



universität
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MASTERARBEIT / MASTER'S THESIS

Titel der Masterarbeit / Title of the Master's Thesis

Framing of illicit drug use by the media:
A comparative analysis of online news articles in the USA and
KENYA

verfasst von / submitted by

Olilo Beverline

angestrebter akademischer Grad / in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Science (MSc)

Wien, 2023 / Vienna 2023

Studienkennzahl lt. Studienblatt /
degree programme code as it appears on
the student record sheet:

UA 066 550

Studienrichtung lt. Studienblatt /
degree programme as it appears on
the student record sheet:

Masterstudium Communication science

Betreut von / Supervisor:

Univ.-Prof. Dr. Sophie Lecheler

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to everyone who supported and guided me through the writing of this thesis. I thank Professor Sophie Lecheler, the chair of my thesis committee, for her constructive guidance throughout the completion of this project. I also appreciate Dr. George Georgarakis for his role in editing of this research paper. Additionally, I thank the faculty of the Department of Communication at the University of Vienna for the welcoming environment and various opportunities afforded to me during my study. Finally, I thank my family for their consistent support, love , and encouragement.

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INTRODUCTION

Media framing of illicit drugs and drug users is clearly of importance as this boils down to escalation or de-escalation of the drug issue. The mass media targets a wide audience through its various communication channels including print and electronic media such as e-books, e-newspapers, e-magazines, movies, radio, and television. Information and news diffusion are largely dependent on media coverage, the interest levels of members of the community, and the type of information that is covered by the media (Tan, 1985). On the other hand, drug abuse is defined as the use of a drug that is seen as causing a problem by the society concerned (Edwards, G. and A. Arif, 1980). Framing is defined as “the process by which people develop a particular conceptualization of an issue or reorient their thinking about an issue.” (Chong & Druckman, 2007, p.104).

Several drug/ substance abuse cases have been documented with a special focus on alcohol and illegal drugs such as cocaine, heroin, and xylazine. Substance abuse is deeply rooted in communities, especially in countries such as Kenya and the US with newer drugs getting into the market as seen in the US. Society has lost a lot of productive citizens and subsequently, economies have suffered due to this. Besides this, personal and family distress, and additional healthcare costs are becoming a burden on the community.

According to the Centre for Disease Control in a report published by Reuters on June 14, 2023, more than 109,000 Americans have succumbed to drug overdoses. The numbers have seen a steady increase of 13.7% between January 2021 to January 2022 and further increased by a whopping 31.4% 12 months before the drug scourge. While for Kenyans, according to a study conducted by the National Authority for the Campaign Against Alcohol and Drug Abuse (NACADA) in 2022 on the status of drugs and substance abuse showed that alcohol continues to be the most abused substance in Kenya with an increase in demand for cheaper and readily available alcoholic products, especially Chang’aa.

A lot of factors contribute to attitudes towards drug abuse and addiction. This paper examines the influence of the mass media which is very significant in escalating or de-escalating the drug issue depending on how it frames the issue, further influencing different opinions affecting government policy and agenda setting (Nelson et al., 2015). Framing of illegal drug addicts in the media is overly pessimistic with sensationalist portrayals which can cause panic in the community and stigmatization of the users and their families (Cobbina, 2008).

Stigma has been defined in several different ways by different authors. In this study, the focus is on two definitions that are prejudice which constitutes stigmatizing attitudes (beliefs about dangerousness, attributions of blame), and discrimination which is simply defined as being treated unfairly (Thornicroft, 2017). Studies have been conducted to investigate the media portrayals of drug use and users in the past, with most focusing on heroin or crack/cocaine, and thus neglecting other illicit drugs, and employing qualitative and discourse analyses rather than quantitative media content analysis. This dissertation partially fills these gaps.

There is a need to investigate the move from a sensationalist framing point by the media to the use of frames whereby they seek a solution to the drug issue and educate the public on recovery and rehabilitation. Among those who stand to benefit from this study are journalists who have the potential to affect policy and treatment in unequal ways, thus perpetuating structural inequalities (Cobbina, 2008) and also communities at large as solving the drug issue means better living environments, more productive citizens and hence better economies. This study seeks to investigate the dominant frames used to portray illegal drugs in online news articles in Kenya and the US and find out whether the media is helping in the fight against drugs, specifically checking on the use of frames that seek a solution to the drug abuse problem and are also a key missing component in such studies.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Historical background of drug abuse and stigmatization

Controlled substances are recognized as extremely dangerous and undesirable. But history shows that many of these same substances once had considerable social value. This is corroborated by David Musto (1999), who documents the use of illegal drugs in America. He describes how a certain substance first serves a useful function in society before eventually turning into a problem. A good example is heroin which was extracted from morphine and later manufactured by a company in the US known as Bayer in the hopes that it could be a solution to the problem of morphine addiction (Brecher 1972; Musto 1999). Morphine has been known for its pain-killing characteristics since the Civil War after medics used it to perform actual surgery instead of gruesome amputations (Courtwright 2001a; 2001b). It was then approved (Musto, 1999) by the medical community, as a cure for a variety of ailments as a result, it was added in high concentrations to many medications which caused the public to unintentionally become dependent on it. Heroin and morphine became major global commodities comparable to such things as coffee and tea due to their widespread use which soon resulted in abuse and addiction.

Cocaine known for its seductive and powerful potent was discovered from the coca leaf by the Spanish and they used it to force the Indians to work longer. (Brecher, 1972). Alkaloid's cocaine, the main active ingredient in the coca leaves, was extracted in its pure form and used in making various beverages i.e., "Mariani's wine" (vin mariani), and Coca-Cola a syrup, which contained coca. The increase in the use of cocaine in the medical field saw an increase in the manufacture of these beverages as well. Concerns among medics and lawmakers about cocaine became evident due to the psychological effects, including psychoses, hallucinations, and depression.

Crack cocaine a higher potent version of powder cocaine re-emerged among the upper white class in the 1970s. The upper and middle classes started experiencing widespread problems because of using crack cocaine such as loss of jobs, depleted savings accounts, loss of family trust, and an increase in overdoses and cardiac arrest. The use of crack cocaine by the impoverished in inner cities also presented an issue, but it was ignored. (Massing, 1998). Crack cocaine increased sales as apart from being cheaper, it brought in a quick high which disappeared shortly afterwards, and users found themselves smoking it endlessly for days. (Massing 1998; Chepesiuk 1999). Young people, especially the males experiencing unemployment, turned to crack sales to secure their livelihood (Anderson 1991; Wilson 1986). Violence, homicides, assaults, and murder increased as competition and profit-making increased.

Freud, the author of the book Cocaine Papers, believed cocaine was a wonder drug that could cure multiple illnesses until it was used in the treatment of a friend's morphine addiction and caused his death. Following this event, numerous trials were made to defame cocaine for curing morphine addiction, but it was too late as abuse and addiction had already hit sky levels. As a result, cocaine was no longer supported by the medical community, and Freud was discredited.

Alcohol's impact on the family and workplace became a concern to labor unions and some industrialists. Alcohol was thought to be the cause behind failed industry productivity, unemployment, and threats to family stability from accidents and absenteeism. In addition, locals frequented the bars and used them as spots to plot anarchy (Furnas, 1968, pg. 310). Prejudice and racism came into play as two groups were called out: Black Americans and Non-English Immigrants. German Americans claimed alcohol caused black Americans to commit "unnatural" crimes and they also claimed the non-English immigrants posed a threat to the democratic and Capitalist principles of the U.S. in the wake of the expansion of cities. Brewers

and authorized retailers were portrayed in literature as a threat to patriotism and as people who stabbed American soldiers in the back (Odegard, 1928).

Marijuana comes from the hemp plant *cannabis sativa*, a mild hallucinogen used to alter consciousness, make paper, and study garments, such as canvas (Sloman, 1979). It is used by pharmaceutical companies to treat several illnesses including asthma, gout, tetanus, cholera, and some forms of mental illness. Its use showed up first in the U.S., among Black people in the South, and social outcasts, such as prostitutes, pimps, and other members of the criminal class as its mood-altering qualities emerged, some of which were documented in literary magazines (Sloman, 1979). As its recreational use was first associated with deviants its stigma took hold early on. The stigma was even more pronounced by medics who stopped using it in treating medical conditions.

Grinspoon (1997) noted two distinct cultural phenomena that brought the marijuana issue to national attention and facilitated policy co. First, a clash of cultures between the customs of Latino and African American communities and White Americans. The second is the association with jazz music, a "deviant" art form that was popularized by African-American immigrants and misfits. control. Originally, African Americans migrated to the U.S. due to a labor shortage caused by World War 1. This caused unemployment and Whites in Texas, complained as they foresaw competition for the scarce jobs in place. Marijuana smoking became the mechanism to address the "African American labor" problem with the hope that a federal law preventing marijuana smoking would remove African American immigrants from the workforce and free up jobs for whites.

Rich businessmen like William Randolph Hearst, the owner of numerous media outlets, portrayed African-American immigrants as violent criminals. Congressman Anslinger adopted similar racial stereotypes to drum up support for the Harrison's Act to Congress (Musto 1999; Grinspoon 1997) and was able to secure some support for marijuana control.

