OTHERIZATION FRAMES: A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF AMERICAN MEDIA'S COVERAGE OF PEOPLE LIVING WITH HIV/AIDS IN AFRICA FROM 1987-2007

by

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(Under the Direction of Ivanka Pjesivac)

ABSTRACT

This study examined whether and in which way three American media outlets used "otherization" framing in their news coverage of those living with HIV/AIDS in Africa over a 20-year period of high interest in the disease (1987-2007). Six different types of otherization frames were identified from the previous literature ("African Other," "Criminal Other," "Homosexual Other," "Deviant Other," "Diseased Other," "Feared Other") and analyzed for their presence in the study, while a seventh frame ("Shamed Other") was added partway through the study. Frame prominence, article tone, and calls for action were variables that were also measured across and between the three media outlets of *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and the *Associated Press*. Otherization framing did occur in 90% of all news articles in the study (N=421), with the "African Other" being the most frequent and prominent frame. Additionally, a large percentage of all articles (39.9%) were negatively toned.

INDEX WORDS: Africa, AIDS, American media, Content analysis, Health news, HIV, International journalism, News framing, Othering, Otherization

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DEDICATION

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

As of the end of 2016, 36.7 million people were living with human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) across the globe. Almost as many (35 million) have died of the disease, and more than 70 million have been infected since the beginning of the epidemic in 1981. Sub-Saharan Africa continues to be the region of the world which carries the largest burden of the epidemic, accounting for almost two-thirds of the people living with HIV in the world (WHO, 2017).

The HIV virus is hypothesized to have originated in the Democratic Republic of Congo in the early 1920s when it transmitted from monkeys to humans (Faria et al., 2014; F. Gao et al., 1999). According to the U.S. government agencies, it was not until 1981 that doctors in the United States began reporting their patients were dying from different conditions that were the result of a severely weakened immune system. Three years later, teams of scientists in France and the United States announced they had identified the virus that caused acquired immunodeficiency disease (AIDS). The next 20 years saw remarkable advances in treatment and prevention of HIV/AIDS. In 1985, the U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) created the first HIV blood test while the U.S. Congress set apart $70 million towards AIDS research. The first antiretroviral treatment drug, zidovudine (AZT) was released in 1987. In 1990, the U.S. Congress enacted the Ryan White Comprehensive AIDS Resource Emergency (CARE) Act that allocated federal funds towards HIV care and treatment programs, which is still in place today. The basketball player, Magic Johnson, announced he had HIV in 1991, and that same year a federal program was enacted that helped to provide housing for people living with AIDS. In

1994, the FDA approved the first oral HIV test that did not require a blood sample. An even more effective AIDS medication, protease inhibitors, were released in 1995, and became widely available the next year. This led to the first ever decline in the number of AIDS cases in the United States since the beginning of the epidemic. In 1996, the first at-home HIV testing kit was approved, while the U.S. Congress reauthorized the Ryan White CARE Act. A scientific review panel from the U.S. National Institutes of Health confirmed in 2001 that the use of male latex condoms could significantly reduce the risk of transmission of HIV/AIDS (Services, 2001). By 2002, the Joint United Nations Programme on AIDS (UNAIDS) announced that HIV/AIDS was the fourth leading cause of death globally, and the number one leading cause of death in sub-Saharan Africa. That same year, 2.4 million Africans died from AIDS and 3.5 million new HIV infections occurred in Africa. In 2003, U.S. President George W. Bush created the United States President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) that provided $15 billion in funding for AIDS programs in countries that had high numbers of AIDS cases. By 2005, PEPFAR had been granted approval to send a generic antiretroviral medication to countries being helped by the program. The same year, the World Health Organization, UNAIDS, and other organizations banded together to send antiretroviral medications to developing countries, and by the end of 2004, 700,000 people had been given the medication. In 2006, a University of Illinois at Chicago study found that circumcision in men is one factor that can significantly reduce the risk of HIV transmission, while in the same year the CDC recommended medical doctors begin initiating HIV testing in healthcare settings (HIV.gov, 2017; WHO, 2017).

Because HIV and AIDS primarily affected gay men at the beginning of the epidemic, the disease became stigmatized as a "gay disease," "gay cancer," and "gay plague." Even the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention used the term, "gay-related immune deficiency"

before changing the name to AIDS in 1982, once other heterosexual groups of people started to contract the disease (HRSA, 2017). In March 1983, the CDC issued a list of four groups they stated were high-risk for contracting HIV, which resulted in the name the "4-H club," referring to: homosexuals, Haitians, hemophiliacs, and heroin users. (CDC, 1983; Fouron, 2013). The Western media initially embraced the idea that HIV/AIDS virus transmission was associated with minority groups. The disease was seen as problem of the "other," because it was affecting people outside of the mainstream, especially homosexuals. Multiple studies and analyses have found that Western news coverage from the 1980s and 1990s demonized these "other" groups of gay men, drug users, and marginalized people, and held them responsible for spreading the disease (Crimp, 1992; Gilman, 1988; J. Kitzinger, 1993; J. Kitzinger, 1995; Sontag, 1989; Treichler, 1999; Watney, 1989, 1996). However, once effective drugs for AIDS treatment became widely available in the West, the news media began to see AIDS as a manageable chronic disease (Rofes, 1998; Siegel & Lekas, 2002). This was reflected in their shift in reporting to treat HIV as a routine health story. Reporting also changed its focus from the domestic epidemic in Western countries, to global epidemic, specifically in Africa (Bardhan, 2001; Brodie, Hamel, Brady, Kates, & Altman, 2004), where the number of people living with HIV/AIDS began to increase in the 1990s and 2000s (Cullen, 2003; Swain, 2005).

The Western media's shift of focus to the continent of Africa may have continued a history of stereotyping, stigmatization, and otherization of African nations. Western media has long been accused of not representing Africa fairly in its news coverage. Oftentimes, Western news coverage has been limited to crisis situations like war, famine, or disease (Olatunji, 2011), where stories themselves reflected a surface-level understanding and simplification of complex situations (Ngugi, 2013). Coverage of African success and accomplishments has rarely been

represented, and the continent has generally received less media attention in international coverage than Western countries (Ebo, 1992). Lack of news coverage as well as biased reporting could lead news media audiences to not understand the culture and complexity of the African continent, which could provoke the perceptions of Africa and Africans being thought about as different, a process that can be formally known as "otherization" (Ibelema, 2014).

The concept of otherization assumes that one group of individuals positions itself apart from another group. Those who are in the group that is apart are known as the "other." Often the "other" has a characteristic that makes them different from the majority group – such as having a disease that does not affect most, like HIV or AIDS, or using a drug most people do not, like heroin (Afshar, 2013; Besteman, 1996; Joye, 2010; Monson, 2017; Petros, Airhihenbuwa, Simbayi, Ramlagan, & Brown, 2006; Saeed, 2007). Psychologist Gordon W. Allport's landmark book, *The Nature of Prejudice,* defined the study of group interactions and prejudice. He proposed that it is part of the way that we process information in a complex world that we naturally place people into certain categories, based on their traits, which could lead to stereotyping (Allport, 1954). The process could also be viewed through the dynamic between in-groups and out-groups in a given society. Members of an in-group who, "use the term *we* with the same essential significance," (p. 37) determine themselves by specific characteristics such as, gender, race, religion, family relatives, family heritage, schools attended, education levels, profession, region of the country lived in, the country lived in, political party affiliation, and club membership. In-groups have certain beliefs and standards that define their group, and sometimes these beliefs may be prejudiced (Allport, 1954). Though everyone could be subject to categorizations, those who are prejudiced are more likely to have rigid categories that do not allow for exceptions or variation (Schneider, 2004).

