there are no less than five universities and colleges engaged in this kind of communication training.

The reader may ask why a focus on *Christian* universities is important. Firstly, from the findings, it appears that a large percentage of the media practitioners in Kenya are graduates of Christian universities and colleges, locally and / or internationally, who are expected by their *alma mater* and society at large to integrate faith and professional work. One may assume at least some degree of influence because this study’s findings reveal that in every major media house in Kenya, there are at least two practicing journalists who are graduates of a Christian university or college. Secondly, given the fact that the Christian universities place such a great emphasis on ethical professional formation, they are a test case. The evaluation of their performance can be a vindication of their methods of professional media education. However, if the graduates of these confessional universities are, in fact, failing, then it is important to
take a serious look at the professional formation and the context of the media industry in Kenya in general.

There is good reason to ask serious questions about professional formation in Kenya not only in Christian, confessional universities, but in all universities. Despite the teaching of media ethics in virtually all of the communication studies programs and in confessional universities not only media ethics but also professional formation with a strong moral and public service commitment, in virtually all the media houses graduates exhibit gross ethical and moral violations. In every course such as reporting, editing and investigative journalism, the emphasis is on accuracy, truthfulness, and resistance against source influence. Still, the public is losing confidence in the honesty of our media professionals. Thus, the central question in this research has been why graduates of communication programmes in general and graduates of confessional, especially Christian universities working in the Kenyan media industry have such a dismal ethical and moral performance. The focus of the research is on graduates of confessional, Christian universities where the priority emphasis is on integrating public service with religious faith commitment rooted in biblical values such as service to the poor and marginalized. It is expected that media workers who are graduates of confessional especially Christian universities would be the leaders in exposing corruption in politics, leaders in exposing violation of human rights and injustices toward the poor. Are the graduates of media training in these universities actually doing this?

Even though there are a multitude of cases in Kenya of ethical violations that the media could stand accused of, this study did not seek to research and report on them. Rather, this study sought to explore and provide reasons, from the media practitioners’ point of view, why the university graduates tolerate and are even involved in such practices. Hence, the purpose of these norms which they were taught, especially in the areas touching on communication/media ethics, raise questions. A special focus is on why graduates of Christian universities and colleges are not able to put into practice the norms of public service which are, supposedly, the centre of their professional formation. This does not imply that graduates from non-confessional universities do not have an ethical formation; but, since a lot has been invested in those graduates of Christian universities and colleges such as enrolment in specific mandatory courses in their communication training, a lot more is expected from them.
The research objectives and questions

This study was guided by the following six research objectives:-
1. To identify reasons why students, sponsors, parents or guardians seek communication training in Christian universities and colleges;
2. To establish how Christian universities and colleges integrate faith and communication training;
3. To ascertain how media practitioners from Christian universities and colleges integrate faith and work;
4. To find out the ethical challenges facing these graduates in their profession;
5. To establish how and why the graduates respond to those ethical challenges in the way that they do.
6. To detect and understand the problems and begin a program of research on how to improve the training for professional ethics and responsibility in journalistic practice.

The research questions

The above research objectives corresponded to the following six research questions:-
1. Why did you opt to study communication in a Christian university?
2. How did your alma mater integrate faith and communication training?
3. How do you integrate faith and work?
4. What ethical challenges do you encounter in your profession?
5. How and why do you respond to those ethical challenges in the manner that you do?
6. With specific reference on how communication/media ethics was taught to you, what recommendations would you like to make to help the universities improve communication training for professional ethics and journalistic responsibility?

The methodology

This was a qualitative study that utilized in-depth interviews based on the above research objectives and questions to collect data. Respondents were identified using the snowball sampling procedure as detailed by Bailey (1994). Snowball is a non-probability sampling method where respondents are selected from the population in some non-random manner. This sampling technique is often used in cases where a
sampling frame is hard to establish and it is assumed that cases are affiliated through links that can be exploited to locate other respondents based on existing ones. Obtaining a sample from such a population typically does not allow for the use of traditional random sampling methodologies requiring that the entire population be known. Thus snowball sampling employs the presumed social networks that exist between members of a target population to build a sample. Snowball sampling is thus more directed and purposeful.

The snowball sampling procedure was judged the most appropriate for this research because of the nature of the study. That is, the study needed to identify a specific type of respondents. It may not have been possible to tell, on face value, if a media practitioner is a graduate of a Christian institution or not. Together with my research assistant, Kipng’eno Kirui, we identified five individuals from the target population (practicing media practitioners who are graduates of Christian universities or colleges) who were willing to respond orally, and after those five were interviewed, they were used as referrals to identify other willing members of the target population, who were then interviewed and also used as referees. This exercise went on till the study reached the desired number of interviewees.

**Data collection method**

Data was collected through in-depth interviews. The above research objectives and questions were answered through the following nine in-depth interview questions that were asked to each of the interviewees:-

1. In which Christian university/college did you study communication?
2. Why did you choose to study communication in that Christian university/college?
3. What is your understanding of your alma mater’s vision/motto?
4. How did your Christian university/college integrate faith and communication learning?
5. How well did the Christian university or college prepare you to integrate faith and work in the media industry?
6. Using the knowledge and skills learnt, how are you integrating faith and work?
7. What are some of the ethical challenges you (have) encounter(ed) in your profession?
8. How and why do/did you respond to those ethical challenges in the manner that you do/did?
(9) What recommendations would you give to your alma mater regarding their involvement in communication training for professional ethics and responsibility?

In order for the study to obtain answers to the research questions, the respondents were met at different times and venues. They were interviewed in their offices, coffee shops/restaurants/hotels, or in their homes. The reason for meeting them at the places mentioned was purely on convenience of the interviewee. Considering how demanding their job is, each interviewee was allowed to suggest a convenient place and time. Each interview lasted between 45 minutes and one hour. For some interviewees it took longer than an hour because they tried to give detailed explanations/responses. The willing interviewees were tape-recorded.

It took 8 months to identify and reach all willing respondents, establish a convenient time and place for the interview, schedule and carry out the interviews. This is because scheduling appointments with media practitioners was hard and in most cases they would fail to honour the appointments due to ad-hoc tasks subjected to them by their employers. Findings were analysed by identifying and categorizing recurring themes, emerging patterns and unique comments.

**Description of respondents**

Those studied were 85 graduates of Tangaza College (a Constituent college of The Catholic University of Eastern Africa), Daystar University, Africa Nazarene University, St. Paul’s University (Limuru, Kenya), Tumaini University (Iringa; Tanzania), St. Augustine University of Tanzania (SAUT) in Mwanza, Tanzania and University of Eastern Africa, Baraton (Kenya). Out of the 85 interviewees, 40 were male and 45 female. These media practitioners work in different environments; which are government, church and privately owned print and electronic media, Public Relation (PR) offices and Advertising Agencies/Firms. All the interviewees hold key positions in their respective organizations such as TV and Radio program managers, TV, Radio and print editors, senior reporters, producers, media managers, news anchors, executives in PR firms, and officers in advertising agencies. The study’s findings are reflected in the subsequent sections.

**Research findings and discussion**

Findings of this study have been presented and discussed according to the six objectives earlier presented.
Why students, parents, sponsors or guardians seek communication studies in a Christian university

All the respondents stated that they went to these Christian universities and college in order to complete their studies on time. This is because unlike in public universities, strikes are unheard of in Christian universities. Thus, one's years of study are not disrupted by strikes. Another reason cited for studying in these Christian universities and colleges is because of their reputation and performance. ‘I wanted to get the best education’ is how one put it. Others indicated that their parents, guardians, sponsors, pastors or friends referred them to the university because of the university’s reputation. Another reason provided is that parents, guardians and sponsors may also sway prospective students in their (parents/guardians/sponsors) university of choice as they always wish the best values to be instilled into their children. Some were referred by alumni of each respective university or college. Additionally, a number of the interviewees attended these universities and college because of what they wanted to study. For instance, for over 30 years, Daystar University has been the only Christian university in Kenya offering communication studies hence those interested in studying communication in a Christian or private university ended up studying at Daystar.

Because of the reasons provided by the interviewees as to why they went to those confessional universities to study communication, it should not be surprising therefore that out of the 85 interviewees, only 20 interviewees mentioned that they joined the university because of the institution’s involvement in integration of faith and learning. Consequently, this finding is important because it indicates that the values upheld by these universities are not the number one reason for the respondents choosing to study there.

Another important finding is that not all who study in Christian universities are Christians. Some universities like Daystar and Nazarene who, until recently (when the new constitution was promulgated on 27th August 2010) have been admitting only confessed Christians. The interviewees revealed, 30 of them, actually faked their salvation in order to get admission. Hence, they persuaded a pastor to write them a recommendation letter and persuaded another Christian to compose a testimony for them.

The findings on this objective are therefore a clear indication that while the Christian universities and colleges exist to integrate faith and learning, many of those admitted join the universities for other reasons which have greater priority than the integration of faith and professional training. They may not share in the institution’s vision and
mission because the reasons for which they joined differ significantly with the purpose for which the institutions exist. The institution’s identity presented to the students becomes difficult for them to understand and assimilate (Lando, 2011). This means that as much as these Christian universities and colleges strive to integrate faith and learning, students whose priority is not building a deeper public service commitment have a different motive and are most likely to leave the campus having passed through the university but with the university not passing through them (Nguru, 2007). This analysis of why students opt to study communication in Christian universities, explains why studying in a Christian university does not necessarily result in automatic absorption and acquisition of the university’s core values. Relatively few students make an effort to absorb the values that are expressed in the universities’ vision and mission.

Although the majority of the interviewees joined these universities and colleges for reasons other than integration of faith and learning, most have some religious background and a generally positive attitude toward the universities. If they encounter teachers who themselves have some integration of faith and professional values, we could still expect that some integration may have actually taken place and given them a strong foundation in ethics. This is because the aim of Christian universities and colleges is not just to impart knowledge in the head but also to bring Christ to the hearts and lives of those therein. Consequently, they are committed for both for academic and evangelization purposes (Lando, 2011, p. 97). It is unlikely that anyone would attend university training in a Christian university or college and leave without gaining some vision of public service, reinforced by the life witness of the teachers. Given the course content, the way courses are taught and the general atmosphere of the university, it is likely that some of the ideals of the university become part of the way of thinking of the students.

Integration of faith and learning and integration of faith and work

The next two objectives, to establish how Christian universities and colleges integrate faith and communication training; and, to ascertain how media practitioners from Christian Universities and colleges integrate faith and work were combined because, as findings indicate, the way students are trained to integrate faith and learning impacts considerably on their integration of faith and work. It emerged that all the Christian universities and college studied have mandatory courses in either communication ethics or bible or both that the institution uses to instill integration of faith and communication learning. Additionally, these universities have other activities such as
weekly prayers that bring the university faculty, staff and students together. Further, whatever course(s) are offered, each of these institutions attempt to link/apply it to the bible/biblical teachings and values. Respondents also noted that a few of the faculty and staff in these institutions demonstrate efforts of integrating faith and work through their way of life.

But when sharing how they (respondents) integrate faith and work, they reported that they are not very successful; and a number of them attributed this challenge to the inadequate training of professional communication ethics at their alma mater.

Academic institutions approach to ethics is misguided. Most of them teach about ideal situation and not the application of ethics in the real working environment. What these Christian universities and colleges do is to help us get into an ideal Christian media society but out here things are different. Secularity is the order of the day and most of us succumb to stigmatization. Therefore people feel embarrassed to say they are Christian or even live up to their ethical and Christian belief. These Christian academic institutions teach the ideal media situation which is too theoretical.

Because of this approach to teaching communication ethics, students fail to get to know the real situation in the industry in terms of what really happens out there in the field and how they are supposed to respond to ethical situations when they arise. Consequently, they noted, when they enter the media industry they are surprised that textbook and classroom knowledge are not applicable in that context and end up getting into problems. The respondents blamed their alma mater for not telling it as it is out there to students so as to help students know what really happens in the media environment. For instance, they pointed out that drinking alcohol and engaging in sexual relationships are a normal expectation in the media industry yet they only realize it when they are already in the field. Normally I do not drink. I am saved. But I once attended a media practitioners’ party and found myself drunk only to realize the following morning I had slept with my male supervisor,” said a respondent. “Without sufficient information and exposure, things just go wrong,” noted another respondent.

Most practitioners stated that they encounter numerous challenges like bribery, unrestricted privacy in family matters and compulsory paradigm shifts such as beginning new life styles like attending yearly corporate functions that are often ungodly if not obscene. They were concerned that most often the Christian universities and colleges do not prepare them for these realities and expectations. They are therefore conversant with integration of faith and learning but not integration of faith and work.

Twenty five of the respondents confessed that in order for them to survive in the media industry, they have had to compromise many aspects of their faith and even ethics in order to fit in. They reported being faced with situations that have forced them to relax their values in order to be accepted by their workmates. One explained, “Sometimes you are given a story that involves you doing things that you know will interfere with your faith or moral stand. You will have to do the story because your boss will not understand you if you say no, plus you need that job. My university did not teach me how to react to such a situation at work.” Two others gave an example of an assignment which required them to visit a strip club to do a story and the whole experience affected them because they were exposed to a lot of things that they did not enjoy watching. The duo said that although they knew they had sinned in their mind, they did not know another way to go about the assignment.

Thus, findings show, these confessional institutions neither fully expose students to the real challenges in the media industry nor prepare them how to respond to the same. In my view, and basing on these findings, integration of faith and learning is fairly well covered at the university but integration of faith and work is barely taught to the students.

**Ethical challenges facing graduates and how they address them**

Objective four was to find out the ethical challenges facing these graduates in their profession; and objective five, to establish how and why the graduates respond to those ethical challenges in the way that they do are being reported together because of their closeness in the issues raised and how the same were/are being handled. Their responses are grouped into types of challenges to professional ethics.

(1) **Accepting bribes, brown envelopes, to falsify or suppress data**

The temptation to accept money in return of favors in the line of duty such as accepting bribes to falsify or suppress information is quite prevalent in the media industry. This is more so during interviews and press conferences where there is the phenomenon of the brown envelope. Respondents indicated that there are instances interviewees give envelopes with money to media personnel without any explanation. But both parties fully understand this non-verbal communication. That is, the interview coverage will have to be skewed to suit what the giver of the brown envelope (interviewee) wants. Thus, they noted, service to the brown envelope giver supersedes service to the society.

The respondents justified their acceptance and appreciation of the brown envelope
by stating that the brown envelopes supplement a great deal the meager salaries that they and their colleagues are not very proud about. They further explained that most of the media houses have employed practitioners on part-time basis with poor pay. The employees are then tempted to take bribes or gifts from news sources to meet their basic needs in exchange of spicing up stories in favour of their paymasters. In this regard, one interviewee cautioned that ethically upright or staunch believers are also indirectly targeted in witty ways. Some of the witty approaches include sending tokens of appreciation through already compromised Christians to stubborn upright and professional ethical Christians/colleagues. This is because it is perceived that Christians would trust their Christian friends. The latter are then used to entice the stubborn ones to accept the gifts. It also emerged that media practitioners trusted by their colleagues from across the divide are also send to those who decline bribes. The result is that the morally upright media practitioners begin to find themselves conforming to that culture.

Other reasons why media practitioners conform to unethical behaviour is because some people want to get favours and give tempting offers to journalists in exchange. Several corporate and politicians offer hefty bribes for favourable coverage, or omission of damaging information. The major reason for accepting bribes, findings show, is because of underpayment of journalists. This featured prominently by the majority of those interviewed. 75 of the interviewees indicated that in hard economic times journalists like any other person would like to meet their needs but due to underpayment by the employer, they look for an extra coin from the news makers. One respondent said that 'is a known secret that certain ministries pay journalists after the press conferences. Poor pay for journalist has contributed to corrupt practices. Thus Poor remuneration is a great contributor to this challenge.

Multitasking in media is an emerging trend and was cited as another challenge for unethical behavior. This is where yesterday’s radio journalist becomes today’s radio and television journalist, and yesterday’s print media journalist doubles up as a layout and design artist. All this is to earn a living. The intention is to move as close as possible to those positions where the brown envelope is easily accessible.

It also emerged that while seeking to profile their organizations in the media, issues of giving freebies and incentives to journalist is a key ethical dilemma in the public relations profession. Though most people would like to state that it is facilitation fee but the true picture is that for one to effectively profile an organization in the media, one has to provide incentives (freebies) to members of the media professions.
The other important thing is that most of the journalists play it safe to keep their jobs. They say that they have families to feed and therefore if the only thing they have to do is to be just a little unethical, then be it. It is worth mentioning that media practitioners not only receive brown envelopes. They also give. This is mainly in a desperate attempt to climb the career ladder or to retain a particular position in the industry.

(2) Immoral behaviour to get a job or advance in the job

Some 70% of the interviewees were in agreement that money and sexual favours present a big challenge to them in their professions. There was a general feeling among the respondents that professional survival is a more important consideration than ethics or professionalism. Thus, anything that may jeopardize that survival is generally skirted away from. Job security is the major concern. A media practitioner has to ensure that he/she does not go against the employers' demands, be they job related or otherwise.

It was also revealed that many communication graduates are seeking employment yet there are limited vacancies because competition in the media industry is cut-throat. Interviewees also observed that many communication graduates take too long looking for jobs and by the time they get one they will have compromised a lot on their beliefs and values. As one respondent explained, the typical scenario in job seeking is the following:

- Every person tries various means to get in, and once in, s/he tries to be promoted. It happens that many a times job seekers either engage in sex or bribe in order to get these opportunities. They also learn quickly that by being a good boy or good girl takes one nowhere. Therefore, they do not mind doing anything to get employed. Once that is done unethical behaviour becomes part of one's everyday practice because then you just can't stop. If one is hired because they could bribe or have sex, they have to keep doing that in order to maintain their jobs or be promoted. So the issue of ethics becomes a gone case.

Interviewees revealed that the tendency to adapt to a sexually licentious culture in the media industry is on the rise. There was a wider agreement among the interviewees that what is happening in the industry is at times unspeakable. One of the interviewees said:

- Media is a crazy environment where there is a constant pull to go for the opposite way from what you believe. In terms of immorality, I dare say
the media industry is like Sodom and Gomorrah. Temptation and other challenges like corruption are really huge; therefore it requires serious commitment in God and those ethical principles that one is grounded on. Many journalist/media practitioners give-in so easily to pressure either from their bosses or to individuals who give bribes.

Content plagiarism

Another ethical challenge identified is the issue of content plagiarism whereby media practitioners are friends and support each other. For instance, if a reporter from a particular media house arrives late for a function, s/he will obtain the footage/material from another reporter. But s/he will not acknowledge that source because his station expected him to be on location and cover the function. Thus, there will be a replica of the same content on two or more media houses. Thus media houses using content from another media house without acknowledging the same because of the stated reason(s) is yet another unethical scenario. This is exacerbated if that piece of news is not accurate because the mistake will appear in several media.

Not knowing how to defend principles or deal with ridicule

The study shows that working in the media as a Christian or ethical person is not a cup of tea because some of the challenges they face daily hinder them from doing what they know and believe is right. For example the gate keepers have the final word on what will go on air or into print. Interviewees contend that a reporter could be having a very good story that is of public interest but the story may never be aired or published depending on one’s relationship with the gatekeeper. Since more often than not it really matters whether or not one’s story is published or aired, individuals tend to work on their relationships with the gatekeepers. Such a move obviously tilts one’s ethical stance or Christian values. If such a compromise is not reached, one will be left out and one’s stories may not be utilized. One interviewee explained: Although we were taught that no amount of money should affect one’s judgment of a newsworthy story, we try to adhere to it for a while because even if one observes this rule, the news editors are bribed to angle stories so frustrations grip in on the part of the ethical reporter. The fear of being neglected and perceived as the odd one out makes people conform to the media way of doing things. Further, there are no Christians at the top management level who can vouch for us. In addition, corporate managers flex financial muscles and dictate what is to be aired. Therefore media practitioners, especially those that are not
at the managerial level, have no control of the media content.

A different scenario is the already discussed reality of job scarcity in the country. To make it worse, there are not many Christian-related media firms to absorb all Christians into the job market. This means that graduates from Christian universities and colleges end up obtaining jobs in any available media firms. Keeping this in mind, each of these firms have their own vision, mission and goals to realize. Consequently, there is a lot of pressure to conform to the standards and in-house policies of any given media house.

Some professional journalists with a Christian background have succumbed to peer pressure from their colleagues thus, follow their example and end up forgetting the ethical norms that they are supposed to follow. There is much ridicule of those perceived as Christians or persons strongly committed to ethical principles in the media and much is done to make their work very difficult by others in the same industry. One of the respondents reported a common statement in the newsroom: ØThey say; we know you are from a Christian university but as you come here, leave your Christianity at the door Ø

The interviews reveal that media practitioners are constantly at a cross-roads because they have several masters to whom they owe loyalty and are to serve. One loyalty is to their own personal ideals, another set of demands come from clients, still another from their own media houses with pressures from media owners and professional colleagues and finally from the public they try to serve. It is thus challenging for them to choose to whom they owe their moral duty. This is because each of these groups matter in their profession and livelihood. This yields disorientation and divided attention. The pressure to stand on one feet is thus a great challenge. This is because, as some reported, Øin (university) class we are many but when one gets out there, you are aloneØ One interviewee said, ØI do get surprised when I see even the journalists I schooled with behaving funny. Our university had a dress code and some people we shared classes with are dressing badly out here. I have also heard cases of the same colleagues being bribed but I canØ ascertain them to be trueØ

(5) Money, profit the only motive

It is a generally known fact that the lifeline of any media house is advertisements. Thus media houses get most of their revenue from the advertisers. Yet advertisers also have their agendas, interests and political affiliation. When advertisers get caught up in issues, they push the media with threats that if they report the stories as they are, they
(advertisers) will not give them business. This compromises the media to tell or write the story in the desired angle of the advertisers. This therefore means that the media becomes biased.

Ownership is another major factor cited. With the liberalisation of media space, most private players have grabbed this opportunity to open media houses. As they do this, their sole intention is to make profits. This sometimes forces the foot soldiers in these media houses to dance to the tunes of the employer. The employer dictates what goes on air or gets into print. This is often at the expense of ethics. Hence employees are left with no choice but to disregard communication ethics since they need their jobs and salaries.

Many respondents were of the opinion that advertisements dictate, to a large extent, the way media operate. What the advertiser wants is what gets accepted. Whoever fights the will of the advertisers is seen as an enemy because they are fighting the sources of revenue for the company. The pressure of advertisers is particularly strong, according to some respondents, in the case of advertisements of alcohol, cigarettes and with sexual innuendos. Upholding ethics is secondary to financial gain. The priority of bringing in profits establishes a culture which every journalist, no matter where they schooled, becomes acculturated to.

Respondents also indicated that news values and taking up issues that are important information for the public are secondary to profits. The culture of profit making has become so explicit that as long as media enterprises bring more profit, nothing else matters.

The media owners want the profits because they consider the media industry to be a business like any other that exists first to make profit. As a result, the industry produces stories that sell even if it means sensationalizing, exaggerating or even neglecting the facts about the information they disseminate to the public. Due to pressure, the practitioners will therefore do anything to ensure that profits are made because they also need to make some money. As a result, no one really cares much about the kind of content that goes out to the public as long as their interests are looked into.

(6) Rot in the media industry
The issue of appealing to people’s emotions so that media can get fast and desired response was another reason cited as to why ethics slip through the hands of the media practitioners, even if they may be graduates of Christian universities. This was an explanation as to why television stations and newspapers present minors and other
vulnerable members of society at their worst situations. One media practitioner argued that sometimes they need to overlook some of those details in ethics in order to get a quick response to help the situation at hand, especially if they are reporting on hunger or war. The more miserable we paint the picture, the faster the desired response, said the respondent.

Another challenge to ethical norms of practitioners is competition in the media houses, especially to be the first to report on an incident. This is the exclusiveness bug that has bitten all the media houses. Every media house wants to be the first to report on a story, and they also want to be the only station reporting on it. The problem with this exclusive-story-reporting is that it often lacks facts that are very crucial because in the rush to report on an issue first, reporters fail to gather critical information, have little time to cross-check facts and therefore lack balance in the content. For instance, recently in Kenya (June 2012) when the helicopter carrying a Kenyan minister, his deputy, security officers and two pilots crashed, a television station went ahead to expose the picture of a leg of one of the victims, to confirm to audiences that senior Kenyan government officials had actually perished in the crash. The sad part about this story is that family members and some members of the public were able to identify whose leg it was. This elicited negative public emotions that forced the station to apologize. But of course, the damage had been done.

(7) The training institutions and lack of sufficient training in communication ethics

Most of the respondents argued that they also respond to ethical situations in the manner that they do because a lecture in class does not cover every other situation in the work environment. One said that sometimes it calls for the reporter to think on his feet and make a judgment on certain situations which may not necessarily be ethical but appropriate to the time and situation. This is because there is such great pressure on the part of the reporters to get a story for the following day. What is important for them at that particular time is to have a story for broadcast or print.

Other interviewees identified two scenarios that need a critical look. One, an institution that admits Christians only ends up getting people who pretend to be born again and eventually do not take the training in the Christian universities seriously. They just obey the rules put in place for the sake of completing their studies and avoid getting in trouble with the administration. This has a serious impact once these students join the industry. There they get back to their real character and betray the
principles of the institution they graduated from.

The second scenario they pointed out is the policy of admitting Christians only. They said this approach indirectly affects ethics in the industry because media practitioners, especially journalists who graduate from Christian institutions, work in the same environment and face the same challenges as non-Christians and those graduates from non-Christian institutions. We are all engaged in the same environment and we are equally tempted to take bribes in form of gifts, or áunchá The fact that graduates from Christian universities fail to live up to common ethical principles explains why they cannot set a standard that influences others ácommented one respondent.

(8) Influence and interference from news sources, media owners and stakeholders

Respondents in the print and electronic media indicated that one of their greatest challenges is to find and publish or broadcast deserving news stories. They reported that they tend to affiliate themselves with particular persons in the political and economic environment so as to achieve mutual interests and agendas. The practitioners are expected to follow and abide by the rules endorsed by the status quo and there are consequences for not adhering to this. This means that some newsworthy stories are left out because the news reporters and gatekeepers are guided not by the principles and ethics of their profession but by news sources. Thus, respondents indicated that some deserving stories, which are newsworthy, are normally left out of the media. This is because, they said, the editor in chief is the person in charge of selecting which stories run and which ones do not. And s/he too is a victim of news sources influence.

Respondents stated that reporters have very little control of what goes out to the public. Once the reporter does a story, he or she leaves it at the mercy of the editor who will in most cases twist the story to make it more áinterestingá so that it can ásellá In the process of making the story interesting to sell, a lot of imbalance is created where the truth is either exaggerated or concealed. Respondents explain that this happens often especially when it comes to political matters because most of the newspapers, television and radio stations are associated with particular political parties or persons hence their reporting favors candidates of those political parties or persons they associate with.

The editor in chief áchoice is also guided by company policy such as observing and maintaining existing relationships with various stakeholders. This also determines which stories get aired and which ones get killed. If a media house feels that airing or publishing a certain story will hurt it financially, then the story will not see the light of
day. Also, the media understand the concept of taking care of the hand that feeds one. This means that they tend to avoid practices that will jeopardize their income. Media managers will go out of their way to make sure that their clients are pleased. If this includes deception, as is the case with some advertorials, then so be it.

(9) Pressures

The study further discovered that working with people of many different professional, businesses, political and religious interests makes it difficult to have one collective stand on certain issues, especially on matters of moral stance. Some journalists, attempting to take a particular moral or ethical position, run the risk of losing big stories which other media houses are highlighting and gaining large audiences for. This breeds pressure from the media houses’ management, who take their competition with other media houses very seriously and who feel the company’s reputation is at stake if they cannot match competition. Moreover, media practitioners in secular companies that have clients and other stakeholders who need to be appeased find themselves expected to join in the wild parties and entertainment at night spots.

Another finding is that most media houses compete with each other for higher ratings. Consequently, programmes that do not follow ethical principles are aired to attract viewership and listenership. An example is the radio programme that encourages busting cheating couples. It is a favorite programme however damaging it maybe to relationships and to the society at large. This busted programme started with one FM radio station but other stations have adopted it with little or no modifications at all.

Concerning dressing, respondents indicated that there is an emerging trend especially in television where news anchors are compelled to dress in a particular way. The compelling enters in because, as interviewees shared, in the electronic media and especially for television, there are assigned companies to look after the wardrobe of the broadcasters. This is challenging especially for ladies. They must wear short skirts in order to be visible. This intends to attract a larger audience that will make programmes more attractive for sale to advertisers. These advertisers have a hand in shaping ethics in the media industry. They put pressure on media managers to ensure that news anchors dress in a particular way in order to attract large audiences.

Another reason for compromising on ethical norms that are rooted in religious principles is because (most) (media personalities) have been affected by a wind of fame. There is a seduction of the camera that creates faulty perceptions and pride and as the
saying goes be thankful that you are unknown because if you are known then you wish you were not expressed one interviewee. The fact that certain media practitioners perceive themselves as famous celebrities makes them want to fit into the image of celebrities. Hence they take on everything and anything that is expected of a celebrity working in the media industry.

The study also reveals that many media practitioners engage in unethical practices to meet the objectives set for them by their employers. Some journalists are required to file a certain number of stories every day and public relations practitioners are under the pressure to get the organization’s story in the media even if they have to bribe to do so. This means that although the practitioners want to practice ethics and principles they have learned in life, they do not because they fear that if they do so they will not fulfill their work requirements. Interviewees stated that many practitioners think that media ethics is important in their professional activities, but they have no qualms about breaking the rules if they think that being unethical will make their work easier.

The perspective of the individuals in regards to ethics reveal different standards they have in terms of ethics. Some say that media ethics is better said than done and at times it pays to cut corners so as to achieve the main objective. After all, how could journalists possibly hope to get stories that matter, or the ones that the public want to know about if they are to be wholly honest in their investigations, respect others’ feelings and wishes and respect the privacy of individuals? asked one interviewee. Pressure also arises due to the conflict of interest between the media owners and the political leaders and policy makers because media owners have limited freedom to execute their business without interference from politicians. There is also the pressure of media practitioners to show their abilities and competence. If their colleagues who engage in unethical practices appear to be doing better than them, others will also engage in the same practices if they feel it necessary to keep their jobs. As one interviewee said, We compete for viewers so we do not really care about being ethical.

(10) Some special reasons for lack of concern for ethical commitment

Some respondents do not attribute their ethical violations to any particular pressure within their media houses. They see the ethical challenges exposed by this study as prevalent in all media houses, be they private, church or government owned. This is because these institutions exist in Kenya and in these institutions one finds graduates who are Christians and non-Christians, as well as graduates from confessional and non-confessional universities and colleges. Another finding is the perception by the
interviewees that most of the unethical media practices are products of societal moral decay, and journalists are simply the result of a general moral blindness in Kenyan society. To justify this, the respondents said the society is equally corrupt and, if it were not, it would cry foul when media practitioners contravene ethics. Until societal morality changes to the better, they stated, the vices in the media industry will continue to prevail.

Further, a number of respondents linked their unethical tendencies to cultural and background upbringing. It really comes down to how you were brought up and your value systems. Many people say we steal because of poverty but there are many people who live in poverty but they are not thieves.

Concerning what they are doing to address these challenges, some feel they have no obligation to change anything. Five of the practitioners admitted that although they are graduates of Christian universities, they are not doing anything to curb the existing anomaly in the industry. Two actually said that they are just living their lives and do not really care about what others are doing as long as at the end of the month they get their pay. Another interviewee indicated that ethics is more of personal choice than any other thing and argued that media may be unethical but it is the mirror or rather a reflection of society in which people live. Thus, they hold that unethical media practice seem to be a symptom of deeper problems in society.

Discussion of the study’s findings

In discussing the findings of this study, I would like to employ the Potter Box model of reasoning created by Ralph Potter which involves defining the situation, knowing one’s principles, choosing loyalties, identifying one’s values and eventually making judgment (Christians et al, 2001).

In step one, defining the situation, an individual is expected to make a list of the facts of the situation s/he is in, so that s/he can better understand it. This helps one understand exactly what ethical dilemma s/he is trying to solve. In step two, identifying values, the individual is to identify his/her values. Basically, what does the individual stand for? The values in a given society, church, organization that one belongs to may help the individual in identifying his/her values. This step generates a long list of adjectives such as honesty, responsibility and broad mindedness. The purpose of identifying one’s values is such that when an individual ultimately reaches a conclusion, his/her decision should not go against those values. For example, one should not decide to do something dishonest if s/he believes honesty to be very
important. The third step involves identifying one’s guiding principles and philosophy. Even though an individual may have a few principles that he/she abides by, the one s/he picks should be applicable to the situation at hand. Fundamental is that one’s decision should not contradict what one identifies as his/her guiding principle. In step four, the potter box encourages one to choose his/her loyalties. These are who and what are most important for the individual to stand up for? Loyalty could be to self, the public, clients, stake holders, one’s audiences or even the law. It is important that many as one’s loyalties may be, the individual has to be sure that his/her decision does not abandon his/her loyalties. For instance, if one is loyal to the law, then he/she should not break it. The last step is five where the individual makes a judgment and arrives at the decision. This decision must be justified, based on the previous steps. If one cannot make a justified decision at this point, s/he may need to go back and review the previous steps.

The name Potter Box may indicate that this process is very rigid, but this is a fluid process, and one may have to go back and forth among the steps before reaching a conclusion. This process also becomes somewhat easier and quicker the more one practices it. The rule is that when faced with an ethical dilemma (in communication), one can actually start at any point of the Potter Box, including starting with a judgment based on one’s Christian or cultural background or even personal loyalties. So the expectation is that if a communication professional is faced with a challenge to make moral decisions, the expectation is for him/her to apply the Potter Box method before deciding.

From the findings of this study, it appears that the graduates of Christian universities and colleges working in Kenya know whom they are loyal to i.e. mainly the media owners, news sources, their superiors/supervisors, and their jobs i.e. and these loyalties determine, to a great extent, how they make their moral judgment in their profession. Moreover, these practitioners’ values that guide their judgment stem from the society as well. Since their loyalties are defined, as already indicated, it could as well be said that the respondents embrace the values upheld and propagated by the very persons/groups that they are loyal to. Yet it has to be understood that what is considered a value in one culture or context could be a vice in another culture and context. It thus resonates with the findings of this study that vices in the Kenyan media industry are a mirror /reflection of what the society is.

Additionally, this study’s findings support the argument of Mfumbusa (2008) who offers ample evidence that African media has been marked by lack of professionalism, poor reporting practices, corruption and lack of credibility in editorial autonomy.

These are the same findings by White (2011) whose study clarifies that the predicament is not just in Kenya. In a survey of journalists in Tanzania, 83% of the respondents said that accepting bribes is common among Tanzanian journalists and 80% said that they know a journalist who has accepted a bribe. An editor interviewed in the study stated: ‘The issue of taking bribes is widespread among journalists. Journalists are interested in writing stories that bring them money. Many people like to give bribes, and many are ready to accept them. The entire system is corrupt’ (White, 2011, p.5).