However, no evidence of the drug having a widespread negative impact on public health could be found. While the link between drug and alcohol "abuse" with crime in the U.S. holds firm roots, the subculture of jazz and marijuana which comprises (Black people, musicians, sexual deviants, and common criminals) has continued to date and is evident in drug control policies related to electronic dance music. By the 1960s, marijuana had moved from black and Hispanic, jazz-minded enclaves to the white middle class, causing wide public concern (Gitlin, 1987) marking the height of widespread drug experimentation, an unpopular war, and massive social change. Anti-drug proponents took to the streets claiming it was a pathway to heroin addiction.

The liberal era viewed drug addiction as an illness, and the conservative era saw it as a moral failing. Fighting the war on drugs would mean curbing international supply reduction as this would deal with the reduction of users' and addicts' demand by keeping the prices too high. Massing (1998) noted that international drug suppliers could influence governments, corrupt legitimate businesses, and control the agents. As demand for more drugs arose the more money and power these drug lords had (Chepesiuk, 1999). As Blackman (2004) noted the image of drug users varies depending on the media. A prevalent stereotypical image linking drug use to criminal activities and the use of forceful measures to try and mitigate the risk is currently reinforcing the coverage of the issue.

Media effects and portrayals of drug users and addicts

Mass media has had an enormous influence on the public as it provides and shapes public knowledge, perceptions, and attitudes toward people (Indemaur and Hough, 2002). Lancaster et al. (2011) state that the media serves four different functions: influencing public opinion (media effect), agenda setting (selecting issues that it believes are important while leaving others out), framing the issue, and influencing attitudes, policy, and political views.

Its role in influencing public opinion is debatable. (Reiner, 2007). The impact of media coverage on issue reporting can be both positive and negative. When the media collaborates with relevant interest groups to provide solutions to societal problems and draw attention to issues that require policy change or government funding, a positive effect is observed. Negative impact, as it shapes public opinion and fosters stigma and negative attitudes (Hughes, Lancaster, & Spicer, 2011).

It may also influence policy decisions by changing public perceptions and attitudes of lawmakers (Young, 1971). A few examples of its effects are buying a product or service because it has been endorsed by a media advertisement or adapting to certain lifestyles such as eating or exercising just because the media tells us it is healthy and according to the people who could control the media and their contents (McQuail, 1987). The apparent power of the media cannot be denied though it is questioned.

The media has also been accused of promoting such ills as drug trafficking through how it covers this issue (McQuail, 1994; Owuor & Nyameino, 2000). Media propagates stigma through exaggeration, misinformation, distortion, and sensationalism (Montagne, 2011). This has an impact on the treatment of people suffering from drug addiction, as only a very meagre percentage receive even the most basic of services (Degenhardt et al., 2017) because they lack proper awareness of substance abuse, have difficult access to treatment, and if they acquire any treatment at all, there is clear low retention. The media, on the other hand, has been shown to improve understanding, awareness, and treatment-seeking (Jori et al., 2005). Public attitude and stigma play a key role in the treatment of substance use disorders.

Several studies (Chiricos, 1996; Levine and Reinerman, 1988) have put an emphasis on the published stories linking the words 'drugs' and 'crisis' as promoting public opinion regarding drugs as a country's major problem, hence the coverage of drug users as committers of crime and belonging to certain classes in society becomes a norm.

A study on Australian newspapers showed a dominance of law enforcement news (Hughes et al., 2011). Similar studies performed on television series, movies, and YouTube videos, in America and Europe (Montagne, 2011) discovered sensational, exaggerated, and dominant moralistic understanding and commercial needs in the reporting (Niesen, 2011). A study from the Czech Republic showed a focus on drug-related crime and supply reduction news (Belackova et al., 2011). Prior research shows how class and race bias in media coverage of pregnant crack users focused on women of color and portrayed them as bad mothers (Gomez, 1997; Roberts, 1999).

Frames in media coverage are particularly important when deciding what part of problems are important, organizing audience experiences, and even suggesting a response to the problem for the audience (Snow, Rochford Jr, Worden, & Benford, 1986). By doing this, reporters raise awareness regarding the problem, consequences, treatment, and efforts made to combat the crisis (Willis & Painter, 2018). This type of coverage differs significantly from that which focuses on instilling fear and reinforcing stereotypes (Altheide, 1997). According to a study conducted by Kennedy-Hendricks et al. (2017), Americans are more likely to favor policies that are geared toward punishment over policies that seek treatment. In the past, the media was successful in linking illicit drug sale and use to racial and class portrayals by "ignoring or misrepresenting actual use patterns" (McCombs, 2014; Musto, 1973). Reinerman and Levine (1997a,) argue that these portrayals were influenced by intense fear, particularly during times of racial unrest, and extreme class inequalities in the United States. These portrayals further impacted policy and treatment in unequal ways, leading to structural inequalities (Cobbina, 2008).

In her content analysis, Cobbina (2008) argues race shapes how the media portrayed the use of crack cocaine by African Americans and social class shapes how the media portray poor, white meth users. In both cases, race and class portrayals by the media framed drug addicts as an extremely dangerous violent risk to society when compared to crack-cocaine users due to

the prevalence of racist stereotypes that painted black men as hyper-violent (Collins, 2009). Furthermore, Reinerman and Levine (1997a) in their study of crack cocaine media portrayals, further argue that the increase in cocaine use among middle and upper-class whites was only labeled a crisis, "when it became visible among a 'dangerous' group" (p. 19). David Russell, Naomi J. Spence & Kelly M. Thames (2019) in their study analysing media coverage of the opioid epidemic as discussed on Facebook by Ohioans found multiple frames promoting the issue as important with an emphasis on crime reporting and overdose coverage. The study also demonstrated the use of words such as 'addict' and 'relapse,' which elicit strong bias and may be causal factors in weakening support for Programs, Policies, and Interventions developed in response to the drug epidemic. Some users supported the proposed solutions while others attempted to assign blame. Other users sought sympathy by telling their stories of addiction and the long road to recovery, further shaping public perception of opioid addiction as a disease that required treatment.

The media has been criticized for using sensationalism in the reporting of methamphetamine use and over-relying on law enforcement officials to reduce substance use rather than adopting a solution-oriented approach (Taylor, 2008). This is also supported by (Hughes et al., 2011) who say that Media's portrayal of substance use is that of law enforcement, crime, and punishment, using fear or crisis framing, changing public attitudes towards substance use to affect policy change. Frames often link drug use with committing harmful acts, thus prompting the audience to associate the two (Roach, 2012). This has the potential to increase stigma, discrimination, and negative attitudes towards users (Usher et al., 2015). The media's framing of substance use crisis increased public concern by 55% in the USA in 1994 (Fan, 1996). Stigmatization because of panic causes users to perceive themselves as a deviant group (Gideonse, 2016). Shortis (2011) describes stigma as something that marks a person as a disgrace. Often extreme self-stigma (shame, fear, and low self-esteem) is associated with substance use (Salamat, Hegarty, & Patton, 2019). This results in an individual's failure to

disclose and seek treatment, and mistrust (Kelly & Westerhoff 2010). It is important to be aware that the media's power to portray substance users negatively may have unintended consequences that hinder recovery for individuals.

Coverage of drug issue in the Kenya mass media

Alcohol is the most widely used drug in Kenya, with Marijuana use increasing by 90% in the last five years. With an estimated four million people having used drugs in the year 2022 (NACADA, 2022). Stigma, as in other places, is thought to be a major barrier to accessing treatment (Ambekar et al., 2019). There is little published literature from Kenya on the online news articles' portrayal of substance use, even though the drug problem has been identified as one of the major problems in Kenya. Owuor and Nyameino (2000) found that the Kenyan media mostly focused on efforts made by the government and other stakeholder bodies against the drug scourge, giving very little editorial space, and less effort was put into educating the public on the issue.

Otiende and Kahuthu (2002) in their content analysis of drug-related issues in Daily Nation and The East African Standard newspapers, found that the newspapers assigned a low level of prominence to drug-related issues, similar to the study by Owuor and Nyameino and that the media did not make any effort on their part to campaign against the drug issue and rarely was there any mention associated with consequences of the drug in issue. Though public opinion and media messages regarding other drugs such as marijuana are evolving toward acceptance as reflected in the recent policy changes throughout the United States, it is still a major challenge in Kenya. It is also important to note that Kenya has increasingly become a transit point for narcotics destined for other world markets (NACADA, 2015). This happens through the coastal port of Mombasa. Alcohol is also a problem, particularly in the coastal and western regions of Kenya.

One of the recommendations in both studies was that follow-up studies should be done to determine whether the nature of reporting of drug issues had changed, by checking on the use of frames. One of the major reasons that prompted this study. However, this study covers a much wider scope and period, unlike the two studies. This will provide ample duration for analysing trends in the coverage of the drug scourge. This study examines reports of illicit drug abuse in the US and Kenyan online news media.

Role of media in combating the drug issue

The media have long been thought to influence individual perceptions of and attitudes toward society. Despite this, it is still looked upon to provide a pathway for most of these ills in society including drug abuse and drug trafficking. As the National Institute on Drug Abuse (NIDA) puts it " interpersonal and media messages can have a significant influence on attitudes, experiences, intentions, and behaviours which affect individual decisions about illicit drug use." Hence drug abuse prevention programmers often look to the media to reach critical audiences with important messages." (NIDA, 1998).

To help the fight against drugs, the media can influence behaviour change through public communications campaigns to increase public awareness of drug abuse problems, strengthen drug-free social norms, encourage discussions/talks relevant to the prevention of drug problems, and facilitate changes in relevant health behaviours of individuals in the community (NIDA, 1994). "To top it all, all this information about the nature and extent of drug abuse should be accurate to enable the development of clear and realistic goals" (NACADA, 2002).