Recent societal iterations of otherization have been associated with the populist movements across both the United States and Europe. Islamophobia in the wake of the 9/11 terrorist attack, the 2015 migrant crisis across the European continent, and the divisiveness between political parties in the United States during the 2016 presidential election, have allowed a discourse of othering to enter many populist group's messages (Lazaridis & Campani, 2016). In fact, an analysis of the European right-wing populist movements by the Slovenian organization, The Peace Institute, found that othering is at the core of contemporary populism (Institute, 2014). Ostiguy and Casullo (2017) have posited that both right-wing and left-wing populists are defined precisely by which social "other" they direct their antagonism toward. They suggest that the left blames their social problems on the socioeconomic or financially well-off elites, while the right blames theirs on cultural and ethnic outsiders (Ostiguy & Casullo, 2017). In the United States, during and in the wake of President Donald Trump's election, othering was a central theme for both Trump's campaign and his supporters. Linguist Lynne Murphy (2016) said that Trump's campaign rhetoric purposely othered minority groups by distinguishing them as different from the rest of the American people, while reporter Lily Nellans argued that Trump's otherization of every group except white men helped him to win the presidency (Desmond-Harris, 2016; Nellans, 2016). According to Rosenthal (2016), supporters of Donald Trump saw themselves as the "real Americans" whose economic and social values were being marginalized by liberal Democrats, namely former President Barack Obama. This caused Trump's supporters to feel as if they were being otherized, that their power and entitlement were gone, and that they had to "take their country back" (Rosenthal, 2016). Trump's opponent, Hillary Clinton, although outside of the populist context, also employed otherization when she gave a speech at a fundraising event shortly before the presidential election and said that half of

Trump's supporters belong in a "basket of deplorables" because they were "racist, sexist, homophobic, xenophobic, Islamophobic" (Reilly, 2016). In this same vein, during the 2016 presidential campaign, as well as in the United States' political environment, both Republicans and Democrats have portrayed the opposing party or member of the opposing party as "not one of us," also known as the "other" (Considered, 2016; Johnson, 2013).

This aligns with what French biologist Felix Dantec proposed, which was that no social unit in the world could exist without having a "common enemy," and banding together against the enemy can cause the in-group to be stronger (Allport, 1954). In-groups are defined by their common shared characteristics, which often do not overlap with different characteristics of the out-groups. (Allport, 1954). Allport (1954) posited that while one may confer preferential treatment to one's own in-group, this does not necessarily mean one feels negativity or hatred towards the out-group. However, in Sumner's (1906) analysis of ethnocentrism, or preference towards one's own ethnicity, he argued that this was not true. Instead, he stated that while one feels positive sentiments (pride, loyalty, perceived superiority) towards one's own in-group, those feelings are directly correlated with negative sentiments (contempt, hatred, hostility) towards the out-group (Brewer, 1999; Sumner, 1906). It follows then that prejudice can be defined as a "negative attitude towards specific outgroup" (Brewer, 1999, p. 430).

The news media can play an important role in portraying in-groups and out-groups, along with prejudiced stereotypes. One technique often used by the media to portray groups is through news framing, which is the way journalists choose to emphasize and highlight certain aspects in a story to make the information easily interpretable, and set it into an understandable "frame of reference" (Gitlin, 1980; Tuchman, 1978). In mass communication research, the main tenet of framing theory is that the way a message is built and emphasized will affect how the receiver of

the message understands its content (Entman, 1993; Gitlin, 1980; Goffman & Berger, 1986; Graber, 1988; Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clarke, & Roberts, 1978; Shah & Domke, 1996; Tuchman, 1978). In the past, framing theory was mostly applied to political news coverage and was said to be, "the result of the complex interplay among political elites, individual journalists, news organizations, professional norms and practices and the broader culture or ideology" (Shoemaker & Reese, 1996). Framing theory has now been expanded to include all types of news coverage, and proposes that journalists are directly responsible for shaping how the audience thinks about an issue (Pan & Kosicki, 1993). Multiple research studies have illustrated that the way the news media frame stories can shape cognition, public attitudes, and behavioral outcomes (Cappella & Jamieson, 1997; Shah, McLeod, Gotlieb, & Lee, 2009). Frames are built by journalists who pick certain components to put into a story (McCombs & Evatt, 1995). Based on which components they choose, as well as the language used, the news media can build, for example, positive or negative frames (de Vreese, Boomgaarden, & Semetko, 2011). Other frames that have been tested and used by media researchers, include gain versus loss frames (Kahneman & Tversky, 2013), ethical versus material frames (Domke, Shah, & Wackman, 1998; Shah & Domke, 1996), strategy versus issue frames (Cappella & Jamieson, 1997; Rhee, 1997), and episodic versus thematic frames (Iyengar, 1991).

The research has shown that news coverage of Africa is particularly prone to framing the continent's issues in a way that leads to stereotyping and otherization, and resulting in the perpetuation of simplified and colonial ideas of the continent (Ebo, 1992; Fair, 1992; Ibelema, 2014; Machungo, 2014; Monson, 2017; Ngugi, 2013; Olatunji, 2011). For example, some of the dominant themes in Western news media coverage of the continent have been found to be framed around political or war crises, natural disasters, famine, disease, and tribal

oversimplification (Ebo, 1992; Fair, 1992; Ibelema, 2014; Machungo, 2014; Monson, 2017; Ngugi, 2013; Olatunji, 2011).

Although some research studies have found that HIV/AIDS news coverage in the 1990s and 2000s shifted to focus on the global epidemic, particularly in Africa, few existing studies have analyzed in depth the framing of HIV/AIDS in Africa in American and Western news media (Brodie et al., 2004; Machungo, 2014). Some studies have looked at the frequency of news coverage about the continent of Africa, as well as frequency in relation to other developed regions or countries (Domatob, 1994; Fair, 1992, 1994; Ibelema, 2014; Machungo, 2014). Other studies have analyzed frequency, frames, and themes in media coverage of HIV/AIDS in the United States over time (Albert, 1984; Brodie et al., 2004; Hunter, Rabinowitz, & Robinson, 2007). However, no studies so far have examined news coverage of HIV/AIDS in Africa by the American media through the frames of otherization. The purpose of this study is to systematically analyze the framing of HIV/AIDS in American news coverage in a 20-year news period, and examine the amount and change of otherization frames over the years. This will be done through a content analysis of 20 years of HIV/AIDS media coverage in three high-circulation American newspapers, representative of the U.S. news environment (Stryker, 2008). Specific types of "otherization" frames used, as well as the frequency and prominence of frames over time, will be quantified and analyzed.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

HIV/AIDS in Africa

AIDS is hypothesized to have originated from a virus native to chimpanzees transferring over to humans. Scientists theorized that the virus, known as the simian immunodeficiency virus, had its first case of transmission from primate to human in 1920 in what is now known as Kinshasha in the Democratic Republic of Congo (Faria et al., 2014; F. Gao et al., 1999). Because of multiple transportation routes such as roads, railways, and rivers in the Kinshasha area, along with an active sex trade, HIV started to spread (Gallagher, 2014).

Epidemiological information, points out that HIV began to be increasingly transmitted across sub-Saharan Africa in the late 1970s (UNAIDS & WHO, 2003). Around that time, doctors in the Democratic Republic of Congo and Burundi began to see more patients with cryptococcal meningitis, a specific kind of pneumonia, diarrhea, and severe wasting (Molez, 1998). That severe wasting, which most referred to as the "slim disease" began affecting increasing numbers of patients in Uganda in 1982, and was later found to be AIDS (Serwadda et al., 1985). The first antiretroviral drug to treat AIDS was released in the United States in 1987, but it was mostly unavailable to people living with AIDS in Africa (PHS, 1987). Meanwhile, cases of HIV and AIDS continued to rise in the continent. As of 1990, there were an estimated 5.5 million HIV cases and 650,000 AIDS cases in Africa (Chin, 1990). In 1993, that number jumped to 9 million people living with HIV and 1.7 million AIDS cases (WHO, 1995). Highly effective combination antiretroviral treatment became widely available in the United States and the West in 1996

(Brown, 1996). However, cost prevented the medicine from becoming available in Africa until 2000. Five pharmaceutical companies agreed to reduce drug prices to make AIDS treatment available to Africa, and prices were reduced even more in 2003 (Kahn, 2000; Sharma, 2003). But access to treatment remained difficult for many Africans. Because of this, in 2004 the U.S. President George Bush launched a $15 billion program to provide antiretroviral treatment and HIV prevention programs to 12 African countries, which he called the President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief or PEPFAR. The program was funded again in 2008 for another 5 years with a funding cap of $48 billion (KFF, 2017).