This study’s findings further point out that one of the reasons for unethical practice in the media industry in Kenya is rot in the media industry itself. This issue of communication ethics is so critical that in Kenya, it has led to loss of accountability, distortion of facts and breach of ethical concept of honesty. For instance, on the 19th September 2011, the Media Council of Kenya (MCK), through its branch, the complaints commission, disciplined The Standard newspaper for an offending story. The article titled, ‘Kenya’s Secret plot against the International Criminal Court (ICC)’ was published by The Standard newspaper on 19th January 2011 (Agina & Omanga, 2011). It falsely accused the then head of the civil service, Ambassador Francis Muthaura, one of the ICC suspects, of heading a think tank to subvert the ICC process and execute a secret plan to pull Kenya out of the Rome Statute that established the ICC. The two journalists involved confessed to making up the story (Kibira, 2011). The complaint commission asked the journalists to apologize and ordered the newspaper, on 19th September 2011, to pay a fine of Ksh 250,000. This and similar scenarios are not rare.

Consequently, this study’s findings fall in line with White (2010) who points out that a significant number of journalists in Africa do seem to be systematically distorting or suppressing news so that the public cannot get the balanced, complete information they need to participate intelligently in national sociopolitical debate and decisions (p. 42). Even though White (2010) acknowledges examples of almost heroic dedication such as the experiences of Dele Giwa, the founding editor of the Nigerian news magazine Newswatch who was killed by a letter bomb, he hastens to add that young people entering the media professions easily get confused and fall prey to political or economic pressure. They get swept up into a system of power brokerage that maintains a dominant neo-patrimonial rule and a widening gap of rich and poor in Africa (2010, p. 43). These very observations are literally the findings of the current study.

The findings of this study have shown that some of the ethical challenges of the media are a result of the inability of practitioners to uphold their own principles and values.
To address this, media practitioners should also take it upon themselves to be more independent and consistent in their application of ethical guidelines. The media can create an atmosphere conducive to ethical responsibility by adhering to basic principles of social responsibility that are given by authors such as McQuail (2005). In the long run, this will benefit the media industry itself. These principles are, for example, setting high professional standards of innovativeness, avoiding news coverage that leads to crime, violence and social irresponsibility and making sure that they represent the diversities in society. Further, the media should strive to be accountable to the society as well as the audience, and not just to the media owners, newsmakers and advertisers. This is a challenge rather than a recommendation and it can only be realized when the audience has had media education so that they, the masses, can take media to task and hold them responsible and accountable. This is vital because if the people do not appreciate and demand responsible, transparent communication from journalists and political leaders, they will not get this (White, 2008, p. 190). Probably such an approach may give a push to the media owners, advertisers, politicians and other news sources to refrain from direct interference in the media operations. This is not far-fetched because most of the respondents cited the need to educate the society on their rights as concerns media/communication ethics.

**Recommendations**

This study’s recommendations are in the form of how African Christian universities should link its confessional values to education in professional ethics. With specific reference to the sixth research question, which sought to gather recommendations, interviewees would like to help the universities improve communication training for professional ethics and responsibility, it is apparent that mandatory courses and prayer sessions are important elements in integrating faith and learning and in instilling Christian values to the trainees. But that is not enough. A lot more needs to be done and a lot more is expected. For example, the universities should bring in practicing professionals in the course of the training of communication ethics to compliment what the students are being taught in class. This should be for all levels of training, though the content should be different for undergraduate and graduate students. This is important because undergraduates are beginners and may be lacking experience. Post graduate students most probably have both. Hence the needs of training in communication ethics for both groups would be different.
Further, the study of communication ethics, together with other related courses like biblical foundations offered in Christian universities and colleges, ought to be given a new lease of life by re-examining why they are being taught and ensuring that students in Christian universities and colleges start to appreciate their importance in transforming the self and society while they are still at the institutions. This may require that these core courses are introduced early in the curriculum and spread throughout the entire study period so that courses intended to propagate integration of faith and learning are more fruitful and beneficial to both parties. Moreover, there is need to separate media owners from practitioners. This is an extremely demanding recommendation that can only be achieved if Christian universities and colleges involved in communication training strive to train their graduates to be not just job seekers but also job creators so that they also become media owners and initiate the changes in the media industry by becoming the changes that they desire.

Further, these universities and colleges ought to tailor-make the course/specific units in response to the needs and challenges of emerging trends. Thus it would be more beneficial for ethics courses to take case study approach. The training would be more successful and valuable if the leadership of these institutions themselves live up to the expectations of their integration of faith and learning since they are expected to be role models to the students. They must not only be good in policy documents but also in practicing them. Additionally, practical courses such as communication ethics ought to engage guest speakers or part timer lecturers who have experience working in the media to help Christian universities and colleges train their students in readiness for the real world. This means that these institutions must be willing and ready to invest in such resource persons. The institutions can also utilize their alumni as guest speakers (resource persons) because it will help a lot to enrich the student with their own experiences of both worlds.

Further, individual media practitioners ought to develop personal ethics and should be encouraged to do so during the teaching of communication ethics or related courses. Most probably there is need to come up with a communication ethics approach that is brewed in the African pot, incorporating African values. What is needed is a homegrown ethic, incorporating African (Kenyan) values. This will address the concerns of Namusisi (2012) that parents had no role in determining the educational content for their children even when some studies stressed African culture. Their formal education was thus a disconnect from the land and community to which they belonged.
These recommendations can be followed up with borrowings from other disciplines. It is a fact that irrespective of where one has trained; all Kenyan lawyers go to the Kenya school of law before being admitted to the bar. But for communicators it appears that from class/home one can proceed to the screen/studio/newsroom. Probably communicators can borrow a leaf from the lawyers such that a strong professional communication body that accredits communicators based on education and professionalism is established as a matter of urgency. This body would then have the powers to certify but also revoke the qualification and/or practicing license of any person who carries out his or her media practice unprofessionally. This recommendation is not farfetched because it has successfully worked in one African country and it can be replicated elsewhere. Faced with challenges similar and worse to those in this study, The Ghana Journalist Association (GJA) introduced an ethics committee and the presence of this committee helped to formulate a discourse of what is good journalism (Diedong, 2008, p. 209). Diedong explains that establishing an ethical journalistic culture must begin with the decisions and actions based on the values and character of individual journalists. In the Kenyan context, this would call for a complete paradigm shift, such as each individual journalist resolving to raise his/her journalistic standards. But it is worth taking it up because the end product will make the journalism and other media professions be more appreciated and its place as the fourth estate be more respected.

Essentially, these empirical findings can aid Christian universities and colleges in upholding the right approaches they already employ in integrating faith and teaching of communication/media ethics and also bridge any gaps that have been pointed out. Moreover, these findings may lead into establishment of a more practical approach by Christian universities and colleges in teaching communication/media ethics in the 21st century and beyond. Additionally, Christian professors teaching communication ethics in non-Christian universities could also utilize these findings to enhance their work.

**General conclusion**

In conclusion, the study found that though it is a fact that most of the media practitioners are graduates of Christian universities and colleges, there is a disconnect between what they learn and how they integrate the Christian faith and professional ethic. The major contributing factors to this disconnect are interference by media owners, advertisers, gatekeepers, competition, pressure to conform, profit, immediate desired
results such as a quick response to a needy case, pressure to produce a story, use of false information to compel the subjects of the story to tell the truth, greed for money, desperation for money (many are correspondents who take so little home), survival in the profession (if one does not toe the line, doors are shut on him/her by the news sources and h/she fail to get the stories that matter), and pressure to get the story and scoop the competition. In the face of all this, graduates who have just emerged from universities scarcely know what is expected of them as media practitioners. Hence, although Bansikiza (2011) argues that media practitioners are opinion leaders whose character is indispensable when it comes to values of truth, ethics and responsibility, viewers, listeners and readers are continually subjected to unethical news coverage and presentations that raise eyebrows.

In a nutshell, the study has shown that graduates from Christian universities and colleges understand the importance of ethics at work, but apparently they are unable to practice due to a variety of reasons. Even though findings tend to indicate that media practitioners who work in Christian institutions are sensitive to their media houses' faith and tend to fearlessly live up to it in comparison to those who work in non-Christian institutions, the conducive Christian environment in the former makes it easier. However, the ethical challenges exposed by this study are prevalent in all media houses, be they private, church or government owned.

This study has thus exposed, from the media practitioners’ point of view, that although professional communication ethics is an issue in Africa, it is even a greater issue in confessional universities and colleges in Africa where more than just professional ethics training is given to students and they are expected to integrate their holistic training in their work after graduating. The study also found out that graduates from Christian universities are not able to influence the environment in the media industry but rather the industry is fast changing them. This situation may not improve any time soon.

Despite these findings, the study did not and was not intending, to provide solutions to the situation at hand; though the recommendations section has made some proposals. Therefore, it is incumbent upon Christian universities and colleges involved in communication training, and indeed other scholars, to critically think through the situation as presented by this study and then carry out further research on possible remedies. Such a route will greatly complement the findings and recommendations of this study. What may urgently be required is a paradigm shift in the approach of integration of faith and learning in Christian universities and colleges.
Media ethics in the Kenyan media: Understanding the disconnect between the classroom and practice

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Social construction of meaning and values regarding HIV and AIDS through interpersonal communication networks: A study of high school students in Nairobi

By Ndeti Ndati

Abstract
This study sought to find out why high school age youth in Nairobi generally know the causes of transmission of HIV and AIDS, but do not in fact avoid behaviours considered to entail risks of contracting HIV and AIDS. The study gathered quantitative data from a sample of 340 high school students focusing largely on their sexual behaviour. The focus group discussions with ten focus groups revealed that youth through interpersonal communication among their peers construct a common stock of lay knowledge and limited bio-medical information from which they make decisions about their behavioural responses to HIV and AIDS that seem quite reasonable. The study also interviewed teachers, counselors and school administrators who confirmed the results. The study recommends that mass media and other communication about HIV and AIDS for this 15-19 age group take into consideration their own construction of meaning and values.

Key words: Youth, HIV and AIDS, youth knowledge and application of HIV AIDS risk behaviour

Today, worldwide, the highest rate of sexually transmitted diseases occurs among the 15-19 age groups. According to the 2010 report of the United Nations Program of HIV and AIDS (UNAIDS, 2010), young people aged 15-19 accounted for about 40% of new HIV and AIDS infections.

In Kenya the three surveys of the Kenya Demographic Health Survey (KDHS) in 2003, 2007 and in 2008-9 show that HIV/AIDS is increasing in the 15-19 age group between the years 2003-2009. The KDHS report in 2008-9 found that youth start

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engaging in sexual intercourse early. Seven out of ten girls and eight out of ten boys have engaged in sexual relations by the age of 20. The median age of first sexual intercourse is 17 years. Kiragu and Zabin (1993) report that in Kenya 69% of male and 27% of female secondary school students had experienced sexual relations. Of these 53% if the males and 45% of the females had at least four different sexual partners in their lifetime. Kabiru and Orpinas (2009a) found half of the boys and girls in secondary schools in Nairobi had already initiated sexual activity. They also found that students in co-educational secondary schools were more likely to be sexually experienced than in single-gender schools. The study of Kabiru and Orpinas (2009b) also found that secondary school students in Nairobi generally engage in unprotected sexual relations and generally are involved with multiple sexual partners.

**Youth have relatively high knowledge of HIV/AIDS but still engage in risky sexual relations**

The Kenyan National AIDS Control Council through the Ñimechillö campaign has made major efforts to educate the 15-19 groups regarding the risks of engaging in unprotected sexual relations. High school administrators and teachers also say that they have put great emphasis on instructing students on the risks of early sexual involvement and the dangers of unprotected sexual relations. There is evidence that these communication strategies have in fact provided high school students with knowledge about the causes of HIV/AIDS and the risks of promiscuous sexual relations.

Studies have found, however, that though there were relatively high levels of HIV and AIDS knowledge among students, there was still lack of observable behaviour change amongst them (Lukoye, 2004; Ochieng, 2005; Nyinya, 2007; Ongunya, 2009). The HIV and AIDS education program had not enabled the youth to acquire the readiness and ability to adopt lifestyles that were compatible with prevention attitude and practice regarding HIV/AIDS (Lukoye, 2004). The knowledge which was envisaged by the current HIV and AIDS program in schools therefore had not brought about positive behaviour change to the students (Ongunya, 2009).

Increasingly, research is focusing on this gap between knowledge of HIV/AIDS transmission among youth and the lack of moving away from risky sexual behaviour. Somehow the instructional campaigns have not affected the norms of youth culture which lead toward early sexual debut, high levels of unprotected sexual engagement and far more multiple sexual partnering than most youth want to admit (Nzioka,
2005). Okigbo et al. (2002) point out the knowledge í behaviour gap in AIDS communication as the heart of the difficulties in containing the epidemic among the youth. The explanation of this gap between seemingly high knowledge of the causes of HIV/AIDS and the lack of a change in cultural sexual and other life-style practices of youth is the focus of the present article.

**Explaining the gap between knowledge of HIV-AIDS and high risk behaviours**

The presuppositions in much of the instructions of young people regarding HIV/AIDS and in much of the media campaigns is that there is a direct, rationalistic relationship between knowledge of risks and implementation of protective actions. What these media campaigns do not take into consideration is that medical knowledge in itself is not sufficient to motivate to change behaviour (Lukoye, 2004; Ochieng, 2005; Nyinya, 2007; Ongunya, 2009). It is supposed that if young people know that there is a high risk of contracting HIV in unprotected sexual relations, they will automatically avoid such behaviours. What these presuppositions do not take into consideration is that there are other demands and values guiding young people's interpersonal relations, especially their sexual relations.

What has not been taken into consideration is the complexity of the decision about interpersonal and sexual relations. The medical and social information is not, in itself, sufficient for making a decision. Facing these complexities, young people lack adequate decision making skills and the ability to fit safe sexual relations in with many other important demands. There is need for far greater knowledge of the contextual realities faced by young people with regard to the decisions they make about their sexual behaviours.

Much research has focused on the response of young people to mass media messages, education or responses to instructions about the risk of unprotected relationships. Even the focus on interpersonal explanations of the high risks is not enough. What is needed is more focus on the interpersonal, contextual communication among young people themselves. At play here are values of youth cultures, the information really relevant for getting along with other young people and gaining status in contexts of youth.

The guiding values, meanings and perceptions of situations, the understandings and knowledge of the world held by young people are not a static, pre-given, but are actively constructed and continually changing.
(Bury, 1986, Nzioka, 2005). These social discourses and constructions about HIV and AIDS are important in mediating the impact of HIV and AIDS preventive campaigns. The purpose of this study was to explore the discourse of youth emerging from their interpersonal communication and, on the basis of analysis of this discourse, explain why there are disparities between knowledge of HIV AIDS and behaviour among youth.

**The role of discourse and convergence theory in explaining the gap between the gap between knowledge and behaviour**

Some of the dominant health communication theories used to set up effective strategies of communication for HIV and AIDS prevention are the health belief model, the theory of reasoned action, social learning/cognitive theory, diffusion of innovations and social marketing. These theories are generally based on an assumption of a rational decision making which follows a linear path from awareness to action. However, there is increasing evidence that decisions about preventing HIV and AIDS are based on cultural norms very different from the rational, linear model (Airihienbuwa, Makinwa and Obregon, 2000; Okigbo et al, 2002). Decisions about HIV and AIDS are more often made on emotions, erroneous hearsay, fear of stigma, and a host of other disturbing stereotypes used in common discourse about HIV and AIDS. Health communication theories rarely take these disturbing emotions of common discourse into consideration.

Secondly, current theories focus on individual decision making and tend to ignore the social context and the social construction of meaning and decision making (Melkote et al, 2000; Dutta-Bergman, 2005). The information campaigns tend to focus on increased individual knowledge of HIV and AIDS transmission, but ignore the social and cultural context of application of that knowledge (UNICEF, 2011). Much of the research investigating these approaches also focuses on individual, message-receiver communication processes. There is an increasing call for research that takes into consideration the culture and discourses of particular youth subcultures regarding sexuality such as female adolescents (Kiai et al., 2004).

Thirdly, much research which focuses on the rationalistic relation of awareness, attitude, and action tends to ignore the fact that adolescents, for example, are very different in socio-cultural background, economic lifestyles and use of media.

The present study chose to focus on the meanings, values and preferred patterns of behaviour that emerge in the social discourses of young people in the Nairobi city
region. The interview guides for focus groups and key information incorporated elements of convergence theory (Rogers and Kincaid, 1981) especially information sharing, mutual understanding and mutual agreement among adolescents arrived at in collective or group discussion and action. It is assumed that it is in these social interactions within groups that beliefs are generated. It is this knowledge and set of beliefs that guides what adolescents agree are acceptable behavioural norms. Convergence theory is based on the perspective that an individual’s perceptions and behaviour are influenced by the perceptions and behaviours of members of the same group and by people in one’s personal networks such as peers and friends. This theory has contributed to redefining communication as a process in which all participants need to respect and take into account other people’s feelings, emotions and beliefs. Convergence theory has also highlighted the importance of social networks in defining the path to social change.

Data gathering and analysis methods

In order to understand how knowledge, attitudes, norms and accepted behavioural patterns are generated among high school students in Nairobi, three types of data gathering approaches were used: 1) a survey of 350 high school students reporting their beliefs and activities regarding HIV and AIDS and their personal sexual activities; 2) focus group discussions in which participated a cross-section of high school students representing different ages, social statuses, religious backgrounds, life interests and other aspects thought to be of importance in issues of HIV and AIDS; 3) key informants such as student councils, selected teachers and high school administrators who would be in a position to verify and comment on the confidential reports emerging from the survey and focus group discussions.

The sample size of 350 high school students was determined using the method of Fisher et al (1983). A multi-stage stratified and systematic sampling procedure was used to insure a proportional representation of males and females and high schools from different social status sections of the city of Nairobi.

The questionnaire gathered responses to questions such as frequency of engagement in sexual intercourse, age at first sexual intercourse, use of condoms, whether they had discussed HIV with friends, whether they had discussed HIV protection with friends, opinions about the effectiveness (for them) of the current media campaigns dealing with HIV, and whether they think that they have adequate knowledge about HIV and AIDS. The quantitative data was analysed to get frequency distributions regarding knowledge of HIV/AIDS and high risk behaviours for contacting the virus such as
unprotected sexual relations.

Focus group discussions were held in five high schools. Two focus group discussions were held in each high school, one with forms one and two combined and one with forms three and four combined. Each focus group discussion consisted of eight students, four girls and four boys drawn purposively from each form. In total 80 students participated in focus group discussions from the five high schools.

The questions and probes for the focus group discussions dealt with the following questions dealing with the more normative dimensions of:

1. Knowledge of HIV/AIDS, source of knowledge and ways they talk about HIV/AIDS
2. Whether they avoid risks of HIV/AIDS (use of condoms, delay in sexual debut, etc.) and how important do they consider this.
3. How discussions about HIV/AIDS help or does not help to provide protection
4. wareness of and perception of campaigns aimed at preventing HIV/AIDS.
5. Whether these messages are relevant and helpful.
6. Whether the members speak about HIV/AIDS in their interpersonal discussions and how they see the risks of HIV/AIDS.

The third source of data were key-informant interviews, using a conversational, semi-structured interview guide with professionals in the school including two head teachers, two guidance and counseling teachers, two games teachers, one school nurse and three school captains. A total of ten key informants were interviewed. The in-depth interviews were used to provide insights regarding the context in which youth behaviour occurred and its broader structural determinants.

The qualitative data from the focus group discussions and key informant interviews were transcribed and a coded into common themes for thematic analysis. For the report regarding findings, a narrative following the objectives of the study was constructed enriched with quotations from focus groups and key informants. The conclusions were drawn from the triangulation of the survey data, focus group themes and key informant themes. This triangulation also substantiated the reliability and validity of the methods and data gathering instruments.
The findings

Knowledge of HIV and AIDS among the youth

In order to understand the actions of young people who are potentially facing HIV infection, it was necessary to understand their common-sense knowledge about AIDS and also their methods of addressing the AIDS threat concerning their own constructed safer-sex rules, guidelines or practices. From a social constructionist perspective, the youth are both authors and actors in the realities they construct. As authors, they rely on a common stock of knowledge rooted within existing institutions, every day language, shared meanings and understandings. The youth of Nairobi make sense of new phenomena or events as they occur. They follow systematic procedures in selectively choosing from their stock of knowledge to construct a base of common-sense knowledge and associated surface rules. These rules reflect deeper norms and structures which form the basis of social relationships.

When the respondents were asked if they had heard of AIDS, 98.8% of them agreed. Those who had not heard of AIDS were 1.2%. Studies have found that general awareness of HIV and AIDS in Kenya is high. For example, among young people aged 15-19 years, four in five (80%) young men and 74% of young women knew that a healthy looking person could be infected with HIV (KDHS, 2008-09).

Information from the focus group discussions indicated that participants knew about the existence of HIV and AIDS. HIV and AIDS were defined as ḏuge ḏterrible ḏhorrible ḏsad and a big deal These terms used to describe HIV and AIDS denote the relevance of this problem for interviewees and its emotional connotation (mainly negative feelings). The link between HIV and AIDS, and death stood out.

This study found that students talk about sex and HIV and AIDS and in the course of their discussions, they created their own meanings of HIV and AIDS. They used metaphors and forms of figurative language to refer to HIV and AIDS as a disease or to refer to those who were already infected with HIV virus.

Q: How do young people describe HIV?
P1: Some refer to it as ḏamududaḥ (small insect)
P2: Oh, simple ḏ HIV is like a bee ḏ you know that small insect? Kali sana maze! (it ḏ very dangerous)
P3: Some of us call it a ḏworm ḏ coz it ḏats ḏ from inside ḏ (laughter) Yenyewe ni kwelĩ ḏ as inė huwezi jua kaa niko nayo (more laughter). (You can ḏ tell whether I am infected)
P4: We talk of ŋwengwe to describe someone suspected to have the HIV virus.

HIV and AIDS was often the object of an interpersonal reframing discourse. The relevance of the disease was discussed by comparing it with other diseases or social problems that present some of its key features. For instance, HIV and AIDS were often compared to cancer because both lead to death. It was also often compared to other sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) because all of them are transmitted sexually. Moreover, HIV and AIDS were often compared to poverty in developing countries because both were considered political problems. It is interesting to notice that this discursive construction of HIV and AIDS allowed participants to reframe the problem and thus moderate both its gravity and its relevance:

P1: HIV and AIDS are like hepatitis which is just as bad.
P2: Yeah, both can cause cervical cancer, infertility and death.
P3: HIV is like some STDs such as gonorrhea which are equally fatal. It will not only lead to loss of vital parts like STDs do, but can also cause death.

The reframing of the relevance of HIV and AIDS was evident in all focus group discussions. Participants claimed not to know anyone with HIV and AIDS, but reported knowing people suffering from cancer and STDs. Thus HIV and AIDS appeared much less common than other diseases, at least according to the participants in the focus group discussions, and this lessened its relevance. The participants said they didn’t have any direct experience with people affected by HIV and AIDS. If so, this represents a contradiction between these young people’s personal experience (i.e., nobody I know has HIV and AIDS) and the affirmations of mass media campaign messages (i.e., HIV and AIDS is a big issue in Kenya and there are many people with HIV in our country).

This contradiction seems to trigger questions about the reliability of preventive campaigns and diminished their rhetorical effectiveness. This was reinforced by a 17 year old female school captain:

“...I would like to tell you that most students in my school are not aware of anyone who is HIV positive. I am in that category, of not knowing anyone who is infected. I am also curious to know whether there are people I know, but who I don’t know are HIV positive.”

Q: Where do you get information about HIV and AIDS from?
P6: Mostly from the media. We rarely talk about sex but we get information from the media most of the time.
P7: At times we hear stories about HIV from friends flying around.
P2: Pia vitu kaa ṣmaradi dhivi, TV, wasee wa home, that is, ṣmarelaṣ (also from radio or television)
P4: Pia church! (More laughter) ḍ. but rarely anyway.

The participants attributed this knowledge they do have about HIV to various sources such as teachers, the media (posters, radio & television), peers, religious leaders, the HIV and AIDS curriculum taught in primary and secondary schools, relatives and health centre.

When asked if the information about HIV and AIDS they had received helped them to make informed decisions about HIV protection, the students said they had.

P3: We are okay. Hii story ni sawa. As in, we have enough.
P5: Tumechanuka! (laughter). Tuko far ḍ una-get? (we understand, it is enough)

However, a 48 year old female nurse, who worked in a mixed school, was of the opinion that in spite of the information that young people purported to have, she believed that students still needed a lot of persuasion and understanding to change their attitude towards HIV and AIDS.

I believe you and I can help these children. I doubt whether they have the right facts about HIV and AIDS. Am telling you, there is a lot of influence in this school. For over ten years now, I have interacted with them. I also talk to their parents, who seem not to bother much about their children. I can tell you, mwaliimu that young people feed each other with the wrong information about HIV. Trust me, they always tell me. And as a parent, I also counsel them. Actually, they confide to me a lot.

One could imagine and even feel the motherly touch and concern expressed by the nurse given her interaction with students on a daily basis. She said that the students confided to her most of the time. They would express their fears and concerns about the kind of information they were getting out of their discourses with friends. It is these discourses that generated lay knowledge which young people relied on in their decision making efforts. This knowledge did not seem to assist the youth in making right decisions about their health.

The respondents were asked if they knew whether AIDS was curable. The results showed that 86.7% of the respondents knew that AIDS was not curable. Surprisingly, 13.3% of the respondents thought that AIDS was curable.

During the focus group discussions, the lack of a cure for HIV was seen by the
participants as the most dramatic aspect of this disease. This made it extremely frightening. Death at a young age was considered abnormal, and it is something that interviewees preferred not to think about. They said they were afraid to death of contracting AIDS:

Q: Does HIV have any cure?
P1: Not at all, I hear doctors haven’t found one yet. This is bad, you know. Guys just die, like chickens, you know.
P2: Of course not. Mazee inabidi tujipange. (we have to be careful But it is okay. Somehow we have managed to cope.
P3: There is no discovery about a cure. It’s just that you will get AIDS and then you die. Yeah, I mean, there is no cure, after all.

That AIDS had no cure was summed up symbolically by an 18 year old school male captain, who said that he was speaking on behalf of his peers in school.

AIDS is a stupid disease. Gava is yet to get the herbs for it. But what do we do? Ngoma lazima tucheze. Mifupa tutavunja. Ok? If you can’t beat them, join them.

A 38 year old male principal added his voice to the debate about the knowledge and consequences of HIV and AIDS. To him, students engaged in discussions about the effects of HIV and AIDS and how to protect themselves.

I have interacted with students for the last 15 years now. I believe that I understand them. I listen to them quite often. I can then tell you that my students have information about HIV and AIDS. They know how to protect themselves against. We teach them using the HIV and AIDS syllabus. However, there is also a lot of peer influence around. I can tell you then that most students don’t make independent decisions. Instead they are heavily influenced by their peers. These are fellows who may not be reliable at all, and I understand some of them are quite persuasive! You can imagine then the extent to which they will mislead their colleagues. Nevertheless, we keep telling all of them to avoid casual sex. In fact, the message we preach is about abstinence. However, when push comes to shove, we equally tell them to use protection if they are not able to abstain. But the question is, do they really use them? Your guess is as good as mine.
The majority of the respondents (93.2%) were right in stating that a healthy looking person may have the HIV virus that causes AIDS. Only 6.8% of the respondents disagreed. This knowledge was corroborated by participants during the focus group discussions:

Q: Can a healthy-looking person have the HIV virus?
P1: Yes, we have learnt this in class and we know that anyone, including those who look healthy, may have the virus that causes AIDS.
P4: It is a pity that you cannot tell who is sick by looking at people. So, there is real danger here.
P5: The information is all over the place. But how can you tell, even you?
P2: Yeah, I mean, anyone can have the big one, but who cares? Sickness or not, life has to go on!

When the respondents were asked to rate their knowledge of HIV and AIDS, 46.5% of them rated their knowledge as very good. Another 42.4% rated their knowledge of HIV and AIDS as good while 9.4% rated their knowledge as not good. Literature reviewed showed that knowledge about HIV and AIDS was high and satisfactory among young people (Kermyt & Bentel, 2007; K AIS, 2007; Odu & Ankanle, 2008).

Knowledge of HIV and AIDS preventive methods

The findings of this study showed that interpersonal communication regulated the forms of experience and perception among the youth regarding HIV and AIDS communication for behaviour change. Consequently, the youth's perceptions and meanings of HIV and AIDS were constructed through available discursive understandings. According to Bury (1996), interpersonal communication restricts and enhances meaning, dialogue and thinking. Bury observed that diseases were not merely biological entities but rather they were socially constructed phenomena. Those meanings that the youth attributed to HIV and AIDS were decisive in shaping their responses to this condition.

As earlier observed, HIV and AIDS is an unthinkable disease for these young people. The only way to talk about it was by defining it as a problem that was related only to particular places or segments of the population. For example, in their communication, participants tried to locate the virus propagation in distant areas and among groups such as commercial sex workers. This sort of virus circumscribing discourse allowed the youth to represent HIV and AIDS as a confined and remote problem. Below is an excerpt from a 19 year old head boy:
When I think of AIDS, I don't really associate it with the youth. I imagine the
prostitutes or far off places like the beaches in Mombasa which are frequented by
tourists. I think needle users and gay men are more likely to catch HIV and AIDS than
us the youth.

Thus, individuals with HIV and AIDS were perceived as socially undesirable, and
HIV was often attributed to the others. The perception of the divergence between
oneself and those who are exposed to the risk of infection seemed to be based on
stereotypes about the disease and on the I-cannot-happen-to-me syndrome. HIV
and AIDS was discussed as something that affects not normal people. For these young
people HIV and AIDS is defined as something for which individuals are responsible;
it was perceived to be a consequence of an individual irresponsible behaviours. It
followed that getting HIV was the individual's fault, and it was an object of social
blame, as observed by the 17 year school captain:

I don't want to generalize and say we are all at risk. No. I can't relate HIV infection
to real people here. I think it is a lifestyle disease. Unless you are born with it, it is your
lifestyle that gets you. I think it is a preventable disease. For me, I am normal, so HIV
is not an issue for me.

When the respondents were asked whether they had ever engaged in sexual
intercourse, 94.1% agreed. Those who said they didn't have sex were only 5.9%. These
results corroborate literature by scholars that the youth were engaged in premarital sex
(Nzioka, 2004; Wodi, 2005; Kermut & Beutel, 2007; NACC, 2010).

The KDHS report of 2008/09 indicated that the youth start engaging in sexual
intercourse early, with 7 out of 10 girls and 8 out of 10 boys had engaging in sex by the
age of 20. The report put the median of first sexual intercourse at 17 years. This early
sexual debut exposes the youth to numerous health risks (NACC, 2010).

When the respondents were asked whether they had any knowledge about condoms,
90.6% of them said they knew about condoms. Only 5.6% of the respondents said they
had no knowledge about condoms. Another 3.8% did not give any response. These
findings are supported by the KDHS reports of 2003 and 2008-09 which suggested
that the youth aged 15-19 years had knowledge about condoms and that one could use
them for protection against HIV infection.

When respondents were asked to state who they had sex with, 69.1% of them said
they had sex with their friends. This was followed by 25.3% who mentioned schoolmates
as their sexual partners. Those who said they did not have a sexual partner were 5.9%.
This percentage of those who did not have sexual partners corroborated the 5.9% of
the respondents who had never had sex.

Friends played a major role in providing venue to their colleagues for sexual activities. They accounted for 66.8%. Other venues were school (13%) and home (12.1%). 5.9% of the respondents are those who had never had sexual intercourse.

During the focus group discussions, participants attributed their sexual activities to peer pressure particularly from their close friends and school mates.

Q: Why do you engage in sexual relations?
P1: There is a lot of pressure from friends. It is difficult to survive in a group of friends without engaging in sex, because that is always the main activity.
P2: And so you will want to prove a point. That you are capable just like them
P3: The fear of possible consequences will drive you to comply. These guys can beat you up if you don’t accept their plans.
Q: Do girls experience such pressure from other girls?
P7: Oh, my! They are worse. If cliques of girls discover that you want to be different from them, they insult, or even organize with the boys to attack you. You have to play ball.
P4: And you can even report their threats to the teachers. One time, a form two girl reported some girls from her classmates to their class teacher. I wish she was here to tell her story. Imagine her parents had to transfer her to another school, but not before she had received a thorough beating from people she did not know. And this happened on her way home from church!

The respondents were asked whether they had used a condom the last time they had sex. Those who did not use a condom the last time they had sex were the majority at 80.9% compared to 13.4% who said they had used a condom. Failure to use a condom during sexual intercourse is supported by Nzioka (2005) who asserted that unprotected sex was still a common feature among young people in spite of the levels of knowledge concerning the protective value of condoms and other contraceptives being high. This showed a very low risk perception.

While condoms remain one of the best weapons against HIV transmission, studies continue to show limited use of this protective method in sexual intercourse among the youth in Sub-Saharan Africa (MacPhail, 1998; Wodi, 2004). These scholars cite several socio-cultural and religious factors in the limited use of condoms. These findings corroborate earlier studies about condom use and beliefs among the youth in Nairobi (Kiai, 2004; Ongunya et al., 2009; Kabiru & Orpinas, 2009; KDHS, 2008-09; APHRC, 2010; NACC, 2010).
From the focus group discussions, it emerged that a condom was an important prevention strategy in theory, but in practice it was not a neutral action: it implied specific relational meanings that made its use less frequent:

Q: Do you use condoms during sex for protection against HIV infection?
P5: Condoms? No, I don't because I am in a serious relationship with my partner. I believe we are healthy.
P8: I don't use them because the level of trust between us is very high. As such, I am not worried at all.
P3: The problem is, what kind of world do we live in if you cannot ever trust the person you are with?
Q: Supposing they cheat and put you at risk?
P1: Yes they can slip, but it is always difficult to ask your partner to wear a condom. I mean, where do you begin?
P2: Buying condoms is also embarrassing for young people coz it means that you are having sex. And remember you don't want people to label you loose!
P5: Condom use is only common in casual intercourse or at the beginning of a relationship.

As noted in the above discussion, participants pointed out that long-term relationships were perceived as not risky, and thus using condoms seemed unnecessary. Moreover, participants said that asking a long-term partner to wear a condom would imply not trusting in his or her commitment to the relationship and fidelity.

Sometimes this discourse of trust between partners was an issue even at the beginning of a relationship. The decision to have sex with a new partner was often contemplated seriously and was based on the individual's perceived honesty and reliability. Asking a new partner to use a condom would mean not being totally confident in the correctness of the partner's previous behaviour. Girls, in particular, declared their shyness in negotiating condom use and their concern about meanings implied by this request.

Another problematic aspect related to the discourse of condom use was the discourse of birth control pills. Preventing unwanted pregnancies was the main concern of sexually active youth. This tended to lessen the relevance and urgency of HIV and AIDS prevention in their sexual relationships. Since young people's main preventive concern in relation to sexual activity was avoiding unplanned pregnancies (rather than preventing HIV and AIDS), girls who were using birth control pills felt protected and were not concerned about the risk of HIV and AIDS:
P5: With birth control becoming relatively reliable, many people I know, myself included, don’t pay as much attention to the secondary reasons for wearing a condom.

P8: When I think of using a condom, I think of preventing a pregnancy, not preventing AIDS.
The respondents who supported the use of condoms argued that they considered this as the only option of self-protection since they found it very difficult to abstain. However, they were uncomfortable with condoms since they reduced sexual pleasure.