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Agenda setting Theory

What news comes first or is given priority is set by the media according to how people think and how much influence it will have among the audience. Media is successful in telling people what to think, but it is more successful in telling its audience what to think about (Cohen, 1963). McCombs (1997) backs this up by stating that in a modern mass-mediated environment the media also tells us “how to think about a particular issue, event, or topic.”

The media uses daily occurrences to frame and package news stories in a manner that captures the attention of the public. In addition, McCombs (2014) noted the media’s power in setting the public agenda by repeatedly devoting news resources and coverage to the same issue and effectively shaping public attitudes about current affairs. Hence, the public ends up treating the topic as important. Agenda-setting has consequences in political debates and national support for a variety of policies that are enacted (McCombs, 2014).

Framing theory

This theory suggests that how an issue, event, or topic is presented to the audience determines how that information is processed. "Media treat certain issues in different ways, resulting in different frames being reported to the public" (Kohring & Matthes, 2002, p. 143). Framing involves selection and salience by selecting some topics and making them more pronounced in a communicating text, promoting a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and treatment recommendation for the item described (Entman 1993, p. 52) without the need for personal experience.

According to Snow and Benford (1992), frames are used by actors, whose aim is to make meaning out of an event, attribute blame, and propose solutions. Politicians and

government figures mostly dominate drug stories in the media (Teece & Makkai, 2000) whereas 'alternative voices' tend to be marginalized (Roper, 1999). Similarly, choice of language is important in framing problems and solutions. (McLeod, et al., 1991). Framing, therefore, affects what is said about issues, by whom, and the solutions that are likely to be given.

Frame elements

Framing analysis helps in understanding the issue-specific media coverage. Existing studies reveal a pattern in the news media to follow a sensationalist approach in the reporting of drug issues promoting a moral panic. Entman defines framing as “a way of describing the power of a text that transmits information.” (Entman, 1993, p.51)

Further developing Entman's definition (1993), Matthes and Kohring (2008) posited that a frame can be measured as a cluster of frame elements: problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and treatment recommendation. These elements could help to understand and describe "...issue-specific frames that provide details about the issue at hand." (Kozman, 2017, p.779). These clusters have distinct characteristics because each frame is distinguished by a distinct pattern of variables. Frames are not defined by a single element. This method does not allow missing any key features of frames under study. Boydston et al. (2013) distinguished positive, negative, and neutral tones. This distinction helps identify the position expressed in the text and makes interpretations of frames more meaningful.

Four frame elements are key in this study for framing analysis: Problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and treatment recommendation. Problem definition is important for the understanding of a) the specific part of the topic discussed (Matthes, 2014, p.11) and b) who are the most important actors. In the case of drug abuse, one can discuss topics such as crime and gangs, legislation, health, and seizures of drugs. It does not necessarily denote an issue negatively but defines an issue. The most important actors are those who express their opinions concerning substance abuse and are most central in the document.

The attribution of causes and blame indicates to what or whom a situation is traced back and if the cause can be held responsible for the outcome, e.g., the issue of drug abuse can be attributed to poverty legislation or trafficking. Moral evaluation comprises questions of legitimacy and positive and negative evaluations of the outcome, i.e., drug abuse can be condemned as negative. The treatment recommendation gives suggestions on how to improve, solve, and prevent the situation from reoccurring again.

Table 1: *Description of frame elements*

Element	Description
Problem Definition	How the event/issue is viewed.
Source/Attribution	Cause of the event or problem.
Moral Evaluation	Moral values are used to judge whether an action is wrong or right.
Treatment Recommendation	Ways and paths offered to overcome the problem.

Research Questions

Given that research has shown how media reporting has been centered on using stigmatizing frames in the reporting of the drug issue, the first research question seeks to find out the dominant frames used in drug issue reporting.

RQ1 What are the dominant frames used in drug-related reporting. The second research question seeks to investigate a shift from a stigmatizing and sensationalist approach to writing about drugs to one that seeks a solution to the problem. By doing so, the research paper aims to

shed light on a shift towards more constructive writing where the media not only report on the causes, attribution, and effects of the drug issue but also on its solutions, such as rehabilitation.

RQ2 Is there a shift in drug-related reporting from a sensationalist to a more solution-oriented approach?

The third research question aims to identify the main cause of attribution in both countries.

RQ3 What is the main cause of attribution in the drug issue?

RQ4 Are there any geographical differences in reporting the drug issue across different frames?

METHODOLOGY

Sampling

To answer the research questions, I conduct a quantitative content analysis. Content analysis is a useful tool for gaining insight into information and understanding the social context in which they are produced (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2011). Following the two-step approach developed by Matthes and Kohring (2008), I code a large number of frame elements separately. Secondly, I condense these frame elements into overarching frames using a hierarchical cluster analysis. This method is suitable for systematically identifying the dominant themes, strategies, and other characteristics of media reports about prohibited drugs and it also helps in the detection of new/additional frames that may not be familiar to the researcher making the method more open and explorative (Matthes and Kohring 2008, p.263). Online News media articles are examined because of their responsibility to be objective sources of information for the public. The focus of this study is on news reports featuring xylazine, fentanyl, heroin, and cocaine use in the US, and alcohol and marijuana in Kenya.

The sample will comprise a total of ten major online news media outlets which are English-speaking from the US and Kenya with a wide readership and popularity. They include

the USA Today, Washington Post, Los Angeles Times, and New York Post from the US. While, from Kenya, I will use articles from the Daily Nation, Kenya Times, East African, People Daily, The Standard, and the Star.

The search is conducted for the period from 2013 to 2023 to identify the prevalent frames in news coverage as well as to assess whether the framing of the drugs under study has changed over time. The relevant keyword "drug abuse," is used. Articles were excluded if they were unrelated to the topic. An individual news article is the unit of analysis. Articles that contained one or more mentions of different drug types were included.

All articles are retrieved from their website archives using the on-site search functionality. In total, 200 articles were identified for the study: 100 articles from each region. A total of 39 articles were excluded. Reasons for exclusion were unrelated to drug and alcohol use (n=15), and subscription-based articles (n=19), further removing 5 duplicate articles. Finally, one hundred and sixty-one (n=161) articles were eligible.

Coding procedure

I employ the frame analysis conducted by Matthes and Kohring (2008) to identify the frame elements that I am going to use. Frames are going to be manually coded for each online news article under the specific variables from the four major elements; problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and treatment recommendation. Problem definition refers to the main story and the main actors that discuss the problem/main issue being discussed. Causal interpretation refers to the attribution of risks and benefits related to the issue. Moral evaluation is to be coded based on the assessment of risks or benefits presented about drug use or trafficking. Treatment recommendation is to be coded based on any proposed policy or if support is conveyed for an existing policy. All frames are recoded into binary variables (present=1; Not present=0) for the cluster analysis. A codebook is created with the mentioned four elements, underlying clusters, and description section (see code book in Appendix).

Reliability test

For the interrater reliability test, a total of 20 articles were retrieved from the mentioned news outlets specified in the sampling section. The selection was done randomly using online search engines from the media websites and keywords. The articles were coded separately by two coders and afterward, an interrater reliability was calculated using Krippendorff's Alpha in SPSS.

According to Zapf et al.,2016, p.2) negative Alpha values indicate inverse agreement, an Alpha value range of 1 indicates a perfect agreement, while 0 indicates no agreement. (Krippendorff,2004), elaborates this by stating that a value of $\alpha \geq .800$ is required for a good alpha, whereas alpha values of $\alpha \geq .667$ are still acceptable but still the lowest acceptable.

Based on Krippendorff's position, for the alpha to be no less than 0.667 the minimum required threshold to achieve a higher interrater reliability score an aim for this was set. First, the two coders input their data on a Microsoft Excel sheet after which the data was uploaded on SPSS and restructured to form a clean data set of 43 variables with data for both coders. Later an extension of Krippendorff's alpha called the Kalpha was integrated into SPSS from the book Hayes and aided in the calculation of Krippendorff alpha values. See Table 2 for the results of the Inter coder reliability test results.

Table 2: Intercoder reliability test results

Element	Krippendorff's Alpha
Crisis	.8960
Crime and gangs	.8960
Health	.8602
Treatment	.6953
Legislation	.8777
Trafficking	.8960
Politicians	.8312
Authorities	.8889
NGO's and media	.8777
Relatives	.8960
Addiction	.8960
No education/technology	.9003
Unemployment	.9003
Poor legislation	.8312
Health benefits	.8889
Moral risk	.8030
Health risk	.9023
Economic risk	.8312
Policy and support	.8960
Call for action	.8889
No treatment	.7771

Data Preparation and Analysis

Descriptive statistics were extracted for the online news articles using a checklist adapted from Whitley et al. (2017) used for understanding media portrayal of mental illness now to be used in this study to understand drug abuse. Items for descriptive studies included:

1. Date of the story.
2. The source of the newspaper article is national, regional (smaller geographical regions within the specific country)
3. The overall tone of the news:
 - Optimistic (discusses drug abuse concept and treatment).
 - Pessimistic(Uses stigmatizing language, focuses on moral and legal aspects of drug abuse, and doesn't talk. about treatment)

4. Type of drug abused.

Data was checked for accuracy by checking for repetition of articles. All the coding was done manually in an Excel sheet and coded as either present(1) or absent(0) and entries were checked to ensure there were no missing values and all variables were labelled correctly.