HIV/AIDS and Western media

Gay rights activists and journalism scholars have argued that the leading Western media outlets had a delayed response to reporting on the early epidemic of HIV/AIDS, because initially the disease seemed to be limited only to groups outside of the mainstream, particularly homosexuals (Crimp, 1992; France, 2016; Hertog & et al., 1994; Kinsella, 1989). Rogers et al. (1991) stated that Hollywood star Rock Hudson's announcement he was living with AIDS broke the AIDS story into the mainstream news cycle and tripled the number of news stories focused on AIDS. Several content analyses also showed this same surge in U.S. news coverage of HIV/AIDS during the late 1980s (KFF, 1996; Nelkin, 1991; Netter, 1992; Rogers et al., 1991), as did a study of England's media coverage of the epidemic (Williams & Miller, 1995). A quantitative content analysis of HIV/AIDS press coverage in Western media from 1980s to the 1990s found that there were three main stages of reporting: delayed response in news coverage and targeting of homosexuals and drug addicts; increased coverage because of the risk of heterosexual infection; and normalization of the disease as just another health story (Cullen, 2003). Cullen (2003) found the general news reporting on HIV/AIDS from these three different

stages, “resulted in various degrees of stereotyping, sensationalism and complacency and proved to be an inadequate way to report HIV/AIDS” (p. 65).

A longitudinal study comprehensively analyzed American media’s coverage of HIV and AIDS from the beginning of the epidemic through the early 2000s. The Kaiser Family Foundation (KFF) conducted a 22-year study of HIV/AIDS print and broadcast coverage from 1981-2002 in eight American newspapers and three American news networks: *The New York Times, Wall Street Journal, Washington Post, USA Today, San Francisco Chronicle, Miami Herald, Los Angeles Times,* ABC World News Tonight, CBS Evening News, and NBC Nightly News. One British newspaper, *The Times*, based in London, was also analyzed to compare against U.S. news media. Over 9,000 print stories and 800 broadcast stories focused on HIV/AIDS were analyzed for trends related to coverage frequency, regional focus, and story topics. The report found that total media coverage of HIV/AIDS increased in the early 1980s, hit a peak in 1987, and then declined through into 2001. The KFF reported that the decline in media coverage of HIV/AIDS seemed to correlate with a decline in AIDS cases. But in reality, six years before AIDS cases started declining in the United States, coverage also began to decline. Significant events in the HIV/AIDS landscape did cause peaks in media coverage of HIV/AIDS stories, including Magic Johnson announcing he was HIV positive in 1991 and the development of highly active antiretroviral therapy in 1996. Additionally, from 1981 to 1999 the coverage of the HIV/AIDS epidemic was mostly focused on the United States. Beginning in 2000, stories shifted to include a global epidemic focus, specifically on African and Asian nations while domestic stories in the United States declined. The dominant story topics primarily focused on HIV funding and financing (15%), prevention and protection (13%), research (11%), and transmission (10%) (Brodie et al., 2004).

Another longitudinal study analyzed HIV/AIDS coverage in five African-American newspapers in the United States from 1991 to 1996 and found that the disease was mostly framed as a health issue. During this study period, HIV/AIDS became the leading cause of death among African-American men and women aged 25-44 in 1991 and 1994, respectively. The study found that the articles also contained skepticism towards the government and AIDS organization's response to treating the disease in minority groups. Inaccurate alternative theories were also given a stage in the papers, reflecting a general distrust that can be traced back to the 40-year Tuskegee syphilis study, a medical research project that mistreated and discriminated against African-Americans (Pickle, Quinn, & Brown, 2002).

Hunter, Rabinowitz, and Robinson (2007) argued that Magic Johnson's announcement in 1991 that he was living with HIV proved to be a seminal moment in the history of HIV/AIDS news coverage because it normalized the disease for heterosexual people. After this normalization of HIV/AIDS in the United States, the media's focus shifted to HIV/AIDS in Africa. The study found that the disease was presented as another crisis problem for Africa to face, similar to poverty, famine, and genocide (Hunter et al., 2007).

Otherization

The concept of "otherization," positions an individual or group of people separately from another group, and views them as different. Those who are seen as different, are the "other" (Monson, 2017). In this separation, there is a clear differentiation between the two groups: "us" and "them." Those inside of the group are the "us," and often, this is the dominant social group, while the "them" or the "other" is comprised of those who are outside of the mainstream. The "other" can be perceived as a threat to what is seen as "normal" (Afshar, 2013; Besteman, 1996; Joye, 2010; Monson, 2017; Petros et al., 2006; Saeed, 2007). Otherization has also been referred

to as “otherness,” “othering,” “otherized,” and “the other,” and may be discussed throughout the rest of this study by those terms (Ibelema, 2014; Mensing, 2016; Monson, 2017; Petros et al., 2006).

Linguist Ben Zimmer stated that the concept of the “other” first originated with the German philosopher George Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel’s analysis of self-consciousness (Considered, 2016; Hegel, 1807). Hegel (1807) believed that one becomes self-conscious through seeing oneself through another’s eyes. Thus, it is only through “the other” that one becomes aware of oneself. Mead (1934) proposed that people create their social identities through the way they interact with others and how they think about themselves after these interactions. Again, interaction with “the other” helps us to define ourselves (Mead, 1934). French author Simone de Beauvoir (1949) proposed that the idea of “the other” was essential to human thought. She stated that: “no group ever sets itself up as the One without at once setting up the Other over against itself” (Beauvoir, 1949, p. 26). Bauman (1991) posited that society cannot function without two opposing groups – the other and us. In his definition; “abnormality is the other of the norm… woman the other of man, stranger the other of the native, enemy the other of friend, “them” the other of “us” (Bauman, 1991, p. 14). Central to these definitions is the concept that there is a power dichotomy between those who are members of the dominant, or “us” group, and those who are members of the other, or “them” group (Bauman, 1991). According to Essed (1991), social groups are only able to maintain their power through banding together against those who are considered the “other.” This dichotomy continues to exist whether each group is aware of the power difference or not (Essed, 1991). The concept of otherization is similar to the psychology intergroup theory that states there are “in-groups” and “out-groups.” Allport (1954) stated that people associate themselves with certain in-groups based on multiple

shared characteristics including race, gender, nationality, education level, and profession among others. Out-groups are often defined as those who are not associated with the main in-groups. As an example, in a majority Caucasian society, African-Americans would be considered an out-group (Allport, 1954).

Researchers have applied the theory of "otherization" to a variety of minority groups, including those with sexualities, races, cultures, or religions that are different from the mainstream group (Zevallos, 2017). Through this otherization, studies have found that these minority groups are often stereotyped, stigmatized, or further marginalized. Lee's (2006) study found that Filipina prostitutes in Korea were otherized and represented in the media as "sex slaves" and "deceived and exploited victims." She argued that this view did not allow the women sexual agency and perpetuated traditional gender tropes – just because the prostitutes' sexual activity was different from the norm (Lee, 2006). According to Afshar (2013), post-9/11 Islamophobia in Western societies otherized Muslims and lumped them into the one single category, of "all Muslims are terrorists." The author argued that this did not acknowledge the full range of variations in the Muslim identity and represented only negative stereotypes about the religion (Afshar, 2013). Mensing (2016) found that during the recent European migrant crisis, German-speaking media otherized migrants by portraying them as foreign, uncontrollable, and needing to be contained by borders. To understand otherization of those living with HIV/AIDS in South Africa, Petros et al.'s (2006) study surveyed South Africans on the topic. It was found that otherization occurred by race, religion, gender, sexuality, and outsider status, and caused people to have negative perceptions of the "others." A study of Australian media coverage found that HIV-related media coverage was often focused on "deviant" behaviors like homosexuality, prostitution, and illicit drug use. Media coverage also particularly honed in on criminal cases of

HIV transmission, with a specific focus on African refugee men who transmitted the disease. This coverage helped promote otherization of African migrants in certain media outlets (McKay, Thomas, Holland, Blood, & Kneebone, 2011).