P1: It is not easy at all to abstain. Sex is very much addictive.
P3: It is just like smoking. Once you start smoking, it becomes very hard to stop the same.
P7: By the way, girls want favors, gifts, money, outings, shopping, among other niceties. Which girl will not fall prey to a man ready to provide these things? And if such a man wants sex, they insist on unprotected sex anyway. How can you refuse?
P8: I would advise those who are still virgins to try, yes, try coz it is not easy, to remain so. But I can tell it is not easy. I tried it will little success before I finally gave in.

When the respondents were asked if they thought they could protect themselves from HIV infection by abstaining from sex, 86.2% agreed that they could abstain from sex as one way of protecting themselves from HIV infection. Only 13.8% of the respondents said they were not able to abstain.

However, the respondents stated that owing to the influence and pressure from their friends, it was hard to practice abstinence. They said that only those who had not involved themselves in sexual relations could be encouraged to abstain, if that were possible.

When the respondents were asked whether they discussed HIV with their friends, 91.7% of them said they did while only 8.3% of them said they did not. The majority of the respondents (91.7%) discussed sex with their friends.

However, during the focus group discussions, some participants were of the view that HIV and AIDS were not that easy to talk about. One reason for this difficulty in talking about HIV and AIDS was the social taboo surrounding its main method of transmission: sexual intercourse. Such participants referred to the difficulty of talking openly about sex and sex-related topics with friends. In a conservative culture such
as that of Africa, sex before marriage is not accepted, and sexually active unmarried youth are always part of a blaming discourse especially by adults:

Q: Do you discuss HIV with your friends?
P1: I talk about HIV with my friends but not as a stand alone subject. The discussion has to involve other issues such as entertainment, which as young people we like.
P2: We discuss issues related to HIV and especially if they are interesting
P7: I have a very protective father and two overprotective brothers. If I can't talk about HIV at home, where do I begin even when I am with my friends?
P3: Yes, as friends we do, though it is difficult even with friends, no one wants to hear about this thing at all they don't want to hear it. Not anyone!
P5: A few of my friends never ever talk about HIV. My family members don't talk about sex to me; neither do I hear them talk about the same to my siblings. Nothing!
P6: Some of my friends are Catholics like me and our faith doesn't allow us to talk about sex or contraceptives like condoms. But at times we engage in conversations that help us to understand HIV as a disease.
P8: To me, it is ridiculous that there is so much of taboos around HIV and sex in general.

From these discussions, it was established that students talked about HIV and AIDS though others felt that it was a taboo to engage in sex-related discussions. Some of the observations raised during these discussions supported the UNFPA report (2008) which stressed the fact that discussing sex was taboo in many countries, and this denied a large number of people, especially the 15–19 age group, the necessary information to negotiate for safe sex (UNFPA, 2008). The report supported the need to develop a culturally sensitive educational intervention program.

A few of the participants during the focus group discussions noted that talking about HIV and sex was embarrassing to them. However, the majority of the participants observed that talking about HIV and AIDS among friends was not unusual. They argued that though HIV and AIDS was in itself boring and sad discussion of sex-related topics was perceived to be easier with one's sexual partner. In other instances, the participants argued that talking about the disease and its prevention implied a lack of trust in one's partners past sexual behaviours, and so some participants avoided it for this reason.
Furthermore, participants categorized sexual relationships as acceptable or promiscuous. Among those who are in acceptable relationships, the participants considered themselves not at risk and noted that HIV was a mentionable topic but still was seldom discussed, even at the beginning of a relationship. The consequences of HIV and AIDS were not a young person’s concern.

Q: Is it difficult to talk about HIV and AIDS with your partner?
P3: Yes, it is very difficult to bring it up sometimes. All I say is let’s make sure you will not kill me with some horrible disease. It’s not very romantic.
P8: It may be a bit awkward to bring it up, at first, but it has to be done.
P1: Talking about HIV and AIDS is not always the first thing in my mind, so it doesn’t arise naturally. But we end up talking about it anyway.

When the respondents were asked whether they discussed how to protect themselves against HIV infection, the majority of them (83%) said they didn’t. Only 16.8% said that they discussed HIV protection with their friends.

From the focus group discussions, it emerged that having sex with a partner whom the young person knew well, in the long-term relationship, for instance, was not a deplorable behaviour for participants. It was considered acceptable, at least among the youth and, in their view, not an example of a risky behaviour. The only sexual relationships that the youth viewed as risky were the same-sex relationships and casual intercourse. These were classified as promiscuous relationships, and were more likely to be the object of social blaming among the peers.

Furthermore, because promiscuous sexual relationships were not considered acceptable or socially desirable, they could not be part of the social conversations, and thus the risks, such as HIV and AIDS, could not be communicated. Participants reported that HIV and AIDS prevention seemed to be an issue only in promiscuous relationships. This has important consequences for attitudes regarding the use of condoms in sexual intercourse.

The study found that students attached a lot of importance to opinions from their friends regarding sexual practices. Those who rated these opinions as extremely important were 40%, while another 50.3% said they were important. Only 9.7% rated their friends’ opinions as not important at all. These ratings point to the importance of interpersonal communication among the youth.

Within the discourse of HIV and AIDS knowledge, information about self-protection from the key informants and the focus group discussions complemented the findings of the survey about self-protection against HIV infection. Both data indicated that
most young people did not bother with self-protection against possible HIV infection, even when they knew the risks of unprotected sex.

**Discussion of Results**

Despite the high awareness of the specific ways in which HIV and AIDS is transmitted and how it can be prevented, AIDS is still treated with fear by young people and carries many negative symbolic and sexual meanings. It is the social meanings of HIV and AIDS which have made the communication of HIV and AIDS media messages among the youth a challenge for those involved in interventions.

The findings in this study confirm the observation of Nzioka (1994, p. 176) that the ways in which people make sense of their sexual meanings of AIDS depends on their perceptions of the risk of HIV infection, and their knowledge and experiences of sexually transmitted diseases, as well as on their compatibility of HIV and AIDS education messages with meanings and practices embedded in social and cultural lifestyles.

When respondents were asked about their knowledge of HIV and AIDS transmission, 93.2% of the respondents were aware that HIV was mainly transmitted through sexual intercourse. The knowledge about HIV/AIDS among high school age youth supports other reports such as the KDHS reports which have indicated that young people know that the main mode of HIV transmission is heterosexual relations (KDHS, 2003; 2008-09). According to KDHS (2008-09), knowledge of youth regarding HIV transmission modes increased from 67% in 2003 to 75% in 2008. The report also indicated that 92% of the youth aged 15 ï ¿ 19 years knew that AIDS could not be transmitted by supernatural means such as cursing.

This study also supports Wodi (2005) who notes that the levels of awareness do not necessarily reflect an understanding of how sexually transmitted diseases such as HIV could be transmitted or prevented. The data in this study confirm the findings of Nyinya (2007) and Ongunya (2009) that in spite of the understanding that HIV is mostly transmitted through sexual intercourse, students continued to engage themselves in risky sexual behaviours.

The disconnect between knowledge that HIV infection happens through sexual intercourse and avoiding risky sexual behaviour in these findings corroborates many other studies of Hanan (1994); Muturi (2005); Kabiru and Orphas (2009a and 2009b); Mulwo & Tomaselli (2009); and Govender (2010). Although respondents in this study said that one way of avoiding HIV was to abstain from sex completely (48.8%), this
knowledge had not been translated to positive behaviour change. Young people in Nairobi continued to engage in unprotected sexual activities as noted by Kabiru and Orpinas, (2009a) and in APHRC (2010).

The study found that the understanding of HIV and AIDS of these students came largely from their knowledge of the HIV and AIDS epidemic and its consequences. The great majority (98.8%) of the respondents in this study had relatively complete knowledge about HIV and AIDS and its ways of transmission. These findings are consistent with other similar studies.

The study also showed that in the face of significant risk of contracting HIV and AIDS among sexually active students, the practice of preventive behaviours was still low. For example, 80.9% of the respondents reported that they did not use a condom in their last sexual intercourse. This was in spite of the knowledge of preventive value of condoms being at 89.1%. In the youth culture other values are far more important than demanding precautions from sexual partners. For example, to insist on the use of condoms would violate the important value of interpersonal trust.

MacPhail (1998) also suggests that young people are cognizant of the value of condoms as a barrier to contraception and also for preventing HIV transmission. Few of the young people thought that it was applicable to them. Most tended to think that the risk of HIV/AIDS occurred only in same-sex relations or in relations with prostitutes. Despite the high profile given in national campaigns regarding the danger of contracting HIV among youth, few high school age youth thought that this risk applied to them. As Jemmot (2000) has also observed, most sexually active youth did not consistently use condoms although they were aware that their use may reduce the risk of sexually transmitted diseases.

This research is consistent with data from the KDHS reports of 2003 and 2008-09 which showed that there had been a marked improvement in knowledge of HIV prevention methods among adolescents aged 15-19 years. For instance, 75% of adolescents knew that someone could reduce the risk of getting the HIV virus by using a condom every time one had sexual intercourse. This knowledge of condom use increased from 67% in 2003 to 75% in 2009 (KDHS, 2003; 2008-09).

The literature reviewed demonstrates that there is need to seek other innovative ways of addressing HIV and AIDS prevention among the youth. Kiai (2009) and Govender (2010) have proposed, for example, that parents should act as role models to their children as they discuss matters of sexuality with them. These scholars suggest also that for HIV and AIDS communication to be effective, issues of societal norms
and values must be fully addressed.

Discourse on HIV in many countries has revolved around the fact that most communication models have proved insufficient in addressing HIV and AIDS, and that long-term social change is vital in effectively addressing the epidemic (Kiai, 2009). This study has shown that there is need for HIV and AIDS communication interventions that are consistent with the unique mannerisms and lifestyles of young people. This study has found that forms of interpersonal interaction are the most effective means of creating preventive consciousness.

In this study the majority of the respondents (60.9%) did not perceive themselves to be at risk of HIV infection, because, as they argued, they usually had sex with their friends whom they trusted and believed to be healthy. As indicated in the literature, many approaches to managing HIV and AIDS fail to consider the evidence that risk perception is culturally influenced and therefore risky behaviour is a social rather than an individual issue (Tsasis & Nirupama, 2008). This research confirms that it is wrong to assume that decision-making behaviour is always rational. This study found out that social factors such as relationships have a major impact on behaviour, and at times may prevent individuals from adopting safe sex practices that prevent HIV and AIDS transmission.

This research supports the view that in the African context there is need to take into consideration local African cultural values and practices. Communication initiatives have a chance of succeeding only when situated within the cultural and social context of the target audience (UNAIDS, 2010). Early HIV and AIDS initiatives failed in the African context since they were created for a Western context, where individualism instead of community orientation was favored (Airhihenbuwa and Obregon, 2000). Similarly, Kunda and Tomaselli (2009. p.5) reiterate that effective health communication interventions depend on understanding the knowledge, attitudes and practices of people from given cultural vistas.

This study supports Mulwo and Tomaselli (2009) who observed that HIV and AIDS programmes focused on the individual as an agent of change and therefore failed to critically address the social, cultural and economic conditions that may inhibit the ability to carry out certain decisions at individual level. They further say that human sexuality should be understood as a social construction that needs to be analysed within a broader context in which it is practiced. Other scholars such as Nzioka (1994) agree with them.

In Kenya, numerous HIV and AIDS education and prevention programs that target
young people exist (NACC, 2008; KHDS, 2008-9). In spite of these efforts, there are important gaps in communicating HIV and AIDS prevention methods. Thus, more audience sensitive prevention programmes may be needed which not only increase young people’s knowledge about HIV and AIDS prevention, but also assist them in acting upon that knowledge.

It is important to understand young people through the leisure activities that they pursue, including fun activities they indulge in, their media preferences, their common language among youth and their views on sexuality. Others include music tastes, leisure time activities, language and fashion. Kiai et al. (2004) suggest the need to understand the needs and motivations of young people, including their hopes, dreams and aspirations. Other factors to consider are their media preferences, their common language, music tastes, and fashion, among others.

Respondents in this study suggested the importance of the use of edutainment in HIV and AIDS communication. This finding is supported by Chesser (2010) who said that through the use of films supported by curriculum components, young people’s awareness of positive health behaviours were found to increase. If the intervention strategy uses clear, simple messages, with characters that the audience can relate to, then edutainment can increase awareness of values (such as self control, responsibility) and teaching young people better behaviours which can affect health status. Bandura (1986) posits that individuals can learn by observing and imitating or modeling others in real life or television drama. By allowing students to observe others such as film characters modeling positive behaviours, they are exposed to new guides for action.

This study also confirmed the observations made in the HIV and AIDS Youth Strategy (NACC, 2008) that there was disconnect between media interventions and young people. The mass media were perceived as portraying young people negatively, as a group to be feared with their sexuality issues treated as a problem.

The study found that the mass media can raise awareness of specific facts because they are assumed to carry a certain authority and reliability. However, later on in actual practice, target populations appear less interested in media authority than they are in the opinions and behaviours of people to whom they feel close to. In this case, interpersonal communication becomes primary while the mass media play a supporting role.

This study underscores the importance of continuing to assess knowledge about HIV and AIDS among the Kenyan youth, and sheds new light on the importance of interpersonal communication in the process by which young people learn about HIV
and AIDS and use that knowledge in relation to their perception of risk behaviour. HIV and AIDS programmes must be culturally appropriate and work toward influencing risk perception, while addressing social norms and values that negatively impact vulnerable populations. By impacting cultural and social expectations, individuals will be able to more readily adopt safer sex behaviours. The development of policies and programmes addressing the issues in context, as opposed to individual behaviours alone, allows for effective public health intervention.

Conclusions

The findings of this study suggest that HIV and AIDS preventive behaviours are not only the outcome of an individual decision but are also the result of an interpersonal consensus-building process. The results presented in this study testify to the importance of interpersonal exchange in mediating mass media campaigns’ influences on people’s attitudes and beliefs. The findings show that this is a complex process and that multiple factors are involved, enhancing or blocking young people’s exchanges about preventive messages. In this regard, media campaigns like Nimechill that are popular and already objects of young adults’ exchanges could be powerful channels for broadcasting a preventive message because they have a greater chance of becoming part of youth discourse.

This study holds that inclusive processes need to be implemented in such a way that lay discourses about HIV and AIDS are researched, analysed and internalised into HIV control and mitigation programmes. Otherwise, preventive campaigns will continue to record minimal achievements. Forms of interpersonal interaction have also been found to be the most effective means of creating HIV and AIDS preventive consciousness and need to be considered. Above all, much more emphasis should be given to interpersonal communication (Joram, 2010). These findings also corroborate the tenets of convergence theory which emphasises individual perceptions and interpretations of the information being shared, encourages and ongoing dialogue, and fosters mutual understanding and agreement on common meanings (Schiavo, 2007).

The impact of dominant social discourses on the norms and values which influence adolescent behaviours have to be grasped in order to move understanding of sexual decision-making away from models that suggest rationality based on knowledge (MacPhail, 1998). Research in this country should be moved towards understanding of adolescent sexuality for the two reasons: First, the importance of norms, values
and entrenched social beliefs provide some answers for the failure of existing HIV interventions. Second, future interventions are likely to benefit from an understanding of the complexities facing the youth in the decisions which govern their sexual lives.

An important contribution of this study, in addition to analyzing the role played by interpersonal communication in influencing behaviour change, was to develop further the methodology for analyzing youth involvement in HIV and AIDS communication for behaviour change. By combining quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection and the triangulation of data during analysis, this study has managed to get under the surface of figures and numbers of the otherwise most commonly used quantitative analysis. Through the extensive quoting of views of the focus groups participants and key informants, this study has given voice to the view of youth of this country that have the potential to engage our country’s development challenges.

The findings have demonstrated the ability of young people to establish an interpersonal dialogue with their peers. Such interpersonal dialogues can be used to encourage their colleagues to abstain from risky sexual relations and if possible, give them hope and the desire to adapt one’s life to positive circumstances. The findings also showed that interpersonal relations of friendship, respect and commitment were of crucial importance.

In addition, this study has contributed to literature that emphasises the role of interpersonal communication in HIV and AIDS behaviour change. The findings demonstrate that effective communication in HIV and AIDS is more complex than simply talking to the youth about abstinence and faithfulness which are the key issues in HIV and AIDS communication messages.

The study concluded that the HIV and AIDS preventive behaviours are not only the outcome of an individual decision but are rational decisions stemming from a blending of lay discourses juxtaposed with limited bio-medical knowledge. Therefore, interpersonal exchange is important in mediating mass media campaigns’ influences on people’s attitudes and beliefs.

This study underscores the importance of continuing to assess knowledge about HIV and AIDS among Kenyan youth and sheds new light on the importance of interpersonal communication as a process by which young people can learn more about HIV and AIDS and use that knowledge for behavioural response.

A policy recommendation of this study is the need for edutainment programs. The success of entertainment-education in mixing production of soap opera formats with subject matter based on the realities, needs and passions of audiences facing HIV and
AIDS are evident in South Africa, India, Tanzania and other countries (Singhal & Rogers, 2006). Since young people love movies as a form of entertainment, HIV and AIDS messages should be incorporated in these movies. Tufte (2001) suggests that entertainment education programmes often lead to discussions about programmness and their educational themes among peers and in their communities. A study carried out by Chesser (2010) among secondary school students in South Africa suggests teenagers are interested in participating in learning environments which include entertainment (i.e. films). As much as possible, edutainment approaches should be closely integrated with various youth activities and with the interpersonal communication processes where meaning is constructed by all those participating.

In addition, all subjects that are part of youth discourses and generate exchanges among them should be used as channels for disseminating HIV and AIDS preventive messages.

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Social construction of meaning and values regarding HIV and AIDS

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Newspaper information on traditional medicine in Nigeria

By Herbert E. Batta

Abstract
This study examined the extent to which Nigerian national dailies and print journalists report traditional medicine practice in Nigeria. Two research designs: content analysis and survey were used for the study. The data for content analysis were derived from a sample of 416 issues of four purposively selected Nigerian daily newspapers (namely: Daily Trust, New Nigerian, The Guardian, and The Punch) from a population of 2,920 issues covering the period between 2005 and 2006. Survey data were collected from a sample of 84 print journalists in the four newspaper firms from a population of 168 using a self-administered questionnaire. Analysis was done using frequency and percentage scores presented in tabular form. The results showed that newspaper coverage of traditional medicine issues compared to that of Western medicine falls far short of expectation. Though coverage was dismal in the print media, their portrayal was generally positive but rarely illustrated with relevant infographics to enhance interest and understanding. The study equally brought to the fore the fact that the perception of Nigerian print journalists is neither positive nor negative but somewhat ambivalent. The conclusion is that the ambivalent perception of traditional medicine issues among the surveyed journalists was related to the poor coverage of traditional medicine issues in Nigerian newspapers. This study therefore recommended among others that Nigerian newspapers should consider traditional medicine issues weighty enough for frequent, consistent, prominent coverage to reflect the importance the populace, government, and the international community attach to them. This study highlights the relevance of the press in building agenda and framing of health issues.

Key Words: Coverage, portrayal, depth, formats, attitude, perception.

In Nigeria, research on media coverage of traditional medicine practice is scanty and newspaper coverage of health seems to weigh very heavily in favour of Western medicine. An analysis of news media coverage of complementary and alternative

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medicine conducted by Bonevski, Wilson, and Henry (2008) points out that regarding traditional medicine, newspapers contain varying degrees of inaccuracies and omissions in health news stories (p. 2). Other problems of coverage of traditional medicine include unnecessary sensationalism, inadequate follow-through, failure to consider the quality of evidence, inaccurate portrayal of benefits, lack of consideration of adverse effects and costs, and the failure to obtain comments from independent informants.

Not only is the coverage of traditional medicine inaccurate but there is evidence that the perception of traditional medicine by journalists is biased. Perceptions differ among journalists and between journalists and the public. Beaudoin and Thorson (2002) affirm this much when they state that,

Most studies have indicated that media use predicts media perceptions but fewer studies have explored the growing gap between journalists' and the public's perceptions. Specifically, previous research has indicated that public perceptions of the news media are more negative and cynical than those of news professionals. This differing evaluation results partly from journalists' training and contact with other media professionals and sources (p. 1).

This study set out therefore, to, firstly, examine the coverage of traditional medicine practice in Nigerian newspapers, secondly, to find out the perception of traditional medicine practice among print journalists, and, thirdly, to see whether there is a relationship between how the practice is perceived and how it is covered.

Growing public interest in traditional medicine

In the pre-colonial period, traditional medicine was highly developed and in the last ten years there is a resurgence of interest in the use and study of traditional medicine globally (www.essentialdrugs.org). Even where scientific medicine is the only medical approach legally permissible, residues of traditional, alternative, or complementary medical practice still exist. There is increasing recognition that Western medicine is developed out of herbal and animal medicine and is only a researched, refined, and updated version of folk medicine.

Hillenbrand (2006) states that support for traditional medicine has dramatically increased worldwide and that as far back as 1978 during the Alma Ata Primary Health Care Declaration, the World Health Organisation (WHO) acknowledged the importance of traditional medicine in providing primary health care and urged nations to develop official policies on it. The African Union
moved traditional medicine into greater public attention when it declared years 2001 to 2010, as the Decade for African Traditional Medicine (African Union- www.idrc.ca).

Outside Nigeria, the coverage of health and medical issues receives attention in the mass media particularly daily newspapers, magazines, television and radio. For instance, in two studies by Gray, Cantrill, and Noyce (1998) conducted in the United Kingdom, the finding was that:

newspapers commonly included health information in the form of advertisements and news items; magazines included features and readers’ letters. Descriptions of disease treatment and states were the most common subjects. Although conventional therapies were featured more than alternative options, there were a considerable number of advertisements and features for alternative therapies especially in newspapers (p. 189).

On the other hand, the study also revealed that 97.5% of television and 100% of radio items referred only to conventional therapies. The authors conclude that, television and radio items were heavily biased towards conventional therapies and that, health issues in television programme, especially soap operas, rarely reflected the substantial public interest in alternative remedies (Gray, Cantrill, and Noyce, 1998, p. 180).

A central issue is the accuracy of journalists’ reporting of health, especially in the case of new developments in health services such as traditional medicine. Where journalists cover health issues, Bonevski, Wilson, and Henry (2008) emphasise the importance of subjecting stories to a test of quality by making sure the story provides answers to the following salient questions: was the novelty of the treatment reported? Was the availability of the treatment reported? Were treatment options described? Did the story contain elements of disease mongering? Was the reporting of evidence included? Were benefits formed in both relative and absolute terms? Was there mention of potential harm? Was there mention of costs? Was an independent comment included? Was the story sufficiently different from the press release (where this was available)?

Another central question in health reporting is the balance of the information provided. Media coverage of public affairs and issues does have a relationship with the perception of reporters, correspondents, and editors of those issues.
McQuail (2005) confirms that media content is influenced by media workers' socialisation and attitudes. Also, journalists are not immune to the selective processes of exposure, retention, and perception. Baran and Davis (1995, p. 141) explain selective perception to mean, "psychological recasting of a message so that its meaning is in line with a person's beliefs and attitudes."

In Nigeria, some attention is lately being paid to traditional medicine as indicated by the attempt at legalising of the practice. Outside of this, the Nigerian media have been showing interest in traditional medicine. While the broadcast media (radio and television) have often promoted traditional medicine fairs, workshops, seminars, and exhibitions, the print media do also bear articles on traditional medicine.

The problem however, is that there seems to be a paucity of scholarly motivated studies on the character or nature of coverage of this important health sector by the print media in Nigeria. Secondly, we do not know how Nigerian print journalists perceive traditional medicine practice and its coverage in Nigeria. Therefore, the key questions that this study sought to answer were: what is the nature of newspaper coverage and portrayal of traditional medicine practice; and how do print journalists perceive the practice in Nigeria?

Given the context of uncertain information on the growing importance of traditional medicine, the present study attempted to provide answers to the following research questions:

1. To what extent is traditional medical practice covered and portrayed in Nigerian newspapers.
2. In what formats is traditional medical practice information presented in Nigerian newspapers?
3. Which areas of traditional medical practice dominate the Nigerian newspapers?
4. How do print journalists perceive traditional medical practice in Nigeria?
5. What is the relationship between journalists' perception of traditional medical practice and the newspaper coverage of the practice?

**Why media coverage of traditional medicine is important**

The World Health Organisation defined traditional medicine in 1976 according to Van de Geest and Whyte (1988, p. 119) as, "the sum of all knowledge and practice - whether they can be explained or not - used in the prevention, diagnosis, and
elimination of physical, mental or social imbalances and relying exclusively on past experience and observations handed down from generation to generation, whether orally or in writing.

According to Pal (2002, p. 1), about two thirds of the world’s population seek healthcare from sources beyond conventional biomedicine. These populations come from diverse cultures, languages, geographical locations, world views, and health beliefs. Pal categorises therapies that exist largely outside the main frame of the conventional treatment as complementary and alternative medicine (CAM). In Nigeria, such therapies are termed traditional medicine. Generally speaking, traditional or complementary, or alternative medicine covers such types as (a) mind-body medicine, (b) alternative medicine, (c) lifestyle and disease prevention, (d) biologically-based therapies (herbalism), (e) manipulative and body-based systems, (f) biofield, and (g) bioelectromagnetics.

Traditional medicine in spite of its shortcomings has several advantages and these advantages provide the rationale for its coverage by the media including newspapers. Discussing the salient features of traditional and modern medicine, Van de Geest and Whyte (1988, p.20) note the following: firstly, traditional medicine is wholly enshrined in local peoples culture and belief system and places emphasis on the sick as a holistic being and not merely on the biological aspects of disease. The people also understand traditional treatment; they find it affordable and largely accessible.

Secondly, modern medicine presents several shortcomings for the African. It is too closely modeled after Western forms of treatment and fails to consider the sick person’s psychological needs. Thirdly, modern medicine even in places where traditional medicine is suppressed, has not replaced traditional medicine due in part to the inadequacy of scientific health care resources to meet current requirements. Fourthly, political independence tended to bring about a reactive resurgence of native health beliefs and practices due to the four characteristics of African traditional medicine namely: availability, accessibility, acceptability, and adaptability.

Apart from serving the health needs of the citizenry, it does appear that a developed traditional medicine sector has the potential of generating foreign exchange. According to Adelaja (2006), traditional medicine products could help Nigeria earn at least US$1 billion over the first ten years. The global traditional medicine market is assessed to be as large as US$ 60 billion.
Current research on media coverage of traditional medicine

Underlying good press coverage of traditional or other forms of health information is a clear concept of health communication. The Office of Disease Prevention and Health Promotion (2006), a United States based agency defines health communication as,

The study and use of communication strategies to inform and influence individuals and help communities take decisions that enhance health. It links the domain of communication and health and is increasingly recognised as a necessary element of efforts to improve personal and public health. It can contribute to all aspects of disease prevention and health promotion and is relevant in a number of contexts (p.1).

These contexts are health professional-patient relations, individual’s exposure to, search for, and use of health information; individual’s adherence to clinical recommendations and regimens, the construction of public health messages and campaigns, the dissemination of individual and population health risk information, images of health in the mass media and the culture at large, the education of consumers about how to gain access to health care systems, and the development of tele-health applications (www.healthpeople.gov). Health communication has been described as a challenge not only because of the enormity of health problems especially the ones facing Africans but because of the perceived knowledge deficit among African journalists on several issues.

Khan (2006, p. 61) points to, an inadequacy of knowledge among journalists in an increasingly complicated world. To bridge this knowledge gap, Khan calls for an increase in dialogue and communication among journalists and the civil society. Perhaps this need to close the divide caused Ngweno (1993, p. VI) to write much earlier, on the rationale for health reporting for African journalists. To him, health problems are at the root of the economic, social, and political problems of Africa. He further states that as journalists and communicators use their means and temperament to inform the public, their major tasks are to be relevant and meaningful to the concerns of Africans.

The importance of media coverage of health is emphasised by the United Nations health-related agencies: WHO, UNESCO, UNFPA and the World Bank. If greater attention is given to health issues and problems including attention by the mass media, the survival chances for African children, mothers, and people would increase. The crucial role of journalists in collaboration with key stakeholders
Newspaper information on traditional medicine in Nigeria

is therefore that of striving to inform, educate, motivate and possibly, mobilise people for better health. This information should necessarily include information about the nature, forms, costs, safety, quality, efficacy, and access to traditional medicine.

The place of communication in health care systems has created a major field of enquiry and practice in the field of communication called health communication. As an established field of practice, health communication is barely three decades old. Infante, Rancer, and Womack (1997, p. 438) state that, the field grew out of lack of effective and satisfying communication, charges of insensitivity, lack of empathy, lack of respect, poor listening behaviour, and lack of trust in the health care system operated by health workers. Infante et. al. (1997) explain that health communication emerged as a useful context for an examination of the influence of human communication on the provision of healthcare and the promotion of good health habits. They cited Ratzan (1994) as describing health communication as the art and techniques of informing, influencing, and motivating individual, institutional, and public audiences about health issues. Its scope includes diseases prevention, health care policy, business, as well as enhancement of the quality of life and health of individuals within the community.

Writing on the functions of communication in the health context, Infante et al. cited Costello (1977) as identifying four functions which all occur at the interpersonal communication level namely: diagnosis, co-operation, counsel, and education. Beyond the functional aspects of health communication, another key concept common in health communication discourse is communication competence. When participants in the health care contexts providers and clients have competent communication skills, effectiveness and satisfaction, form the outcome. Health communication competencies involve the following six communication skills: awareness, compassion, descriptiveness, receptiveness, adaptiveness and ethics. Apparently, these skills are useful in all facets of health care whether the approach is modern or traditional. Competent health providers as well as skillful health consumers are better at dealing with health problems than those without competence in communication skills.

On using the media to share health messages, Higgins (2004), notes that the media should first work as instructors to convey health information. Indeed, the media should take responsibility for public education. Secondly, the media should keep watch over potential dangers to public health by examining its status.
frequently and publishing warnings about threats to public health. Thirdly, the media should provide correct directions on public perception towards health issues. They should strive to tell the public the truth without causing unnecessary alarm or panic. Fourthly, the media should allay public apprehension and assist people to regain their normal lives after health crises. Fifthly, the media should guard against vested interests or untoward factors that impede the discharge of media public responsibilities. These include government and business. Government sometimes exerts pressure on the media in its eagerness to maintain social stability especially during disease outbreaks of epidemic proportion. On the other hand, corporations tend to exert pressure on the media by influencing reports which might affect their economic fortunes.

These observations are in keeping with Westerstahl's view of objectivity which encompasses as notes Higgins (2004, p.1), ‚factuality, including truthfulness and relevance, and impartiality, including balance/non partisanship and neutral presentation'. Journalists are the professionals who discharge the responsibilities of the media.

Journalists are professionals with opinions, attitudes, perceptions, knowledge, behaviour and they operate under given environmental influences. They also have varied educational backgrounds, psychological dispositions, cultural affinities, religious leanings, and socio economic status. It follows that in their coverage of public affairs, these demographic and psychographic variables are bound to play a significant role. This conclusion aligns with the concept of selective processes. Bittner (1989) points out that these selective processes touch on exposure to media messages, perception of media messages, and the retention of the same.

Gray, Cantril, and Noyce (1998) work provide revealing insights into how the media portray health information. This portrayal, we need to emphasise must stem from the perceptions journalists have about health issues. The facts that emerge from Gray, Cantrill, and Noyce (1998) two-pronged study of the print media and their electronic counterparts in the United Kingdom are as follows: firstly, newspapers and magazines reported more of conventional medicine practice than alternative medical practice. Does this reflect that journalists attach more importance and credibility to conventional medical practice? Or does it mean that conventional medicine is more acceptable than alternative medicine among the citizenry?

Secondly, the majority of items analysed contained no reference to consulting
any professional sources of information. The authors found this lack of reference to professional sources of information disturbing though it seemed to be consistent with increasing consumer autonomy and the wishes of advertisers. It needs to be said that making references to authority figures and experts in the field of health bolsters the confidence of the reading public in journalistic reports.

Thirdly, the study found substantial product promotion and health promotion regarding alternative therapies. This finding is suggestive of an editorial response to readers’ search for information about different therapies that help them make therapeutic decisions and that there may be choices other than the conventional medical model. In keeping with this finding, the study warns journalists against assuming that the audience will automatically go to a conventional health professional for further information.

Fourthly, the study showed that the amount and characteristics of health information provided by the mass media sources vary with the profile of the target audience. These findings point to three basic truths namely:

a. that though the media try to pander to target audience interests, it is important to include health message for all audience segments;
b. it is wrong to assume that young and teenage men bother less about health issues or that appearance and fitness are all there is to women’s health;
c. the media are a great source of health information as much as they are a major source of anti health information as exemplified in the advertising of alcohol and cigarettes.

Fifthly, the authors of the study state that mass media health information does not encourage consumers to consult health professionals for advice. Also, mass media health information often neglects the side effects of drugs, other therapies, and procedures be they conventional or alternative types. What this finding suggests is that the media are not sufficiently knowledgeable about the nature of human health, especially the fragility of human life. It is important for the media to encourage readers to consult medical and health professionals and not resort to self-help. Likewise, it is important that health messages have sufficient depth including facts and figures about outcomes, costs, and side effects.

Research in media coverage of traditional medicine in Nigeria
A close examination of the media in Nigeria shows that there is some interest among
media professionals in traditional medicine. In the print media, articles on traditional medicine topics appear in newspapers, magazines and other print materials. However, the rates at which the articles appear and the analysis of such content is at best, guess work.

Similarly in the electronic media, news stories, documentaries, talk shows, coverage of fairs, exhibitions, workshops, seminars and conferences, public service announcements, on traditional medicine are heard or viewed. However, the detailed character of this coverage in terms of quality and quantity is scarcely known.

Also, the Nigeria film industry is awash with scenes depicting traditional medicine practice. Although there is mostly fetish coloration to the footage, the contribution of the Nigerian movie industry to the dissemination of traditional medicine information is little known.

Beside this, the World Wide Web also provides many channels for featuring traditional medicine information. There are hundreds of websites and thousands of web pages that carry sundry information on all aspects of traditional, alternative, and complementary medicine. What is not known however, is the number and demographics of people who visit these sites, and the reasons for their visits.

These observations point to the paucity of research on media coverage or portrayal of traditional medicine whether in Nigeria or abroad. The question is, how is traditional medicine covered in the Nigerian media?

**The theoretical framework for analysing press coverage of traditional medicine**

There are numerous theories that guide the analysis of communication of health information. These include activation theory of information, fear appeals theory, health belief model and organ donor willingness model. Others are sensation seeking theory, the theory of reasoned action and stages of change model (www.uky.edu/zdraie/capstone/health).

For the communication of health information in newspapers, the activation theory of information exposure and the consumer information processing model are very useful in explaining the motivation for seeking health information as well as the rationale for generating the sort of information readers can use respectively.

Giving insights into health communication perspectives and representative theories, www.uky.edu (2001) explains that a person seeks to satisfy the need for stimulation and information when attending to a message before seeking to fulfill the need for information alone. The implication of the theory for traditional
Neurohoi (2012) works on the premise that information may heighten or reduce people’s anxiety depending on their information preferences and how much or what kind of information they are provided. Also, illness and its treatment may interfere with information processing. The concept makes it possible to appreciate the reason behind people’s use or failure to use health information. The relevance of this concept in the dissemination of traditional medicine information in the press is that since people are limited in their information processing capacities, those messages should be available (visible), perceived as useful and new and format-friendly. This follows what the Office of Disease Prevention and Health Promotion (2006) lists as constituting what makes health communication effective: accuracy, availability, balance, consistency, cultural competence, evidence-based, reach, repetition, timeliness, and understandability.