RESULTS

First, a frequency and descriptive analysis was run for the descriptive variables of the articles that is the overall tone of the news article, source, type of drug, and country. The results are shown in the tables below.

Table 3: *Descriptive statistics for article characteristics*

Statistics						
		Country	Articles	Source	Overall tone(opt=0,pes= 1)	Type of drug
N	Valid	161	161	161	161	161
	Missing	0	0	0	0	0
Mean					.18	
Std. Deviation					.385	
Minimum					0	
Maximum					1	

Secondly, a descriptive analysis was run for all the variables under study and the results are as shown in the appendix. Further, the results show that fentanyl (18%), alcohol (14.3%), Marijuana (13%), cocaine (10.6%), and heroin (10.6%) are the main substances being abused while drugs like shisha and ecstasy come in as the least abused.

Table 4: *Substances with the highest and lowest abuse percentages*

Type of drug

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not clear	1	.6	.6	.6
	Painkillers	1	.6	.6	1.2
	Alcohol	23	14.3	14.3	15.5
	Cocaine	17	10.6	10.6	26.1
	Ecstasy	1	.6	.6	26.7
	Fentanyl	29	18.0	18.0	44.7
	Heroin	17	10.6	10.6	55.3
	LSD	1	.6	.6	55.9
	Marijuana	21	13.0	13.0	68.9
	Meth	2	1.2	1.2	70.2
	Multiple	20	12.4	12.4	82.6
	Narcan	1	.6	.6	83.2
	Not clear	17	10.6	10.6	93.8
	Oxycodone	2	1.2	1.2	95.0
	Shisha	1	.6	.6	95.7
	Xylazine	7	4.3	4.3	100.0
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	

Thirdly, to answer RQ1 concerning the dominant frames used in the reporting in the articles and RQ3 regarding how causal attribution is portrayed, a frequency analysis for all the variables under study under the four categories, that is problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and treatment recommendation was run on SPSS and results show that are shown in the tables below. Results show that Moral risk, call for action, NGOs and media, and unemployment are the dominant frames being used in the reporting of illegal drug abuse, with percentages reflecting at 70.8%,62.7%,62.1%, and 60.2% respectively.

Table 5 *Dominant frames derived using frequency analysis*

		Frame	Frequency	valid percent
Valid	1	Call for action	101	62.7
	1	Moral risk	114	70.8
	1	Unemployment	97	60.2
	1	NGO's and media	100	62.2
	1	Legislation	84	52.2

Looking at the results from a different angle, under each category it could be derived that under the category topic, legislation was the most widely used frame, under actors the most prominent actors were the NGO and media followed by the authorities. Drug abuse was mostly attributed to unemployment and evaluated on moral risk grounds, and finally treatment recommendation was mostly based on the call for action which came in at 62.7%. The elements of causal attribution which include addiction (41.6%), no education (45.3%), unemployment (60.2%), and poor legislation (26.1%), indicate that unemployment comes in as the variable blamed for the drug issue. A look at how this particular variable is used within each country shows that in the Kenyan articles, it is evident in at least 46 articles while in the US it is evident in 51 articles.

RQ2 is answered by looking at the frequency of the frames: crisis (22.4%), crime (24.2%), trafficking (24.8%), addiction (41.6%), legalization (52.2%), and moral risk (70.8%). These frames look at the moral, legal, and attribution aspects of drug abuse in comparison to the frame treatment (27.3%), and the category treatment recommendation from the table. Results show that call for action comes in as the most used frame at 62.7%, followed by proposed policy and support for an existing policy which comes in at 44.1% and lastly the frame no treatment comes in at 15.5%. By looking at these results we can also answer RQ2 seeking

to check on the move from sensational and stigmatizing writing to solution-based writing. There is a clear use of moral, legal, and attribution frames linking drug users to crime and violent behavior and depicting them as addicts, traffickers, or unemployed. As for the use of treatment frames, the results show an attempt in the use of this frame under the variable call for action (62.7%), followed by proposed policy at (44.1%) and No treatment at (15.5%). This clearly shows that in as much as sensational and stigmatizing frames are being used in the portrayal of the drug users, there is an attempt in trying to look for solutions to this issue in most articles as compared to articles that do not use the treatment frame at all. During the initial analysis of the articles, it was noted that most articles heavily relied on treatment conditions such as arrests and seizures which serve as punishment strategies as compared to rehabilitation and educating the public on the dangers of drug abuse which serve as treatment conditions to help the users.

To answer RQ4, a chi-square analysis using Crosstabs was run on SPSS to show the country comparison in the use of the specific frames and overall tone of articles. Based on the results of the chi-square test, there is a significant difference in the distribution of crisis, crime, treatment, moral risk, addiction, no treatment, health risk, and trafficking frames between US and Kenyan articles as the p-value is less or equal to ($p < .001$). Also, the p-value for the overall tone of the articles in both countries is significant. This means that the effect size is large and is statistically significant for these frame elements and there are likely differences in the way these frames are used in Kenya and the US. The Phi coefficient and Cramer's V value for these elements are high above 0.25, indicating a very strong association between the two variables. The phi value for addiction is .219 and .220 for health risk indicating a strong association between the categorical variables.

Table 6: *Chi-square analysis for country comparison use of frames*

		Value	df	significance (2 sided)
Tone	Pearson chi-square	15.473.	1	<.001
	Phi Cramer's v.	.310		<.001
Crisis	Pearson chi-square	32.683	1	<.001
	Phi Cramer's v	.451		<.001
Crime	Pearson chi-square	12.529	1	<.001
	Phi Cramer's v	.279		<.001
Treatment	Pearson chi-square	10.443	1	.001
	Phi Cramer's v	.255		.001
Addiction	Pearson chi-square	7.754	1	.005
	Phi Cramer's v	.219		.005
Trafficking	Pearson chi-square	10.483	1	.001
	Phi Cramer's v	.255		.001
Health risk	Pearson chi-square	7.798	1	.005
	Phi Cramer's v	.220		.005
No treatment	Pearson chi-square	10.877	1	<.001
	Phi Cramer's v	.260		<.001
Moral risk	Pearson chi-square	10.517	1	.001
	Phi Cramer's v	.256	1	.001

The results of the chi-square test indicate that there is no significant association between the country or the frame elements, legislation, health, no education, politicians, authorities, NGOs/media, relatives/friends/victims, unemployment, poor legislation, health benefits, economic risk, policy and support and call for action. This means that the percentage of articles in Kenya and the USA regions that contain these elements does not differ significantly. Phi coefficient and Cramer's V value are low and negative, indicating weak and very weak associations between the two variables.

A chi-square analysis using cross tabs is conducted to check on country comparison of drug abuse. The results of the chi-square test indicate that there is a significant association between the country and drug abuse ($X^2(15) = 84.729$, $p < .001$). This means that the types of drug abuse in Kenya vs US regions differ significantly. Phi coefficient and Cramer's V value are high, indicating a very strong association between the two regions and type of drug abuse.

The chi-square test of association between the country and attribution of cause shows a significant association for the frame addiction only with ($X^2(1) = 7.754, p < .005$). The rest of the attribution causes have a non-significant effect in their use compared to the country with very weak and moderate Phi and Cramer's V values. This means that the effect size is large and is statistically significant for this frame element and there are likely differences in the way this frame is used in Kenya vs the USA. Phi and Cramer's V value for this element is also very high above 0.25, indicating a very strong association between the two variables.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This research paper has set to examine the framing of drug issues in U.S. and Kenyan online news articles to establish the main frames used and if there is a shift from the stigmatizing nature of framing drug stories. Secondly, the paper set out to seek the main cause of attribution and if there were any similarities and differences in the country comparison of the specific frames.

The most widely used frames were Moral risk, unemployment, call for action, NGO, and media. Emphasis in framing was placed on legislation and the fight against the drug problem as the main topic in all articles. Moral risks associated with violent behaviors and unemployment are the main cause of the drug issue. Investigations and arrests, the shutdown of bars and production sites, universal preventions, rehabilitation, counseling, and seizures were some of the proposed ways of curbing the drug issue.

There is also a significant difference in the use of various frames like crisis, crime, treatment, legislation, moral risk, health, addiction, no treatment, no education, health risk, and trafficking frames between US and Kenyan articles based on the chi-square results where the p-value is less or equal to ($p < .001$). Meaning that the effect size is large and statistically

significant. Also, the p-value ($p < .001$) for the overall tone of the articles in the USA and Kenya is significant. This means that there are differences in the usage of these frames and the overall tone in Kenya and the US.

These findings give credence to studies by several scholars who suggest that drug issues tend to be framed and sensationalized in terms of crime, and gangs (Chermak, 1997) and the only solution to it is punishment and not help by putting law enforcement and government figures at the forefront. (Teece and Makkai, 2000). On the other hand, alternative voices' are marginalized (Roper, 1999).

The move towards writing solution-oriented articles towards solving the drug issues can be clearly seen as results show that the articles calling for action come in as the most used frame at 62.7% mainly focusing on punishment, with just a few focusing on rehabilitation, counselling and prevention. Proposed policy and support for an existing policy comes in at (44.1%). Lastly, the articles that do not have any treatment strategies at all come in at 15.5% meaning most article writing are changing their way of writing and trying to seek a solution to the drug scourge be it punishment, rehabilitation or law enforcement.