Othering certain groups of people can also lead to stigmatizing those groups of people. Stigmatization has had an evolving and variable definitions over the years, but for this study it is defined as "a mark (attribute) that links a person to undesirable characteristics (stereotypes)" (Goffman, 1963; Jones, 1984; Link & Phelan, 2001). Stigmatization is closely linked to the concept of otherization, along with stereotyping. Inherent in the process of attributing undesirable stereotypes or stigma, is a social labeling that demarcates a separation between "us" and "them," which is known as the process of otherization (Devine, Plant, & Harrison, 1999; Morone, 1997). This leads to the line of thought that those with negative labels (stigma) are distinctively different from those who do not have the stigma label. If this thought process continues to be utilized, it could make it less complicated for those who are not different, to continue to employ stereotyping down the line, as a form of easy-to-use labeling that can be quickly categorized and processed by the brain. In extreme situations of stigmatization, the person who is perceived to be different is considered so different as to be non-human. This situation can lead to extremely poor treatment of the stigmatized person (Link & Phelan, 2001). Stigmatization and otherization are intertwined and one seldom occurs without the other. Otherization, which is the distinction between groups or individuals based on a shared identity, allows the process of stigmatization to occur, by marking one of the two groups as different in a negative sense (Caldas-Coulthard, 2003; Link & Phelan, 2001; Powell & Menendian, 2017).

Otherization of Africa in the Press

Hall, Evans, & Nixon (2013) wrote that mass media can play a significant role in otherization of minority groups. According to these authors, Western media setup the West, especially those with colonial histories, including the United States, the United Kingdom, and Australia, as a direct opposite of "the other." The West is portrayed positively as "the civilized world," "the free democracies," and "the free world." In contrast, the "other" is often portrayed negatively, as "uncivilized," as having dictatorships or undemocratic governments, and as being "chaotic" (Hall et al., 2013). Scholars have also argued that it is an assumed position of the Western media that it gets to define and decide who will be seen as the other (Silverstone, 2007).

The continent of Africa is one location that has experienced a significant amount of otherization in Western media coverage (Appiah, 1992; Chege, 1994; Fair, 1992, 1994; Hawk, 1992; Jarosz, 1992; McClintock, 1995). Machungo (2014) posited that othering began first when Western countries enslaved Africans and began colonizing the continent. According to the author, "these two occurrences produced the uncivilized, crocodile/mosquito-infested, jungle lifestyle and dark images of the African continent" (Machungo, 2014, p. 22). Fair (1994) argued that otherization has been illustrated through the images and representations of Africans produced both by and for Americans. According to Ebo (1992), otherizing media coverage continues because American media have deliberately created and sustained bias by selecting news stories about Africa focused on crisis and disaster, whereas stories about African achievements or societal contributions have been left out. Olatunji (2011) posited that the dominant view of Africa in the Western media is negative, biased, simplified, and crisis-oriented. Similarly, Besteman (1996) argued that American media simplified the complex conflict in the 1990s in Somalia, a country in Africa. She stated that this resulted in the othering of Somalians by viewing them as violent tribal clans warring against each other, rather than taking into

account the multiple levels of status, class, race, and language that contributed to the conflict (Besteman, 1996).

Thomas (2014) suggested that othering media coverage can often be attributed to "parachute journalism" which refers to when reporters are dispatched to a country to cover a crisis, with only a limited knowledge of the region. Then, once the conflict subsides, or news interest in the conflict wanes, the reporter leaves the country. Parachute journalism can result in surface-level reporting that does not get at the true complexities and cultural issues at play in a conflict or crisis situation and continues the representation of "others." Thomas (2014) acknowledged in her doctoral dissertation that her work as a foreign correspondent reporting in Africa could be seen as a "narcissistic, colonialist demand" for knowledge from the other. She continued to say that Western journalists assume that they are doing a "favor" to the other by telling their story, but in fact, may be continuing the long tradition of otherization in the media (Thomas, 2014).

Only a few research studies have analyzed otherization of Africa in Western media. Ibelema's (2014) study of 12 years of American media coverage of Africa, found that in news stories "Africa and Africans largely remain a remote 'other'" (p. 198). Ngugi (2013) compared media coverage of violence in the West and violence in Africa and found that multiple dimensions of the situation were portrayed for Western tragedies. But in Africa, the victims of violence were portrayed just as victims and not as humans with real agency and lives that exist outside of the tragedy (Ngugi, 2013). This portrayal of otherization in Africa can also be narrowed down to focus on illness and disease. Monson's (2017) study analyzed the portrayal of the 2014 Ebola outbreak in Western media and its contribution to otherization. Monson (2017) stated that the media perpetuated general stereotyped themes of "Ebola is African," "Ebola is all

over Africa," and "Africa is a country," which led to, "the implication – that it is normal for thousands of Africans to die from Ebola in Africa, but it is not normal for Americans to do so – and fuels the processes of otherization" (p. 13).

Just as it has been otherized, Africa has also been consistently stereotyped by the West over the years (Mengara, 2001). Stereotyping is defined as an oversimplified, generalized and often negative belief about a certain group of people. Those who believe or perpetuate stereotypes usually have a different worldview or experience than those who they are stereotyping (Pickering, 2001; UFL, 2002). Stereotyping is also a form of social categorization that splits up and parses out people into groups – a process that can help to drive otherization (McLeod, 2015). In practice, stereotyping is when one person or a group of people lump another person or group of people together based on their assumed shared characteristics, such as "all members of biker gangs wear leather," or "all women are the cooks in their families" (McLeod, 2015; Shindorf, Goforth, & Yosai, 2017). This social categorization emphasizes the differences between social groups, by putting one social group into a certain box – thought of as the "other" – and putting our own social group into a certain box – thought of as the "us" – thus creating a separation mentality, which is the very foundation for the process of otherization (Pickering, 2001). Stereotyping can occur at the gender, racial, cultural, or ethnic group level (McLeod, 2015). Stereotyping and othering, though often perpetuating negative ideas, can sometimes appear in a positive context, such as "Asians are good at math" or "Italians are good cooks" (Devarajan, 2018).

According to Nederveen Pieterse (1992), common stereotypes held in Western popular culture about Africans and African-Americans have been that they are "closer to nature, more emotional, sexually uninhibited, more musical, childlike, (and are) superior athletes" (p. 11). A

study of U.S. students' and teachers' knowledge of Africa found that the majority associated the continent with the following stereotypes: that all African natives were wild and lived in huts, most lived via hunting and gathering, many were faced with the issues of famine and malnutrition, and there were always wild animals wandering around. Many also believed that diseases were highly prevalent in Africa, large percentages of residents on the continent were illiterate, and the lifestyle was described as "tribal" and "primitive" (Osunde & et al., 1996). Bonsu's (2009) study found that in the advertising media, images of Africa continued to dominated by colonial pictures which relied on stereotypes of "savagery, exotica, and rhetoric of benevolence," that promoted the ideas of "inferior African otherness." In 2014, students from the African Students Association of Ithaca College in New York started a social media campaign to dispel what they had encountered as common stereotypes held by Americans about Africa, including that, "Africans do not all look alike," "Africa is not a land filled with diseases," and "Africa is not a country" (Kermeliotis, 2014). In the mass media, negative stereotypes have been perpetuated by sensational stories, focus on catastrophes, simplified causes for conflicts, including "tribalism," and portraying non-Africans as either victims or saviors (Palmberg, 2001).