Agenda setting and framing of traditional medicine in the media

The agenda setting theory also provides the framework for exploring the coverage and portrayal of traditional medicine in the Nigerian media. Hanson and Maxcy (1996, p. 82) cite McCombs and Shaw as stating that, “readers learn not only about a given issue, but also how much importance to attach to that issue from the amount of information in a news story and its position. They add that the media exert considerable influence on certain issues by persistently presenting what individuals in society should think about, know about, and have feelings about. Is this the case with Nigerian newspapers and traditional medicine?

The importance of journalists in setting agenda is well acknowledged. However, Schwitter, Mudur, Wilson, Goozner et al. (2005) stress that it is not sufficient to be accurate and clear when covering health news. They should reflect society’s needs and issues extensively and proportionally. This is so because readers and viewers may base their health care decisions on information supplied by health journalists. This agrees with Cohen’s (1963) formulation cited in Hansen (2010, p. 168) that, “the press may not be successful much of the time in telling people what
to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about.

In the Nigerian press, for example, newspapers should set the agenda on traditional medicine by (a) calling attention to the government policy on traditional medicine; (b) setting the stage for the debate on the integration of traditional medicine into the public healthcare system; (c) probing, exposing and demanding action to be taken on the activities of fakes and charlatans who abuse traditional medicine practice and give it a bad name; (d) giving prominence to the activities, researches, and personalities involved in genuine traditional medicine field; (e) according adequate coverage to and objective portrayal of traditional medicine and; (f) dispelling rumours and misconceptions that stultify the growth and development of traditional medicine.

According to Rogers and Dearing (1987), agenda setting theory provides for media agenda for public debate and a policy agenda (McQuail and Windahl 1993). Indeed for Baran and Davis (1995), the term "agenda building" is more apt and it conveys, a collective process in which media, government, and the citizenry reciprocally influence one another: and presumes cognitive effects (increase in knowledge), an active audience, and societal level effects (p.235). What this means is that the press can have a telling effect on how the society determines the salience of traditional medicine and can galvanise its various institutions towards shunning or embracing it.

Another concept relevant to the theory of reporting health issues in the press is framing analysis. Baran and Davis (1995, p. 298) write that Goffman (1974), introduced frame analysis to provide a systematic account of how we use expectations to make sense of everyday life situation and the people in them. The framing process therefore involves (i) exposure to mass media representation of everyday communication, (ii) attention directed toward cues used by media professionals in media representation, (iii) decoding of media representations of everyday communication and; (iv) frames developed to interpret and plan human actions.

To understand the concept further, Hansen (2010, p. 174) explains that:

Framing research in particular has drawn attention to how the principles of selection and salience (Entman, 1993) in media content help structure audience responses by directing attention to: (1) what the issue/problem is; (2) who/what is responsible; and (3) what is to be done about the issue/problem, that is, what the solution is (Ryan, 1991).
In their study of framing of health messages, Akl, Oxman, Vist, Terrenato, Sperati, Costiniuk, Blank, and Shunemann (2011) identify attribute framing and goal framing. To them:

Attribute framing is the positive versus negative description of a specific attribute of a single item or a state, for example: the chance of survival with cancer is 2/3 versus the chance of mortality with cancer is 1/3. Goal framing is the description of the consequences of performing or not performing an act as a gain versus a loss for example, if you undergo a screening test for cancer, your survival will be prolonged versus if you don’t undergo screening test for cancer, your survival will be shortened.

Relating to traditional medicine, framing the issues in the Nigerian press should take the following forms:

d. Traditional medicine may be framed as a viable, economical and safe alternative to Western medicine (Alternative Therapy Frame).
e. Traditional medicine could be framed as a useful, efficacious system of healthcare that complements Western medicine (Complementary Therapy Frame).
f. Traditional medicine could be framed as a doubtful system of healthcare which should be approached with caution until it is well-researched, understood and developed into an evidence-based therapy (Doubtful Therapy Frame).
g. Traditional medicine could be framed as a harmful system of health care steeped in secrecy, occult, as well as unhygienic and primitive practices often threatening to human health (Dangerous Therapy Frame).

In building the agenda or framing of traditional medicine in the press, Dentzer (2009) underscores the need for journalists to uphold high standards, appreciate the complexities of human health, provide context, become more knowledgeable in order to deliver to the public, accurate, complete, and balanced messages on health. Rutter (2010) adds that journalists who possess a fair understanding of scientific research and how to assess methodology do far better than those who rely on press releases. Furthermore, journalists must abhor the too many stories on miracle cures in alternative or complementary therapies hinged, not on evidence-based medicine but merely on anecdotal evidence.

Methodology of data gathering

This study adopted two research methods: content analysis and the survey applied to a sample of journalists. The content analysis sought to determine the frequency and
framing of information on traditional medicine. The survey of journalists sought to gather information on the perceptions and attitudes of journalist toward traditional medicine.

The content analysis universe consisted of issues of four purposively chosen national dailies: *Daily Trust, The Guardian, New Nigerian, and The Punch* between January 1, 2005 and December 31, 2006. The mid portion of the Decade for African Traditional Medicine (2001 to 2010) declared by the African Union. The papers were selected on the basis of availability and accessibility, regularity of publication, national circulation, and publication of desired content. The sample was made up of 416 issues representing 14.25 percent of the 2,930 issues in the population. The newspaper story covering news, features, editorial, letter, photograph, or column formed the unit of analysis. The content categories were traditional medicine content and Western medicine content which had specified subcategories. The parameters for coding content were frequency, prominence, the depth of coverage, portrayal of topical issues and format of presentation.

Data from the survey came from 84 print journalists in the aforementioned newspapers out of a population of 168 who were administered the questionnaire to determine their opinions and attitudes to traditional medicine and how these may affect the coverage of the field. Data were tabulated and analyzed in terms of percentages.

**Findings**

This aspect of the presentation deals with content analysis of four national dailies in Nigeria, namely: *Daily Trust, New Nigerian, The Guardian, and The Punch.*

**Table 1: Western and Traditional Medicine Content**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspapers</th>
<th>Newspaper health content variables</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Traditional medicine Content</td>
<td>Western medicine Content</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Daily Trust</em></td>
<td>34 (20.86%)</td>
<td>614 (22.91%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>New Nigerian</em></td>
<td>7 (4.30%)</td>
<td>492 (18.36%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>The Guardian</em></td>
<td>112 (8.71%)</td>
<td>1096 (40.89%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>The Punch</em></td>
<td>10 (6.13%)</td>
<td>478 (17.84%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>163 (5.73%)</td>
<td>2680 (94.27%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Batta (2010)*
Table 1 shows that a total of 2,843 health and medicine related stories occurred in the four newspapers content analysed. Of this number, a mere 163 or 5.73% concerned traditional medicine practice whereas, 2,680 stories dealt with Western medicine issues. This number accounted for 94.27%. This means that Western medicine issues were reported 88 times more than traditional medicine issues in the four newspapers.

Table 2: Areas of Traditional Medicine Covered

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspapers</th>
<th>Newspaper health content variables</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Alternative medicine</td>
<td>Biologically based therapies</td>
<td>Mind-body intervention</td>
<td>Policy, quality, research issues</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Trust</td>
<td>1 (33.33%)</td>
<td>21 (16.41%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>12 (44.44%)</td>
<td>34 (20.86%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Nigerian</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>5 (3.91%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>2 (7.41%)</td>
<td>7 (4.30%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Guardian</td>
<td>2 (66.67%)</td>
<td>93 (72.65%)</td>
<td>5 (100%)</td>
<td>12 (44.44%)</td>
<td>112 (68.71%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Punch</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>9 (7.03%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>1 (3.70%)</td>
<td>10 (6.13%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 (1.84%)</td>
<td>128 (78.53%)</td>
<td>5 (3.07%)</td>
<td>27 (16.56%)</td>
<td>163 (100%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Areas of Traditional Medicine Covered Table 2 above shows that of the 163 traditional medicine issue items reported in the four newspapers, alternative medicine accounted for three or 1.84%. Biologically based therapies accounted for 128 or 78.53%. Mind-body intervention stories were just five or 3.07% while policy, research, quality and safety issues amounted to 27 or 16.56%. What can be inferred from Table 2 is that the four Nigerian newspapers involved in this study concentrated on biologically based therapies particularly herbal medicine to the detriment of other forms of traditional medicine. Could this mean that other forms of traditional medicine are not developed in Nigeria, that traditional health product consumers are more interested in herbal medicine, or that journalists are either not sufficiently interested or knowledgeable in the other forms of traditional medicine?
Table 3: Areas of Western Medicine Covered

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspapers</th>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Medicine/ Surgical Issues</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Trust</td>
<td>284 (29.89%)</td>
<td>614 (22.91%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Nigerian</td>
<td>178 (18.74%)</td>
<td>492 (18.36%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Guardian</td>
<td>265 (27.90%)</td>
<td>1096 (40.89%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Punch</td>
<td>223 (23.47%)</td>
<td>478 (17.84%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maternal/Child health Issue</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>168 (32.55%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>106 (20.54%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>169 (32.75%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>73 (14.15%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>516 (19.25%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mental Health Issues</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>151 (13.05%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 (7.02%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25 (43.86%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17 (29.82%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(2.13%) 57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Policy, quality, research issues</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>151 (13.05%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>204 (17.63%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>637 (55.06%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>165 (14.26%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1157 (43.17%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2680 (100%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 indicates that of the total of 2,680 Western medicine related stories in the four publications, 950 (35.45%) dealt with medical and surgical matters; 516 stories representing 19.25% dealt with maternal and child health matters; 57 or 2.13% had to do with mental health issues while 1,157 stories or 43.17% related to policy, research, quality and safety issues in Western medicine.

The table above shows that the four selected newspapers reported more health research, policy, safety and quality stories followed by medical/surgical health matters, and maternal/child health issues. Mental health matters received the least attention from the four publications.

Looking at the performance of each of the four dailies, the table shows that The Guardian leads in the coverage of Western medicine practice with 1,096 stories (40.89%) followed by Daily Trust with 614 stories (22.91%). New Nigerian comes third with 492 stories representing 18.36% while The Punch trails behind with 478 stories (17.84%).
Table 4: Prominence Accorded Traditional Medicine Content

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Prominence variables</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Daily Trust</em></td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>23 (15.75%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>New Nigerian</em></td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>3 (2.05%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>The Guardian</em></td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>112 (76.71%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>The Punch</em></td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>8 (5.48%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>146 (89.57%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 rates the prominence that the four newspapers accorded traditional medicine reports. The parameters used in gauging prominence were high for stories placed on the front, back, and editorial pages; medium for stories captured in special pages, pull outs, or supplements, while low rated stories buried in the inside pages. Based on these criteria, the table indicates that zero number of stories representing 0% qualified for high prominence. However, of the 163 stories, 146 stories or 89.57% were accorded moderate prominence because they were mostly contained in special health page(s). On the other hand, 17 or 10.43% of the 163 stories received low prominence because they were tucked away in the inside pages.

Table 5: Depth of Coverage of Traditional Medicine Content

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspapers</th>
<th>Depth variables</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Detail</td>
<td>Illustration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Daily Trust</em></td>
<td>34 (100%)</td>
<td>01 (2.94%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>New Nigerian</em></td>
<td>7 (100%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>The Guardian</em></td>
<td>109 (97.32%)</td>
<td>89 (79.46%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>The Punch</em></td>
<td>10 (100%)</td>
<td>1 (10%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5 indicates that concerning detail, the four newspapers performed creditably. The least score is 97.32% for The Guardian. In terms of illustration of traditional medicine reports, The Guardian stands out with a score of 79.46%. The three other papers' use of illustration to deepen traditional medicine reportage
is insignificant. As it pertains to the use of attribution, three papers scored very high except The Punch, which posted a score of 40%. Overall, therefore, the four newspapers can be said to have given traditional medicine issues a mean depth of about 69% in the coverage of the subject.

**Table 6: Newspaper Portrayal of Traditional Medicine Content**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Portrayal variables</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>Negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Trust</td>
<td>33 (22.60%)</td>
<td>1 (14.29%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Nigerian</td>
<td>7 (4.80%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Guardian</td>
<td>102 (69.86%)</td>
<td>5 (71.43%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Punch</td>
<td>4 (2.74%)</td>
<td>1 (14.28%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>146 (89.57%)</td>
<td>7 (4.29%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6 shows that of the 163 stories on traditional medicine practice in the four national dailies, 146 representing 89.57% were depicted in positive light, seven stories or 4.29 were portrayed negatively while 10 or 6.13% were balanced. The data above show that, on the whole, traditional medicine was portrayed positively as captured by the reports contained in the four newspapers selected for this study.

**Table 7: Newspaper Presentation Formats of Traditional Medicine Content**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspaper</th>
<th>Format Variables</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>News/features</td>
<td>Editorial/Opinion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Trust</td>
<td>1 (11.11%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Nigerian</td>
<td>6 (66.67%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Guardian</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Punch</td>
<td>2 (22.22%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9 (5.52%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7 indicates that of a total of 163 stories in the four newspapers, nine (9) stories or 5.52% belonged to the news/feature format, zero story (0%) occurred in
the editorial/opinion format, while 154 stories representing 94.48% belonged to the special page/pullout format. The implication of the above data is that a great percentage of traditional medicine stories were placed in special health/medicine pages anchored by designated staff writers or reporters some of whom are health journalists. The table also reveals that as important as news, features, editorial and opinion pages are, traditional medicine stories are seldom featured there. This gives the impression that the subject matter is neither urgent nor topical.

**Survey**

This segment of data presentation and analysis deals with responses obtained from 84 print journalists in the four selected newspaper firms.

**Table 8: Respondents’ Interest in Traditional Medicine Knowledge**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspapers</th>
<th>Variable of Interest in traditional medicine</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Strong interest</td>
<td>Weak interest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Trust</td>
<td>1 (4.76%)</td>
<td>18 (32.14%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Nigerian</td>
<td>4 (19.05%)</td>
<td>10 (17.86%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Guardian</td>
<td>12 (57.14%)</td>
<td>11 (19.64%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Punch</td>
<td>4 (19.05%)</td>
<td>17 (30.36%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21 (25%)</td>
<td>56 (66.67%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In table 8, of the 84 respondents sampled, 21 or 25% said they had strong interest in traditional medicine, 56 respondents representing 66.67% said they would like to learn about traditional medicine whereas seven (7) or 8.33% reported that they have no interest in traditional medicine knowledge. This shows that only a quarter of the journalists polled in the four selected newspapers actively sought information on traditional medicine matters while the other three quarters were either not interested or were not doing something about it. This certainly has implications for their knowledge of the subject matter, their ability to report on traditional medicine issues, and their willingness to do so.
Table 9: Respondents’ Attitude to Legalization of Traditional Medicine

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspapers</th>
<th>Variables on attitude to legalisation of T. M</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Supportive</td>
<td>Unsupportive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Trust</td>
<td>19 (24.35%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Nigerian</td>
<td>13 (16.67%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Guardian</td>
<td>23 (29.49%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Punch</td>
<td>23 (29.49%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>78 (92.86%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9 is about respondents’ attitude to the legalisation of traditional medicine practice in Nigeria in the areas of midwifery, bone setting, and mental disease treatment. The table above shows that, of the 84 respondents sampled in the four selected national dailies, 78 representing 92.86% were supportive of the move, no respondent (0%) expressed lack of support but six respondents or 7.14% responded that they had no interest in the matter. What may be inferred here is that journalists in the four selected newspaper firms were accepting of the government move to recognise the practice of traditional medicine. Whether this embrace does translate into a deeper coverage of traditional medicine issues is another question.

Table 10: Respondents’ Attitude to Integration of Traditional and Western Medicine

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspapers</th>
<th>Variable on Attitudes to Integration</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Supportive</td>
<td>Unsupportive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Trust</td>
<td>11 (35.48%)</td>
<td>8 (15.09%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Nigerian</td>
<td>7 (22.58%)</td>
<td>7 (13.74%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Guardian</td>
<td>3 (9.68%)</td>
<td>20 (37.74%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Punch</td>
<td>10 (33.26%)</td>
<td>18 (33.96%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>31 (36.90%)</td>
<td>53 (63.10%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10 contains information on the attitude of respondents to integration of traditional and Western medicine, as is the practice in China. Of the 84
Newspaper information on traditional medicine in Nigeria

respondents sampled, 31 representing 36.90% of the respondents were supportive of integration whereas 63 respondents or 63.10% responded that traditional and Western medicine practices should stay separate. The data mean that though respondents were supportive of the operation of traditional medicine, Table 10 indicates that a greater percentage of respondents (63.10%) were against the merger of the two forms of health practices.

Table 11: Respondents’ Attitude toward the Personal use of Traditional Medicine

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspapers</th>
<th>Variable of Interest in traditional medicine</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>Negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Trust</td>
<td>1 (10%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Nigerian</td>
<td>3 (30%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Guardian</td>
<td>3 (30%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Punch</td>
<td>3 (30%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10 (11.90%)</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11 presents data on respondents’ attitude to the personal use of traditional medicine. Ten respondents representing 11.90% had positive attitudes meaning that they use and regard traditional medicine as safe. No respondent (0%) indicated that they did not or may not use traditional medicine because it is unsafe, fetish, and occult. Interestingly, 74 respondents representing 88.10% indicated a balanced perspective meaning that, if properly researched and regulated, traditional medicine could be useful.

Table 12: Respondents’ Attitude to Writing/Editing Traditional Medicine Articles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspapers</th>
<th>Variable in writing/editing environment</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Trust</td>
<td>6 (27.27%)</td>
<td>13 (20.97%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Nigerian</td>
<td>3 (13.64%)</td>
<td>11 (17.74%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Guardian</td>
<td>10 (45.45%)</td>
<td>13 (20.97%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Punch</td>
<td>3 (13.64%)</td>
<td>25 (40.32%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22 (26.19%)</td>
<td>62 (73.81%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 12 deals with respondents’ participation in writing and/or editing articles on traditional medicine issues. Of the 84 respondents, 22 representing 26.19% agreed that they were involved, whereas 62 (73.81%) reported that they neither wrote nor edited traditional medicine related articles. This has serious implication for the quantity of traditional medicine reports in newspapers.

Table 13: Responses on Health Aspect covered more by Newspapers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspapers</th>
<th>Health aspects which gets more coverage</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Traditional medicine</td>
<td>Western medicine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daily Trust</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>19 (22.62%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Nigerian</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>14 (16.67%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Guardian</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>23 (23.38%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Punch</td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>28 (33.33%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0 (0%)</td>
<td>84 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13 shows how respondents responded to the question as to which aspect of health (i.e. between traditional and Western medicine) received more coverage in the newspapers they work for. All the respondents i.e. 100% agreed that Western medicine got more coverage than traditional medicine in the four newspapers.

Discussion of findings

Extent of coverage and of portrayal of traditional medical practice in Nigerian newspapers

The data in Table 1 show clearly that 2,843 health-related stories were counted in the four national dailies, namely Daily Trust, New Nigerian, The Guardian, and The Punch. Of this number, traditional medicine issue content accounted for 5.73% while Western medicine issue content amounted to 94.27%. The data therefore indicate a significant under coverage and under reportage of traditional medicine issues.

This finding tallies with the observation of Gray, Cantril and Noyce (1998) that newspapers and magazines reported more of conventional medical practice than alternative medical practice. The questions that these pose are several. Does this mean that journalists consider Western medicine more important than traditional medicine? Alternatively, does it mean that Western medicine is more
acceptable than traditional medicine among members of the population? Or does it mean that media professionals are not interested or knowledgeable enough in traditional medicine? What does it portend for the declaration of the Decade of African Traditional Medicine?

The data in Table 7 indicate that 89.57% of stories in the four newspapers portrayed traditional medical practice in positive terms. In other words, the stories depicted traditional medical practice as good, useful and beneficial to health consumers and the health care system. Stories that viewed traditional medicine practice negatively accounted for a paltry 4.29%. Again, the remaining 6.13% of stories still saw traditional medicine practice as potentially useful though it would need more research, more refinement in quality, and more regulation.

This finding is significant in the sense that it appears traditional medicine does not seem to suffer the fate faced by mental health issues. For according to Lawrie (2000), stereotypes and stigmatisation towards psychiatric patients are maintained and periodically reinforced by negative press. He notes that media coverage of psychiatric disorders has been selective, misinforming, and melodramatic.

Table 5 provides information on prominence accorded traditional medicine by the four selected newspapers while Table 6 deals with the depth of coverage of traditional medicine issues. In Table 5 we see that while 0% of stories counted received high prominence and just 10.43% attracted low prominence, 89.57% of stories were accorded moderate display. Moderate display here means that while the stories were not carried on front, back or editorial pages, they were displayed on specially designated pages, sections, or pull out. What this means is that traditional medicine issues were given sufficient prominence.

Concerning depth, Table 6 examines it in terms of detail, illustration, and attribution embedded in traditional medicine stories. The table shows that for all four newspapers, their detail profile amounted to more than 97%. However, concerning illustration, The Guardian illustrated its stories to the tune of 99.46%. The other three papers showed insignificant streak in providing illustration for their traditional medicine stories. On attribution, the four papers performed above 98% except The Punch which did so at the level of 40%. Overall, the mean performance for the four newspapers in terms of depth stood at about 69%. The observation then is that the level of prominence accorded traditional medicine stories and the depth with which they are covered are high.

In relating these findings to our theoretical framework, we see some implication
for the agenda setting theory. The theory conveys the idea that consumers of media products learn about issues as well as the importance to attach to issues based on the amount of information provided by the media. Considered alone, the study shows that the newspapers involved in this study gave sufficient depth and prominence to traditional medicine issues. Ordinarily, this should mean that their agenda setting function deserves accolades. However, when the frequency of coverage of traditional medicine is compared with that of Western medicine, such function drastically reduces. It means therefore that to set meaningful agenda, the newspapers do need to give sufficient prominence and depth as well as adequate frequency of coverage to traditional medicine issues.

**Format in which traditional medical issues are presented in Nigerian newspapers**

Format refers to the journalistic form in which the press presents information to the reading public. The data show that 5.52% of the stories were presented in the news/feature format. Also, 0% of stories belonged to the editorial/opinion format, while 94% of traditional medicine stories were presented as special page/pull out articles.

What this finding suggests is that the Nigerian newspapers involved in the study preferred to use the departmentalised or compartmentalised format in presenting health information particularly information about traditional medicine practice. The finding also implies that the newspapers tend to deny traditional medicine information the variety and dynamism, which are the hallmarks of journalism as Batta (2004) notes. By not extending the presentation format to news, feature, editorial, and opinion pages, it does appear that traditional health information is restricted, i.e. compartmentalised. Broadening the presentation format would also allow newspapers to frame traditional medicine issues beyond giving information on traditional medicine forms, activities and personalities. Beyond this however, it does appear that by boxing traditional medicine information into the special page, members of the reading public are somewhat denied the channel of contributing to the discourse on traditional medicine which readers generally have to contribute articles to features, editorial, and opinion pages.

The importance of such contribution by the public increases the breadth of perspective and diversifies the sources of information for both the press and readership by exposing all to a variety of viewpoints (Comrie, 1999). In the same
vein, Anim (1996) underscores the opinion function as crucial. The reasoning behind this being that analysis and interpretation of issues allow for marshalling the variant strands of the issues and presenting the options in clearer and deeper perspectives to everyone. If traditional medicine information is presented in a variety of forms, the cumulative effect would give more prominence to the issues, it would also open newspaper readers to more opportunities for learning about traditional medicine issues.

Areas of traditional medical practice which dominate analysed Nigerian newspapers
Table 2 bears data indicating that alternative medicine issues scored 1.84%; biologically-based therapy issues had 78.53%, mind-body interventions attracted 3.07% while policy, quality, research issues scored 16.56%. What this means is that, biologically-based therapy issues dominated the coverage of traditional medicine practice in the analysed newspapers. This finding has several implications. By concentrating on biologically based aspect of traditional medicine, does it mean that herbal medicine is more developed or prevalent in Nigeria? Does it mean that other aspects of traditional medicine have not gained grounds among the populace? Does it mean that journalists are not knowledgeable or interested enough in aspects other than herbal medicine?

Questions such as these perhaps prompted medical researchers in the United Arab Emirate (UAE) to probe the views of medical students and general practitioners on alternative medicine. Hassan, Das and Behjat (2000) found out that the majority of general practitioners believed they should know about herbal medicine, but were divided concerning homeopathy and acupuncture. They are also reported not to see the need to know about mind-body therapies or chiropractic.

The significance of this finding is that purveyors of information such as print journalists need to be fully abreast of information on all aspects of traditional medicine prevalent in the population. They also need to be sufficiently interested in the issues if they must develop of a significant mass of readership.

Considering the relevance of this finding to our theoretical framework, we see some relationship with the agenda setting theory. What the finding here suggests is that as far as traditional medicine issues are concerned, the newspapers selected for this study presented a narrow agenda to the reading public. By concentrating
on herbal medicine practice, the newspapers tended to limit the exposure of readers to a narrow perspective of the practice. The implication for journalism practice therefore is that, to broaden the scope of exposure for the reading public, the newspapers have to widen the breadth of coverage of traditional medicine issues. This way, they would be better placed to set a fuller agenda on the issues.

**Journalists’ perception of traditional medical practice in Nigeria**

In Table 8, 25% of the respondents indicated that they had strong interest in traditional medicine matters; 66.67% agreed to a weak interest, while 8.33% said there was no interest. This lack of strong interest in traditional medicine issues may help explain the coverage of traditional medicine issues in newspapers for, as McQuail (2005) observed, media content is influenced by media workers' knowledge and attitudes.

Referring to the attitudes of journalists to traditional medicine issues, Table 9 indicates that 92.80% of respondents agreed that they were supportive of government policy to recognise the practice of traditional medicine. Also, 0% of respondents said they were not supportive but 7.14% accepted they had no interest in the legalisation of the practice. On respondents' attitude to the issue of integrating traditional with Western medicine, Table 10 shows 36.90% as supportive and 63.10% as unsupportive. Then, in relation to respondents' attitude to personal use of traditional medicine remedies, 11.90% reported active use, 0% said never, but 88.10% agreed that traditional remedies could be helpful only if they are effectively researched, refined, and statutorily regulated.

What is seen here is that, though a good majority of the polled print journalists approved of the recognition accorded traditional medical practice by the Nigerian government, they were largely unsupportive of the call for the merger of Western and traditional medicine practices. In addition, they were cautious of using traditional medicine in its present form. If the attitude of print journalists polled in this study as it relates to traditional medicine, is positive but cautious, what about journalists' involvement in the coverage of traditional medicine issues? In Table 12, it is seen that 26.19% of journalists reported writing or editing stories on traditional medicine whereas 73.81% accepted that they did not write or edit traditional medicine stories.
So, about how print journalists perceive traditional medical practice in Nigeria, we see as follows:

1. In terms of attitude to traditional medical knowledge and issues, the study indicates that print journalists in the selected papers have positive and generally supportive attitude but it is a cautious one until traditional medicine is well-researched, quality assured, and regulated.

2. Concerning respondents’ perception of the coverage of traditional medicine, they agreed that the coverage is dismal comparative to the coverage of Western medicine issues.

**Perception of traditional medical practice and newspaper coverage of the practice**

Table 8 shows that only 25% of respondents said they had strong interest in traditional medicine knowledge. About 67% of respondents indicated weak interest. If these data are juxtaposed with data on the coverage of traditional medicine issues by the selected newspapers, a clear picture of the relationship between perception and coverage does emerge. Table 1 indicate that of the 2,843 health stories counted, an insignificant 5.73% constituted traditional medicine issues whereas 94.27% dealt with Western medicine issues. In Table 2, of the four aspects of traditional medicine identified, biologically based therapies particularly herbal medicine scored 78.53%. This means that coverage of traditional medicine issues in the newspapers was narrow. In addition, in terms of format of presenting traditional medicine matters, Table 7 shows that coverage reflects no diversity in format. Only 5.52% of stories appeared as editorials and opinions, but 94.48% as special pages and sections.

In the survey component of this study, the journalists (respondents) provided clues to why the situation is the way it is. In Table 12, 73.81% of the journalists agreed to a non-involvement in writing and editing articles pertaining to traditional medicine and in Table 13, 100% of the respondents agreed that Western medicine clearly received more coverage than traditional medicine.

The above points to the realisation that there is a direct relationship between journalists’ perception of traditional medicine, and its coverage in the analysed Nigerian newspapers.
Table 14: Relationship between journalists’ perception of traditional medicine practice and the coverage of the practice in Nigeria newspapers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspapers</th>
<th>Coverage</th>
<th>Perception</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Daily Trust</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Nigerian</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Guardian</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Punch</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on the data shown in Table 14 the result of the Pearson r computation did show some positive relationship though not a strong one between journalists’ perception of traditional medicine practice and the coverage of the practice in Nigerian newspapers. The result of +.55 meant that a more positive perception of traditional medicine practice would improve the coverage accorded the practice. Thus the null hypothesis was rejected and the alternative one upheld.

Very importantly, in line with what the agenda setting theory contemplates, this finding is significant to the extent that if journalists improve their attitude towards traditional medicine issues, the portrayal, prominence, depth and frequency they accord the issues in the newspapers would significantly increase. It may therefore be surmised that, because there is a substantive government policy agenda on traditional medical practice, the media need to key into this with an appropriate media agenda if the citizenry must construct the public agenda.

Conclusions

In view of the above findings, the following conclusion can be drawn:

1. The coverage of Western medicine far outstrips that of traditional medicine both in terms of frequency of coverage and prominence accorded the issues in the four newspapers.

2. Though traditional medical issues are sparingly reported and covered by the four newspapers in comparison to Western medicine issues, the dismal coverage is consolably portrayed in positive light and given sufficient depth in terms of providing detail and appropriate attribution.
However, illustration of traditional medical stories with diagrams, photographs, and informational graphics is still below the mark for three of the newspapers.

3. Though captioning or displaying traditional medical stories on special pages, sections, and pullout is a convenient way of compartmentalisation (in terms of page layout) and providing prominence, the special section format has tended to bar traditional medical stories from front pages, news pages, editorial columns, and opinion pages. This denies traditional medicine issues the benefits of frequent editorial endorsements and public participation via opinion articles and limits the opportunities for broader framing and agenda building.

4. The attitude toward traditional medicine practice among the surveyed journalists tends towards ambivalence. Only a quarter showed active interest in the subject. Though a large percentage were in favour of the legalisation of traditional medical practice, in the same breadth, they were not positively disposed to its integration into the national health system and neither were they willing to recourse to traditional medicine therapies nor were they currently writing or editing traditional medical stories sufficiently.

5. The mixed perception of traditional medical practice by the surveyed print journalists can be said to contribute to the poor coverage of the field in the four Nigerian newspapers in comparison to the coverage accorded Western medical practice.

Recommendations

1. The Nigerian newspapers should accord traditional medical issues the same importance and prominence given Western medical issues. Traditional medicine issues should not be relegated to the background in terms of the frequency of reports, the display of the reports, the variety of formats adopted in the presentation of the reports, and the depth of treatment given the issues reported.

2. To make traditional medical stories captivating, attractive, comprehensible, and meaningful; newspapers should strive to use not only colour photographs, but also other useful illustrative devices such as diagrams, and other informational graphics. Doing this will not only
spark interest in the readership, it will make those health pages alluring and may even increase readership for the newspapers.

3. If traditional medical issues must be given the importance they deserve, their presentation should not always be compartmentalised in special sections, pages, and pullouts. The issues should be considered weighty enough to attract frequent editorial comment. Knowledgeable practitioners, researchers, academics, manufacturers, marketers and users of traditional medicine should be frequently and consistently syndicated to produce articles for the reading public.

4. To build the capacity among journalists in traditional medical issues, educational institutions engaged in the training of journalism professionals should introduce health journalism as an important component of their training. A significant portion of that course should cover wide issues on communicating traditional medical practice. The principle, techniques and ethics of reporting and framing these matters should be the objective of such training. Likewise, managers, directors, editors, proprietors, and professional journalism unions should as a matter of urgency provide opportunities for practitioners to acquire knowledge through short courses, symposia, workshops, seminars, excursions and other such training so that journalists can be equipped to report traditional medicine practice accurately, objectively, fairly, and ethically. It is only when journalists themselves are interested and knowledgeable enough, that they can inform, educate, and sensitise others on traditional medicine issues.

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African Union (www.idrc.ca)


180 Ũ 7.
2006.
Creating a participatory communication model of engagement of local communities to enhance development effectiveness in Tanzania

By Jasson Kalugendo and Paul MacLeod

“if real development is to take place, the people have to be involved…” Mwalimu Julius Nyerere

Abstract

Current development communication strongly recommends an approach based on the initiatives of communities through community-based organizations. Unfortunately government policies are unaware to the research trends and government agencies tend to dictate to rural communities what projects are to be initiated and how they are carried out. This paper has analysed three case studies of projects in Tanzania started and carried out with the initiatives of the people in community organizations and shows the effectiveness of this approach. The study also shows the contribution that independent educational radio to these initiatives of the rural communities.

Key Words: development communication, Tanzania, community-based development initiatives

Introduction

In 1998 Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada defined communication for development as the use of communication processes, techniques and media to help people towards a full awareness of their situation and their options for change, to resolve conflicts, to work towards consensus, to help people plan actions for change and sustainable development, to help people acquire the knowledge and skills they need to improve

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their condition and that of their society, and to improve the effectiveness of institutions (Fraser and Restrepo-Estrada, 1998:63). In 2010, Wendy Quarry and Ricardo Ramirez, in their book Communication for Another Development: Listening before Talking refined that definition to explain communication for development as process utilizing media tools to give a voice to the voiceless and to facilitate dialogue between those who are marginalized in society and those who make decisions, to engage the former and empower them to participate in planning and implementing action to improve their social, economic or cultural situations.

In this context, the essence of communication for development (C4D) is to empower citizens through a combination of ensuring they have essential information and providing them with relevant communications tools (audio, video, radio, social media, etc.) to engage fully to determine and participate fully in the implementation of the development they require, demand accountability from the those entrusted to manage the development of their community, their region and the nation and ultimately transform their lives.

When it comes to development, communications tend to be too often treated as superfluous at worst, or as an add-on at best and what passes for C4D does little to engage citizens. In Tanzania, even when communications is indicated in strategic plans, implementation and results usually fall short of expectations. The most common approach adopted is to treat intended beneficiaries as consumers of whatever policy makers have devised for their betterment. They are identified as a target audience and messages are prepared and disseminated in various ways. But while this may be effective when it comes to helping consumers choose between different brands of life necessities, and obviously works for highly desirable products for which there is a ready market such as cellphones and soft drinks or beer, experience suggests it is largely ineffective when outsiders try to sell substantive change into communities with which they have not engaged and to citizens who naturally resist top down solutions to problems they may not even consider to be priorities to better their lives.

The purpose of this paper is:

- to outline what experience shows is the ineffectiveness of current top-down C4D models and consider other approaches that promote learning from and engaging with the intended primary beneficiaries .
- to propose implementation of a new paradigm of that will integrate traditional analog radio technology with evolving digital technologies to promote
interaction at the community level and engagement for communities in the national dialogue.