There are actual differences in the use of sensationalist frames and overall tone between the countries as the variables have a statistically significant association. The results of the chi-square test indicate that there is no significant association between the country or the frame elements; politicians, authorities, NGOs/media, relatives/friends/victims, unemployment, poor legislation, health benefits, economic risk, policy and support, and call for action. This means that the percentage of articles in Kenya and the US that contain these elements does not differ significantly.

Results show that fentanyl, alcohol, Marijuana, cocaine, and heroin are the main substances being abused while drugs like shisha and ecstasy come in as the least abused. A lot of existing research has focused on heroin or crack/cocaine, leaving out other illicit drugs. Results here show that other drugs have come into play and are being abused more. An example

is Fentanyl in the US which has devoured and is still killing so many people to date. While alcohol and marijuana continue to take the lead as the drugs most abused in Kenya.

The chi-square test indicates that there is a significant association between the country and drug abuse ($X^2(15) = 84.729, p < .001$). This means that there is a significant difference in the region and drug abuse in both countries. Phi coefficient and Cramer's V value are high, indicating a very strong association between the two regions and type of drug abuse.

The second aim of the paper was to seek the main cause of attribution. As shown in the results drug abuse was mostly attributed to unemployment (60.2%), and evaluated on moral risk grounds. While other variables addiction (41.6%), no education (45.3%), and poor legislation (26.1%), showed the indicated percentages. A look at how this particular variable is used within each country shows that in the Kenyan articles, it is evident in at least 46 articles while in the US it is evident in 51 articles. The chi-square test of association between the country and attribution of cause shows a significant association for the frame addiction only with ($X^2(1) = 7.754, p < .005$). The rest of the attribution causes have a non-significant effect in their use compared to the country with very weak and moderate Phi and Cramer's V values. This means that the effect size is large and is statistically significant for this frame element and there are likely differences in the way this frame is used in Kenya vs the USA. Phi and Cramer's V value for this element is also very high above 0.25, indicating a very strong association between the two variables.

Limitations and implications for future research

The analysis has been labor intensive and limited to a sample that can be researched by researchers in each period. It is time-consuming as there are a range of actors and topics within the articles needed to operationalize the four elements of Entman's definition. In this study, a single article is used as the unit of analysis which cannot be regarded as a universal tool as it

neglects the time dimension and is under-complex about treatment options. (Dahl and Fløttum 2014).

To reduce cost and due to time constraints, I used only online news articles in my research. This is only one form of media and the findings here may not be generalizable to other forms of media. There is need to also do similar studies using different media, e.g., live news reports. The results can be generalized within these two countries as the online articles used have a wide readership and focus on issues that affect the countries as a whole.

This study focused on only one aspect of the drug scourge, which is the coverage of the problem by the media particularly the print media. This is not exhaustive. There is a need for further research in the nature and pattern of coverage of drug issues in electronic media in comparison to print media. Further, challenges faced by journalists in the coverage of drug abuse and trafficking.

This study has implications for journalists to recognize the importance of using certain frames when dealing with the drug issue. Journalists should aim to use more balanced reporting when handling this issue as it has implications when it comes to policymaking by government authorities and broader implications when it comes to the integration of the drug users and their tolerance within society as they are prone to marginalization.

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Appendix

CODEBOOK

Element	Variables	Description

Element	Variables	Description
Problem definition. (central issue of debate)	1)Crisis, killer. 2)Crime and gangs 3) Health 4) Treatment 5) Fight against/policies/Legislation 6)International trafficking	• Emphasis on the drug issue as a crisis, a killer, an escalating problem, dangerous, and also an epidemic. (causing loss of lives) • Central issue of discussion is crime-related incidents related to drugs and gangs • Article talks about health concerns related to drugs. • Central issue discussed is the treatment of the drug issue, and how to overcome the issue. Article names already existing solutions i.e. Rehabilitation. • Life imprisonment, surveillance, patrols, tighter policies, poor legislations and consequences, seizures

Element	Variables	Description
	ACTORS 1)Politicians 2)Authorities 3) NGOs and Media, medics 4) Relatives/friends of a drug addict/victims of drug abuse	• Politicians on all Levels • Including from judiciary and armed forces i.e. police • NGOS, i.e. NACADA movements and associations and all non- state actors • Friends and relatives of a drug user are mentioned or speak either directly or indirectly/mentioned as long as they are associated with a drug issue.

Element	Variables	Description
Causal interpretation (who/what is responsible for the problem)	1)Risk attribution: addiction 2)Risk attribution: Lack of education/knowledge /technology 3)Risk attribution: unemployment 4) Risk attribution: lack of tighter policies by Governments/poor legislation	- Addiction is blamed as a causal factor in the article./drug user guilty if I don't do it. It feels like I'm missing something, it's part of my routine. - Lack of awareness and poor education in society, peer pressure, and desire to fit in. technology plays a major role in this, and stigmatization and performance improvement are also included. - Poverty and unemployment. Income-related issue. Limited treatment options included. - Ease of access and lack of stringent policies, trafficking.
Moral Evaluation(effects)	1)Health benefits	Discovery of drugs that can be used to treat certain medical conditions i.e. methadone,

Element	Variables	Description
	2) Moral risks 3) Health risks 4) Economic risks	Narcan and buprenorphine, naloxone • Mentions of negative effects on moral values e.g. violent behaviours, e.g. threats of kidnapping, killing, attacks, theft, sale of drugs leading to death/illicit markets. • Distorted judgment, cognitive impairment, slurred speech, lack of sleep, increased pulse and blood pressure, euphoria, anxiety, skin ulcers, emotional damage to users, death • Drug issue as a risk factor for the economy i.e. loss of skilled manpower due to loss of lives, theft as a result of crime-related behaviours, sickness, imprisonment leading to loss of productivity, drug-related unemployment,

Element	Variables	Description
		waste of money spent on drugs
Treatment recommendation. (How to treat the problem)	1)Proposed policies & support for the existing policy 2)Call for action.	• Restriction/ban on certain substances, change of rules/tighter policies for accessing drugs and whether they are still up to date, any proposed legislation and In support for the policies already in place • Investigations and arrests, information/education to the public, shutdown of bars and production site, Increased inspection/regular controls/sanctions, universal preventions and better coordination between the responsible agencies and ministries, rehabilitation, counselling, seizures

Element	Variables	Description
	3)No treatment	No action is recommended or taken/mentioned in the article

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Descriptive statistics of article characteristics

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Overall tone(opt=0,pes=1)	161	0	1	.18	.385
Crisis/killer	161	0	1	.22	.418
Crimes&gangs	161	0	1	.24	.430
Health	161	0	1	.13	.338
Treatment	161	0	1	.27	.447
Legislation	161	0	1	.52	.501
Trafficking	161	0	1	.25	.433
politicians	161	0	1	.07	.263
Authorities	161	0	1	.45	.499
NGOs&Media	161	0	1	.62	.487
Relatives/Friends/victims	161	0	1	.15	.357
Addiction	161	0	1	.42	.494
No educatio/Technology	161	0	1	.45	.499
Unemployment	161	0	1	.60	.491
Poor legislation	161	0	1	.26	.440
Health benefits	161	0	1	.16	.363
Moral risk	161	0	1	.71	.456
Health risk	161	0	1	.57	.497
Economic risk	161	0	1	.22	.418
policy&Support	161	0	1	.44	.498
Call for action	161	0	1	.63	.485
No treatment	161	0	1	.16	.363
Valid N (listwise)	161				

5.2. Frequencies of article characteristics

Statistics

		Overall tone(opt=0,pes= 1)				Type of drug
	Country	Articles	Source			
N	Valid	161	161	161	161	161
	Missing	0	0	0	0	0
Mean					.18	
Std. Deviation					.385	
Minimum					0	
Maximum					1	

Frequency Table

Country					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	KENYA	81	50.3	50.3	50.3
	USA	80	49.7	49.7	100.0
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	

Articles					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	DAILY NATION	33	20.5	20.5	20.5
	EAST AFRICAN	28	17.4	17.4	37.9
	LA TIMES	21	13.0	13.0	50.9
	NEW YORK P	29	18.0	18.0	68.9
	PEOPLE DAILY	1	.6	.6	69.6
	STANDARD	5	3.1	3.1	72.7
	STAR	1	.6	.6	73.3
	KENYA TIMES	11	6.8	6.8	80.1
	LA TIMES	1	.6	.6	80.7
	PEOPLE DAILY	1	.6	.6	81.4
	STAR	1	.6	.6	82.0
	USA TODAY	26	16.1	16.1	98.1
	WASH POST	3	1.9	1.9	100.0
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	

Source

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	National	133	82.6	82.6	82.6
	Regional	28	17.4	17.4	100.0
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	

Overall tone(opt=0,pes=1)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	132	82.0	82.0	82.0
	1	29	18.0	18.0	100.0
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	

Type of drug

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not clear	1	.6	.6	.6
	Painkillers	1	.6	.6	1.2
	Alcohol	23	14.3	14.3	15.5
	Cocaine	17	10.6	10.6	26.1
	Ecstasy	1	.6	.6	26.7
	Fentanyl	29	18.0	18.0	44.7
	Heroin	17	10.6	10.6	55.3
	LSD	1	.6	.6	55.9
	Marijuana	21	13.0	13.0	68.9
	Meth	2	1.2	1.2	70.2
	Multiple	20	12.4	12.4	82.6
	Narcan	1	.6	.6	83.2
	Not clear	17	10.6	10.6	93.8
	Oxycodone	2	1.2	1.2	95.0
	Shisha	1	.6	.6	95.7
	Xylazine	7	4.3	4.3	100.0