Framing Theory

The premise of framing theory is that it's the "process by which the emphasis or construction of a message affects the interpretation of the receiver" (Shah et al., 2009). This means that once the audience attention is focused on a certain topic, framing will place the reader "within a field of meaning" (Shah et al., 2009). Entman (1993) argued that frames define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments, and suggest remedies. More specifically, Entman (1993) identified frames in news media stories by "the presence or absence of keywords, stock phrases, stereotypical images, sources of information, and sentences that provide

thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments" (p. 52). Tankard (2001) also outlined mechanisms to identify frames which include headlines, subheads, photos and photo captions, leads, source selection, quote selection, and concluding statements. Two types of framing have been broadly outlined in the current framing literature: emphasis and equivalence (Cacciatore, Scheufele, & Iyengar, 2016; Scheufele & Iyengar, 2017). Emphasis framing is defined as when a reporter emphasizes certain pieces of information over other pieces of information. According to Entman (1993) and Gitlin (1980), emphasis frames are built by journalists selecting and emphasizing certain salient information which makes it more accessible and visible to the audience. For the journalist to create meaning from, "unrecognizable happenings or amorphous talk into a discernible event" (Tuchman, 1978, p. 192), salient textual and visual information is included, and other elements are excluded (Gitlin, 1980; Graber, 1988; Hall et al., 1978; Shah & Domke, 1996; Shah et al., 2009; Tuchman, 1978). Within this category of emphasis framing, Iyengar and Simon (1994) developed two broad frames used in news stories: episodic and thematic. Episodic frames will only give the basic and essential information about an event – basically a straight or breaking news story. In contrast, thematic frames give context to a story to allow the audience to understand the bigger picture (Iyengar & Simon, 1994). Aside from emphasis framing, another frame type often used in framing studies is equivalence framing. Equivalence framing is defined as presenting the same information in two different ways, so that the information is still both equivalent to each other, just altered in presentation (Kahneman & Tversky, 1979, 1984). Two often-studied types of equivalence framing are stories that frame the same information as either a gain or a loss (Tversky & Kahneman, 1981). The present study is focused on the analysis of emphasis framing.

The news media can affect perception of people with various diseases, based on framing of the disease or the individuals living with the disease (Rosenberg & Golden, 1992). As one of the primary sources of information for the public, news media can enhance the public's knowledge, influence public opinion and behavioral response, and even shape policy changes (Brodie et al., 2004; Iyengar, 1991; KFF, 2011; Shilts, 1987). Many studies have analyzed the public perceptions of diseases through the lens of emphasis framing. Gilman (1988) claimed that central throughout the historical representation of illness was stereotyping, which in part was an attempt to emphasize the distance between oneself and the "Other." In the case of the 2009 H1N1 swine flu outbreak, in the United States news coverage, Mexicans and Latinos were framed as responsible for bringing the virus to America after an alleged outbreak at a Mexican pig farm, resulting in further stereotyping and stigmatization of the minority group (McCauley, Minsky, & Viswanath, 2013). In a comprehensive study of the United Kingdom's press coverage of sexually transmitted infections and blood-borne viruses, it was discovered that negative frames were consistently used for HIV/AIDS, hepatitis B and C, and other sexually transmitted infections, along with unfair focuses on risky behavior in certain groups (Martin, Hilton, & McDaid, 2013). In a comparison study of HIV/AIDS versus heart disease news stories in the Israeli media, Soffer and Ajzenstadt (2010) found that HIV/AIDS was framed as a "foreign illness" affecting "deviant others," while heart disease was a "local illness" of "ordinary individuals." These negative and stigmatizing frames of HIV/AIDS at times have also been prominent in the Western press.

Early news coverage of HIV/AIDS in the 1980s was characterized by the lack of knowledge about the virus, which resulted in frames of confusion and uncertainty (Rogers et al., 1991). Since so much was unknown about HIV/AIDS, news stories did attribute blame to the

few groups who were known to have the disease: homosexuals, Haitians, and injection drug users (Grmek, 1990). Gilman (1988) argued that present throughout this initial HIV/AIDS media coverage was a framing emphasis on the "healthy-us" versus the "diseased-other." However, this dichotomy eventually changed after announcements by major celebrities, Hollywood star Rock Hudson (Bardhan, 2001), and basketball player Magic Johnson (Hunter et al., 2007), that they were living with HIV/AIDS. Because Johnson was a heterosexual married man, Hunter et al. (2007) argued that acknowledgment of his diagnosis helped to normalize HIV/AIDS, which was then reflected in news media coverage. McAllister (1992) claimed that once the public realized HIV/AIDS was also a threat to heterosexual people, the disease started to be portrayed through normalized and medicalized frames in the American media. Once this shift occurred, Western news media coverage and framing was dominated by the search for a scientific cure (KFF, 1996; Watts, 1992). Eventually, in the late 1990s and early 2000s "AIDS fatigue" in domestic reporting set in, and coverage shifted and became framed around the devastating global epidemic outside of the Western world (Brodie et al., 2004).

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND HYPOTHESES

Otherization Frames in News Articles

HIV/AIDS has traditionally been a disease associated with groups of people who were outside of the mainstream, including gay men, injection drug users, and other minority groups (CDC, 1983; Fouron, 2013; HRSA, 2017). The literature review illustrates that the Western media's early news coverage of HIV/AIDS both otherized and stigmatized those living with HIV/AIDS, and placed responsibility on them for spreading the disease (Crimp, 1992; Gilman, 1988; Grmek, 1990; Persson & Newman, 2008). Though news coverage of the disease in the American media eventually shifted to become just another routine medical story (Bardhan, 2001; Hunter et al., 2007; McAllister, 1992), the question remains as to how the Western press may have otherized Africa, especially considering that media outlets from Western countries have a history of stereotyping the African continent (Appiah, 1992; Ebo, 1992; Fair, 1994; Hawk, 1992). Africa is also the continent where AIDS is hypothesized to have first emerged, and the current location in the world that has the most people living with the disease. In the current body of literature, no studies have analyzed otherization frames in Western news media's coverage of HIV/AIDS related to Africa during the time when the disease first emerged and quickly spread around the world (1987-2007). Previous studies also have not compared otherization frame frequency or prominence between media outlets. Thus, this study seeks to answer the following research questions:

RQ1: What otherization frames appeared most frequently across the three American media outlets (*The New York Times, The Washington Post, Associated Press*) in articles regarding people living with HIV/AIDS in Africa from 1987 to 2007?

RQ2: Was there a significant difference in the use of otherization frames across the three American media outlets (*The New York Times, The Washington Post, Associated Press*) in articles regarding people living with HIV/AIDS in Africa from 1987 to 2007?

RQ3: What was the frequency of otherization frames in each of the three American media outlets (*The New York Times, The Washington Post, Associated Press*) in articles regarding people living with HIV/AIDS in Africa from 1987 to 2007?

RQ4: Was there a significant difference in the frequency of each otherization frame among the three American media outlets (*The New York Times, The Washington Post, Associated Press*) in articles regarding people living with HIV/AIDS in Africa from 1987 to 2007?

RQ5: Was there a significant difference in the total frame frequency among the three American media outlets (*The New York Times, The Washington Post, Associated Press*) in articles regarding people living with HIV/AIDS in Africa from 1987 to 2007?

Otherization Frames in Headlines and First Paragraphs

According to Høyer and Pöttker (2005), the first model of journalism in the Western press was a "facts-oriented" and "evidence based" reporting style that had the "pursuit of objectivity at its center" (Esser & Umbricht, 2014). Reporters can attempt to achieve as neutral of a stance as possible by presenting hard facts first, allowing sources to tell the story, using experts to provide supportive evidence, and presenting an account of both pros and cons in a situation (Tuchman, 1978). However, reporters can also add subjectivity to their reporting,

through salient pieces or frames that the author emphasizes, repeats, or features prominently in the story. This has been known as emphasis framing (Entman, 1993; Gitlin, 1980; Scheufele & Iyengar, 2017). Entman (2004) stresses that in order for the audiences to pick up the frame, the news article needs to emphasize it and prominently displays it. Otherwise, it won't matter whether the frame is present or not, because the audiences will not receive its message (Entman, 2004). There is also the possibility that multiple frames may be present in news articles, though the first frame or primary frame is usually identified through analyzing what frame is most prominent in the headlines or first paragraphs of news articles. It is important to know which frame is featured first as the primary frame, because it's often the one most emphasized throughout the whole article, and has the most powerful message. Other messages or frames in the article are usually minimized in comparison to the primary frame. Understanding this prominence could help us understand what frame or message the readers will pick up on and potentially take away with them once they are done reading the article (Gregorio, Price, Saunders, & Brockhaus, 2012; O'Neill, Williams, Kurz, Wiersma, & Boykoff, 2015). Thus, this study asks the following research questions:

RQ6: What otherization frames were the most prominent across the three American media outlets (*The New York Times, The Washington Post, Associated Press*) in the headlines of articles regarding people living with HIV/AIDS in Africa from 1987 to 2007?