A myth about communication for development in Tanzania

Currently some scholars and social economists in Tanzania have started questioning whether or not the capacity to implement effective development programmes is available in Tanzania. Rajani points out that despite various attempts to build citizen capacity, results have been disappointing and there has been little or no progress. There is no shortage of initiatives to build capacity in Tanzania; for almost 50 years government, donors and NGOs have established thousands of schemes and spent billions to enable people to know more, gain skills and perform better. But ask virtually anyone today and the lack of capacity will appear in the top set of challenges facing the country (Rajani, 2010, p.157). The question must be asked: why, given the enormous investment over so many years, does such a large capacity deficit remain? Is it because initiatives have mostly focused on building bureaucratic and technocratic capacity rather than finding ways to communicate with and unleash the capacities of those most in need—those at the lower end of the socio-economic scale who are generally marginalized in the decision-making process and for the most part live in rural areas?

Certainly the results of recent initiatives to advance towards Tanzania’s development goals and reduce poverty are not encouraging. The 2009 Poverty and Human Development Report (REPOA) confirmed that despite a growth rate in Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 2009 (REPOA 2009, 4), between 2007-2009 poverty remained high, with far too many living under the poverty line, especially in rural areas (REPOA, 2009, 11). This, despite the fact that the report noted improvement in the delivery of social benefits especially in the areas of education, health, sanitation and water quality as a result of NSGPR I (REPOA 2009, XXIII-XXIV). Yet another section of this report (REPOA, 2009, XXV), along with a National Bureau of Statistics Report (NBS, 2009) and a House Budget Survey (HBS, 2009) presented a mixed picture, showing that improvement in the area of service delivery is moving slowly, resulting in insufficient and poor quality service delivery to the majority of people again, especially those living in rural areas. Furthermore, a 2009 survey conducted with six local councils on the initial phase of Tanzania’s National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty drew attention to the fact that participation in local planning declined slightly. These results clearly suggest that there exists a significant disconnect between development and those most in need.
(Research on Poverty Alleviation (REPOA) 2010: 102).

A Poverty Reduction Dialogue between development partners, government officials, LGAs, CSOs, academia and others held in late January 2012 to consider the past year’s growth and poverty-reduction outcomes (as depicted in the above reports) honed in on lack of engagement in the planning and implementation of national development goals on the part of what may be termed the grassroots as one key reason for the disappointing results. This confirmed what Norman and Massoi (2010, 314) pointed out: the planning process at the grassroots level in Tanzania remains minimal and ineffective, largely as the result of implementation of a de-concentration rather than a true decentralization process; consequently real control is exercised by the central government.

This brings us back to what role effective participatory communications may play in empowering communities to engage actively in the nation’s development dialogue and in playing an active role in their own development. Clearly the target audience oriented top-down sales approach (figure 1) that dominates in development throughout Sub-Saharan Africa and in most other regions of the developing world is ineffective.

*Figure 1*

![Diagram](image)

*Figure 1. Typical top-down communications model ‘targets’ audiences/receivers. Little opportunity is provided for engagement or response; ‘targets’ at the bottom are expected to react in ways decision-makers at the top consider necessary to implement the ‘development’ objectives they have set.*
Hoffmann et al (2009) studying the impact of loss of engagement on communities' efforts to conserve their surrounding environments in Mozambique, indicated that throughout the periods of colonial, post-independence and civil war, traditional authority in Mozambique's rural areas was transformed many times over, changing in response to the larger political context in which these local institutions existed. These transformations led to conflicting power relations and a lack of clarity regarding the roles of local communities and the national government in forest management and consequently in fire management. Without a sense of responsibility, local community attitudes towards common property resources changed contributing to an increase in uncontrolled burning practices that are uncoordinated in terms of timing, location and frequency.

The pattern of Mozambique is instructive for Tanzania, where, since independence, the centralisation process has often been accompanied by the loss of power of local leaders; this has led to erosion of self-reliance on the part of communities, loss of traditional knowledge and the elimination of customary laws that enforced environmental conservation. As rural communities started to depend more and more on government, top-down communication became the rule. Increasingly development-related communications initiatives became less and less engaged with the intended beneficiaries and planning and implementation was passed to various bureaucracies. As a result, the divide between those planning and implementing development initiatives and those most in need who should be benefiting most from those initiatives has grown wider and wider.

Research by Richard Calland, Mukelani Dimba & Diana Naburi (2004, p.4) shows that in Tanzania even when government demonstrates political will with respect to the right to know, implementation usually fails, often because the same old advertiser-to-consumer approach is taken to sell ideas or motivate end users to adopt new practices or to teach them or inform them of something. Reliance on this approach, which depends heavily on campaigns, lies at the core of the failures to this point.

The campaigns are too often designed with little or no direct engagement with the intended beneficiaries; as consumers their only opportunity to interact is to accept what is being delivered from the top and act upon it accordingly i.e. as the government departments or development programmers expect. Can such top-down communications strategies truly be expected to promote and support participation in substantive dialogue or create a welcoming environment for engagement?

An analytical study to redesign a communication strategy for integrated fire
management in Tanzania undertaken in the first half of 2012 confirms that to date communication strategies on fire management and on environment preservation in general have adopted traditional power-holders communication models. For the planners and decision-makers, creating awareness has meant providing what they perceive the public needs to know, rather than responding to what the public actually wants to know. Little attention has been paid to offering means and motivation to the recipients to understand or engage actively. Stakeholders directing awareness campaigns too often assume that they know what is needed and what is best despite the fact that they never truly consult with those for whom they are planning, and provide little of no opportunity for interaction. This has left little scope for substantive change to occur.

Even more problematic according to Kelsall and Mnuya (2004, p.7), is that unilateral communication and secrecy in government bureaucracies have increased the reluctance of Tanzanians to criticize openly, protest against political power, or seek information on matters that affect their daily lives. The implications of this for real development are twofold: first, the intertwining of development issues with day-to-day living has declined as communities are unaware of government plans or what responsibilities they might have to implement those plans. Second, the government receives no citizen feedback or development ideas to incorporate into the planning process to ensure that the initiatives they are launching are important or even relevant to those for whom they are planning.

In Tanzania the difference between the success of the development industry strategies and implementation and that of manufacturers and service providers is striking. The latter have, by and large, enjoyed remarkable success in pushing their branding and promotions into all corners of the country as they have understood how effective communications, properly applied, can help them reach their sales objectives; thus rival companies in all sectors, understanding the value of using communications that serves their purposes, compete for market share using the full range of tools billboards, radio, television and the newer digital media. The key, of course, is that they understand what communications strategies work for them, and only invest in approaches that bring them benefit. Carefully crafted communications campaigns serve their targeted ends. Furthermore they are flexible and ready to change strategies and campaigns quickly if they determine they are not working.

But in the field of development, generally, communications initiatives have not been based on outcomes. Rather they have been hodgepoodles of activities with no indicators
to measure achievement. Furthermore in recent decades, the development industry has become increasingly obsessed with pre-defining and managing predictive results, outputs and outcomes. Correspondingly, space for community-based participation has been eroded and there is little, if any, real flexibility. Community engagement demands flexibility and can lead to unpredictable outcomes, especially if the priorities of communities do not match those of the elites – the policy and decision-makers who are accustomed to having their priorities met. Consequently participatory-based projects do not fit neatly into critical accountability frameworks.

Furthermore, top-to-bottom communication has widened the gap between those who have and those who have not. This is confirmed in the assessment of the National Strategy for Growth and Reduction of Poverty Initiative (NSGRP I) (popularly known by its Kiswahili acronym, MKUKUTA 1-Makakati wa Kupunguzumu maskini na Kukuza Uchumi Tanzania) that revealed that despite economic growth, no significant impact on poverty reduction could be measured; economic growth has not been inclusive as the poor become poorer while the rich are increasingly becoming richer.

Much of what now passes for Development Communication is little more than public relations (PR) designed to promote a project. PR can be predicted and scheduled as project outputs before the project hits the ground. Yet while PR may be legitimate and sometimes essential to secure and maintain support and provide justification for monies spent, it cannot be considered communications for development.

To reiterate: communication for development in Tanzania seems to be stuck in a rut. Flexibility, vision and innovation are alien concepts, and so the same failed approach is repeated time and time again, even though it produces the same disappointing results. There is little appetite for risk. The old is known – even if it doesn’t work – at least it is considered acceptable because it fits within the comfort zone of development bureaucrats and their political masters. But in reality nobody is being challenged and little change is taking place. In this case Tanzania is not unique. What is said about C4D in Tanzania can be said about C4D worldwide. The problem rests with those designing and directing development initiatives and reflects how they regard and use communications to further their development goals, whether or not they truly match the needs and aspirations of the people for whom they are designing programmes. It is the contention of this paper that approaches to C4D in this country must radically change and that it is important to act now to begin to identify appropriate communications actions, recommend technical contributions, establish training, and suggest policy changes and appropriate measurement parameters.
Communication for ‘Another Development’

In their study, Quarry and Ramírez suggest that since the top-down paradigm for communications for development is not working what is needed is what they term ‘another development’ a concept that emerged through seminars of the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation in the 1970s. Their book is filled with ideas and strong opinions about and specific examples illustrating the need to rethink development entirely and to design communications paradigms that allow the people who will most benefit from that development to participate actively in planning and implementing their own development. As the authors see it, the key focus for communication that supports and promotes development must be on listening, hearing and responding appropriately to grassroots people. This parallels a definition that emerged during the 2006 World Congress on Communication for Development which posited that C4D as a social process based on dialogue using a broad range of tools and methods. It is also about seeking change at different levels including listening, building trust, sharing knowledge and skills, building policies, debating and learning for sustained and meaningful change (The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 2007, pp. 209-210).

These authors and practitioners are not alone in believing that current top-down communication for development paradigms do not serve development well. Mda (1993) argues that due to a growing failure of media to reflect rural needs and concerns in development in developing countries countries, communication for development must be revitalized. As far back as 1993 in his book When people say play people: Development communication through theater, Z. Mda wrote that the structures of communication need to be democratized, increasing participation, promoting equity, self-reliance and closing the gap between the people and government.

Other voices including those of African economists argue that decades of top-down development initiatives have failed to deliver transformative change for millions of marginalised poor throughout sub-Saharan Africa especially those living in rural areas and actually threatens fulfillment of national development goals. Of particular concern is that to date there has been very little buy into development initiatives on the part of people at the low end of the socio-economic pyramid. Dambisa Moyo for one is very critical of the donor-client relationships that have led to what she believes is a breakdown in communication between governments and those they govern. Moyo, addressing a group of Beijing-based journalists, pointed out that policy makers have stopped counting on their people for development, while for their part the people have
lost trust in their leaders. The consequence of this is that neither the governed nor the power-holders enthusiastically embrace values that recognize the need to innovate and do things differently in terms of service delivery, productivity and performance. Moyo goes even further to argue that:

Aid has allowed governments to abdicate their responsibilities of providing public goods for their people . . . If the government does not rely on its people, then the people also do not rely on their government, and instead they rely on the international community who, for their own motivations, continues to give aid to Africa even though there has been a lack of delivery in the reduction of poverty and any amount of economic growth over the last few decades. The whole continent is hooked on a drug that is unsustainable.

Like Moyo, Rogers (1976) posits that the dominant communication top-down paradigm has led to a decline of efficacy in the use of the vital tools of communication to support development. Missing from most traditional models are the critical components of listening to, hearing and learning from the intended beneficiaries of development. That engagement is not occurring is not an indictment of the communications tools themselves; rather it demonstrates a lack of understanding of how to utilize them. What is required is a major paradigm shift in how communications resources both technical and human are applied to development.

Examples of bottom-up ‘Listening before Talking’ Communications Models

Quarry and Ramirez, find hope in another development and then go further to advance a thesis that . . . turns decades of communications advocacy on its head. Many academics and practitioners we included have been writing scholarly papers with pleas for more communication components to be built into development programmes. Now we have come to see it differently . . . We realize that it is not communication that creates effective (good) development. Instead a different approach to development is the condition for good communication. (2010:22).

The key to creating the environment for effective development is to put the listening function back on centre stage. (2010:20). Thus they define the essential role for communications in development.

The difference between the top-down/target directed approach shown in Figure 1 and an approach that places listening centre stage is unambiguous (Figure 2).
Figure 2. In this simplified ‘Feedback-Response Model’ – communications are initiated from below by community people TO the policy/decision-makers. These in turn feed back to or otherwise engage with the communities that in turn respond. The objective is to promote on-going dialogue on development issues of relevance and importance to initiate development activities that will benefit the communities. Various communications tools may be utilized for this process: radio, video, social media, etc. In some cases the communications process may be direct without the use of any communications tools.
Prominent among the examples Quarry and Ramirez presented was the back to the future model of the seminal Fogo Process from more than 40 years ago in Newfoundland, then one of Canada's least developed regions. It was implemented by the Extension Service of Memorial University of Newfoundland under the leadership of the late Don Snowden who, together with film maker Colin Low of the National Film Board of Canada, pioneered the use of film and later video as a tool to facilitate dialogue at the community level, between peer communities and between them and policy and decision-makers. The concept became recognized world-wide. Other projects led by Snowden, noted by Quarry and Ramirez, included the Kaminuriak Caribou Herd Project in Canada's north, along with his pioneer work with the process in India as documented in the film Eyes See, Ears Hear which tells the story of a small project with pedal rickshaw drivers in Haryana State in India. All of these initiatives demonstrated the potency of effectively utilizing appropriate communications tools to listen to the poor and engage them in a process of enablement that would aid them in bringing about change in their lives and communities.

At this point it is important to emphasize that communication tools do not bring about development; rather, used sensitively and innovatively they can help people achieve their own development objectives, first in their own communities and eventually throughout the country. As Don Snowden put it in an interview with Wendy Quarry about change that had occurred on Fogo Island in the late 1960s: "Film did not do these things: people did them. There is little doubt, however, that film created an awareness and self-confidence that was needed for people-advocated development to occur." (Quoted in Quarry and Ramirez 2010:30. Italics were added by the authors).

The point must also be made that no process model is carved in stone. Innovation and flexibility are key ingredients to success. As case studies below demonstrate, it may be appropriate to bring people from several communities, knowledge providers, government and other stakeholders together for a community forum to be broadcast. As well as radio, other media such as cell technology may be exploited; the new social media offer exciting possibilities.
Cases of Bottom-up initiatives in Tanzania – intimations of another development?

The Hifadhi Ardhi Shinyanga (HASHI) initiative

One Tanzanian example of a successful bottom-up development implementation is the community-based fire management project in the Miombo woodlands in Bukombe District, Shinyanga. For two decades Bukombe District in Shinyanga Region faced growing environmental degradation caused by human-made fires as a result of age-old traditional attitudes and socio-economic activities — agriculturists cleared land using slash-and-burn, pastoralists set fires to initiate pasture regeneration for their cattle, and villagers relied on illegal logging and charcoal production for their livelihoods.

The Hifadhi Ardhi Shinyanga (HASHI) project (which means ‘soil conservation’ in Kiswahili) was a Government initiative under the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism to intervene in the growing environmental problem in Shinyanga. HASHI began a top-down-commercial model by providing messages through a variety of media such as video, theatre, newsletters, and community meetings to raise awareness and mobilize local people to take action; but this approach failed to impact villagers and mindsets did not change. In fact incidences of fire increased. HASHI’s initial strategy was too expensive and ineffective but more importantly it did not work; so it was decided to change the strategy.

HASHI started to utilize indigenous knowledge, known as Sukuma Ngitiili meaning ‘enclosure’ to engage people actively to manage fires in a way that they had used in the past to conserve the natural resource. Ngitiili refers to an area near a village which is closed off at the beginning of the wet season to preserve fodder, and opened during the dry season to allow cattle to graze. Villagers were encouraged to identify such enclosures and to dig strips around the area for demarcation purposes — strips which would also function as fire breaks. Through numerous community meetings, villagers were motivated and encouraged to establish environmental committees, to formulate and enforce by-laws to protect the environment and establish land ownership rights, to map and demarcate the village forests and protect them from fire. They were also encouraged to think of other means through which they could utilize the natural resources for their benefits. The new enclosures preserved not only grasses but also trees throughout the district.

The HASHI project is a fine example of how bottom-up ‘listening before talking’ produced noticeable and sustainable results. It was significant that agents were willing
Creating a participatory communication model of engagement of local communities

and able to listen to villagers, identify and utilize local knowledge, understand the
gaps that existed and empower villagers with new skills. Community self-organizing
was strengthened and social organizational structures within the communities
were-established and reinforced increasing people's confidence so that they could
continually reduce their vulnerability to disaster through their own knowledge and
efforts. Eventually the local community was able to own and replicate the techniques
and sustain the project.

Access to Information (ATI) initiative

Between 2007 and 2010 the Prime Minister's Office-Regional Administration and
Local Government (PMO-RALG) implemented the pilot ATI initiative supported by
the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and Netherlands Development
Organization (SNV).

The pilot was implemented according to thematic issues in four districts: Uyui
(Malaria), Bunda (Maternal Health), Morogoro Rural (Education) and Bukoba Rural
(Water and Sanitation).

In Uyui the activities included improving and renovating a run down and under-
utilized Information Centre, data collection on the prevalence of Malaria and how
Uyui residents received information on their basic rights, and conducting awareness
and advocacy meetings. The team also targeted health facilities and primary schools
to strengthen their potential as information sources for the communities; particular
attention was paid to getting available information off office shelves and onto notice
boards where they could be accessed by the whole community.

In Bunda emphasis was placed on properly collecting data and establishing and
equipping information centres so that the data could be analysed and development
partners such as the District Council could effectively translate the information in terms
that would be understood by the Bunda community. Local Government Agencies and
Civil Society Organizations were encouraged to utilize local government information
systems such as Planrep2d and the Local Government Monitoring Database which
made more available relevant data and contributed to better transparency as a result
be being able to generate many different types of progress and financial reports.
Other important components included the promotion of community dialogue related
to maternal health through village discussions, construction of two labour wards,
installation of two new water tanks and rehabilitation of dispensaries and essential
equipment.
The goals of the Morogoro Rural education initiative were to promote gender equality in education, monitor funds for education development and improve communication routes to schools. Collaboration between the local community and journalists generated powerful articles and media discussions on the state of education. The community media acted as a medium in which citizens could voice their concerns, demand transparency and government responsiveness (Access to Information (ATI) Localizing MGDs. Project report by SNV/UNDP 2011: 18). Through the project improvements to communication routes were made. Thanks to national exposure of embezzlement of funds as a result of community interaction with journalists, auditing of government funded projects was improved. As well, through successful intervention in local planning more funds for education were approved by the Morogoro District Council, and the Council now can plan more effectively as a result of having access to better data than in the past.

In Bukoba Rural District village information networks improved communication, local media helped bridge the gap between the District Council and the public yielding positive results, and Water point Mapping was established to improve specific water points in the district. Two main Information Centres were equipped and supplied with a variety of print resources (leaflets, posters, policy documents, T-shirts) to be used as learning and information dissemination devices. Concern about the donor dependency syndrome led to the community seeking out information and implementing initiatives such as establishment of a Village Water Fund in one locality. At ATI meetings local residents expressed great concern that their priorities be incorporated into planning something that seldom occurred.

Overall, the initiatives of the ATI Project were successful because they provided opportunities for local villagers to express their views, expose corruption and participate in planning and implementing development projects. By its conclusion the project was seen to have influenced the development of particular action plans in various sectors including agriculture, nutrition, health and education; young people participated actively to address social issues, and the initiative proved effective in creating an intersection between village and district levels (SNV/UNDP 2011).

Among lessons learned that are pertinent to this presentation were that One of the best ways to communicate messages to the community is through using the community themselves (SNV/UNDP 2011: 19). In one community the ATI successfully kick-started community action through local theatre performances that engaged the community.
Creating a participatory communication model of engagement of local communities

The HASHI and ATI initiatives show that there are those in the development community in Tanzania who understand the important principle of listening before talking and donor partners willing to support initiatives that carry some risk but promise very positive returns for the intended beneficiaries. Both initiatives also utilized basic traditional modes of communications (face-to-face, community meetings and discussions with community leaders and opinion makers); it seems that only the Water component of the ATI Project in the Bukoba Rural District was able to take advantage of and benefit from the utilization of a broad range of communications tools - newspapers, radio (both TBC and the local radio FM station) and TV. This experience may have influenced the Key Messages for Policy Makers of the final report for the ATI initiative to recommend the promotion of interactive media such as community radio and mobile phone technology (SNV/UNDP 2011:22).

‘Voices from the Coast’

About the same time as the HASHI and ATI projects, but completely separate from them, Dar es Salaam’s School of Journalism and Mass Communications (SJMC) produced a series of radio programmes, Voices from the Coast. As a component of a Canadian-supported fisheries project between Memorial University of Newfoundland and UDSM the name perfectly described the nature of the programme. For the first time the voices of coastal people were heard discussing their aspirations, needs and ideas about their fisheries and socio-economic issues that were important to them. The programme was broadcast on SJMC’s Mlimani Radio; in addition one faculty member produced several programmes that were broadcast over TBC.

An important intent for the initiative was to create field production training opportunities for SJMC students, staff and faculty. The field production also incorporated video shooting and the audio of interviews recorded on video was used for the radio programmes.

The production team began in the Kilwa region. No sooner were the first programmes aired than requests began to come into the producer from the Tanga/Pangani region and from Zanzibar fishermen in these areas wanted equal access so their voices could also be heard on issues that concerned them. This affirmed what has been seen in other countries where people are given access to expressing themselves - they embrace the opportunity to be heard and to become part of a public dialogue about issues of common concern.

This initiative differed significantly from both the HASHI and ATI projects as there
was no fieldworker or team active in the communities to work with the people to provide continuity or focus so it was not a true process exercise.

The programme only ran, on and off, for about a year, insufficient time to bring sufficient discipline to the structure of the programme or to fulfil the important feedback loop. But useful positive lessons were learned:

- Perhaps most importantly, the level of interest and participation dispelled any concerns that people living in rural Tanzania might be timid about speaking up for broadcast on issues that affect them or that they might not be competent to engage intelligently in dialogue on development issues.
- The potential for peer-to-peer dialogue and learning and its importance was confirmed. People living in one coastal area learned that people living in other coastal areas faced many of the same challenges; by exchanging ideas and talking about solutions on-air was beneficial to all concerned.

The failure of Voices from the Coast to become a long-term resource for the country was disappointing, but from this a key lesson was learned: to sustain programming in such a context it is essential to secure full institutional buy-in to allow producers and their development partners time to generate full engagement and create the desired dialogue. The virtue of patience is too often missing in the context of development, which can thwart the maturing of positive results and cripple capacity building.

**Tanzania ‘ripe’ for implementation of Bottom-up Communication**

The experiences outlined above suggest that the time is right in Tanzania to bring together concepts and ideas and lessons learned to move forward with implementation of approaches designed to further engagement on every level of society placing radio as the core technology. The potential to utilize radio in innovative ways in this country is enormous: it is ubiquitous throughout the country, is widely affordable and most families have access to at least one radio set.

Radio entertains, informs, motivates and becomes a companion and it can become an important source for community sharing and interaction. Also, as a broadcasting medium it readily lends itself to use with groups by community animators. Common programming can be shared by many at the same time over a wide geographic distribution, which enabling peers to share their knowledge views. It encourages imagination and is well suited to promote culture, share ideas, enable participation and action and help listeners to learn. It is an excellent platform for the creation of
programming to present results of research using everyday language that all can understand.

Some urge that the emphasis be placed on developing community radio stations, giving communities the capacity to put on air their own programming at their discretion and when it most suits potential listeners. While there is considerable merit to taking this approach, there are also many challenges to doing so. How many can be established? What licensing issues will there be? Can they be maintained after interest peaks and initial enthusiasm slumps? How widely can they reach and what level of outreach to officials and information providers can small community stations have?

Meanwhile there may be an alternate resource already in place: in recent years there has been a surge of independent radio stations (indies) establishing their footprints in specific areas across most of the country. By joining with partners and stakeholders across the development spectrum (for example in the fields of health, education, agriculture, fisheries, wildfire mitigation and a host of others) the indies could cultivate broad new audiences through generating strong, positive local programming that serves developmental purposes. While there are many issues to be considered around financing such initiatives, but there is reason to believe that these can be worked through without adding significantly to already-stretched development funds.

Another potential opportunity utilizing the indies could be to set up networks so that multiple indies could join in a national forum on a particular theme. This could contribute directly to a nation-wide discussion of an important development issue. The indies may also serve as a core transmission hub to foster interaction within and between local peer communities and between those communities and policy and decision-makers as well as with the knowledge holders. Figures 3a, b and c attempt to visualize a multi-level communications process utilizing radio as the primary transmitting agent.

In this example the process begins at the community level with a field worker or a team (herein designated the Community Engagement Team or CET). Their essential role is to serve as a community animator or catalyst to engage with community people (at every level, not just community leaders) and encourage them to articulate their views on issues of concern and what is needed to help improve their lives, address problems, provide essential services, foster economic and social development. In some cases field workers may introduce specific issues that such as wildfire mitigation, agricultural support, fisheries sustainability, education, and health and social services and ask community members to consider these and comment or contribute ideas.
Figure 3a. It starts in and with the community. In an issue-focused initiative (e.g. the ‘Moto Jamii’ programme) the CET invites community participation around what priorities citizens may wish to address, with the commitment that these will be broadcast by participating indie radio stations or otherwise made available so that government and other stakeholders and specialists and other content providers can hear their views and be invited to respond in substantive ways.

Figure 3b. Voices are heard. As community members are interviewed they have the right to request changes, additions or complete deletion of what they have said before it is broadcast. This period...
of recording interviews and discussing the issues with community members encourages them to think more deeply about issues that concern them and helps build consensus. With permissions in hand, the radio producer (member of the CET) begins to edit programmes and they are broadcast (at times identified by community people as accessible for them). Often this is the first time people have heard their voices – or even voices of their peers – talking about issues of vital importance to their own development – perhaps challenging what government is doing, asking questions that may require input from specialists or experts. The strength of radio is its outreach into all villages within the radio of the station signal – this means that messages and observations from one village may be shared with other peer communities as well as with policy and decision-makers. This is a starting point for dialogue to develop.

Figure 3c

Figure 3c. Feedback and dialogue fosters understanding and can lead to real change. As the process continues the CET and partner indie stations reach out and create opportunities for power holders, knowledge holders and peers in other communities to feed back reactions and responses to the ‘voices’ they have heard. This provides content and substance for continued on-going discussions within the community and between the community and those being reached through the programming. This in turn can contribute to substantive change, propelled by listening, hearing and responding.
In a process work it must be recognized that communications is the means, not the end. Only by empowering community people will development be effective and sustainable. Therefore media people working in this field, often accustomed to turning their personal vision into programmes, must accept that it is the development process rather than any radio, video or TV product that must be the priority. Some working in this field have described their role as being the ‘pen’ for the community. It is also important that they involve the other field workers in all decision-making that can impact the community work.

The critical role played by dedicated community workers in launching and carrying through a process of this type was noted by Don Snowden based on his experience in the evolution of The Fogo Process. Effective community workers can come from a wide range of disciplines, agencies, institutions and departments, and may have varying degrees of education and training. Key qualities are that they empathize with the people with whom they are working and have a strong belief in both the process and its objectives of empowering people to do for themselves; they must also be innovative, patient and bold when dealing with community leaders.

Any process-based project must begin with identification and training of those who will be working in the field. Ideally much of the training will take place in situ following short but intensive training in the principles and best practices. The initial thrust of work in communities will be to build trust with the community residents as a fieldworker of CET begins to identify key people in the village and starts to interview villagers. Techniques will be employed to foster dialogue within the community to bring focus to issues; different starting points may be identified depending on local situations. One approach that has often proven useful is to begin with elders discussing past practices. From such a base interviews will ramp up to more challenging examination of how things have changed and what participants see as possible ways to begin to introduce change. As the process continues it will be important to engage youth and others who may seem detached from any development vision and it may be here that the use of social media will become significant.

Ma (1993) posits that Marotholi Traveling Theatre based in Lesotho become a communication tool for development for that village because it increasingly involved village people in production, integrated indigenous knowledge, and used resources and systems at hand to enhance two-way communication and explore cultural forms of expression to enable people to realize their development. In the same way the approach of the CETs (including radio production) must be non-intrusive. The approach to
content-collection both aural (e.g. interviews, meetings, songs, children playing games, etc.) and visual (e.g. using cell phone cameras) must be dedicated to helping the villagers identify themselves with the programme. Further, CETs will find ways to create opportunities for play back sessions to engage community members and enable them to hear what is being said, perhaps through setting up listening/discussion sessions particularly as the first programmes go to air. They may also explore ways to share audio or even video recorded on cellphones with other people to expand ideas and opinion in open forum first in their own communities and then through their broader networks, including through the radio programming component.

As the Feedback-Response Model in Figure 3c attempts to illustrate, effective communication for development not only means creating demand by empowering local communities but also requires that policy makers and other elected leaders agree to respond to questions and concerns raised at the community level and provide more information and explain or modify their ideas, policies and practices. Thus, importantly, the process can play an important role in enhancing the democratic process, increasing clarity and improving governance.

At appropriate points in the evolution of the dialogue, community radio forums may be set up and broadcast. While physically situated in one community, through such forums it will be possible to include the voices of peer communities in the region together with input from policy makers and external specialists. The purpose of a forum will be to expand discussion and stimulate debate and positive actions to address the issues.

In addition, radio producers may prepare special themed programmes on related development issues which may be shared across regions creating the opportunity to build a national dialogue around issues related to development. Hearing themselves present their viewpoints on the air will build self-confidence amongst villagers. Peers in other communities, hearing viewpoints similar to their own given on-air respect will be encouraged to re-consider their own attitudes towards social problems and begin to craft solutions. Radio, well produced and highly focused, can play a vital role in stimulating thought, discussion and positive response throughout a region and the country.

Of the media tools available in Tanzania radio with its broad outreach could be utilized much more effectively than has been the case to date, especially when supplemented by new digital technologies (cell phone, podcasts, other social media) and, where possible, regional and national TV.
Some may be understandably apprehensive over what role social media can and should play in development seeing the turmoil attributed to the new technologies related to uprisings and social unrest not only in Arab countries but around the world. But as analysis undertaken by Thione (2003) of case studies conducted in communities in rural and suburban areas of Kenya, Senegal, South Africa, and Uganda confirms, Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) have unprecedented opportunities for community development in the Sub-Saharan Africa. The most significant impacts observed in these studies were changes in behaviors, relations, activities, or intervention strategies of community population. Thus ICTs in those communities were crucially important for sustainable development in terms raising participation in decision process with the information on how to increase income, access improved health and education as well as better use and more equitable sharing of resources.

New technologies bring new dimensions. In the case of The Fogo Process, film was quickly supplanted by video; now it is proposed that radio be a primary tool for work in Tanzania as outlined above. The rapid expansion of cell phone technology and the accompanying development of social media open exciting opportunities for practical in situ research: 1) into whether or not they can play audio-visual roles similar to video for in-community work (for example supplemented with increasingly small projection systems); and 2) how effectively ever-changing technologies can be utilized to expand issue-focused dialogue amongst peer communities, within regions and ultimately nation-wide.

Experience in the above selected cases has demonstrated that implementation of a development process that effectively utilizes communications tools to give ‘voice’ to community marginalized people, promote participation and facilitate dialogue between traditionally marginalized groups and those in positions of power who develop policies and make decisions can be a catalyst for positive change by contributing to:

- consensus-building both within communities and within regions;
- a growth of self-awareness and self-confidence;
- emergence of broader leadership within communities;
- peer learning both from within the community and between communities;
- higher acceptance of new ‘outside’ ideas not imposed but negotiated;
- deeper knowledge of ‘real’ community issues by policy/decision makers;
- better (more effective and appropriate) policy-making;
- higher level of respect for constituencies on the part of government;
Creating a participatory communication model of engagement of local communities

A greater stakeholder understanding and engagement both up and down; a strengthened capacity, especially when process leads to more responsive interventions and seek more information to meet real needs; a broader participation in the democratic process as people learn that their input does count and can make a difference; more research opportunities as communities become more cooperative recognizing that there is value in new knowledge that can benefit them; better governance as those who may have operated under the radar see the higher level of citizen participation.

New paradigms for communications for development must be tested if the objective is to engage citizens at all levels in national development dialogue and bring about change that truly benefits not just those at the top but, most importantly, those at the bottom of the socio-economic pyramid. The most effective way to achieve this is to implement bottom-up, listening before talking communications models that will engage community-level people fully and on equal footing and to foster meaningful dialogue amongst experts, community leaders, and local authorities and policymakers to identify the country’s needs and develop long-term capacities to achieve and maintain the intended results. Only through full ownership will those who have live in marginal circumstances buy into development processes that they see are contributing to a better life for them and their children. Is it not logical therefore that those concerned about development should embrace whatever methodologies can utilize communications tools most effectively to reach this goal?

Notes

1. Dr. Jasson Kalugendo lectures Communication Corporate, research methods and design, development ethics at School of Journalism and Mass of Communication, University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. He is a specialist with international and local experience in communication strategy, communication for development, and capacity development and other analytical related works. He holds a Ph.D degree focusing on social capital and MA and BA degrees in communication (public relations, journalism, and social communication).

2. Paul G. MacLeod (B.A., M.A.) has been a practitioner of communications for development for over 30 years, beginning with his involvement in Fogo Process work at Memorial University of Newfoundland, Canada and extending to training and production work in communications components of development projects in
Asia, South America, the Canadian north and in Africa, including in Tanzania. His most recent projects have included workshops in Afghanistan and training in Kenya.

3. This fire communication strategy is one of the strategic plans of the National Forest Monitoring and Assessment (NAFORMA) project — a collaboration between the Governments of the Republic of Tanzania and Finland and the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) of the United Nations. The purpose of the Integrated Fire Management Project is to establish a prudent and sustainable system of fire management for natural resources and to help mitigate climate change through participatory communication.


5. The Fogo Process is a communications process utilizing appropriate media tools to foster participatory community development. The Fogo Process evolved through a series of events and interventions that took place on Fogo Island (an island off the northeast coast of Newfoundland, Canada) beginning in 1967 as collaboration between the Extension Department of Memorial University of Newfoundland (led by its Director, the late Donald Snowden) and the National Film Board of Canada (particularly producer/director Colin Low). Two years earlier Snowden upon reading the Economic Council of Canada’s Report on Poverty in Canada was distressed by the report’s perspective on poverty through the lens of urban values. About the same time Low came to Newfoundland in search of appropriate sites for a film depicting rural poverty. Snowden was determined to show that “poverty” meant not just economic deprivation but extended to cover isolation, the inability to access information and communication media and the lack of organization and opportunity to participate meaningfully in social and economic development. Snowden and Low identified Fogo Island as the most suitable location to film in order to present an overview of the issues facing rural Newfoundland. As they and their colleagues worked through what was originally seen as a traditional documentary film, their work evolved into the seminal communications process that became known worldwide as The Fogo Process. The Fogo Process de-emphasizes the “product” i.e. the programmes in whatever format focusing on how they can be utilized to engage village people, facilitate their “voices” being heard and empower them to participate actively in their own development planning and implementation. (For more details on The Fogo Process read: Tony Williamson, ØThe

6. The story was adopted from: http://ag.arizona.edu/oals/ALN/alm55/nosoko.html and modified by the authors.

7. The PMO-RALG project provided an entry point to attempt to improve collaboration between Local Government Authorities (LGAs) and Civil Societies Organizations (CSOs) in disseminating information to the public.