Total	161	100.0	100.0
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Descriptive statistics for variables

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Overall tone(opt=0,pes=1)	161	0	1	.18	.385
crisis/killer	161	0	1	.22	.418
Crimes&gangs	161	0	1	.24	.430
Health	161	0	1	.13	.338
Treatment	161	0	1	.27	.447
Legislation	161	0	1	.52	.501
Trafficking	161	0	1	.25	.433
Politicians	161	0	1	.07	.263
Authorities	161	0	1	.45	.499
NGOs&Media	161	0	1	.62	.487
Relatives/Friends/victims	161	0	1	.15	.357
Addiction	161	0	1	.42	.494
No educatio/Technology	161	0	1	.45	.499
Unemployment	161	0	1	.60	.491
Poor legislation	161	0	1	.26	.440
Health benefits	161	0	1	.16	.363
Moral risk	161	0	1	.71	.456
Health risk	161	0	1	.57	.497
Economic risk	161	0	1	.22	.418
policy&Support	161	0	1	.44	.498
Call for action	161	0	1	.63	.485
No treatment	161	0	1	.16	.363
Valid N (listwise)	161				

Frequencies of variables

Statistics

		Overall tone(opt=0,pes= 1)					Type of drug
N	Valid	Country	Articles	Source			
		161	161	161	161		161

Missing	0	0	0	0	0
Mean				.18	
Std. Deviation				.385	
Minimum				0	
Maximum				1	

Frequency Table

Country					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	KENYA	81	50.3	50.3	50.3
	USA	80	49.7	49.7	100.0
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	

Articles					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	DAILY NATION	33	20.5	20.5	20.5
	EAST AFRICAN	28	17.4	17.4	37.9
	LA TIMES	21	13.0	13.0	50.9
	NEW YORK P	29	18.0	18.0	68.9
	PEOPLE DAILY	1	.6	.6	69.6
	STANDARD	5	3.1	3.1	72.7
	STAR	1	.6	.6	73.3
	KENYA TIMES	11	6.8	6.8	80.1
	LA TIMES	1	.6	.6	80.7
	PEOPLE DAILY	1	.6	.6	81.4
	STAR	1	.6	.6	82.0
	USA TODAY	26	16.1	16.1	98.1
	WASH POST	3	1.9	1.9	100.0
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	

Source					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	National	133	82.6	82.6	82.6
	Regional	28	17.4	17.4	100.0
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	

Overall tone(opt=0,pes=1)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	132	82.0	82.0	82.0
	1	29	18.0	18.0	100.0
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	

Type of drug

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Not clear	1	.6	.6	.6
	Painkillers	1	.6	.6	1.2
	Alcohol	23	14.3	14.3	15.5
	Cocaine	17	10.6	10.6	26.1
	Ecstasy	1	.6	.6	26.7
	Fentanyl	29	18.0	18.0	44.7
	Heroin	17	10.6	10.6	55.3
	LSD	1	.6	.6	55.9
	Marijuana	21	13.0	13.0	68.9
	Meth	2	1.2	1.2	70.2
	Multiple	20	12.4	12.4	82.6
	Narcan	1	.6	.6	83.2
	Not clear	17	10.6	10.6	93.8
	Oxycodone	2	1.2	1.2	95.0
	Shisha	1	.6	.6	95.7
	Xylazine	7	4.3	4.3	100.0
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	

crisis/killer

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	125	77.6	77.6	77.6
	1	36	22.4	22.4	100.0
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	

Crimes&gangs

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	122	75.8	75.8	75.8

	1	39	24.2	24.2	100.0
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	

Health

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	140	87.0	87.0	87.0
	1	21	13.0	13.0	100.0
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	

Treatment

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	117	72.7	72.7	72.7
	1	44	27.3	27.3	100.0
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	

legislation

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	77	47.8	47.8	47.8
	1	84	52.2	52.2	100.0
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	

Trafficking

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	121	75.2	75.2	75.2
	1	40	24.8	24.8	100.0
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	

politicians

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	149	92.5	92.5	92.5

	1	12	7.5	7.5	100.0
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	

Authorities

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	89	55.3	55.3	55.3
	1	72	44.7	44.7	100.0
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	

NGOs&Media

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	61	37.9	37.9	37.9
	1	100	62.1	62.1	100.0
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	

Relatives/friends/victims

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	137	85.1	85.1	85.1
	1	24	14.9	14.9	100.0
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	

Addiction

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	94	58.4	58.4	58.4
	1	67	41.6	41.6	100.0
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	

No educatio/technology

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	88	54.7	54.7	54.7

	1	73	45.3	45.3	100.0
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	

Unemployment

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	64	39.8	39.8	39.8
	1	97	60.2	60.2	100.0
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	

Poor legislation

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	119	73.9	73.9	73.9
	1	42	26.1	26.1	100.0
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	

Health benefits

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	136	84.5	84.5	84.5
	1	25	15.5	15.5	100.0
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	

Moral risk

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	47	29.2	29.2	29.2
	1	114	70.8	70.8	100.0
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	

Health risk

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	70	43.5	43.5	43.5

	1	91	56.5	56.5	100.0
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	

Economic risk

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	125	77.6	77.6	77.6
	1	36	22.4	22.4	100.0
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	

policy&Support

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	90	55.9	55.9	55.9
	1	71	44.1	44.1	100.0
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	

Call for action

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	60	37.3	37.3	37.3
	1	101	62.7	62.7	100.0
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	

No treatment

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	0	136	84.5	84.5	84.5
	1	25	15.5	15.5	100.0
	Total	161	100.0	100.0	

V28

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid		161	100.0	100.0	100.0

Chi square Analysis

Crosstabs

Case Processing Summary

	Cases					
	Valid		Missing		Total	
	N	Percent	N	Percent	N	Percent
Country * crisis/killer	161	100.0%	0	0.0%	161	100.0%
Country *	161	100.0%	0	0.0%	161	100.0%
Crimes&g						
Country * Health	161	100.0%	0	0.0%	161	100.0%
Country * Treatment	161	100.0%	0	0.0%	161	100.0%
Country * legislation	161	100.0%	0	0.0%	161	100.0%
Country * Trafficking	161	100.0%	0	0.0%	161	100.0%
Country * politicians	161	100.0%	0	0.0%	161	100.0%
Country * Authorities	161	100.0%	0	0.0%	161	100.0%
Country *	161	100.0%	0	0.0%	161	100.0%
NGOs&Media						
Country *	161	100.0%	0	0.0%	161	100.0%
Relatives/friends/victim						
s						
Country * Addiction	161	100.0%	0	0.0%	161	100.0%
Country * No	161	100.0%	0	0.0%	161	100.0%
educatio/technology						
Country *	161	100.0%	0	0.0%	161	100.0%
Unemployment						
Country * Poor	161	100.0%	0	0.0%	161	100.0%
legislation						
Country * Health	161	100.0%	0	0.0%	161	100.0%
benefits						
Country * Moral risk	161	100.0%	0	0.0%	161	100.0%
Country * Health risk	161	100.0%	0	0.0%	161	100.0%
Country * Economic	161	100.0%	0	0.0%	161	100.0%
risk						
Country *	161	100.0%	0	0.0%	161	100.0%
policy&Support						

Country * Call for action	161	100.0%	0	0.0%	161	100.0%
Country * No treatment	161	100.0%	0	0.0%	161	100.0%

Country * crisis/killer

Crosstab

			crisis/killer		Total
			0	1	
Country	KENYA	Count	78	3	81
		Expected Count	62.9	18.1	81.0
	USA	Count	47	33	80
		Expected Count	62.1	17.9	80.0
Total	Count		125	36	161
	Expected Count		125.0	36.0	161.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	32.683 ^a	1	<.001		
Continuity Correction ^b	30.556	1	<.001		
Likelihood Ratio	37.017	1	<.001		
Fisher's Exact Test				<.001	<.001
N of Valid Cases	161				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 17.89.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Symmetric Measures

Value	Approximate Significance
-------	--------------------------

Nominal by Nominal Phi	.451	<.001
Cramer's V	.451	<.001
N of Valid Cases	161	

Country * Crimes&gangs

Crosstab

			Crimes&gangs		Total
			0	1	
Country	KENYA	Count	71	10	81
		Expected Count	61.4	19.6	81.0
	USA	Count	51	29	80
		Expected Count	60.6	19.4	80.0
Total	Count		122	39	161
	Expected Count		122.0	39.0	161.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance	Exact Sig. (2- sided)	Exact Sig. (1- sided)
			(2-sided)	sided)	sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	12.529 ^a	1	<.001		
Continuity Correction ^b	11.261	1	<.001		
Likelihood Ratio	12.950	1	<.001		
Fisher's Exact Test				<.001	<.001
N of Valid Cases	161				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 19.38.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Symmetric Measures