RQ7: What otherization frames were the most prominent in each of the three American media outlets (*The New York Times, The Washington Post, Associated Press*) in the headlines of articles regarding people living with HIV/AIDS in Africa from 1987 to 2007?

RQ8: Was there a significant difference in the primary frame prominence in headlines among the three American media outlets (*The New York Times, The Washington Post, Associated Press*) in articles regarding people living with HIV/AIDS in Africa from 1987 to 2007?

RQ9: What otherization frames were the most prominent across the three American media outlets (*The New York Times, The Washington Post, Associated Press*) in the first paragraphs of articles regarding people living with HIV/AIDS in Africa from 1987 to 2007?

RQ10: What otherization frames were the most prominent in each of the three American media outlets (*The New York Times, The Washington Post, Associated Press*) in the first paragraphs of articles regarding people living with HIV/AIDS in Africa from 1987 to 2007?

RQ11: Was there a significant difference in the primary frame prominence in the first paragraphs among the three American media outlets (*The New York Times, The Washington Post, Associated Press*) in articles regarding people living with HIV/AIDS in Africa from 1987 to 2007?

Tone in News Articles

The way the media chooses to portray any article topic, including people, organizations, or countries, can give them positive or negative attributes. Article tone represents whether a reporter makes positive or negative attributes of a subject more salient, so that the reader can pick up on an overall tone (Sheafer, 2007). Although article tone can illustrate the media's agenda, as well as perceived news issue importance (Barnes et al., 2007; Sheafer, 2007), as a variable, it has somewhat been neglected in many empirical news analyses (Sheafer, 2007).

Some scholars who have examined the effects of article tone on audiences' understanding of news found that positive article tone was negatively correlated with the issue salience on the public agenda. Namely, Schoenbach and Semetko's (1992) study discovered that negative news stories were more likely to be perceived as important to the public than positive news stories, and the topic's negative attributes would stick in the public perception. In addition, studies have found that if there is consistently negative political news coverage, political candidates could be evaluated lower (Sheafer, 2007). Article tone has been evaluated in some health news studies, with researchers often finding that article tone may correspond with the presence or absence of certain information on a subject. In Perez et al.'s (2016) study of the human papilloma virus (HPV) vaccine's representation in the media, it was found that most articles contained a positive tone in regard to supporting the use of the HPV vaccine and not representing any disadvantages. Whitley and Wang's (2017) study of Canadian news coverage related to mental illness and schizophrenia, found that positive news coverage significantly improved, while stigmatizing coverage decreased over a period of 11 years, which occurred in the wake of a vigorous public health campaign to inform the public about mental illness. And a study of the Chinese media's coverage of HIV/AIDS found that the topic's tone changed over time, from mostly negative prior to 2002 to mostly positive from 2002 to 2010, which the authors thought could have been attributed to increased knowledge and sensitivity to HIV/AIDS issues by reporters (J. Gao et al., 2013). Thus, this study asks the following research questions:

> **RQ12:** What article tone was most frequently used across the three American media outlets (*The New York Times, The Washington Post, Associated Press*) in articles regarding people living with HIV/AIDS in Africa from 1987 to 2007?

RQ13: What article tone was most frequently used in each of the three American media outlets (*The New York Times, The Washington Post, Associated Press*) in articles regarding people living with HIV/AIDS in Africa from 1987 to 2007?

RQ14: Was there a significant difference in the article tone frequency among the three American media outlets (*The New York Times, The Washington Post, Associated Press*) in articles regarding people living with HIV/AIDS in Africa from 1987 to 2007?

Calls for Action in News Articles

Health news stories often include behavioral recommendations, or "calls to action," related to that particular article's health topic (Chang, 2016). For example, these could include anything from explicit recommendations, such as "visit this website to find the closest HIV testing location," to deductive recommendations which must be inferred from the news story, such as "regular HIV testing informs people of their HIV status" (Chang, 2016). For the present study, only explicit calls to action were searched for and coded within the news articles. Studies have found that including behavioral recommendations in news articles can influence readers to change and improve their own health-related behaviors (Babin & Burns, 1997; Chang, 2011, 2016; Hornik, 2002; Wallack, 1993), including HIV/AIDS-related behaviors. However, to the study author's knowledge, no previous studies examined discrete and specific calls to action about HIV/AIDS. Thus, this study asks the following research questions:

RQ15: What calls for action were most frequently used across the three American media outlets (*The New York Times, The Washington Post, Associated Press*) in articles regarding people living with HIV/AIDS in Africa from 1987 to 2007?

RQ16: What calls for action were most frequently used in each of the three American media outlets (*The New York Times, The Washington Post, Associated Press*) in articles regarding people living with HIV/AIDS in Africa from 1987 to 2007?

RQ17: Was there a significant difference in the calls for action frequency among the three American media outlets (*The New York Times, The Washington Post, Associated Press*) in articles regarding people living with HIV/AIDS in Africa from 1987 to 2007?

Otherization Frames in the Early Period versus Late Period

The literature review illustrated that news coverage of HIV/AIDS in the Western press decreased once a highly effective antiretroviral treatment became widely available in the U.S. in 1996. From there, news coverage shifted over to the global epidemic, especially towards the continent of Africa, which continually had a high prevalence of the disease (Brodie et al., 2004). Framing of HIV/AIDS in the Western media also changed over time, shifting to become less a disease of the marginalized, and more of a routine health story portrayed through medical and scientific frames (Rofes, 1998; Siegel & Lekas, 2002). Working on this premise, it could be assumed that the American media's otherization framing of HIV/AIDS in Africa would also decrease over time, as news coverage on the subject decreased, and the disease became further normalized. Thus, this study hypothesizes:

H1: The frequency of otherization frames in articles about HIV/AIDS in Africa will be higher during the period when the disease was not yet treatable (1987-1996) than after the period when HIV treatment drugs became widely available in the United States (1997-2007).

H2: The frequency of each individual otherization frame (H2a: African; H2b: Deviant; H2c: Diseased; H2d: Shamed; H2e: Homosexual; and H2f: Criminal) in articles about

HIV/AIDS in Africa will be higher during the period when the disease was not yet treatable (1987-1996) than after the period when HIV treatment drugs became widely available in the United States (1997-2007).