8. In the context of the radio-based projects under consideration in Tanzania, staff for CETs may be drawn from Civil Society organizations as well as radio production staff and may also include village leaders as well as local government authorities. It will be important that leadership ensure that all team members share a common vision as building consensus within the communities will be an important part of their work. It will also be important to try to identify innovators with capacity to explore the potential of incorporating social media tools into the process.

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The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. 2007. Ú2006 World Congress on Communications for Developmentû The Congress was organized by the World Bank and Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) which took place in Rome October 25-27, 2006.


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Newspaper coverage and readers’ perception of the campaign against economic and financial crimes in Nigeria under president Olusegun Obasanjo

By: Jude Terna Kur, John Aigbvbioise Orhewere, Bernard Bem Melladu

Abstract

The study reports an analysis of the effectiveness of newspapers in supporting the campaign against economic and financial crime during the government of President Olusegun Obasanjo in the mid-2000s. Findings revealed that the newspapers gave prominence to the campaign in their coverage based on location in the newspaper. Generally, however, the major newspapers tended to frame the reports on the campaign as having good objectives, but poorly executed. In a survey of 384 readers using questionnaires and focus group discussions, it was clear that the agenda setting and framing of the newspapers tended to reinforce the views of the readers regarding the campaign as well-intentioned but politically biased in its execution.

Key words: Newspaper coverage, readers’ perception, campaign, economic and financial crimes, President Obasanjo Government.

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Introduction/Background

One of the greatest challenges contemporary Nigerian society is facing is corruption manifested in economic and financial crimes within government. For several years, Transparency International listed Nigeria as one of the most corrupt countries in the world. Ekumankama (2002, p. 21) comment about the ugly trend is incisive:

The level of corruption in Nigeria is for instance disturbing and in fact frightening. It is looting galore in every government department in Nigeria. Corruption is a household phenomenon in Nigeria. It is endemic and systematic which makes it difficult to control by any government in Nigeria. In essence it has gone beyond control... No law has controlled corruption. No military force has controlled it. No social stigma has controlled it. Nigerians have over the years been castrated and wallowed in abject poverty that has been the cause of premature deaths in Nigeria.

It was a welcome development when the democratic government of President Olusegun Obasanjo commenced a campaign against corruption generally and against the theft in government in particular. The government’s commitment to this cause was reflected in the President’s inaugural speech on May 29, 1999: “Corruption, the greatest single bane for our society today, will be tackled head-on at all levels” The beneficiaries of corruption in all forms will fight back with foul means at their disposal. We will be firm with them (Tell editorial, February 20, 2006, p. 18). At another occasion, the President was quoted as saying: “Some say compromise a little, but I will not” (Ibrahim, 2001, p. 85).

With this commitment President Obasanjo set out with a campaign against economic and financial crimes. A greater part of the campaign was carried out through the activities of the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) which the President established in 2004 and was headed by Nuhu Ribadu, a police officer.

Nigerians have expressed mixed feelings about the prosecution of the campaign. One school of thought (Duru, 2005; Bello, 2006; Nmodu, 2006) has had the feeling that the campaign was successful. For this opinion group, as reflected in Tell editorial, February 20, 2006, for the first time in the annals of social reforms in Nigeria, top government officials such as the Senate President, ministers, state governors, a security chief, and legislators were brought to justice on varying charges of economic and financial crimes. For the first time, the country’s efforts against economic and financial crimes led to the recovery of over US$800 million stolen money.
However, another school of thought did not see President Obasanjo’s campaign against economic and financial crimes as genuine. A member of this body of opinion is Ghali Na’Abba, Speaker of the House of Representatives in President Obasanjo’s government. Na’Abba observes:

There is a perverted justice in the campaign against corruption by the Obasanjo administration. A pattern has been established where these anti-corruption agencies are not being allowed to work independently. It appears the proclivity to send people to face these institutions is when somebody is against this administration (Adeyemo, 2006, pp. 20-21).

Supporting Na’Abba is Sylvester Odion-Akhaine, former Executive Director, Centre for Constitutionalism and Demilitarization (CENCOD), a Non-Governmental Organization. Odion-Akhaine said: if the war is not selective, why have we not done something on Tony Anenih, the ex-works minister, today? Why have we not done something on the Abuja National Stadium on which IMF said the money could have given us two of the edifice? (Adeyemo, 2006, p.21). Similarly, Sagir Muhammed, a retired Army Captain, feels that President Obasanjo was using EFCC to punish those who worked for the failure of the President’s plan to amend the Constitution to enable him have a third term in office as President. Muhammed said:

Ribadu and EFCC, that guy is operating as a gangster. All he is doing is to silence the enemies of Obasanjo and he is doing it with such callousness. He is operating as a gangster, humiliates, intimidates and even seeks more power. What he is doing is similar to the fashion of the Gestapo used by Hitter to terrorize, humiliate and kill enemies (Jason, 2006, p. 25)

In fact, feelings against the prosecution of the campaign took a drastic turn when the governments of Abia, Ekiti and Benue States had to take EFCC to court, challenging its manner of operation as unlawful. These state governments and other anti-EFCC groups, which believed that EFCC was the President’s weapon against political rivals, maintained that EFCC was on a mission of selective justice. These anti-EFCC groups wondered why the EFCC did not prosecute past alleged corrupt office holders such as former President Ibrahim Babangida and a PDP stalwart, Tony Anenih, over alleged contract irregularities (Bello, 2006).

Whatever people may have felt about the campaign by the Obasanjo administration, Tell editorial (February 20, 2006) advice on the campaign is pertinent. The editorial advised people to forget about the manner of prosecution of the campaign, think of the
benefits, embrace and support the overall success of the campaign:

Tell believes that it is the duty of every well-meaning Nigerian, as a national duty, to support his (Obasanjo) efforts and stand up against this debilitating menace. Whether or not we like Obasanjo’s imperious ways, he surely has such ways is irrelevant to the crusade. We should focus on the message rather than the messenger in the current onslaught on corruption. In any case, even if the approach currently being adopted in the prosecution of the war appears selective, as claimed by cynics; people should be forthcoming with better options, rather than outright condemnation. Moreover, whatever is achieved with the current efforts would only provide a platform, which can be built upon by subsequent administrations for greater, better results (p.19).

Tell’s advice is aimed at the mass media too, and suggests that all stakeholders in the Nigerian anti-corruption enterprise must have an effective role in the success of the campaign. The newspapers, with the responsibility to set the agenda for public debate (Kur, 2004, 2009) should be at the vanguard to ensure the success of the campaign. Newspapers, as a form of mass media and a socializing agent, influence people’s perception of issues. Folarin (1998, p. 63) writes that our perception is dependent on a number of variables ranging from our values, attitudes, beliefs, cultural expectations, social relationships and psychological dispositions. Newspaper messages constitute some of the variables such as cultural expectations and social relationships (Baran, 2004). In other words, newspapers are engaged in production, reproduction and distribution of knowledge in the widest sense, producing sets of symbols which articulate and formulate active public opinion (McQuail, 1987). This knowledge shapes our perception of issues in society. This is the mediating role of newspapers, which shapes our perception of events.

This mediating role of newspapers is carried out in a number of ways, which include among others the following: (1) They serve as an interpreter, which explains and makes sense of otherwise fragmentary or puzzling goals, (2) they serve as a signpost, which actively points the way, gives guidance or instructions, (3) they serve as a filter, selecting out parts of experience for special attention and closing off other aspects of experience, whether deliberately and systematically or not, (4) they serve as a mirror, which reflects back an image of society to itself, usually with some distortion by accentuating what people want to see of their own society or sometimes what they want to punish or suppress, and (5) they serve as a window on experience, which extends our vision,
enables us to see what is going on for ourselves, without interference or bias (McQuail, 1987, 2005; Griffin, 2000; Anderson & Ross, 2002; Biagi; 2003). The import of the foregoing is that newspaper coverage of economic and financial crimes campaign in Nigeria under President Olusegun Obasanjo would have impacted or contributed to shaping readers’ perception of the campaign. This study investigated this assumption.

Mass media and crime reporting

The relationship between mass media and fighting crime is one that has attracted many comments. While some scholars question whether the media should report crime, others argue in favor of it. The position of the former group is based on the view that crime news tends to glamorize criminals and make others fall into life of crime (Umehuku, 1999). Similarly, media reports of crime can put fear into the audience (Ditton, Chadde, Farral, Gilchrist & Bannister, 2004). This idea is largely drawn from George Gerbner’s cultivation analysis, which explains that audience members exposed to high amount of crime stories are likely to perceive the world as full of crimes. The group that argues that the mass media should report crime predicates its argument on the notion that crime reports alert the public to be watchful. This group disagrees that there is too much of crime reports in the media; rather the media reflect the high intensity of crime in society (Schlesinger & Tumber, 1994).

There is a third school of thought, which believes that the mass media should not be held solely responsible for the shape media crime reports take. Schlesinger & Tumber (1994) refer to this idea as media politics of criminal justice. They explain that sources also function as journalists (who produce published copy) and are also audiences who experience effects of media on their organization. This means that the news media institution is decentral; it is not wholly responsible for the angle it gives to crime reports. Several other institutions outside the news media shape media crime reports. This is so because news is understood as a product of inter-institutional relations rather than something that is largely the doing of journalists and the news media institutions (Van Dik, 1988; Grabe, 1996; Peelo, Francis, Soothill, Pearson & Ackerley, 2004).

To support this argument that other institutional discourses have a significant effect on crime news discourse, and that news media and other institutional discourses must be seen as mutually constitutive, Schlesinger & Tumber (1994) have drawn examples from two crime reporting cases. The first example, based on a content analysis of Crime Watch UK, a TV programme, illustrates how different outlets used different sources to explain crime trends. These explanations articulate the well-established
political positions of the news outlets and their sources. The second example illustrates the dominance of police version of reality in crime news reports. These two examples show that the causal responsibility for crime has a direct link to attributions of political responsibility, since these attributions advance political interests. Thus, the crime news angle or slant is structured politically and economically to favour state agencies and other dominant interests.

This is not to say people have not felt a positive impact of mass media reportage of crime. On some occasions, media reports of crime, especially crime in high places, have received the applause of the public. This was the case with the celebrated media coverage of the Watergate scandal. Mass media reports on the criminal act of President Richard Nixon, as noted by Lang and Lang (1994), influenced public opinion against the President. In Nigeria, New Nigerian (a national newspaper) reports on February 2, 1982 of the alleged money laundering activity of the then Governor of Niger State, Alhaji Awwal Ibrahim, excited the public. The paper, in an editorial, alleged that the Governor was caught at the Heathrow Airport, London, in possession of a sum of US$6 million (Kukah, 1993). In the present Nigeria Fourth Republic, the masses were satisfied with press reports that revealed crimes of forgery and deceit by the former Speaker of the House of Representatives, Alhaji Salisu Buhari. This revelation led to the resignation of the Speaker.

**Newspaper coverage of crime: Review of empirical studies.**

The avalanche of literature reporting empirical studies of crime coverage shows that the focus is mostly on human interest norms, high amplitude (when it involves multiple victims), violent crimes, and presents a distorted picture rather than the actual picture of crimes. Johnston, Hawkins & Michener (1994) studied homicide reporting in Chicago dailies to find out whether incidents of homicide reported to the police were reported by the newspapers. If they were reported, how much attention was devoted to them. The study adopted content analysis.

The time period of the study was 1987, and the homicides studied were those that occurred that year in Chicago and which were recorded and investigated by the Chicago Police Department. The newspapers studied were the Tribune and Sun-Times, all of Chicago. The findings showed that the newspapers covered not many of the homicides reported to the police (only 212 or 31% of the 684 homicides reported to the police). For the reported homicides, some of the characteristics that made them newsworthy were: homicides which claimed multiple victims, cases in which the victim was a
woman killed by a man, homicides involving multiple offenders, if the victim was a child, and if the incident took place in a wealthier neighborhood. These findings suggest that an emphasis on human interest is a criterion in determining newsworthy homicide. This is a distortion of reality; treating social reality as fiction. By focusing on the unusual and the bizarre, the newspapers framed homicide problem in terms of individual rather than social pathologies.

Another study by Grabe (1996) aimed at comparing tabloid and traditional broadcast news magazine programmes in terms of their emphasis on crime stories. The study, a content analysis, covered the period from October 1, 1994 to March 31, 1995. Findings showed that crime was a significantly more popular theme in tabloid than highbrow media. Both news formats presented crimes as occurring in cities, at night, and in private environments. The tabloids, more than highbrow shows, presented the middle class and youths as perpetrators of crime. The tabloids also presented the law enforcement agents, in crime stories, as serving society’s members.

The study by Peelo, Francis, Soothill, Peterson & Ackerley (2004) examined the contribution of newspapers to the social processes that surround criminological problems. In other words, it examined the representation of the reality of illegal killings (in England and Wales) in newspapers. The study adopted the content analysis method, using the Homicide Index, a computerized Home Office database of all initially recorded homicides in England and Wales between 1993 and 1997. It examined the reporting of the homicide cases (captured by the Homicide Index) in three national newspapers (The Times, the Mail, and the Mirror. Findings revealed that only a small number of homicides were reported in the newspapers, and the newspaper reporting of the homicides presented a distorted picture rather than one that represented the actual situation of homicides. Also, it was found that the circumstance of the homicides was the most important variable in the selection of crime news to report; if the victims were many and youngsters, the homicide was reported. The inference drawn from these findings is that newspapers are a part of the construction of a public narrative about killing that is different to its reality. By helping to validate who is included and who is excluded from public concern, newspapers contribute to a distancing of the public gaze from the actuality of crime.

**Mass media reportage of corruption**

The media are an important social institution in the fight against corruption. This is however the case where the media are effective, which presupposes that they are
genuinely concerned with raising public awareness about corruption, its causes, consequences, and possible remedies (Rick, 2002). Beyond raising awareness, the media could also advocate and mobilize the people to work against corruption. When the media discharge these roles properly and all things being equal, the results are hugely rewarding. Sowunmi et al (2010, p.18) maintain that the results could be both tangible and intangible. The tangible results include: launching of investigation by authorities, scrapping of a law or policy that fosters a climate ripe with opportunities for corruption, impeachment or forced resignation of a crooked politician and firing of an official, launching of judicial proceedings and issuing of public recommendation by a watchdog body like Transparency International. Sowunmi et al (2010, p.18) explain the intangible results as those checks on corruption, which are invariably the by-product of hard hitting independence news and can be characterized by broadened sense of accountability amongst politicians, public bodies and institutions.

Media coverage of corruption issues does not always achieve those results because of certain structural, external and internal challenges the media face. In Nigeria, Assay (2009) and Onobe (2009) identify the challenges to include: poor and delayed salaries to journalists, corruption in the media, harassment of journalists, negative influence of media owners, lack of or inadequate access to public records and information, and the idea of news commercialization. The challenge of inadequate access to information may appear to have been addressed with the Freedom of Information (FOI) Act now in place. However, there is the fear that when fully implemented, the FOI Act is likely to face challenges which may render the law ineffective in fulfilling its objectives. Some of these challenges identified by Ojebode (2011) include: the consensual interpretation of the slimy but the important concepts that appear in the Act such as public interest; lack of a supervisory agency to manage the implementation of the Act, the huge human and material resources needed to effectively implement the Act, and the need for several legal tussles to firmly establish the jurisdiction of the Act.

The import of the foregoing is that the effectiveness of the media in reporting corruption is dependent on certain factors, which a number of scholars (Vogl, 1999; Djankov, 2000; Afrobarometer, 2004; Suphachalasai, 2005; Nogora, 2009) have separately identified to include: freedom of expression, access to information, media ownership, media competition, media outreach, and media credibility. Freedom of expression is necessary in investigating and reporting issues of corruption. Others are cases of governments’ use of laws and actions against the media, coercion to censure journalists, hamstringing finances, and pushing the media to a state of self-censorship.
that limits media freedom. In many countries, the media are relied upon to supply the citizens with information they need to enable them to function effectively in the society. When the media have no access to information, they fail to be as accountable to society as they should. Private ownership of the media is more often associated with free information flow than is government ownership. This is, however, not the case where, as noted by Sowunmi et al. (2010, p.16) «media privatization takes place in a poor country with small, entrenched business elites and where the state is the only source of advertising revenue» and (media) owners are often business men closely associated with the government, former presidents, ministers, ambassadors, commissioners, and ex-government officials, who, one way or the other, still maintain their loyalty to the government in power». Where competition in the media industry is high, there is the tendency for stronger freedom of expression and effectiveness at reporting corruption issues (Suphachalasai, 2005). Media outreach, which is the ability of the media to reach and inform the public, is a crucial factor in the effectiveness of the media in reporting corruption issues. In many African countries, including Nigeria, government-owned media have higher outreach than privately-owned ones, and this places a burden on the effectiveness of corruption reporting by the media. Media credibility is another strong factor in the effectiveness of the media in corruption reporting. A credible media organisation is more effective in reporting corruption issues than a non-credible media organisation.

**Corruption reporting in Nigeria**

How then do the media cover corruption issues in Nigeria? A number of studies have been conducted to answer this question, and three such studies are reviewed here to provide an insight into the nature of coverage of corruption issues and the framing of the issues. The first study is that by Kombol (2009), which examined the direction and subject matter of the coverage of the Patricia Etteh corruption scandal. Patricia Etteh was the first female elected to the position of Speaker of the House of Representatives in Nigeria. About three months after her election in 2007, Etteh was to face a House panel investigating corruption charges against her. The panel found Etteh guilty of breaking the rules in awarding contracts worth US$5 million to renovate two houses and ten cars for her office. The findings of the panel indicting the Speaker with corruption divided the House, with some members calling for her removal as the Speaker and others rejecting the call. It was a fierce debate that resulted in physical combat on the floor of the House leading to the death of a member of the House, Dr.
Aminu Shuaibu Safana (Nwazeshi & Omale, 2007). Etteh was eventually impeached. Kombolâ study was a content analysis of online editions of This Day newspaper within the month of October, 2007. This month was purposively sampled because it was the climax of the Etteh corruption scandal. Only This Day newspaper was studied because, at the time of the study (2008), no Nigerian newspaper, except This Day, had an archive for online editions. The units of analysis in the study were news stories about the Etteh corruption scandal. The findings of the study revealed that, in terms of directionality, most of the news stories examined were unfavourable to Patricia Etteh (40.9%), few were favourable to her (27.3%), and as many as 31.8 percent were neutral. In terms of subject matter, the findings showed that stories about the corruption scandal concentrated mostly on activities of the House of Representatives, government officials, Patricia Etteh as a person, and Patricia Ettehâ party, the ruling Peopleâ Democratic Party (PDP). The stories did not dwell much on anti-corruption bodies, agencies, mechanisms, and processes in the fight against corruption. What this suggests is that the newspaper studied reflected the idea that political interest tended to override other very important interests in the fight against corruption. The findings also indicated that the newspaper studied achieved balance to a good extent by presenting both sides of the issues about the scandal (views for Etteh and views against Etteh as a result of the scandal). This notwithstanding, the newspaperâ framing of views against Etteh was stronger. What this study did not do however was to examine the influence of the reports on readersâopinion about the corruption scandal.

The second study was conducted by Iwokwagh and Batta (2011), and examined corruption related issues covered by Nigerian newspapers, frequency of coverage of the corruption issues, and the level of prominence given to the corruption issues. Content analysis was the method of study. Four newspapers †Guardian, Vanguard, Punch, and This Day† were sampled for study. The study period was May 1 to December 31, 2010. Within this period, 196 issues of the four newspapers were sampled for study using a systematic sampling technique. News stories were the units of analysis. Findings, with respect to corruption issues covered, revealed that financial corruption and political corruption were the leading types of corruption covered by the newspapers studied. Other types of corruption covered to a lesser extent were legislative corruption and administrative corruption. With regard to frequency of coverage, financial corruption was the most frequently reported (38%), followed by political corruption (34%), legislative corruption (17%), and administrative corruption (11%) in that order. Findings in respect to prominence indicated that the newspapers gave moderate
prominence to corruption content. This is because most of the corruption stories were in the inside pages and only few were placed at the front and back pages of the newspapers. This study also did not show how the newspapers framed the corruption stories and the extent to which the coverage affected public opinion about the issue of corruption. The present study was designed to cover up those gaps.

The third study is by Ciboh (2009) and was designed to examine Nigerian newspapers’ source use in news of corruption. The study, a content analysis, examined the content of six Nigerian newspapers - *Daily Champion, Daily Trust, The Guardian, The Punch, This Day*, and *Vanguard* - within the time period of January 2001 to December 2006. A sample of 283 issues of the six newspapers was studied. The units of analysis were straight news stories about corruption. The findings showed that the newspapers studied used government/official sources more frequently than other sources. Government/official sources, which included the president/presidency, state governors/governments, legislators, ministers, commissioners, politicians and heads of government departments, accounted for close to half of the total sources used (49.1%). Other sources used included interest groups such as labour or trade unions and professional groups (6%), experts (mostly lawyers and captains of economic and financial industries) (4.3%), and the police (4%). Newspaper reporters, as a source, attracted 3.7% of the total number of sources used. The newspaper reporters actually sourced their stories from court proceedings, legislative processes, workshops and seminars. Many corruption stories involving high profile public officials, sourced by newspaper reporters, were characterized by anonymous source expressions such as ‘sources close to’ according to our sources’ or ‘our correspondent gathered that’ while findings by our correspondent” ‘sources close to management’ etc, without mention of the reporter’s name. This suggests the reluctance of the reporters in disclosing their identity for fear of unfriendly treatment.

The researcher explained the findings by suggesting that the newspapers studied depended heavily on official definitions of corruption and official approaches in the anti-corruption campaign. By so doing, newspaper reports of the most serious cases of corruption were reduced to one-sided accounts at the expense of details, balance and completeness. Consequently, newspapers not only diverted attention of readers from real issues of the crime but obfuscated its reality and reduced the purported crusade against corruption to intra-elite struggle, squabbles, and backstabbing (Ciboh, 2009, p.65).
Theoretical framework

This study finds support in the agenda setting theory. Agenda setting theory describes the impact of the media on cognitive changes in the audience. The core idea of the theory, as emphasized by McQuail (2005), is that the news media indicate to the public what the main issues of the day are and this is reflected in what the public perceives as the main issues. The foundation of the agenda setting theory was laid by Cohen (1963) when he contended that the press might not be successful in telling the people what to think, but is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about. Cohen’s concern was on news sources and channels. McCombs & Shaw (1972, p. 176) took the theory a step forward by emphasizing mass media functions. They note: “In choosing and distributing news, editors, newsroom staff, and broadcasters play an important part in shaping political reality. Not only do the media bring knowledge of given issues to the people, the media also give a cue to the people on how much importance to attach to the issues based on the prominence the media give such issues.

While Cohen is thinking of media’s limited agenda setting role, McCombs & Shaw are thinking of a more powerful function of media agenda setting. McCombs and Shaw have stipulated: “The media may not only tell us what to think about it, and perhaps even what to do about it” (Griffin, 2000, p. 368). This position has given rise to the concept of media framing, which according to James Tankard (cited in Griffin, 2000), is the process of centrally organizing ideas for new contents that supply a context and suggests what the central issue is by the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration. Drawing from the works of Entman, McQuail (2005, pp. 378-379) describes framing as follows:

Frames define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments and suggest remedies. It is clear that a very large number of textual devices can be used to perform these activities. They include using certain words or phrases, making certain contextual references, choosing certain pictures or film, giving examples as typical, referring to certain sources and so on.

Literature on framing effects suggests a number of framing paradigms. One paradigm is the process model of framing effect advanced by Schaefer (1999) cited in McQuail (2005). This model explains framing effects as a product of three actors: the sources, the media and the audiences. Explaining this model further, McQuail (2005, p. 511) identifies three interrelated framing processes involving the three actors.
First, there is the construction and use of media frames by journalists and others working in news organizations under routine pressures, constantly dealing with sources and applying news values and news angles to event reports. Secondly, there is the transmission of framed news reports (e.g. a cynical view of politicians) to the audience. Thirdly, there is an acceptance of certain frames by members of the audience, with consequences for their attitudes, outlook (e.g. cynicism) and behavior (e.g. non-participation).

These processes are similar to the cognitivist, constructionist, and critical models of framing effects advanced by DAngelo (cited in McQuail, 2005). The cognitivist model explains that journalistic accounts are often internalized by affected audience members. The constructionist model on the other hand emphasizes the notion that journalists interpret the standpoint of news sources, while the critical model describes frames as the product of news gathering routines and news values, which are elitist in nature. From whichever paradigm one views framing, it has an influence on the opinion of the audience on an issue. This opinion is either in support or against the issue, depending on how the issue is framed (but not necessarily always). The present study assesses the manner in which Nigerian newspapers framed the campaign against economic and financial crimes under President Olusegun Obasanjo government, and the effects of the framing on audience opinion about the campaign.

The two-step-flow theory also offers some explanation to the setting of this study. Two sets of research contributed to the development of this theory. The first set is the Erie County research, which yielded the social categories and social relations perspectives. In this set of research, it was observed that many people had very limited exposure to the mass media and that such people received their information about election campaign second-hand. The second set is the rural sociology research with particular reference to the diffusion and adoption of agricultural innovation. In this set of research, it was observed that those who had gotten the information first-hand were not only passing on the information but were also helping to shape and interpret it. Those people were called opinion leaders (Folarin, 1998). The two-step flow theory was later modified to multi-step or N-step flow theory, since opinion leaders also have other opinion leaders who also have other opinion leaders and so on ad infinitum (DeFleur, 2010). This means that in the multi-step flow theory, interpersonal influences are more intricate and multilayered than in two-step flow theory. However, the basic philosophy underlining the two theories is similar if mass communication content is dependent on factors of interpersonal influences for its effects. This is well noted by
Anderson and Ross (2002, p.276) that “many of the most important effects of the mass media are not mass effects at all but a complex and subtle web of interpersonal effects.”

Closely related to the two-step or multi-step flow theory in explaining the setting of this study is the reinforcement theory, which was articulated by Joseph Klapper based on social science evidence observed before 1960. The basic assumption of the theory is that mass communication is only a contributory factor, and not the only cause, interrelating with other factors and influences to bring about audience effects (Klapper, 1960). In the case of the present study, these other factors and influences could be other forms of mass media (radio, television, internet, etc) and interpersonal communication. Reinforcement theory therefore suggests that the mass media have limited effects. Even though the theory at a point was criticized for not taking into consideration the powerful effects of television (Baran, 2004), recent studies on televised debates give support to the basic tenet of the theory that the media are a reinforcement agency. Specifically, studies on televised US presidential debates of 1984, 1988, and 2004 have corroborated the reinforcement effect (Dominick, 2009). The significance of the reinforcement theory for the present study is the assumption that newspaper framing of the anti-corruption campaign under study interrelated with other factors and influences (other forms of mass media and interpersonal communication) to shape audiences’ perception or opinion about the campaign. The findings of this study presented below tested this assumption.

Objectives and research questions

The main objective of the study was to investigate the pattern or structures of coverage Nigerian newspapers gave to the campaign against economic and financial crimes during President Olusegun Obasanjo’s administration as well as determine the influence of the coverage on readers’ perception of the campaign. The specific objectives were:

1. To determine the amount of coverage the newspapers gave to economic and financial crimes in Nigeria between January 1, 2004 and December 31, 2006.
2. To identify the level of prominence the newspapers accorded to stories on economic and financial crimes in Nigeria.
3. To find out the direction of coverage given to economic and financial crimes in Nigeria by the newspapers.
4. To evaluate readers’ perception of the campaign
5. To determine the influence of the coverage on readers’ perception of the campaign.
Newspaper coverage and readers' perception of the campaign against economic and financial crimes

Arising from the foregoing objectives, are the following research questions that gave direction to the investigation:

1. What was the amount of coverage given by Nigerian newspapers to the campaign against economic and financial crimes in Nigeria?
2. What level of prominence did the newspapers accord to stories on the campaign?
3. What was the direction of coverage in the newspapers on the campaign?
4. How did newspaper readers perceive the campaign against economic and financial crises in Nigeria in terms of its objectives and prosecution?
5. What influence, if any, did newspaper coverage of the campaign have on readers’ perception of the campaign?

Research methods

This study adopted content analysis and survey research methods. The manifest content of newspapers was examined in a systematic, objective and quantitative manner for the purpose of determining and analyzing the pattern of newspaper coverage of the campaign against economic and financial crimes in Nigeria. The content analysis population consisted of all the editions of the 69 daily newspapers (Udoakah, 2001) published in Nigeria during the period of study (January 1, 2004 ð December 31, 2006) (75,555 editions).

Out of the 69 daily newspapers, which constituted the population of study, five were purposively sampled for study. They are The Guardian, Vanguard, Sun, Tribune and Punch. These newspapers were selected based on circulation, accessibility, consistency of publication and frequency of publication. Each of the newspapers has a circulation figure of not less than 100,000 copies (Iwokwagh, 2008), had national spread and audience appeal. The newspapers are also readily and easily accessible to readers. They appear consistently on the news stand and are published daily. These characteristics indicate that the newspapers adequately covered the campaign under study, and the coverage was widely read.

All issues of the five newspapers published between January 1, 2004 and December 31, 2006 were sampled for study. This period covered a significant part of the campaign under study, especially the peak period of debate. For each of the five newspapers, 1,096 issues constituted the universe, totaling 5,480 issues for the five newspapers. Weekend issues of the five newspapers were also included because they also carried reports about the campaign against economic and financial crimes. Fifteen percent of the universe constituted the sample. This is in line with the suggestion by Kerlinger
(1979) and Babbie (1992) that a sample size of between 10 and 20 percent of the population of this nature is appropriate. Thus, 825 issues of the five newspapers were studied (165 issues for each newspaper).

The systematic sampling technique was used to obtain the sample of the 825 issues. The sampling interval was determined by dividing the population by the sample size (5,480 ÷ 825). The result is seven, which was the sampling interval. A day between January 1 and 7, 2004 was randomly selected using a table of random numbers. This day was January 3, 2004, and was the first element to be selected. Subsequent days were selected by adding the interval (seven) to the immediate previously selected day on each occasion. A total of the selected days (between January 1, 2004 and December 31, 2006) for the study are presented in Table 1 below:

**Table 1: Sampled days across the three year period of study**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>2004</th>
<th>2005</th>
<th>2006</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>1,8,15,22,29</td>
<td>2,9,16,23,30</td>
<td>1,8,15,22,29</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>5,12,19,26</td>
<td>6,13,20,27</td>
<td>5,12,19,26</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>4,11,19,26</td>
<td>6,13,20,27</td>
<td>6,13,20,27</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>2,9,16,23,30</td>
<td>3,10,17,24,30</td>
<td>3,10,17,24,30</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>7,15,22,29</td>
<td>1,8,15,22,29</td>
<td>1,8,15,22,29</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>5,12,19,26</td>
<td>5,12,19,26</td>
<td>5,12,19,26,30</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>3,10,17,24,31</td>
<td>3,10,17,24,31</td>
<td>3,10,17,24,31</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>7,15,22,29</td>
<td>7,14,21,28</td>
<td>7,14,21,28</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>5,12,19,26,31</td>
<td>4,11,18,25,31</td>
<td>4,11,18,25,31</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>3,10,17,24,31</td>
<td>2,9,16,23,30</td>
<td>2,9,16,23,30</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>7,14,21,28</td>
<td>6,13,20,27</td>
<td>6,13,20,27</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>5,12,19,26,31</td>
<td>4,11,18,25,31</td>
<td>4,11,18,25,31</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>165</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Authors’ sampling procedure.

The units of analysis were every straight news report, feature article, letter to the editor, editorial, cartoon, signed opinion and supplement about economic and financial crimes and the campaign against the crimes. For content categories, all stories about
economic and financial crimes and other crime types appearing in the selected issues of the sampled newspapers were analyzed. These content categories were defined (for ease of coding) as follows:

1. Economic and financial crimes: The definition of economic and financial crimes offered by the EFCC Act of 2004 was adopted for use in this study. The definition states that economic and financial crimes means the non-violent criminal and illicit activity committed with the objective of earning wealth illegally either individually or in a group in an organized manner thereby violating existing legislation governing the economic activities of government and its administration and includes any form of fraud, narcotic drug trafficking, money laundering, embezzlement, bribery, looting and any form of corrupt malpractices, illegal arms deals, smuggling, human trafficking and child labour, illegal oil bunkering and illegal mining, tax evasion, foreign exchange malpractices including counterfeiting of currency, theft of intellectual property and piracy, open market abuse, dumping of toxic wastes and prohibited goods. Under this content category, the coding concentrated on the following items in line with the objectives of the study.
   a. Amount of coverage which is the number of items (item count) stories relating to economic and financial crimes appear in the selected issues of the sampled newspapers.
   b. Prominence: This is defined in this study to mean two things:
      1. Length of story about economic and financial crimes, which could be five columns and above, three-four columns with picture, three-four columns without picture, or one-two columns. (2) Position of story about economic and financial crimes in an issue of the sampled newspapers, which could be front page, back page, centrepread, editorial page, economy page, financial or related page, or other pages.
   c. Direction of coverage of economic and financial crimes, which could be favourable, unfavourable or neutral. It is favourable if the story suggests commendations or a positive approach about the campaign against economic and financial crimes. It is unfavourable if the story suggests criticisms or negative approach about the campaign. It is neutral if neither positive nor negative issues are suggested about the campaign.

2. Other crime types: This refers to a broad spectrum of other crimes apart from economic and financial crimes, which could be drug abuse, sexual crimes, murder/ manslaughter/wounding, assault, armed robbery, burglary/house breaking,
larceny, arson, perjury, examination malpractice, false pretence/cheating, breach of peace, and others (which did not fit into the foregoing types of other crimes). Three carefully trained coders were used for the content analysis. Training sessions were held, and they assisted in revising definitions, clarifying category boundaries, and revamping coding sheets until coders were comfortable with the materials and procedure. After the training, a pilot study was conducted to ascertain inter-coder reliability. Two fresh coders were used for the pilot study. They were also trained to be familiar with the code sheet, coding instructions and method of study. The inter-coder reliability was calculated using Scott's Pi index, and produced the following coefficients .75, .100, .100, and .100. These are acceptable inter-coder reliability levels (Wimmer & Dominick, 2000).

For the survey aspect of the study, questionnaire and Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were used as instruments of data collection. For the questionnaire aspect of the survey, a sample of 384 newspaper readers was drawn from the capital towns of six states drawn on the basis of simple random sampling. The six states represented the six geopolitical zones in Nigeria. The states are: Lagos, representing South-west; Edo, representing South-south; Enugu, representing South-east; Benue, representing North-central; Adamawa, representing North-east; and Kaduna, representing North-west. The sample of 384 was determined using Krejcie & Morgan table of sample size determination (cited in Keyton, 2001). Each of the six selected states accounted for 64 respondents who were drawn using purposive sampling technique; only respondents who said they read newspapers were administered with the questionnaire.