Value	Approximate Significance
-------	-----------------------------

Nominal by Nominal Phi	.279	<.001
Cramer's V	.279	<.001
N of Valid Cases	161	

Country * Health

Crosstab

			Health		Total
			0	1	
Country	KENYA	Count	76	5	81
		Expected Count	70.4	10.6	81.0
	USA	Count	64	16	80
		Expected Count	69.6	10.4	80.0
Total		Count	140	21	161
		Expected Count	140.0	21.0	161.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2- sided)	Exact Sig. (1- sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	6.785 ^a	1	.009		
Continuity Correction ^b	5.620	1	.018		
Likelihood Ratio	7.083	1	.008		
Fisher's Exact Test				.010	.008
N of Valid Cases	161				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 10.43.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Symmetric Measures

	Value	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal Phi	.205	.009
Cramer's V	.205	.009
N of Valid Cases	161	

Country * Treatment

Crosstab

		Treatment		Total	
		0	1		
Country	KENYA	Count	68	13	81
		Expected Count	58.9	22.1	81.0
	USA	Count	49	31	80
		Expected Count	58.1	21.9	80.0
Total		Count	117	44	161
		Expected Count	117.0	44.0	161.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2- sided)	Exact Sig. (1- sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	10.443 ^a	1	.001		
Continuity Correction ^b	9.332	1	.002		
Likelihood Ratio	10.677	1	.001		
Fisher's Exact Test				.001	.001
N of Valid Cases	161				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 21.86.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Symmetric Measures

	Value	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal Phi	.255	.001
Cramer's V	.255	.001
N of Valid Cases	161	

Country * legislation

Crosstab

			legislation		
			0	1	Total
Country	KENYA	Count	31	50	81
		Expected Count	38.7	42.3	81.0
	USA	Count	46	34	80
		Expected Count	38.3	41.7	80.0
Total		Count	77	84	161
		Expected Count	77.0	84.0	161.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	5.964 ^a	1	.015		
Continuity Correction ^b	5.218	1	.022		
Likelihood Ratio	6.001	1	.014		
Fisher's Exact Test				.018	.011
N of Valid Cases	161				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 38.26.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Symmetric Measures

	Value	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal Phi	-.192	.015
Cramer's V	.192	.015
N of Valid Cases	161	

Country * Trafficking

Crosstab

			Trafficking		Total
			0	1	
Country	KENYA	Count	52	29	81
		Expected Count	60.9	20.1	81.0
	USA	Count	69	11	80
		Expected Count	60.1	19.9	80.0
Total		Count	121	40	161
		Expected Count	121.0	40.0	161.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2- sided)	Exact Sig. (1- sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	10.483 ^a	1	.001		
Continuity Correction ^b	9.335	1	.002		
Likelihood Ratio	10.788	1	.001		
Fisher's Exact Test				.002	.001
N of Valid Cases	161				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 19.88.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Symmetric Measures

	Value	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal Phi	-.255	.001
Cramer's V	.255	.001
N of Valid Cases	161	

Country * politicians

Crosstab

			politicians		Total
			0	1	
Country	KENYA	Count	74	7	81
		Expected Count	75.0	6.0	81.0
	USA	Count	75	5	80
		Expected Count	74.0	6.0	80.0
Total		Count	149	12	161
		Expected Count	149.0	12.0	161.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2- sided)	Exact Sig. (1- sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.334 ^a	1	.563		
Continuity Correction ^b	.077	1	.781		
Likelihood Ratio	.335	1	.562		
Fisher's Exact Test				.766	.391
N of Valid Cases	161				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 5.96.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Symmetric Measures

	Value	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal Phi	-.046	.563
Cramer's V	.046	.563

N of Valid Cases	161
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Country * Authorities

Crosstab

			Authorities		Total
			0	1	
Country	KENYA	Count	48	33	81
		Expected Count	44.8	36.2	81.0
	USA	Count	41	39	80
		Expected Count	44.2	35.8	80.0
Total	Count		89	72	161
	Expected Count		89.0	72.0	161.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2- sided)	Exact Sig. (1- sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.044 ^a	1	.307		
Continuity Correction ^b	.746	1	.388		
Likelihood Ratio	1.045	1	.307		
Fisher's Exact Test				.343	.194
N of Valid Cases	161				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 35.78.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Symmetric Measures

	Value	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal Phi	.081	.307
Cramer's V	.081	.307
N of Valid Cases	161	

Country * NGOs&Media

Crosstab

			NGOs&Media		Total
			0	1	
Country	KENYA	Count	29	52	81
		Expected Count	30.7	50.3	81.0
	USA	Count	32	48	80
		Expected Count	30.3	49.7	80.0
Total		Count	61	100	161
		Expected Count	61.0	100.0	161.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2- sided)	Exact Sig. (1- sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.301 ^a	1	.583		
Continuity Correction ^b	.149	1	.699		
Likelihood Ratio	.301	1	.583		
Fisher's Exact Test				.628	.350
N of Valid Cases	161				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 30.31.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Symmetric Measures

	Value	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal Phi	-.043	.583
Cramer's V	.043	.583
N of Valid Cases	161	

Country * Relatives/friends/victims

Crosstab

			Relatives/friends/victims		
			0	1	Total
Country	KENYA	Count	73	8	81
		Expected Count	68.9	12.1	81.0
	USA	Count	64	16	80
		Expected Count	68.1	11.9	80.0
Total		Count	137	24	161
		Expected Count	137.0	24.0	161.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	3.252 ^a	1	.071		
Continuity Correction ^b	2.503	1	.114		
Likelihood Ratio	3.304	1	.069		
Fisher's Exact Test				.080	.056
N of Valid Cases	161				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 11.93.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Symmetric Measures

	Value	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal Phi	.142	.071

	Cramer's V	.142	.071
N of Valid Cases		161	

Country * Addiction

Crosstab

		Addiction		Total	
		0	1		
Country	KENYA	Count	56	25	81
		Expected Count	47.3	33.7	81.0
	USA	Count	38	42	80
		Expected Count	46.7	33.3	80.0
Total		Count	94	67	161
		Expected Count	94.0	67.0	161.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2- sided)	Exact Sig. (1- sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	7.754 ^a	1	.005		
Continuity Correction ^b	6.889	1	.009		
Likelihood Ratio	7.823	1	.005		
Fisher's Exact Test				.007	.004
N of Valid Cases	161				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 33.29.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Symmetric Measures

Value	Approximate Significance
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Nominal by Nominal Phi	.219	.005
Cramer's V	.219	.005
N of Valid Cases	161	

Country * No educatio/technology

Crosstab

			No educatio/technology		Total
			0	1	
Country	KENYA	Count	51	30	81
		Expected Count	44.3	36.7	81.0
	USA	Count	37	43	80
		Expected Count	43.7	36.3	80.0
Total		Count	88	73	161
		Expected Count	88.0	73.0	161.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2- sided)	Exact Sig. (1- sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	4.536 ^a	1	.033		
Continuity Correction ^b	3.887	1	.049		
Likelihood Ratio	4.558	1	.033		
Fisher's Exact Test				.040	.024
N of Valid Cases	161				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 36.27.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Symmetric Measures

	Value	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal Phi	.168	.033
Cramer's V	.168	.033
N of Valid Cases	161	

Country * Unemployment

Crosstab

			Unemployment		Total
			0	1	
Country	KENYA	Count	35	46	81
		Expected Count	32.2	48.8	81.0
	USA	Count	29	51	80
		Expected Count	31.8	48.2	80.0
Total		Count	64	97	161
		Expected Count	64.0	97.0	161.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.814 ^a	1	.367		
Continuity Correction ^b	.549	1	.459		
Likelihood Ratio	.815	1	.367		
Fisher's Exact Test				.422	.229
N of Valid Cases	161				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 31.80.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Symmetric Measures

Value	Approximate Significance
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Nominal by Nominal Phi	.071	.367
Cramer's V	.071	.367
N of Valid Cases	161	

Country * Poor legislation

Crosstab

			Poor legislation		Total
			0	1	
Country	KENYA	Count	56	25	81
		Expected Count	59.9	21.1	81.0
	USA	Count	63	17	80
		Expected Count	59.1	20.9	80.0
Total		Count	119	42	161
		Expected Count	119.0	42.0	161.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2- sided)	Exact Sig. (1- sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.929 ^a	1	.165		
Continuity Correction ^b	1.463	1	.226		
Likelihood Ratio	1.939	1	.164		
Fisher's Exact Test				.209	.113
N of Valid Cases	161				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 20.87.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Symmetric Measures

	Value	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal Phi	-.109	.165
Cramer's V	.109	.165
N of Valid Cases	161	

Country * Health benefits

Crosstab

			Health benefits		Total
			0	1	
Country	KENYA	Count	72	9	81
		Expected Count	68.4	12.6	81.0
	USA	Count	64	16	80
		Expected Count	67.6	12.4	80.0
Total		Count	136	25	161
		Expected Count	136.0	25.0	161.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2- sided)	Exact Sig. (1- sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.424 ^a	1	.119		
Continuity Correction ^b	1.794	1	.180		
Likelihood Ratio	2.451	1	.117		
Fisher's Exact Test				.133	.090
N of Valid Cases	161				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 12.42.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Symmetric Measures

	Value	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal Phi	.123	.119
Cramer's V	.123	.119
N of Valid Cases	161	