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODS

A quantitative content analysis was used to answer the above research questions and test the above hypotheses. Content analysis is defined as "the systematic, objective, quantitative analysis of message characteristics" (Neuendorf, 2002). The method gives researchers the ability to understand how messages may alter over time or differ between media outlets (Center, 2017a). The premise of content analysis is that meaning and patterns can be inferred from analyzing multiple messages over a period of time (Krippendorff, 2004; Neuendorf, 2002). Columbia University professor, Alvan Tenney, was the first to conduct a quantitative content analysis in 1912 when he employed coders to read and classify news topic frequencies compared between 17 New York daily newspapers (Bock & Krippendorff, 2009; Tenney, 1912). Since then, content analysis has become one of the most commonly used research methods for media studies (Macnamara, 2005), with Riffe and Freitag (1997) finding that the number of content analyses published in the *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* increased from 6.3% to 34.8% from 1971 to 1995. In practice, the method of content analysis involves a certain set of practical steps for the analysis of message content, which typically include: drawing a representative sample of content, establishing rules for coding content, coding content and testing reliability using other coders, and then analyzing the data to find patterns and relationships. Usually, if these standards are followed, the study's findings are likely to be valid. Social science researchers in the field of journalism and media studies can use this system as a scientific method to test research questions and hypotheses (Riffe, Lacy, & Fico, 2014). There has been a line of

thought, and studies have confirmed, that messages within news media can elicit a behavioral or cognitive response in the audience which receives the message, thus, causing an effect (Bock & Krippendorff, 2009; Krippendorff, 2004). Understanding what messages are being conveyed and their potential effects on the audience has been the subject of multitudes of media studies, including in the areas of both international and health journalism. For example, Hartman and Golub's (1999) study of articles about crack cocaine over a ten-year period in three print media, found that the media exaggerated the issue and perpetuated the idea of the "crack epidemic" as a problem of only the inner city. A 1990 content analysis of articles about pre-menstrual syndrome or PMS, illustrated that the news media primarily wrote in a negative tone about PMS and promoted the stereotype of an unbalanced woman who cannot handle her emotions or impulses when she is on her menstrual cycle (Chrisler & Levy, 1990). In this present study, quantitative content analysis is used to examine otherization frames along with article tone and calls to action in articles about HIV/AIDS in Africa in the American media between 1987-2007.

Sample

Articles for this study were pulled from a 20-year period, starting January 1, 1987 and ending December 31, 2006. This period was chosen because it spanned years in which there was a significant increase in the understanding of HIV/AIDS, and included years before and after the development of a highly effective antiretroviral medication that made the disease manageable for those who were living with it (HIV.gov, 2017).

The three news outlets, *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post* and the *Associated Press* were chosen for this study based on Stryker's validation study which found that samples of articles from these media were the most representative and predictive of the American news

environment as a whole (Stryker, 2008).[1] Multiple other health journalism studies have also used these three media outlets to represent the American news environment, including Stevens and Hornik's (2014) study on the influence of newspaper coverage on HIV/AIDS testing in the United States; Stevens and Hull's (2013) study on the frequency and content of U.S. HIV/AIDS coverage over a 15-year period; and Portnoy et al.'s (2014) study on reduced fatalism and increased prevention behavior in the wake of one celebrity dying from lung cancer, and another announcing her diagnosis (Portnoy et al., 2014; R. Stevens & Hornik, 2014; R. C. Stevens & Hull, 2013). Both *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* are also currently two of the newspapers in the United States with the highest circulation rates and numbers of digital subscribers (Center, 2017b).

To obtain a sample of relevant news articles from *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post* and the *Associated Press*, the following search sequence was put into the Nexis Unicode database:

["HIV" or "AIDS"] w/5 "Africa" and HLEAD ("HIV" or "AIDS" and "Africa") AND NOT SECTION (EDITORIAL)

The search term "w/5" means that the word "HIV" or "AIDS" must be within five words of the word "Africa" somewhere in the news story. The search term "HLEAD ("HIV" OR "AIDS" AND "AFRICA")" means that the headline or the lead paragraph must include the exact words of "HIV" or "AIDS," as well as the word "Africa." Both of these two conditions were required for the search sequence in this study because they helped to ensure that the subject matter was likely primarily focused on HIV/AIDS in Africa. The "NOT SECTION (EDITORIAL)" eliminated editorial or opinion pieces from the search results. This search

[1]Stryker's (2008) validation study was conducted over ten years ago, before the polarization of news media became more pronounced in the United States.

generated 343 articles from *The New York Times*, 254 articles from *The Washington Post*, and 680 articles from the *Associated Press*.

The articles were organized within Nexis Unicode from oldest to newest. Then, to obtain a representative sample of this population, a random sample of articles were drawn from each news source. One-third of articles from each news outlet were sampled, an amount that was determined based on previous literature for samples of content analyses (Coe, 2017). To do so, a random number was generated using the Google random number generator. The random number signified the starting point and that article was selected. Then every third article was selected from that starting point, until a total of 1/3 from each outlet were gathered. This resulted in 113 articles from *The New York Times*; 83 articles from *The Washington Post*; and 225 articles from the *Associated Press*, for a total population of 421 articles.

Once the articles were pulled, it was necessary to filter through them to ensure that they were primarily on the subject of HIV/AIDS. Each retrieved article was read by the study author and determined if it was mostly focused on HIV/AIDS or not. If not, the article was removed from the study. Articles were also removed from *The New York Times* sample or *The Washington Post* sample if they were taken and re-printed from a wire service news outlet, such as the *Associated Press* or *Reuters*. Then, to ensure there was a complete sample, each news media outlet was re-sampled, using the method outlined above, to retrieve new articles. These articles were also read and determined if they qualified for the study. For *The New York Times*, 56 articles were eliminated from the first random sample, 48 articles from the second random sample, five articles from the third random sample, two articles from the fourth random sample, and six articles once the study started. For *The Washington Post*, 36 articles were eliminated from the first random sample and 27 articles from the second random sample. For the *Associated*

Press, 62 articles were eliminated from the first random sample, 10 articles from the second random sample, 24 articles from the third random sample, and five articles once the study started.

All 421 articles were read and coded for the presence of variables by the study author, and 10% of the articles were read by another individual who served as the intercoder reliability check.

Variables

Basic Identifiers

Each article was coded for several basic identifier variables, including the "Article Source," in the following order: (1) = *The New York Times*, (2) = *The Washington Post*, (3) = *Associated Press*. The other variables coded for were: "Article Title," "Article Date," "Article Author," "Article Location," and "Article Description."

Frames

News stories were initially analyzed for six different frames of the "Other": "African Other," "Criminal Other," "Homosexual Other," "Deviant Other," "Diseased Other," and "Feared Other." These particular "Others" were chosen to be coded for this study because they were the only otherization frames identified in past framing studies related to HIV/AIDS media coverage (Afshar, 2013; Albert, 1984; Bardhan, 2001; Clarke, 1992; Gilman, 1988; Ibelema, 2014; McKay et al., 2011; Petros et al., 2006). A seventh frame was added partway through the study, after noticing its presence in news articles: the "Shamed Other." The articles that had already been coded, were re-coded solely for the presence of the "Shamed Other." The "Feared Other" was coded for throughout the whole study, but it was later removed from the results because it failed to meet the Krippendorff's Alpha standard of reliability. The "Feared Other"

frame occurred very infrequently (2.4% of all news articles) within the study, and when it did, it was difficult for the two coders to agree on its presence, so it was deemed best to not include it in the study.

Each frame was measured for its presence and marked as (0) = No, not present, or (1) = Yes, present.

The *"African Other"* was defined as one who is of African origin, but is represented as behaving in a way that is different from mainstream Western culture. This individual or behavior is portrayed as "outside the global popular culture" and symbolizes "African realities as inconsistent with modernity or at variance with standard contemporary practices," (Ibelema, 2014, pp. 163-164).

The *"Homosexual Other"* was defined as one who engages in homosexual behavior that is directly and negatively positioned against heterosexual behavior. Responsibility for either acquiring or transmitting HIV/AIDS may be attributed to this person's homosexual orientation (Bardhan, 2001; Petros et al., 2006).

The *"Criminal Other"* was defined as one who engages in criminal behavior related to HIV/AIDS, such as purposefully transmitting HIV to people who do not know his/her HIV status. The person who has HIV/AIDS is portrayed as behaving irresponsibly in regard to spreading the disease, such as not wearing condoms, sharing needles or not disclosing HIV status (McKay et al., 2011).

The *"Deviant Other"* was defined as one who engages in non-normative behavior that is outside of the mainstream, such as injection drug use or prostitution. The "deviant character of the victims rather than the problematic aspects of the illness itself" is emphasized (Albert, 1984, p. 135).

The *"Diseased Other"* was defined as one who is living with HIV/AIDS, and is put in direct contrast against those who are healthy. There should be evidence of a "healthy us—diseased other" dichotomy, and obvious effort to "construct boundaries between ourselves and those categories of individuals whom we believe (or hope) to be more at risk than ourselves" (Gilman, 1988, p. 4).