Data from the FGDs were used to compliment those from the questionnaire. In all, 12 FGD sessions were held, two in each of the six selected states. The FGDs, just like the questionnaire, were concentrated on newspaper readers in the capital cities of the six selected states. The idea to target only capital cities was to guarantee that the respondents studied were actually newspaper readers. The focus group discussants cut across varying demographic characteristics. They ranged within 20 - 65 years, were mostly males, and all had formal education ranging from primary through secondary to tertiary. Many of them were married and mostly civil servants, students, business people and artisans.
Findings and discussion

Amount of Coverage

Table 2: Amount of coverage of economic and financial crimes vis-à-vis other crime types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Crime Types</th>
<th>Guardian F (%)</th>
<th>Vanguard F (%)</th>
<th>Sun F (%)</th>
<th>Tribune F (%)</th>
<th>Punch F (%)</th>
<th>Total F (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Drug abuse</td>
<td>68(8)</td>
<td>60(7)</td>
<td>71(7.7)</td>
<td>46(6.8)</td>
<td>71(8.5)</td>
<td>316(7.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual crimes</td>
<td>40(1.7)</td>
<td>44(5.1)</td>
<td>52(5.6)</td>
<td>38(5.6)</td>
<td>39(4.6)</td>
<td>213(5.1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murder/manslaughter</td>
<td>60(7.1)</td>
<td>67(7.8)</td>
<td>78(8.4)</td>
<td>48(7)</td>
<td>53(6.3)</td>
<td>306(7.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault</td>
<td>88(10.3)</td>
<td>78(9.1)</td>
<td>90(9.7)</td>
<td>63(9.3)</td>
<td>73(8.7)</td>
<td>392(9.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armed robbery</td>
<td>142(16.7)</td>
<td>134(15.6)</td>
<td>152(16.4)</td>
<td>103(15.1)</td>
<td>143(17)</td>
<td>674(16.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary/house breaking</td>
<td>52(6.1)</td>
<td>59(6.9)</td>
<td>63(6.8)</td>
<td>51(7.5)</td>
<td>57(6.8)</td>
<td>282(6.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larceny</td>
<td>66(7.7)</td>
<td>95(11.1)</td>
<td>84(9.1)</td>
<td>70(10.3)</td>
<td>72(8.6)</td>
<td>387(9.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arson</td>
<td>17(2)</td>
<td>13(1.5)</td>
<td>22(2.4)</td>
<td>16(2.3)</td>
<td>17(2)</td>
<td>85(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perjury</td>
<td>19(2.2)</td>
<td>11(1.3)</td>
<td>11(1.2)</td>
<td>8(1.2)</td>
<td>17(2)</td>
<td>66(1.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exam malpractice</td>
<td>50(5.9)</td>
<td>44(5.1)</td>
<td>36(3.9)</td>
<td>28(4.1)</td>
<td>40(4.8)</td>
<td>198(4.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>False pretence &amp; cheating</td>
<td>60(70)</td>
<td>86(10)</td>
<td>61(6.6)</td>
<td>58(8.5)</td>
<td>67(8)</td>
<td>332(8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breach of peace</td>
<td>21(2.5)</td>
<td>20(2.3)</td>
<td>25(2.7)</td>
<td>20(2.9)</td>
<td>22(2.6)</td>
<td>108(2.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic &amp; financial crimes</td>
<td>152(17.9)</td>
<td>131(15.3)</td>
<td>162(17.5)</td>
<td>116(17)</td>
<td>154(18.3)</td>
<td>715(17.2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>16(1.9)</td>
<td>15(1.8)</td>
<td>20(2.2)</td>
<td>16(2.3)</td>
<td>14(1.7)</td>
<td>81(1.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>851(100)</td>
<td>857(99.9)</td>
<td>927(100)</td>
<td>681(99.9)</td>
<td>839(99.9)</td>
<td>4,155(999)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Authors’ contents analysis data, 2009

Data in Table 2 above reveal the amount of coverage of economic and financial crimes by the selected newspapers in relation to other individual crime types by item count. This data shows that the amount of coverage given to economic and financial crimes (17.2%) was more than that given to any other individual crime type. This trend is similar for the individual newspapers with the exception of Vanguard, which gave slightly more coverage to armed robbery (15.6%) than economic and financial crimes (15.3%).
By and large, these results suggest that the newspapers studied gave a high amount of coverage to economic and financial crimes in relation to other individual crime categories. This finding is in agreement with that of Iwokwagh and Batta (2011) that Nigerian newspapers in 2010 gave more coverage to financial corruption than political, legislative, and administrative types of corruption. Similarly, this finding supports that of Sowunmi et al (2010) that the press in Nigeria gives frequent and extensive coverage to corruption issues, especially those in high places involving issues of the economy. This result is not surprising because the war against economic and financial crimes within the period studied (2004 - 2006) witnessed a peak. Two laws backing up the campaign were enacted within this period: the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) Act and the Economic and Financial Crimes (Establishment) Act. The latter law established the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), which is the main instrument used in the prosecution campaign. With Mallam Nuhu Ribadu as EFCC Chairman, the campaign against economic and financial crimes attracted world-wide attention. This attention was due largely to the arrest, trial and occasional conviction of highly placed individuals in the Nigerian society. In the process, the Commission was accused of vendetta, as alleged in some quarters in the case of arrest, trial and conviction of former police boss, Tafa Balogun (Ani, 2006), the Commission was also accused of selective justice and being used as a tool in the hands of then President Olusegun Obasanjo to torture his enemies and political rivals (Bello, 2006; Jason, 2006).

These mixed feelings about the manner of prosecution of the campaign against economic and financial crimes combined to make the campaign an issue of wide attention within and outside Nigeria. Even the foreign media gave extensive coverage to the campaign as observed in CNN, BBC and VOA among others. It would have been a surprise if Nigerian newspapers had failed in giving high amount of coverage to the campaign.

**Level of prominence**

Two criteria were used to measure prominence in this study. The criteria are length of story and position of story in the newspapers. First is length of story. Data in this respect are presented in Table 3 below:
Table 3: Length of economic and financial crime stories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspapers</th>
<th>Guardian F (%)</th>
<th>Vanguard F (%)</th>
<th>Sun F (%)</th>
<th>Tribune F (%)</th>
<th>Punch F (%)</th>
<th>Total F (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5 columns &amp; above</td>
<td>55(36.2)</td>
<td>38(29)</td>
<td>58(35.8)</td>
<td>33(28.4)</td>
<td>41(26.6)</td>
<td>225(31.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ÷ 4 columns with pix</td>
<td>19(12.5)</td>
<td>24(18.3)</td>
<td>29(17.9)</td>
<td>16(13.8)</td>
<td>25(16.2)</td>
<td>113(15.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 ÷ 4 columns without pix</td>
<td>31(20.4)</td>
<td>37(28.2)</td>
<td>40(24.7)</td>
<td>39(33.6)</td>
<td>58(37.7)</td>
<td>205(28.7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 ÷ 2 columns</td>
<td>47(30.9)</td>
<td>32(24.4)</td>
<td>35(21.6)</td>
<td>28(24.1)</td>
<td>30(19.5)</td>
<td>172(24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>152(100)</td>
<td>131(99.9)</td>
<td>162(100)</td>
<td>116(99.9)</td>
<td>154(100)</td>
<td>715(100)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Authors' content analysis data, 2009.

Data in Table 3 reveal that for the five newspapers put together, out of the 715 published stories about the subject matter studied, 31.5% of the stories ran across five columns and above, 28.7% ran across 3 - 4 columns without pictures, 24% ran across 1 ÷ 2 columns with pictures. This trend was almost similar for the individual newspapers. What these data suggest is that, as far as length of published stories is concerned, the newspapers studied gave high prominence to economic and financial crime stories. However, the newspapers were reluctant to accompany their stories with pictures.

Table 4: position of economic and financial crime stories in the newspapers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspapers</th>
<th>Guardian F (%)</th>
<th>Vanguard F (%)</th>
<th>Sun F (%)</th>
<th>Tribune F (%)</th>
<th>Punch F (%)</th>
<th>Total F (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Front page</td>
<td>20(13.2)</td>
<td>16(12.2)</td>
<td>23(14.2)</td>
<td>14(12.1)</td>
<td>26(16.9)</td>
<td>99(13.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Back page</td>
<td>15(9.9)</td>
<td>18(13.7)</td>
<td>19(11.8)</td>
<td>20(17.2)</td>
<td>22(14.3)</td>
<td>94(13.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Centrespread</td>
<td>8(5.3)</td>
<td>6(4.6)</td>
<td>8(4.9)</td>
<td>4(3.4)</td>
<td>5(3.2)</td>
<td>31(4.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Editorial page</td>
<td>4(2.6)</td>
<td>3(2.3)</td>
<td>6(3.7)</td>
<td>3(2.6)</td>
<td>4(2.6)</td>
<td>20(2.8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crime page</td>
<td>27(17.8)</td>
<td>21(16)</td>
<td>31(19.1)</td>
<td>19(16.4)</td>
<td>30(19.5)</td>
<td>128(17.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economy/financial page</td>
<td>6(3.8)</td>
<td>4(3.1)</td>
<td>8(4.9)</td>
<td>5(4.3)</td>
<td>10(6.5)</td>
<td>33(4.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other pages</td>
<td>72(47.4)</td>
<td>63(48.1)</td>
<td>67(41.4)</td>
<td>51(44)</td>
<td>57(37)</td>
<td>310(43.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>152(100)</td>
<td>131(100)</td>
<td>162(100)</td>
<td>116(100)</td>
<td>154(100)</td>
<td>715(99.8)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Authors' content analysis data, 2009.
Table 4 above has data on news-play given to published economic and financial crime stories by position or location of the stories in the newspaper editions or issues. The data show that a large majority of the economic and financial crime stories published during the period of study appeared more on other pages than on front, back, centre spread, editorial, crime, and economy/financial pages. Out of the total 715 economic and financial crime stories generated by the five newspapers put together, a whopping 43.3% was placed in other pages. Following was the crime page, which attracted 17.9% economy/financial page, 4.6%; centrespread, 4.3%; and editorial page, 2.8%. This trend is not remarkably different with the newspapers taken individually.

The inference drawn from the data in Table 4 is that, as far as story placement is concerned, the newspapers studied did not give prominence to the economic and financial crime stories published. This is so because the front and back pages are considered the two most prominent pages, and placements both on front and back pages did not add up to 30% This finding also supports that of Iwokwagh and Batta (2011) that newspapers in Nigeria in 2010 gave little prominence to issues of corruption for the observation that they buried most of their corruption stories inside pages, and published only few on the front and back pages. The implication of this finding is that a number of the stories on corruption (buried inside pages) must have gone unnoticed by some readers.

**Direction of Coverage**

**Table 5: Direction of coverage of economic and financial crime stories**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Newspapers</th>
<th>Guardian F (%)</th>
<th>Vanguard F (%)</th>
<th>Sun F (%)</th>
<th>Tribune F (%)</th>
<th>Punch F (%)</th>
<th>Total F (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Favourable</td>
<td>68(44.7)</td>
<td>55(42)</td>
<td>41(25.3)</td>
<td>51(44)</td>
<td>47(30.5)</td>
<td>262(36.6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unfavourable</td>
<td>51(33.6)</td>
<td>47(35.9)</td>
<td>72(44.4)</td>
<td>39(33.6)</td>
<td>70(45.5)</td>
<td>279(39)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neutral</td>
<td>33(21.7)</td>
<td>29(22.1)</td>
<td>49(30.2)</td>
<td>26(22.4)</td>
<td>37(24)</td>
<td>174(24.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>152(100)</td>
<td>131(100)</td>
<td>162(99.9)</td>
<td>116(100)</td>
<td>154(100)</td>
<td>715(99.9)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Authors' content analysis data, 2009.

Data in Table 5 above reveal that the five newspapers studied, together produced
more unfavourable reports (39%) than favourable (36.6%) and neutral (24.3%) reports. This direction of coverage was remarkably different for the individual newspapers studied. Three out of the five newspapers studied had more favourable reports than unfavourable and neutral reports. They are The Guardian, Vanguard, and Tribune. Only Sun and Punch had more unfavourable reports than favourable and neutral reports. This finding corroborates that of Kombol (2009) that unfavourable newspaper reports were more than favourable reports about the Etteh corruption scandal, but not to a significant level. The picture painted of this finding therefore is that of balanced coverage. This is supported by the high percentage of neutral reports for the five newspapers collectively and individually. This suggests that the newspapers reflected divided public opinion on the campaign against economic and financial crimes; the newspapers reflected both positive and negative opinions about the campaign.

Readers’ perception of the campaign

Table 6: Respondents’ perception of the objective of the campaign against economic and crimes in Nigeria.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Objective</th>
<th>5 SA F (%)</th>
<th>4 A F (%)</th>
<th>3 D F (%)</th>
<th>2 SD F (%)</th>
<th>1 U F (9%)</th>
<th>Total F (%)</th>
<th>Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To genuinely reduce crime rate</td>
<td>84 (26.4)</td>
<td>121 (38.1)</td>
<td>62 (19.5)</td>
<td>40 (12.5)</td>
<td>11 (3.5)</td>
<td>318 (100)</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not to genuinely reduce crime rate</td>
<td>32 (10.1)</td>
<td>67 (21.1)</td>
<td>127 (40)</td>
<td>78 (28.5)</td>
<td>14 (4.4)</td>
<td>318 (100)</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Authors’ questionnaire data, 2009

Table 6 has data on respondents’ perception of the objective of the campaign against economic and financial crimes in Nigeria. The data show that as many as 64.5% of the respondents agreed that the objective of the campaign was to genuinely reduce crime rate in Nigeria. To confirm the sincerity of the respondents, the statement was reversed and as many as 64.5% disagreed that the campaign is not to genuinely reduce crime rate.

Data from the FGDs agree with the questionnaire data. Many discussants said the government was sincere in the campaign against economic and financial crimes in Nigeria. One discussant in Edo State, for example, said: ‘The success of any leadership
in Nigeria rests largely on a genuine interest to fight corruption especially in high
places, and Obasanjo\textsuperscript{e} government actually appeared to be interested in doing just
that. Another discussant, a 50 year old male in Benue State said:

President Obasanjo was actually out to fight corruption. He was aware that
corruption has taken Nigeria many steps back and if not checked would ground
Nigeria. He made this point clear at different forums where he spoke about his policy
direction against corruption.

This finding is in agreement with the views of many commentators including
those of people who were not comfortable with the manner the campaign was executed.
One such view is that of Fawehinmi (2003), who after bashing Aso Rock (under
President Obasanjo) as the capital of corruption, goes ahead to admit that the idea
of the campaign to fight corruption is a welcome one. Similarly, Farouk Lawan, then
Chairman of the House of Representatives Committee on Finance, after accusing the
Federal Government as being very corrupt, admitted that the establishment of EFCC
is a good step in checking corruption in high places (Orilade & Utomwen, 2004).

Table 7: Respondents' perception of the prosecution of the campaign against
economic and financial crimes in Nigeria.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prosecution</th>
<th>5 SA F(%)</th>
<th>4 A F(%)</th>
<th>3 D F(%)</th>
<th>2 SD F(%)</th>
<th>1 UF (9%)</th>
<th>Total F(%)</th>
<th>Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Selective against President Obasanjo\textsuperscript{e} rivals and perceived enemies</td>
<td>77 (24.2)</td>
<td>124 (39)</td>
<td>66 (20.8)</td>
<td>28 (8.8)</td>
<td>23 (7.2)</td>
<td>318 (100)</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crude and unconstitutional</td>
<td>59 (18.6)</td>
<td>121 (38)</td>
<td>72 (22.6)</td>
<td>39 (12.3)</td>
<td>27 (8.5)</td>
<td>318 (100)</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manner of prosecution can not fulfill objectives of the campaign</td>
<td>79 (24.8)</td>
<td>138 (43.4)</td>
<td>50 (15.7)</td>
<td>26 (8.2)</td>
<td>25 (7.9)</td>
<td>318 (100)</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Authors' questionnaires data, 2009

Data in Table 7 show that most respondents to the questionnaire had a negative
perception of the prosecution of the campaign. As many as 63.2\% respondents agreed
that the prosecution of the campaign was selective, 56.6\% said the prosecution of
the campaign was crude and unconstitutional, and 68.2\% said the unsatisfactory nature of
prosecution of the campaign would not fulfill the objectives of the campaign.

Data from the FGDs indicated divided responses. While some discussants condemned the manner of prosecution of the campaign, others justified it. For the former position, the view of a female discussant, a 42 year old, in Adamawa State is incisive:

The president found in his anti-corruption war a strategy to silence his political rivals and have his way. There are so many corrupt people that the campaign is silent about. The campaign crusaders did not operate as expected in a democratic setting. They used unjustified force as if we are still in a military administration. This is not surprising because the president was a retired military officer and had not let go his military tendencies.

This finding is also supported by observations of even government officials. With regards the issue that the campaign was selective, a former Speaker of the House of Representatives, Ghali Na'Abba observed:

A pattern has been established where these anti-corruption agencies are not being allowed to work independently. It appears the proclivity to send people to face these institutions is when somebody is against this administration (Adyemo, 2006, p.21).

For the crude manner the campaign was prosecuted, Joshua Dariye, former Executive Governor of Plateau State and a victim of the campaign, said: “I am from Mushere and we eat dogs. My brothers from Pankshin eat dogs also. Likewise Anaguta and Berom. If these dogs come from Abuja again, we will eat them” (Adyemo, 2006, p.20). Dariye made this sarcastic statement following the crude manner EFCC came to Jos, the capital of Plateau State, to arrest him and some members of his cabinet over money laundering allegations.

Among those who justified the manner of prosecution of the campaign is a 54-year old focus group discussant, a business man in Lagos. He said:

Some people are saying Obasanjo behaved like a soldier. But that is the only language corrupt people in Nigeria hear. If you don’t use force in this country, you cannot achieve any positive change. Know that the corrupt people are many and very strong and cannot give up their corrupt practices unless you apply some force and strength on them. This is exactly what Nuhu Ribadu did and it was good for the fight against corruption in Nigeria. If Nuhu Ribadu was allowed to continue, it would have been good for all of us.

Another discussant, a 45-year old civil servant at Enugu, made a similar comment: “you need some genuine and reasonable force to succeed with certain government
policies in Nigeria like the war against economic and financial crimes.

**Influence of newspapers on readers' perception of the campaign**

Findings from the questionnaire data reveal that 226 (83.1%) out of the 272 respondents who responded to this issue said newspapers reports of the campaign against economic and financial crimes influenced their perception of the campaign. The 226 respondents expressed their perception of the direction of influence as shown in Table 8 below:

**Table 8: Respondents' perception of the influence of newspaper reports of economic and financial crimes in Nigeria.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perception of Campaign</th>
<th>5 SA F(%)</th>
<th>4 AF(%)</th>
<th>3 DF(%)</th>
<th>2 SD F(%)</th>
<th>1 UF(%)</th>
<th>Total F(%)</th>
<th>Mean</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Influenced perception of campaign as being poorly executed</td>
<td>67 (29.6)</td>
<td>85 (37.6)</td>
<td>43 (19)</td>
<td>23 (10.2)</td>
<td>8 (3.5)</td>
<td>226 (100)</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did not influence perception of the campaign as being poorly executed</td>
<td>12 (5.3)</td>
<td>38 (16.8)</td>
<td>99 (43.8)</td>
<td>62 (27.4)</td>
<td>15 (66.6)</td>
<td>226 (99.9)</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8 shows that 66.2% respondents agreed that newspaper reports of the campaign influenced them to perceive the campaign as being poorly executed, 29.2% respondents disagreed. When the same statement was reversed, responses were largely inversely similar; only 22.1% respondents agreed that newspaper reports influenced their perception of the campaign as being poorly executed. As many as 71.2% respondents disagreed.

Data from the FGDs were not too different. Most of the discussants said the newspapers actually had an influence on their perception of the campaign, but added that other sources too contributed in shaping their perception of the campaign. Some of the discussants identified these other sources to include interpersonal communication, news magazines, the broadcast media, and the internet. A 50-year old male civil servant in Adamawa State said:

I read newspapers a lot. One of the issues I am interested in newspapers are corruption stories. These stories actually inform and educate me on the nature of the
war against corruption in this country. The way the newspapers criticize Obasanjo and his anti-corruption war can convince anybody that the war, under Obasanjo, was not genuine or not taken seriously.

Another discussant, a 38-year old male civil servant in Enugu State, also said:
Newspaper stories on economic and financial crimes in Nigeria actually influenced my opinion about President Obasanjo’s campaign against economic and financial crimes. For example, almost all the newspapers in the country have been saying consistently that certain past and present government officials are very corrupt but EFCC was not going after them. In fact such stories convinced me that President Obasanjo was using the anti-corruption campaign to witch-hunt his enemies.

When asked whether it was only the newspapers that informed and educated him about the campaign, he replied: ‘Certainly not. I interacted with people, listened to radio and watched television. To some extent, these sources also contributed to inform and educate me about the anti-corruption war’ but I believe the newspapers more because they appear to be more credible than radio and television, especially the government-owned ones.’ Another discussant, a 30-year old male student in Edo State, said he was an ardent newspaper reader and that he accepted the position of many newspaper columnists that President Obasanjo had a genuine objective to fight corruption, but the manner he went about it was faulty and has not helped the country in eradicating corruption. When asked whether other sources also influenced his opinion about the anti-corruption campaign, he said: ‘Nobody in this age of information society relies on only one source of information to form an opinion about an issue. You make use of different sources, even though there is always a dominant source, which for me is the newspaper.’

The views of a 64-year old male discussant, a retired military officer in Adamawa State, suggested the role of the two-step flow theory on opinion formation about the anti-corruption campaign. He narrated his experience:

We are retired military people and we gather around this mango tree every evening to discuss and analyse the state of the nation. We do this as a recreational activity. Those of us who read the newspapers during the day would always inform others about the new things we read. We would argue and debate those issues and at the end we would individually form an impression about the issues. We call this gathering the People’s Parliament. Everybody is an opinion leader here because each person with new knowledge of an issue shares it out with others. On a particular day, I may read something which the others did not know, and I would share it with them to know. On
another day, in the same way, I would learn from those who know what I don’t know.

A few other discussants also made similar remarks. A 36-year old business lady in Benue State said: ‘a don’t read newspapers, but my husband who reads informs me of the content. The other day he told me that he has read about what you are talking about, that President Obasanjo was manipulating the war against anti-corruption to favour his friends and punish his enemies.’ Another discussant, a 28-year old male student in Kaduna State, said: ‘a don’t have much time to read newspapers, but one of our lecturers reads newspapers a lot, and in every class with him, he gives us the gist of the day’s top news.’ When asked whether the lecturer ever gave them the gist of President Obasanjo’s anti-corruption war, the student replied: ‘Many times, I could remember the first thing he said whenever he came to the class was to blame Obasanjo for politicizing the anti-corruption campaign.’

The foregoing findings and discussions support the two-step flow or multi-step flow theories used as part of the theoretical framework of this study. The observation in this study that newspaper reports played out in combination with interpersonal influences to shape readers’ perception of the anti-corruption campaign suggests that the newspapers were not exclusively responsible for readers’ opinion on the campaign; they were only a contributory factor to readers’ opinion formation about the campaign. This finding also corroborates the basic tenet of the reinforcement theory, also used as part of the theoretical framework in this study. Reinforcement theory explains the idea that mass media effects are a product of mediating factors and influences, as rightly observed by the chief proponent of the theory, Klapper (1960, p.8):

Mass communication does not serve as a necessary and sufficient cause of audience effects, but rather functions among and through a nexus of mediating factors and influences. These mediating factors are such that they typically render mass communication a contributory agent, but not the sole cause, in a process or reinforcing the existing conditions.

To understand more comprehensively the influence of newspaper reports of the campaign under study on readers’ perception of the campaign, it is imperative to answer the question: How did the newspapers frame stories about the campaign against economic and financial crimes in Nigeria? Qualitative analysis of the newspapers studied reveals the answer to this question. The analysis reveals that the newspapers largely framed the rationale and objectives of the campaign as good, but the prosecution of the campaign as lacking the democratic approach that would lead to the realization of the good objectives of the campaign. Examples of excerpts in the newspapers
studied support this assertion. First are excerpts to show how the newspapers framed the campaign as having good objectives. In an opinion story entitled: Corruption: The Trouble with Nigeria published in The Guardian newspaper (January 22, 2006, p.18), the writer, Nuhu Ribadu, who was the Executive Chairman of EFCC, presented the good objectives of EFCC and a convincing argument why people should support the activities of EFCC. Ribadu writes:

What is the trouble with Nigeria? The answer to this question can simply be answered in one word, Corruption. We must ensure that our society does not condone and justify corruption and where there are infractions the punishment is meted out without consideration for status. In the past, not a single one of the so called big men were called to question for engaging in corrupt practices, least of all punished for such acts. That situation cannot be tolerated any more.

Another opinion article entitled: Money Laundering: Implications for Financial Institutions published in Vanguard newspaper (July 24, 2005, p.14), the same Nuhu Ribadu as writer, explains how money laundering activities raise the prices of goods and services: laundered money chases the same goods and services as hard-earned income, artificially pushing up the prices of goods and services beyond the buying power of ordinary people. To this extent, drawing from the provisions of the Money Laundering (Prohibition) Act of 2004, Ribadu comments on strategies of fighting the menace of money laundering. He writes:

Funds or securities transfer to and from foreign countries in excess of US$10,000 (or its equivalent) by any person or corporate body is to be reported to the CBN or SEC, which shall, on a weekly basis, forward such reports received to the EFCC. EFCC has powers to place surveillance on a bank account, tap telephone line, obtain access to any computer system, and obtain communication of any authentic instrument or private contract when it is suspected to have been used in a transaction involving the proceeds of a financial and other crimes.

CBN and SEC are acronyms standing for Central Bank of Nigeria and Securities and Exchange Commission respectively. A Corrupt Society can Never be Blessed is the title of a story, an interview granted by Abdul Lateef Adebayo Owoyemi, the 41st President of Institute of Chartered Accountants of Nigeria (ICAN). In this interview story published by The Punch newspaper (July 31, 2005, p.8), Owoyemi advises:

Nigerians must shun corruption, our members must shun corruption, whether you are in government or private sector or you are in public practice, you must shun corruption because nobody can benefit from corrupt money, nobody can prosper from
stealing poor masses' revenue. You will pay for it very dearly. So I advise everybody to support the anti-corruption war initiated by President Obasanjo.

Some other headlines which suggest that the objectives of the anti-corruption campaign were good include: Law Makers Speak Glowingly on Anti-corruption Law (Sun newspaper, January 6, 2004, p.2), and Achieving the Laudable Goals of EFCC (Vanguard newspaper, December 26, 2004, p.11). It is clear from these stories and headlines about the campaign under study, published in the editions of the newspapers studied, that the newspapers framed the campaign to portray its good objectives.

There are also examples from newspaper excerpts which suggest the manner of framing of the prosecution of the campaign. First, is an opinion article written by Basil A. Chukwu and published in The Guardian (June 19, 2004, p.9) entitled: The Missing Link in the Anti-corruption Crusade. The article notes that reformation of institutions and conviction of corrupt people in high places are necessary in a bid to stamp out corruption in Nigeria, but that the anti-corruption crusade was not making efforts to address this issue. An excerpt of the article reads:

The truth is that the structure of the Nigerian society is such that corruption has been enshrined into our body politic and in our daily lives. It will require collective will and God's assistance before it can be eradicated. No amount of sermon on the mount will do unless Mr. President through the reformed institutions musters the courage to stamp out corruption starting from the high places. Anything short of this is mere rhetoric. It goes beyond establishing Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC), ICPC, etc without convicting anyone despite the resources at their disposal. For now, the purported fight against corruption is doing nothing or very little in this regard.

In a straight news report published in The Punch newspaper (October 20, 2006, pp.1&12) entitled: OAU: ASUU Faults ICPC Report on Double Pension Deduction the academic staff of Obafemi Awolowo University (OAU) accused the Independent and Corrupt Practices and other Related Offences Commission (ICPC) of insincerity in the investigation of alleged illegal double deduction of pension funds from the salary of workers of the university. An excerpt of the story reads:

A committee, the Joint Executive Committee of Staff Unions (JECOSUN), OAU chapter, therefore, wrote to the ICPC to investigate activities going on in the school, especially its financial situation and allegations against the school authorities. The investigation was actually made with copies of its report sent to the petitioners. But it was observed by the union that the ICPC recommendations were not signed.
While this story may not necessarily suggest double standards in the prosecution of the anti-corruption campaign, it certainly suggests no seriousness on the part of the anti-corruption body (ICPC). An interview story entitled: ÒThe Federal Government is Very CorruptÓ published in the Sun newspaper (July 10, 2004, p16), suggests double standards in the prosecution of the campaign. Part of the story reads:

In December 2003, Labour Minister, Hussain Zanuwa Akwanga; Afolabi Mohammed Shafa, former Minister of State and later Minister of Internal Affairs; Okwesileze Nwodo, former Enugu State governor and National Secretary of PDP; Mrs R.O. Akerele, former Permanent Secretary in the Internal Affairs Ministry, and Christopher Agidi, former director in the Department of National Civic Registration, had received various sums of kickbacks from Sagem S.A. of France to influence the national ID card contract. Adeniyi Adelagun, who is the Nigerian business partner of Sagem S.A. wrote in his statement that part of the $21.4 million bribe money was used to prosecute PDP ÒOperation Capture the South-westÓ spearheaded by Afolabi. The former Internal Affairs Minister was the co-ordinator of the Obasanjo/Atiku presidential campaign team in the South-west.

The picture painted by this story agrees with the observation by Adeyemo (2006) that the anti-corruption campaign was selectively targeted at the enemies and political rivals of President Olusegun Obasanjo. The story entitled: ÒThe Okigbo Report Found at Last: What it Says of IBBÓ published by the Tribune newspaper (May 22, 2005, pp.10& 18), suggested the existence of sacred cows in the prosecution of the anti-corruption campaign. The story is about the corruption investigation panel headed by late Prof. Pius Okigbo, which found former President Ibrahim Babangida guilty of financial impropriety while in government as the president of the country. The democratic government of President Olusegun Obasanjo came under intense pressure to release and act on the recommendations of the panel, one of which was to prosecute former President Babangida. But President ObasanjoÓ government claimed the report was missing (Odunlami, 2005) and that the government was looking for it. To date the report has not been found by the government, even though the press has published the full text of the report and nobody has neither challenged the publication of the report (that was yet to be released officially) nor questioned where the press got it to publish. An excerpt of the published report, which the anti-corruption campaign has given deaf ears to, reads:

In submitting the report to the then Head of State, General Sani Abacha, Chairman of the panel, Pius Okigbo, said: Òbetween September 1988 and 30th June, 1994, US$12.4
billion had been recorded in these accounts. That US$12.2 billion was liquidated in less than six years: that they were spent on what could neither be adjudged genuine high priority nor truly regenerative investment: that neither the president nor the governor accounted to anyone for those massive extra-budgetary expenditures: that those disbursements were clandestinely undertaken while the country was openly reeling with crushing external debt overhang.\textsuperscript{5}

The foregoing newspaper excerpts show that the newspapers studied framed the prosecution of the campaign in a negative manner. On the whole, the findings of this study have given ample support to the framing aspect of the agenda setting theory used as part of the theoretical framework of this study. The findings have demonstrated that the newspapers studied framed the campaign against economic and financial crimes, as shown by the excerpts of stories presented above, in a manner that portrayed the campaign as having good objectives but being poorly prosecuted.

\textbf{Conclusion and recommendations}

This study set out to examine Nigerian newspapers' coverage of the campaign against economic and financial crimes in Nigeria under the government of President Olusegun Obasanjo. The study also assessed the influence of the coverage on readers' perception of the campaign. The findings revealed that the newspapers gave a high amount of coverage to the campaign, gave some level of prominence to the campaign, and exhibited a balanced coverage (carried more unfavourable, but also many favourable and neutral reports about the campaign). It was also found that the coverage had some level of influence on newspapers' readers who perceived the campaign as having good objectives but being poorly executed.

The inescapable conclusion drawn from the findings of this study, therefore, is that Nigerian newspapers, in their coverage of the campaign against economic and financial crimes, reflected the different shades of public opinion about the campaign. The coverage also framed the campaign as having good objectives but lacking the proper and effective approach in the execution of the campaign. The framing of the campaign by the newspapers, in conjunction with other mass media forms and interpersonal sources, contributed to shape readers' perception of the campaign as being well intentioned but poorly executed. Thus, this study upholds the basic tenets of the agenda setting, two-step flow or multi-step flow, and reinforcement theories.
It is recommended that Nigerian newspapers should continue to be vibrant in exhibiting a spirit of responsiveness that reflects different shades of public opinion on issue of public concern and importance. This spirit of responsiveness should aim at facilitating development as defined not by political governors and elite groups alone, but by the generality of the people.

We suggest for further study the control of intervening variables such as other sources of knowledge acquisition so as to get a clearer picture of the extent of influence of newspapers in shaping readers' perception of the campaign. We also suggest that similar studies should be carried out on the campaign under President Obasanjo's successors - Late President Umaru Musa Yar'Adua and the incumbent President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan. The findings of these studies should be compared with those of the present study so as to offer a clear and wider understanding of the different circumstances and factors that come to bear on the way newspapers cover campaigns against crime. This knowledge should contribute to building a theory or modifying existing theories that explain media coverage of crime.

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Citizen journalism in the Rwandan media: Real revolution or sheer hype?

Dominique Nduhura

Abstract

The interest of this article stemmed from the fact that the Internet and other new media have become widespread in the Rwandan media sector. As the media industry becomes more and more convergent, its future is undeniably linked with new media. Many media houses state that they opening up to participator, citizens’ media. But to what extent to what extent the moves toward openings to citizen participation provide an adequate platform for public debate is not clear.

The sample of this study included print, online and broadcast media. I therefore selected Radio Rwanda; Rwanda TV and two local newspapers such as La Nouvelle Relève and The New Times. I also analyzed one online information portal called as Igihe.com. The study aimed to determine what kinds of contents are contributed by the audiences and how professionally those media use citizens ideas in their daily publishing.

Amongst the main findings, the study established that in general, citizen journalism in Rwanda is still in its infancy and can barely foster democracy in the country. The contents contributed by citizens abound in the category of ‘comments’ and news per se is scarcely contributed. It also turned out that generally the user generated contents are not put to appropriate use by the media, which ushers in some distrust in audiences. Evidence for this is that in some cases, the contributed contents are censored, not at all considered or simply not given any adequate follow up.

Introduction

Over the last 30 years, the media have been claiming as their major interest and duty incorporating the public into the production and diffusion of media programmes. In this scenario, audiences are not passive but producers. This trend is not surprising since the media base their philosophy on the premise that the media exist to serve the information needs in a democratic society and are dedicated to lead communities to

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concensus on community issues. Many would argue that this participatory model of media is becoming a reality with the advent of online journalism. This brings a new kind of responsiveness to audiences’ needs and enlarges the ability of the public to engage in interactive debate.

Scholars have suggested that, as media associate with the public, this fulfills the raison d'être and the terminus ad quem of the profession of media. Anderson et al. emphasized that: 'the prime role of journalism ..., and the only way by which it can survive as a viable institution in the public arena, is to take the responsibility to stimulate public dialogue on issues of common concern to a democratic public' (1994, pp. xix-xx). The same authors went on to note that becoming a public forum is the realization of journalism’s practical strength, which is rooted in its everyday utility, (and) can provide a better forum for intellectual excitement, civic conversation, and public debate (1994:13). This is what Gunaratne (1996) referred to as 'conversational journalism' or 'pluralistic journalism' which is anchored in a triadic relationship between communication, community and news. Conversational journalism comes therefore to revolutionise conventional journalism.