Country * Moral risk

Crosstab

			Moral risk		Total
			0	1	
Country	KENYA	Count	33	48	81
		Expected Count	23.6	57.4	81.0
	USA	Count	14	66	80
		Expected Count	23.4	56.6	80.0
Total		Count	47	114	161
		Expected Count	47.0	114.0	161.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2- sided)	Exact Sig. (1- sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	10.517 ^a	1	.001		
Continuity Correction ^b	9.423	1	.002		
Likelihood Ratio	10.753	1	.001		
Fisher's Exact Test				.002	<.001
N of Valid Cases	161				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 23.35.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Symmetric Measures

	Value	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal Phi	.256	.001
Cramer's V	.256	.001
N of Valid Cases	161	

Country * Health risk

Crosstab

			Health risk		Total
			0	1	
Country	KENYA	Count	44	37	81
		Expected Count	35.2	45.8	81.0
	USA	Count	26	54	80
		Expected Count	34.8	45.2	80.0
Total		Count	70	91	161
		Expected Count	70.0	91.0	161.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2- sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	7.798 ^a	1	.005		
Continuity Correction ^b	6.936	1	.008		
Likelihood Ratio	7.869	1	.005		
Fisher's Exact Test				.007	.004
N of Valid Cases	161				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 34.78.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Symmetric Measures

	Value	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal Phi	.220	.005
Cramer's V	.220	.005
N of Valid Cases	161	

Country * Economic risk

Crosstab

			Economic risk		Total
			0	1	
Country	KENYA	Count	67	14	81
		Expected Count	62.9	18.1	81.0
	USA	Count	58	22	80
		Expected Count	62.1	17.9	80.0
Total		Count	125	36	161
		Expected Count	125.0	36.0	161.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	2.420 ^a	1	.120		
Continuity Correction ^b	1.867	1	.172		
Likelihood Ratio	2.435	1	.119		
Fisher's Exact Test				.134	.086
N of Valid Cases	161				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 17.89.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Symmetric Measures

	Value	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal Phi	.123	.120
Cramer's V	.123	.120
N of Valid Cases	161	

Country * policy&Support

Crosstab

			policy&Support		Total
			0	1	
Country	KENYA	Count	43	38	81
		Expected Count	45.3	35.7	81.0
	USA	Count	47	33	80
		Expected Count	44.7	35.3	80.0
Total		Count	90	71	161
		Expected Count	90.0	71.0	161.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2- sided)	Exact Sig. (1- sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	.524 ^a	1	.469		
Continuity Correction ^b	.319	1	.572		
Likelihood Ratio	.524	1	.469		
Fisher's Exact Test				.527	.286
N of Valid Cases	161				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 35.28.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Symmetric Measures

	Value	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal Phi	-.057	.469
Cramer's V	.057	.469
N of Valid Cases	161	

Country * Call for action

Crosstab

			Call for action		Total
			0	1	
Country	KENYA	Count	26	55	81
		Expected Count	30.2	50.8	81.0
	USA	Count	34	46	80
		Expected Count	29.8	50.2	80.0
Total		Count	60	101	161
		Expected Count	60.0	101.0	161.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	1.863 ^a	1	.172		
Continuity Correction ^b	1.444	1	.229		
Likelihood Ratio	1.867	1	.172		
Fisher's Exact Test				.194	.115
N of Valid Cases	161				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 29.81.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Symmetric Measures

	Value	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal Phi	-.108	.172
Cramer's V	.108	.172
N of Valid Cases	161	

Country * No treatment

Crosstab

			No treatment		Total
			0	1	
Country	KENYA	Count	76	5	81
		Expected Count	68.4	12.6	81.0
	USA	Count	60	20	80
		Expected Count	67.6	12.4	80.0
Total		Count	136	25	161
		Expected Count	136.0	25.0	161.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	10.877 ^a	1	<.001		
Continuity Correction ^b	9.489	1	.002		
Likelihood Ratio	11.518	1	<.001		
Fisher's Exact Test				.001	<.001
N of Valid Cases	161				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 12.42.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Symmetric Measures

	Value	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal Phi	.260	<.001
Cramer's V	.260	<.001
N of Valid Cases	161	

Country * No treatment

Crosstab

Count

		No treatment		
		0	1	Total
Country	KENYA	76	5	81
	USA	60	20	80
Total		136	25	161

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	10.877 ^a	1	<.001		
Continuity Correction ^b	9.489	1	.002		
Likelihood Ratio	11.518	1	<.001		
Fisher's Exact Test				.001	<.001
N of Valid Cases	161				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 12.42.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Symmetric Measures

	Value	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal Phi	.260	<.001
Cramer's V	.260	<.001
N of Valid Cases	161	

Country * Overall tone(opt=0,pes=1) Crosstabulation

			Overall tone(opt=0,pes=1)		Total
			0	1	
Country	KENYA	Count	76	5	81
		Expected Count	66.4	14.6	81.0
	USA	Count	56	24	80
		Expected Count	65.6	14.4	80.0
Total		Count	132	29	161
		Expected Count	132.0	29.0	161.0

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (2-sided)	Exact Sig. (1-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	15.473 ^a	1	<.001		
Continuity Correction ^b	13.902	1	<.001		
Likelihood Ratio	16.576	1	<.001		
Fisher's Exact Test				<.001	<.001
N of Valid Cases	161				

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 14.41.

b. Computed only for a 2x2 table

Symmetric Measures

Value	Approximate Significance
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Nominal by Nominal Phi	.310	<.001
Cramer's V	.310	<.001
N of Valid Cases	161	

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2- sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	84.729 ^a	15	<.001
Likelihood Ratio	108.232	15	<.001
N of Valid Cases	161		

a. 18 cells (56.3%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .50.

	Value	Approximate Significance
Phi	.725	<.001
Cramer's V	.725	<.001
	161	

Abstract (English)

Mass media sources greatly influence many sectors of society and contribute to public perceptions of social problems and public policy. Stigmatization of drug addicts and illicit use has been evident over a long period using particular frames, contributing to the social construction of drug use as deviant behaviour. This dissertation examines the ways in which U.S. and Kenyan media sources are currently framing news stories of drug abuse and whether there is an actual move from its stigmatizing nature of framing these stories in the past to a newer proposed way of seeking treatment to the drug issue in an era of media diversity. It analyses a sample of 150 online news media articles between 2013 and 2023. A content

analysis of frame elements was employed to identify the most dominant features of each online news article and hierarchical cluster analysis was then performed to identify the predominant frames in media coverage over time. The identified frames are Moral risk, call for action, NGO's and media, and unemployment. News coverage put an emphasis on legislation and the fight against it as the main topic across all news articles, citing moral risks related to violent behaviours and unemployment as the main cause of the drug issue. Investigations and arrests, shutdown of bars and production sites, universal preventions, rehabilitation, counselling, seizures were some of the proposed ways of curbing the drug issue, in cases where they had not been implemented. There is a slightly considerable if not significant shift in the writing of solution seeking news articles towards the drug issue, though there may still be a notable prevalence of stigmatizing themes being used by journalists when dealing with the drug issue.

Keywords: Framing, drug abuse, media, stigmatization, treatment.

Abstrakt (Deutsch)

Massenmedien haben großen Einfluss auf viele Bereiche der Gesellschaft und tragen zur öffentlichen Wahrnehmung sozialer Probleme und der öffentlichen Ordnung bei. Die Stigmatisierung von Drogenabhängigen und illegalem Konsum ist seit langem in bestimmten Rahmen erkennbar und trägt zur gesellschaftlichen Konstruktion des Drogenkonsums als abweichendes Verhalten bei. Dieser Artikel untersucht die Art und Weise, wie US-amerikanische und kenianische Medienquellen derzeit Nachrichten über Drogenmissbrauch darstellen, und ob es tatsächlich eine Abkehr von der stigmatisierenden Darstellung dieser Geschichten in der Vergangenheit hin zu einem neueren vorgeschlagenen Weg zur

Behandlung des Drogenproblems gibt im Zeitalter der Medienvielfalt. Es analysiert eine Stichprobe von 150 Online-Nachrichtenmedienartikeln zwischen 2013 und 2023. Eine Inhaltsanalyse der Frame-Elemente wurde eingesetzt, um die dominantesten Merkmale jedes Online-Nachrichtenartikels zu identifizieren, und anschließend wurde eine hierarchische Clusteranalyse durchgeführt, um die vorherrschenden Frames in der Medienberichterstattung im Zeitverlauf zu identifizieren. Die identifizierten Rahmen sind moralisches Risiko, Handlungsaufforderung, NGOs und Medien sowie Arbeitslosigkeit. Die Berichterstattung legte den Schwerpunkt auf die Gesetzgebung und den Kampf dagegen als Hauptthema in allen Nachrichtenartikeln und nannte moralische Risiken im Zusammenhang mit gewalttätigem Verhalten und Arbeitslosigkeit als Hauptursache der Drogenproblematik. Untersuchungen und Verhaftungen, die Schließung von Bars und Produktionsstätten, allgemeine Prävention, Rehabilitation, Beratung und Beschlagnahmen waren einige der vorgeschlagenen Möglichkeiten zur Eindämmung des Drogenproblems, in Fällen, in denen sie nicht umgesetzt wurden. Beim Verfassen von lösungssuchenden Nachrichtenartikeln gibt es eine leicht beträchtliche, wenn nicht signifikante Bewegung hin zur Drogenproblematik, auch wenn Journalisten bei der Behandlung der Drogenproblematik immer noch häufig stigmatisierende Themen verwenden.

Schlüsselwörter: Framing, Drogenmissbrauch, Medien, Stigmatisierung, Behandlung.