Based on the dialogical approach of Anderson et al. (1994), Gunaratne (1996) argues first of all that news should be produced in a way that involves the public. For instance, he suggests that 'breaking news' stories should no longer be taken from a few sources but should represent the views and news input of a cross-section of the public. Thus, journalists should approach news as a co-creative activity that depends on community participation. Anderson et al. add that conversational journalism is an opportunity to interest and engage people in ways that recognize the public’s intuitive, pragmatic intelligence (1994, p. 6).

Secondly, Anderson et al. posit that journalism should cease to be a linear process whereby messages are transmitted to an uninformed public and rather be the 'informational commons' where people can learn, mature, agree, and disagree, and from which social change can grow (1994, p. 6).

Thirdly, Anderson et al. discuss the concept of community showing that the latter exists through communication, and journalism should be there to nurture the links among previously disconnected people, groups and places. Therefore, journalists become full-fledged participants in the public dialogue. The same authors link this focus to communities with democracy by asserting that: 'Without a journalism that both speaks and listens within the civic dialogue, we will abandon democracy to the buffeting of social accidents' (1994, p.12). The authors argue that media professionals
should develop citizens, not consumers which requires identifying questions and problems for discussion. It also involves establishing agreed upon social goals, developing priorities for action, arriving at objectives for governing, agree on living standards and join in helping the community realize its ambitions. Anderson et al. further advise that “the conversation begun through the news needs to continue after publication and broadcast in interpersonal, interactive formats” (1994, p.106). The latter may include computer bulletin boards, free phone lines, hiring neighbourhood writers and opening up editorial meetings to invited citizens.

Of even greater importance, conversational journalism is an opportunity to value audiences not simply as passive consumers but also yardstick of valid news values and the reference point for evaluating journalism and journalists:

“Journalism and journalists are judged by the success with which they communicate with their readers, listeners and viewers, and how profitably they do so, both for themselves and for their employers. This means more than the effectiveness and the efficiency with which they convey particular messages to their audiences. It also includes the degree to which journalists establish and maintain a sense of community with their audiences, the clarity and guile with which they display themselves and their wares and the extent they enable their audiences to ‘read’ and make sense of the world” (Morgan, 1998).

Morris (2008) goes deeper into the matter to show that, to the extent that conversational journalism relies on community’s contents, it abundantly serves the mainstream media and is more and more likely to save them. This is the case especially for newspapers, whose readership has been shrinking over the years to the profit of other media such as TV and Internet. Michael Skoler (2011), another supporter of conversational journalism, is convinced that “the most powerful emerging business driver in the new economy is community” And if the media wants to succeed the same way as social media such as Facebook, Twitter, etc. efforts will have to be made to capitalize more on communities because, according to Skoler, creating community gives confidence to audiences, which is the secret of the success of any business.

Mark Briggs (2008) supports the same thinking by arguing that, if the media business wants to prosper, there should not be any more “journalism as usual.” He rather suggests that journalism today must be transparent, authentic and collaborative, hence more open to audiences.
Citizen journalism and the mainstream media: a controversy

Obviously, citizen journalism is grounded in participatory thinking, where audiences are no longer consumers but pro-sumers (a hybrid between consumers and producers) (Bowman & Willis, 2003). That is the reason why a number of the concepts of citizen journalism, since its inception, have been described in a wide range of terms such as grassroots journalism, networked journalism, open source journalism, citizen media, participatory journalism, hyperlocal journalism, bottom-up journalism, stand-alone journalism, distributed journalism, etc. It is not easy to provide an unambiguous definition of citizen journalism given that the field covers a wide range of activities. Jay Rosen (2008) suggests a simplistic definition that shows the shift from traditional craft of journalism to the user-based one: 

“When the people formerly known as the audience employ the press tools they have in their possession to inform one another, that’s citizen journalism.

It is important to emphasize that citizen journalism was made possible by the advent of an intricate variety of new communication technologies. These technologies include e-mails, websites, Voice Over Internet Protocol (VOIP), mobile phones, wikis, blogs, peer to peer sharing (P2P), social networking sites, live online chat, message boards and forums, search engines, etc (Gillmore, 2006).

Suw Charman (2007) refers to this phenomenon in terms of journalistic behaviours displayed by the audience be it by investigating, fact-checking or publishing news, especially on the Internet. The opportunities offered by citizen journalism are therefore categorised in three steps:

1. Investigation - traditional in-depth investigative journalism made more transparent by publishing research and references.
2. Composition - collecting trustworthy links and synthesising an informed and succinct overview of a story.
3. Facilitation - working with the community to help people publish stories important to them (Charman, 2007).
4. The same author provides a detailed description of the activities carried out by citizen journalists as follows:

- Distributed investigation: A group of people investigate an issue, each obtaining a small item of information, perhaps via a Freedom of Information Act request, which when published in the aggregate allows a broader picture to emerge. This can happen spontaneously or in a coordinated manner.
Citizen journalism in the Rwandan media: Real revolution or sheer hype?

- **Original reporting**: People report the news as it happens, either with or without mainstream media assistance.
- **Fact checking**: Individuals, frequently bloggers, react to a claim made by the mainstream media, politician or other source and determine if it is true.
- **Crowd sourcing**: Mainstream media outlets ask the public to send in accounts - usually photographic or written, but increasingly also video - of their experience of a specific news story.
- **Story development**: Some journalists take the crowd sourcing idea and apply it to their own work, soliciting not just feedback from the public, but ideas and information.

Charman further underlines that the various activities or behaviours embedded in this definition can be exhibited in any kind of media or any kind of media format, albeit websites, blogs or any mainstream media. The author also notes that this field is wide open in a sense that anyone (even journalists) can publish anything, hence becoming a citizen journalist.

Bowman and Willis (2003) exemplify the various activities or behaviours and actors in what they termed the emerging media ecosystem. In the following chart, the authors thoroughly describe how online communities discuss and extend stories created by mainstream media. The same communities also produce participatory journalism.

**Figure 1: The Emerging Media ecosystem**

Source: Bowman and Willis (2003:13)
grassroots reporting, commentary and fact-checking, etc which the mainstream media feed upon, developing them as a pool of tips, sources and story ideas.

The benefits of citizen journalism to the media are therefore not negligible. People witness events in their everyday life and post eyewitness accounts on the Internet as soon as they happen or send reports and photos to the media. Media stories are also discussed on blogs or any other social media, which generally keeps stories alive much longer than the original publishers.

Citizen journalism is generally classified into two types, non-institutional and institutional. The first one refers to the type of citizen journalism which revolves around the individual as such. It seeks no recourse to any organisational framework of constraints while the second one describes the type of citizen journalism which has a form of organisational structure or constraining ability, complete with external constraints however minimal (Banda, 2010, p.29).

According to NewsTrust citizen-generated contents form a very interesting source of information for the mainstream media. Here is a description of how journalists deal with these contents:

Submitted stories and news sources are carefully researched and rated for balance, fairness and originality by panels of citizen reviewers, students and journalists. Their collective ratings, reviews and tags are then featured in our news feed, for online distribution by our members and partners.

However, many scholars have expressed reluctance or skepticism towards citizen journalism. They first dismantle the commonplace argument that citizen journalism is there to replace the work of the mainstream media though it undeniably contributes to the corrosion of the very doctrine of professional journalism (Banda, 2010). Rosen (2008) epitomises this view in a dichotomy between citizen and professional journalism:

Citizen journalism is defined by a number of attributes which make it distinct from professional journalism, including unpaid work, absence of professional training, and often unedited publication of content, and may feature plain language, distinct story selection and news judgement, especially hyper-local issues, free accessibility, and interactivity.

Therefore, it appears that citizen journalism functions in unavoidable connection with the mainstream media; otherwise it would be a misleading double-edged tool to be handled with much care by journalists. Jon Talton (2008) summarizes this
controversy as follows:

As for citizen journalists, they used to be called tipsters, and they can bring value. Devices such as camera-equipped cell phones, text-messaging and computers on wi-fi allow everyday people to send in information, some of which might be newsworthy. But their use calls for vigilant editing at a time when the old roles of newspaper editors have morphed into a maelstrom of attending meetings, slinging copy and gathering doo-dads for graphics. I wonder if the care and quality are still being applied many places. More importantly, citizen journalists generally can’t and won’t do the work that has been performed by paid professionals. Journalism has seen its share of the lazy and knavish. But in general, these professionals have for decades provided an invaluable, and irreplaceable, public service in a democracy.

In addition, the relationship between the mainstream media and citizen journalism is conceived of as the coloniser-colonised one. Banda (2010, p.34) argues that the mainstream media and other business interests tend to engulf citizen journalism for instance by turning it into a very profitable marketplace for “transactional democracy.” The author shows that when the numbers of online visitors increase, media institutions tend to convert them into advertising revenue.

Other scholars have questioned the fact that, on the one hand, citizen journalists, unlike mainstream journalists, do not necessarily undergo any professional media training, and consequently do not abide with any media laws and ethics. Therefore, it has been observed that the consequences of citizen journalism can be very detrimental to the society in that citizen journalists can offer unmediated and anonymous debate and analysis of issues. On the other hand, citizen journalists are able to hide behind anonymity and post opinions or false information in the mainstream media.3

Regarding this ethical debate, Banda (2010) is of the view that citizen journalism faces a serious problem as regards its public legitimacy. The author raises a number of questions on who authorizes and legitimizes this phenomenon; how to determine citizen journalists’ accountability to the public good; etc. This uncertainty could be one of the reasons why some editors resist opening up their media, for instance websites, to comments from the audience. Therefore, Steve Outing (2005) warns that the process may require vigilance,4 Bowman and Willis argue that the role of mainstream media is
changing because of the consumers themselves:

The venerable profession of journalism finds itself at a rare moment in history where, for the first time, its hegemony as gatekeeper of the news is threatened by not just new technology but, potentially, by the audience it serves (2003, p. 8).

Helen Boaden⁵, a BBC journalist, sees in this invasion of mainstream media by citizen journalism a positive move in a sense that it is nowadays clear that audiences’ lives have become newsworthy and news organizations no longer have hegemony and, as a consequence, are not the only ones to determine what stories should be covered.

In addition, Bowman and Willis (2003, p. 52) identified a number of other implications of participatory/citizen journalism to the mainstream media, some of which are too idealistic and seem to give too much power to citizen journalism. These implications include:

- Increased trust in media: It is believed that participatory journalism can help media outlets in building more loyal and trustworthy relationship with their audiences.
- Shared responsibility in informing democracy: When audiences are involved in the journalistic process, they feel more empowered than simple consumers and they consider themselves as media stakeholders to the extent that they contribute to the end result;
- Memorable experiences created: The authors show evidence that collaborating and having a conversation with audience members establishes a more meaningful and memorable experience than a one-way and passive consumption of news;
- The next generation of news consumers: Interactivity and enabling audience participation attract a new generation of consumers (children) that is open to a media environment in which they expect to manipulate media contents and to share them with their online community;
- Better stories and better journalism: It is assumed that participatory journalism i.e. collaborating and conversing with audiences may ultimately help create better stories and better storytellers, though the fact has not yet been well established by research;
- A scalable virtual staff: Once media institutions collaborate with a massive pool of grassroots writers, commentators, photographers and videographers, they can reach where they normally cannot go, due to distance or economic constraints;
- Fostering community: The authors argue that participatory journalism can help develop real community around reporters, stories, and the media company’s brand experience. For instance, with a weblog, a reporter has a place to extend reporting, interact with readers, exercise personal conscience, and share some level of personality that might be absent from his unbiased reports;
- Network identity: As the media connections grow larger and more diverse,
through weblogs, forums, XML syndication and collaborative publishing engines, its importance in the network economy is highly enhanced.

Citizen journalism and democracy

A wide range of scholars have expressed their fascination as regards the opportunities offered to audiences by citizen journalism. They hailed citizen journalism as being a forum for taking freedom of expression a step ahead and therefore fostering democracy. For example, Lisa Horner (2011) argues that new communications (citizen journalism inclusive) were thought to open a new sphere free from state control, hence with a potential to promote freedom of expression. The author presents this twofold role as follows:

Â They [new communications] have the potential to make traditional media more open, by encouraging them to be more accountable to their audiences

Â They have the potential to bypass mainstream media entirely and create a new space.

New communications have empowered audiences who have become more active in the Habermasian public sphere in a way that they can intervene in the media functioning and hence reshaping the public opinion and democracy. Horner (2011) puts it as follows:

The proliferation of cheap communications technologies and the decentralised nature of internet communications mean that those who wish to communicate are able to do so. Individuals therefore have enhanced autonomy to act by themselves, both in new formal organisations and in loose coalitions that are not constrained by traditional hierarchical social and economic organisation. People are not only empowered to communicate, but to engage in the production of a shared knowledge that can be used as a basis for discussion and the formation of public opinion.

According to Jackson Banda (2010), citizen journalism is more than linked to democracy: it is even intrinsically anchored in democracy of which it carries characteristics in as far as citizen journalism is about democratic citizenship (people-centred) journalism of the people by the people etc. It is therefore suggested that conventional journalism behaves undemocratically especially as it hinges on official sources that do not necessarily represent the whole audience.

In the African context, Banda goes on to show that citizen journalism, though still rudimentarily practiced in most countries, is a tremendous tool to democracy in
as far as:

It adds to the number of existing media platforms. This means that citizen journalism contributes towards media plurality and a necessary condition of democracy. More importantly, however, it contributes towards media diversity in that it expands the range of opinion available in the public arena. Citizen journalists are citizens first and foremost. As such, they bring to the practice of their particular type of journalism their own motivations, aspirations, and opinions. This has a way of enlivening democracy, deepening it, placing it in the hands of ordinary citizens. It is a way of de-bureaucratising or de-institutionalising the practice of democracy, and making it become everyone’s business. Here lies the sustainability of citizen journalism, and of democracy itself (Banda, 2010:75).

However, this contribution of citizen journalism to democracy is not unanimously conceived. In their study, Valenzuela et al (2010) stated that if there is little doubt regarding the contribution of professional journalism to democratic citizenship, the case is slightly different as regards citizen journalism. They established that user-generated journalism was negatively related with knowledge of national political figures, but strongly and positively related with higher levels of online and offline participation; whereas professional news media was likely to be linked with knowledge and offline participation.

In addition, some scholars agree that whether the potential of citizen journalism will be realised will depend on the outcomes of interaction between a number of components including market, political and technological factors, which is visualized in the figure below.
Figure 2: A layer model of the networked communications environment

Source: Horner (2011)
Some scholars have proved also that citizen journalism and democracy would not be good friends to the extent that it is feared that networked journalism may lead to some tensions in as far as the Internet allows in so many different voices, which may usher in a fractured, weakened public sphere. This is true given that the gatekeeping process may exclude some minority groups from the networked communications.

It also turns out that ownership of the networked communications is in the hands of a few well-to-do individuals or institutions. For example, as well as the mainstream media, the networked communications are dominated by a very small number of sites, thus redefining agenda-setting and the character of news (Horner, 2011).

**Citizen journalism in the Rwandan media: Towards a new era?**

To fully grasp how the media in Rwanda are using citizen journalism, I will provide a short overview of the use of ICT in the country. As enshrined in the Rwanda’s Vision 2020 (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, 2000), new technologies in new media included are meant to be the driving force of the country’s development. Hence, tremendous progress has been noted. There was a shift in the numbers of Internet users from 5,000 in 2000 to 450,000 in 2010, that is, 4% penetration of the population. Social media counted still lower numbers of users. For example Facebook users were 84,800 in March 2011.

As for mobile-phone users, their number reached 3,730,266 million in May 2011, accounting for over a third of the population, (penetration rate: 36% of the population).

The ICT infrastructures in Rwanda are growing. One indicator is a global report on internet connectivity by Ookla, an US-based company specialised in calculating broadband connection speed and web-based network diagnostic applications. This company has ranked the country in 2010 among the top three African countries with the fastest internet broadband connectivity and downloading speeds (Kagire, 2010).

Also noteworthy is the fact that access to online content in Rwanda is generally free despite some few incidents where newspapers like Umuvugizi and Umuseso were forced to remove their publication as they failed to abide with regulations. Online publications, even those most critical of the Government of Rwanda, can be freely accessed. These include for instance the websites of international human rights organizations such as Freedom House, Amnesty International, and Human Rights Watch, etc. The websites and blogs of opposition activists both within and outside Rwanda are also freely available. The Rwandan blogosphere is becoming more and more vibrant due to the expansion of Internet. It consists largely of youth who write...
on a variety of topics (Freedom House, 2011).

As regards the mainstream media industry, Rwanda counts 23 registered radio and TV stations (including local, foreign radios and only one TV station broadcasting their programmes in the country), and 32 newspapers.

A small number of these news media have an online version. Media consumption should also be looked at as another indication of whether or not the audience can generate contents and to what extent. In their study conducted in 2009, the Media High Council has established that radio in general, and Radio Rwanda in particular, is the most important media used by Rwandans, both in rural and urban places. As for TV, a few people have their own TV sets at home, and the majority of consumers watch TV when they are in others’ homes. It is important to note that Rwanda has a very low readership of newspapers. Only 14.20% were found to be active readers, 39.35% non-readers, and 38% opportunity readers. One reason for this is the fact that 87.70% of the audience speak and read Kinyarwanda; 20.50% speak and read French and 12.50% English, amongst other languages.

The importance of citizen journalism in Rwanda

For the sake of this article, five Rwandan media were investigated. These include Radio Rwanda, Igihe.com (a news portal), La Nouvelle Relève, The New Times, and Rwanda Television. Interviews were conducted with their staff and some members of the audience to establish what importance citizen journalism does have in the media in Rwanda. The categories of contents most frequently generated by the audience; the challenges impeding these contents; and how media houses assist the audiences in this process.

Radio Rwanda’s use of user-generated contents

With its state-run status, Radio Rwanda stands as the most important broadcaster in the country. It has been serving Rwanda for about 5 decades now and is a component of the ORINFOR (The Rwanda Bureau of Information and Broadcasting). Radio Rwanda claims to follow the principles of public service broadcasting in its programming and is a major source of news, many public announcements, and a variety of entertainment and other programmes.

Radio Rwanda has embraced citizen journalism most tangibly from the time when new media technologies started blossoming in Rwanda about 13 years ago. The other crucial factor is the media liberalisation that saw the creation of different private radios.
Radio Rwanda had to compete with the commercial radio stations that featured call in and other participatory programming by interacting more with the public.

News stands as one area where audiences are called upon to actively contribute by sending short messages either on mobile phones or logging on to the Radio Rwanda website so that they can express their points of view about any story. In addition to comments and analysis, citizens also provide advice as regards how various situations can be dealt with, either in their region or elsewhere in the country. Messages are summarized and read after news editions. People react to the news depending on the salience of the issue of the day. An explicit open forum is provided to citizens in a programme dubbed as Òwakeye bute?Ó (Literally: how was the night?). In this programme, people call and send messages on Radio Rwanda to narrate different special events taking place in their villages before full coverage can be done by journalists.

However, not all the contents from the audiences are broadcast by the radio for mainly two reasons. Either messages overflow in too great--numbers and time is never enough to read them all--or some contents are thought not to be constructivel Therefore, censorship is openly conducted because the radio works in the interest of the government Call-in programmes are also censored when the radio journalists think a caller is about to say unnecessary things causing considerable public resentment because the call-in procedure is carried live. Some members of the audience indicated that though Radio Rwanda and some other radio stations in the country are trying their best to open up to the public, contributing comments or analysis was still seriously impeded by fear for security. People, especially intellectuals, were wary that their comments and analysis may have a boomerang effect once taken as subversive. Their reluctance to express themselves stems from the fact that, as they stated, they seldom have heard any negative comment aired on the radio, and wondered if all comments were positive. For instance, respondents thought that the radio only let out messages that tend to praise good initiatives of the government. Some respondents mentioned a case where a listener had been summoned by the police to respond for a comment she had sent to Radio Rwanda. In this message that riled the police, the resident had criticized how he had got his shop closed over reasons that were never made clear. However, these claims seem to be overemphasized. Some members of the radio staff were aware of a variety of messages critical of lack of customer care in their neighbourhood. The complaints were aimed at the delivery of bad services in different institutions; corruption and mismanagement of public funds; etc.
Freedom House (2011) provided another case to exemplify how text messages are sent by citizens to the media to mark their discontent. The case is about government leaders or well-to-do people who had withheld cattle that the President of Rwanda had asked to donated to the needy population. Many of these leaders were exposed by citizens and later on forced to either donate the livestock or else resign from their positions. It appeared that most of these messages were sent via Radio Rwanda.

Many citizens have no interest in contributing since they think news gathering is meant to be the duty of journalists, not that of listeners. Journalists are even supposed to be in a position to know news events before anyone else. This lack of interest was displayed by a number of respondents who declared that they were unaware of how they can contribute any comments to the radio despite ceaseless repetition of how this should be done.

**The use of citizen journalism by La Nouvelle Relève**

La Nouvelle Relève (LNR) is another state-run media outlet. It is a biweekly print newspaper published in French since 1963. Citizen-generated contents were said to be central for this publication. A special emphasis is placed on publishing citizens sending in their grievances against local authorities. When these complaints come in, journalists go to the field to compile the story. However, the management of this paper mentioned a serious hindrance caused by the language used: French, which is not spoken by every reader. The audience confirmed this barrier, which may be one of the reasons why LNR was said to be unknown by many. Though space is provided to readers to contribute contents, only comments form the bulk of the contents. No podcasts are published, and the paper does not refer to social media such as Facebook, Twitter, etc. In general, the audiences react when the paper publishes stories on scandals or sexual topics. The paper practices censorship or filters audiences’ contents especially when they seem to be biased.

Other barriers to citizens’ contents were that the paper was considered, on the one hand, mainly targeting urban and intellectual audiences, and on the other hand, to dwell on topics that display only government’s policies. For many, the paper is concerned mainly with public institutions. Since the paper is published twice a week, it does not have daily updates that people need. Also controversial is how people can post their comments, as they are requested to post comments exclusively in
Kinyarwamda while stories are published in French.

**Citizen journalism at Igihe.com**

The news portal Igihe.com was launched in 2009 by university students from different institutions in Rwanda in a bid to create a content management system that would allow them to start publishing stories exclusively online. It started with only Kinyarwanda. English and French versions were initiated early in 2011. The portal has also a video component called *Igihe TV*. Its influence has grown tremendously. The management of this portal disclosed that it started with 30 visitors a day in 2009 and has reached between 50,000 and 100,000 visitors per day after only two and a half years. Seventy per cent of them are within the country and the rest abroad.

Igihe.com focuses on current news affairs, political stories, interesting feature activities, health, sports, business, and light entertainment. The ultimate goal is to promote development-oriented activities in Rwanda.

According to its management, Igihe.com embraced citizen journalism because the founders noted the lack of quick and effective delivery of local news to the Rwandan people in the local language. Space was therefore reserved for comments and analysis, and any other contribution. Political news, sports and entertainment are the topics that most frequently trigger citizens' comments and analysis. A controversial aspect of this is that the management of this portal blatantly practices censorship in order to filter contents for the sake of accuracy and neutrality, which are the main pillars of the portal's editorial line. The managers of the portal deplored the fact that citizen-generated contents are not satisfactory due to the emotionalism and lack of political sophistication.

**The use of citizen journalism by The New Times**

*The New Times* (TNT) is a daily English language newspaper published in Rwanda since 1995. The paper claims to be privately-owned, though some people or organizations label it as state-owned. The newspaper set its editorial policy as based on fair and balanced reporting without any confrontational tones, political or otherwise. The products offered by the paper include *The New Times* newspaper; *Sunday Times* and a weekly newspaper, *Izuba*.
Rirashe newspapers: *The New Times Online*; and *Izuba Rirashe Online*.

The management of the paper revealed that citizen journalism is very essential to their publishing. Readers can write to the editor whenever they wish. The most important contributions hitherto posted by readers are comments to articles, especially as regards political and social issues. Other readers send e-mails to the TNT and contribute opinion articles. Similarly to the previous media houses, TNT does not publish any comments or articles just as they come in. The management censors them, and some are dumped when they tend to differ from the editorial line. Some readers fail to contribute new or comments because they see it as interested only in elite intellectuals, especially because it uses English.

**Citizen journalism on Rwandan Television**

The project to create a television station in Rwanda became a reality in 1992 after the genocide that destroyed most of its major institutions; Rwanda TV was re-opened in 1995. This state-run station airs 85-90% of international programming in the country, but local news and local-interest programmes are often broadcast in the evening hours (between 6-10pm). Though efforts have been made by the Rwandan Government to modernise the station, for instance by going digital (still in the process) and trying to extend its reach throughout the country, problems continue as regards equipment and personnel with broader resources and skills in TV production and post-production.

Currently Rwandan television broadcasts online through the institutional website www.orinfor.gov.rw where viewers can watch it live and comment or chat. Although it is not using Internet-related tools and social media like Facebook and Twitter, RTV is available on mobile phones with TV reception capacity. The contents generated by viewers include mainly comments on the website and in the *The Beat* a showbiz programme. In general, however, it turns out to be very difficult for the station to get comments and other inputs from viewers due to the scarcity of technologies compatible with television. Hence, no videos can be posted by viewers, which is a huge lack as videos generated by audiences are becoming more and more crucial to the programming of most modern TV stations.

Although RTV gets feedback from short messages service and telephone where audiences send and share their views, this technology is not yet well mastered and is not yet used in the news. Also, some viewers claimed that generally their critical messages are not selected. This suggests that censorship continues to operate.
Conclusion

As has been noted, virtually all of the media interviewed would claim that they have now introduced a form of citizen media which gives the public much greater participation in the news sphere. Although there has been a tangible shift in journalism practice, especially with the introduction of the new media in Rwanda, the five media houses chosen for this study seem not to be harnessing significantly the benefits of citizen-generated contents. The practice is still in its infancy and the contents generated by citizens seldom go beyond commenting on the news. As Freedom House (2011) observed, the most critical blogosphere voices are coming from the opposition in the diaspora. One example of the influence of the diaspora voice is the resignation of the Rwandan Minister of Youth, Mr Joseph Habineza, following pictures posted on Leprophete.fr, a website that was created by two priests based in France. The pictures and subsequent article alleged improper behavior by the Minister. Despite this case and many others, it would be very hazardous to conclude that citizen journalism has reached the level where it can set in motion democratic public debate as supposedly has happened elsewhere in East Africa. According to Banda (2010), citizen journalism in this part of Africa still hinges on a number of things, most of which rotate around financial means. Banda argues that the financial viability of citizen journalism, for instance via advertisement or sponsorship, is an important way for citizen journalists to sustain their activism.

In addition, Banda (2010, p.75) shows that democratic practices coupled with technological advances in African countries form two main cornerstones to citizen journalism:

É What is patently clear is that the sustainability of citizen journalism must be viewed in a larger sense. It must be equated with democratic sustainability. As long as there are citizens willing to take up the communicative spaces afforded by new ICTs, citizen journalism will thrive or sustain itself. In a word, the sustainability of citizen journalism must be inextricably linked to the sustainability of democracy itself. In a sense, the overall cost of accessing technology has everything to do with the enhancement of citizen journalism. For example, governments must be concerned about providing the necessary conditions for technological development and innovation in order to allow for easier and more expansive use of ICTs. This could contribute towards the overall sustainability of citizen journalism projects.

As far as these democratic practices are concerned, I would note that by filtering or censoring the contents from citizens, the five media house studied seem not to
be very supportive of dissident voices. The tendency to select what voices are to be heard automatically ignites a certain distrust from audiences which tends to inhibit the readiness to actively participate to the craft of journalism.

Lastly, I am inclined to assume that there exists a close relationship (though a quantitative study would be more appropriate to firmly establish this fact) between the extent to which people consume media and their ability and willingness to interact with the media and contribute contents. The media under study in apart from Radio Rwanda which covers almost the whole country in are limited by the problems of language and level of education of readers, amongst other challenges. This explains the paucity of citizen-generated content entering into the media.

Many institutions and individuals would like to claim that the media in Rwanda have entered into a new era with intelligent, widespread and responsible democratic participation. This is part of a general effort to paint a new image of Rwanda. Many of these efforts are laudable, but often it borders more on hype than a real transformation.

Notes

3 www.theopennewsroom.com accessed on July 4, 2011
10 http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-12481792
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Citizen journalism in the Rwandan media: Real revolution or sheer hype?

Book Review:
*The Media in Kenya: Evolution, Effects and Challenges*


Reviewed by Wilson Ugangu, Lecturer of media and communication studies, Multimedia University

The Media in Kenya: Evolution, Effects and Challenges is a recent publication providing an overview of the development and present state of the media and communication in Kenya. Edited by George Nyabuga and Wambui Kiasi, the book is the outcome of the collaborative effort of several writers- all Kenyan, with a fairly good understanding of the historical development of the Kenyan media landscape.

The introduction sets out a normative basis for the text by revisiting the question of the media’s role in society. This is a subject that has been addressed rather extensively in another recent text by the title Normative Theory of the Media authored by five prominent scholars- Christians, McQuail, Glasser, White and Nordenstreng (2009). The question of role of the media however also remains a central aspect of the global debate on normative media theory (see also Fourie 2008) with several scholars clearly agonizing over whether it is possible to prescribe roles for the media in a changing globalizing context.

The Kenyan context- which ideally is the subject of this book is arguably in itself illustrative of the struggle to understand the role of the media in a changing African social economic context (see Odhiambo 2007). Wambui and Nyabuga’s book however does not go far enough to probe the various normative issues and questions that have been brought to the fore regarding the media in a changing Kenyan context. In one of the chapters of this book, one of the writers- Peter Mbeke attempts though to create an understanding of the effects of liberalization on the Kenyan media landscape. His effort however remains largely descriptive- answering to the question; how does the Kenyan media landscape look like, rather than what are the issues/problems of the Kenyan media landscape? This chapter thus lacks the much required analysis and synthesis that would have assisted a reader of the book to discern the challenges which
face the Kenyan media landscape as a consequence of economic liberalization as well as other forces such as the changed constitutional landscape occasioned by the new constitution which came into effect in 2010 as well as changes in communication technologies.

A long first chapter of the book co-authored by Wambui and Misigo provides a nuanced history of the Kenyan landscape mostly focusing on the colonial era. This chapter delves into the history of the Kenyan media and its early roots in the colonial era starting from the 1890s, soon after the partitioning of Africa had completed. It then considers the colonial administration and its impact on the media, particularly the motives for which the colonial administration either facilitated the development of the Kenyan media or at different times hindered its growth. On the whole, this historical account by Wambui and Misigo may be considered important in two respects; one, it succeeds in showing that the Kenyan media has roots that go back in time. Two, it provides a basis for understanding the character of the Kenyan media, particularly the quick rise of private media (the press) in the country soon after independence in the early 1960s as compared to neighboring countries in the East African region which took a long time to establish a viable private media system (see also Barton 1979; Bourgault 1995).

There is however little that is new about this chapter for it tends to repeat historical issues regarding the Kenyan media that have already been addressed in earlier publications such as the classical work by Abuoga and Mutere’s A history of the Kenyan press (1988). Heath (1997) has also made her contribution to this subject—perhaps in a more analytical way, for she goes as far as developing a normative framework for understanding the Kenyan media landscape in the period ranging between the colonial era up until the fall of the Berlin Wall/end of the Cold War era. Heath’s framework comprises three traditions which are reflective of the development of the Kenyan media landscape as follows; the totalitarian/developmentalist tradition, commercial/liberal tradition and the advocacy/protest tradition.

The authoritarian tradition of the Kenyan media reflects the historical phase of colonialism as well as the decades after independence. During this phase, the media were seen as important tools of persuasion and control. Those in power (the colonialists and the first African government) thus ensured strict control of the country’s media for this purpose (see also Faringer, 1991). The liberal/commercial phase represents the growth of an indigenous private media system in the country. The Nation Media Group was established just before self government in 1960. It should however be noted
that the private media sector in the county did not see much development until after 1992 when liberalization was endorsed by the government of Daniel Arap Moi. The advocacy/protest tradition represents the 1980s to the late 1990s. This was the period when the country’s media did play a strong radical (see Christians et al 2009) role. Peter Wanyande (1996) has for instance written about the civil society role of the Kenyan media during this period.

Several other chapters of the book such as Kiuru’s exposition on the relationship between the Kenyan media and the state as well as Muhoro’s tracing of the evolution of media policy (discourse?) in Kenya also take a historical descriptive dimension. The point to emphasize here is that such analyses though useful in providing a general context fail however in pointing the reader to specific issues that may require attention. In short they don’t take the reader beyond the history.

The global debate on normative theory is for instance now characterized by concerted efforts by various scholars to understand the link between a changing globalizing social economic context and media and communication practices. One would thus expect in Muhoro’s discussion of media policy in Kenya, a more pointed effort that would provide opportunity for discerning the connections between change and press freedom, media accountability, the role of the state today and into the future among other concerns.

In terms of the normative roles, one would expect a discussion that looks beyond the developmentalist orientation of the African media (see previous reference to Heath 1997) in the manner in which Muhoro has suggested in her chapter of the book. Scholarship has to acknowledge social change as an important aspect of the policy discourse. Therefore, the room for posing important if not difficult questions regarding the Kenyan media in a changing globalizing context should be created. Muhoro’s chapter, however, runs shy of this possibility, only presenting the history at the expense of a forward looking approach that would consider possibilities in the future. Noticeably, her discussion on the evolution of media policy in Kenya draws from a few, dated and mostly local sources such as Moggi and Tessier’s report of 2001 thus giving limited latitude to this discussion.

Like Wambui and Misigo in the first chapter of the book, Muhoro tends to spend time on the historical antecedents of media policy in Kenya. This is illustrated in the themes that she addresses, for instance the euphoria that characterized the early independence years (1960-1979), Moism and consolidation of power (1979-1989), democratization of the Kenyan state (1989-1999) and liberalization (2000-2010).
While this provides a good background, the question that should occupy the attention of researchers of the Kenyan media landscape should be, so what next? Where do we go from here? In more specific terms, which issues should form the basis of the Kenyan media policy discourse today and into the future? What is the implication of globalization on the Kenyan media landscape?

These questions and many others should ultimately guide scholarship on the Kenyan media landscape towards a keener understanding of the link between normative theory and media policy. The importance of this endeavor lies in the fact that there was a time (for instance as reflected in the themes outlined by Muhoro’s chapter as mentioned above) when it was relatively easy to isolate a role for the Kenyan media and by extension most other media systems across the world. This period of history has effectively been accounted for by Siebert, Peterson and Schramm (1956) in the four theories of the press. The geopolitical division of the world into three major zones made it convenient for such a system. Thus, from a purely theoretical perspective, and perhaps borrowing from Ang (1999) the four theories of the press worked well in providing certainty, order and a measure predictability.

Today however, media systems including Kenya may no longer be defined by such measure. If anything, uncertainty occasioned by globalization leading for instance to the weakening of the state system (which was the basis of the four theories of the press) has become a marker of identity in today’s world. A complex yet unpredictable reality that is, according to Ang (1999), unified yet multiple, totalized yet deeply unstable, closed and open ended at the same time- a picture of a chaotic system where uncertainty is a built-in feature. One only hopes that this book would have guided scholarship towards even beginning to debate these contradictions and their impact on media discourse in Kenya.

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