The *"Shamed Other"* was one who is living with HIV/AIDS and because of this status is shamed and rejected by other people, and may also face stigma and discrimination. This definition emerged from the readings of the news articles and from previous literature which documented that those living with HIV/AIDS often feel an internalized shame because they have the disease (Bennett, Traub, Mace, Juarascio, & O'Hayer, 2016). Their shame can stem from society's shaming of the disease, which is also closely connected to the societal shame that is associated with the behaviors of sexual intercourse, drug use, prostitution, and homosexuality – all risk factors for contracting the disease (Bennett et al., 2016; Morris et al., 2014).

Primary Frame Prominence Headline

The headline of each news story was read, and the frame that appeared first in the headline was coded as the most prominent using the following numeric code: (1) = African Other, (2) = Criminal Other, (3) = Homosexual Other, (4) = Deviant Other, (5) = Diseased Other, (6) = Feared Other, (7) = Shamed Other, (8) = Other, (9) = None.

Primary Frame Prominence First Paragraph

The first paragraph of each news story was read, and the frame which appeared first in the first paragraph was coded as the most prominent using the following numeric code: (1) = African Other, (2) = Criminal Other, (3) = Homosexual Other, (4) = Deviant Other, (5) = Diseased Other, (6) = Feared Other, (7) = Shamed Other, (8) = Other, (9) = None.

Article Tone

The article tone was defined as the subjective assessment of whether the article author portrays the article topic in a positive or negative way (Michaelson & Griffin, 2005). Coders read the news article and then determined through their own subjective feelings how the article affected them, and then decided whether the article had a positive, negative, mixed positive or negative, or neutral tone. If an article was felt to be mostly positive, including expressions of hope for the future, or a focus on progress made in combating HIV/AIDS, it was coded as having a positive tone (1); felt to be mostly negative, including expressions of despair and hopelessness, or a focus on the lack of progress made in combating HIV/AIDS, it was coded as having a negative tone (2); felt to be an even mix of positive and negative statements, such as those noted above, it was coded as having a mixed positive and negative tone (3); and if it was felt to be neither a positive nor a negative tone it was coded as neutral (4).

Calls for Action

The calls for action was defined as the assessment of whether the article author included any kind of behavioral recommendations in the article in regard to HIV/AIDS. Because no previous literature could be found on the specific recommendations regarding HIV/AIDS, this study's author developed a set of calls to action based on public health messages that were present on the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention's HIV/AIDS web pages. These calls to action included donating money to a non-profit or HIV-related cause, getting HIV tested, using a condom, taking antiretroviral medication, learning more about HIV/AIDS, visiting a doctor, and talking more openly about HIV/AIDS (CDC, 2018; Jin, 2017). Calls for action had to be explicitly stated in the news article to be coded for. "Calls for Action," was coded using the following numeric code: (1) = Donate money to a non-profit or HIV-related cause, (2) = Get

HIV tested, (3) = Use condoms, (4) = Take antiretroviral medication, (5) = Learn more about HIV/AIDS, (6) = Visit a doctor, (7) = Talk more openly about HIV/AIDS, (8) = Other, (9) = None.

Intercoder Reliability

To determine whether the study author's coding was valid, 10% of the articles from each news source were coded by another individual who is a native English-speaker. Eight articles were coded from *The Washington Post*, 11 from *The New York Times*, and 23 from the *Associated Press*, for a total population of 42 articles. The Krippendorff's Alpha was selected for assessing the intercoder reliability because it is sensitive to small sample sizes and often used for nominal data (Bock & Krippendorff, 2009). The alpha values were calculated for each variable, with the following results: "African Other": 0.29; "Criminal Other": 1.0; "Homosexual Other": 0.80; "Deviant Other": 0.86; "Diseased Other": 0.12; "Feared Other": 0.0; "Shamed Other:" 0.69; "Primary Frame Prominence Headline": 0.46; "Primary Frame Prominence First Paragraph": 0.68; "Article Tone": 0.20; "Call to Action": 1.0.

The Krippendorff's Alpha needs to be greater than or equal to the value of 0.7 to reach a moderate level of reliability (Krippendorff, 2004). Because the alphas were below 0.7 for the "African Other," "Diseased Other," "Feared Other," "Primary Frame Prominence Headline," and "Article Tone" the secondary coder coded another 42 news articles for just those five variables, and the differences in coding were reconciled, except for "Article Tone" and "Feared Other." After the second coding, the following were the results for the Krippendorff's Alphas: "African Other": 0.66; "Diseased Other": 0.87; "Feared Other": 0.39; "Primary Frame Prominence Headline": 0.74; "Article Tone": 0.45.

The Krippendorff's Alpha value greater than or equal to 0.7 was not reached for "Article Tone" or "Feared Other," in the second coding. Thus, the "Article Tone" was coded for a third time by the secondary coder and the acceptable alpha value of 0.77 was reached. The "Feared Other" was dropped from the study since it did not reach an acceptable alpha value.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESULTS

Otherization Frames in News Articles

To answer RQ1, which asked what otherization frames were most frequently used across the three American media outlets in articles regarding people living with HIV/AIDS in Africa from 1987 to 2007, the frequency for each otherization frame was calculated across all three outlets of *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and the *Associated Press*. The most frequently used frame was the "African Other" which appeared in 88.8% of all news articles. It was followed by the "Deviant Other" (19%), "Shamed Other" (15.4%), "Diseased Other" (12.1%), and "Homosexual Other" (8.3%). The "Criminal Other" was not found in any of the news articles across the three media outlets, and 10% of the examined articles contained no otherization frame (Table 1).

To answer RQ2, which asked if there was a significant difference between the use of otherization frames across the three American media outlets in articles regarding people living with HIV/AIDS in Africa from 1987 to 2007, paired t-tests analyses were utilized. The results showed that the "African Other" frame ($M = 0.89$, $SD = 0.32$) appeared significantly more than every other otherization frame in the study: (comparison with: "Criminal Other" frame ($M = 0.00$, $SD = 0.00$); $t(420) = 57.81$, $p < 0.01$; "Homosexual Other" ($M = 0.08$, $SD = 0.28$); $t(420) = 41.05$, $p < 0.01$; "Deviant Other" ($M = 0.19$, $SD = 0.39$); $t(420) = 29.86$, $p = 0.01$; "Diseased Other" ($M = 0.12$, SD = 0.33); $t(420) = 36.72$, $p < 0.01$; "Shamed Other" ($M = 0.15$, $SD = 0.36$); $t(420) = 34.04$, $p < 0.01$). There was also a significant difference between the use of other frames

in the study. The "Homosexual Other" appeared significantly less in news articles than the "Deviant Other" ($t(420) = -6.22$, $p < 0.01$) and "Shamed Other" ($t(420) = -3.23$, $p < 0.01$) frames. In addition, the "Deviant Other" appeared significantly more than the "Diseased Other" ($t(420) = 3.07$, $p < 0.01$) in news articles. Since Criminal Other ($M = 0.00$, $SD = 0.00$) did not appear at all, there was also a significant difference between its non-appearance and the appearance of each of the other frames (comparison with: "Homosexual Other" ($M = 0.08$, $SD = 0.276$) $t(420) = -6.17$, $p < 0.01$; "Deviant Other" ($M = 0.19$, $SD = 0.39$) $t(420) = -9.93$, $p < 0.01$; "Diseased Other" ($M = 0.12$, $SD = 0.33$) $t(420) = -7.61$, $p < 0.01$; "Shamed Other" ($M = 0.15$, $SD = 0.36$) $t(420) = -8.78$, $p < 0.01$). The difference between all other frames was not significant.

To answer RQ3, which asked what was the use of the otherization frames in each of the three American media outlets in articles regarding people living with HIV/AIDS in Africa from 1987 to 2007, the frequency for each otherization frame was calculated in *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and the *Associated Press.* The "African Other" frame appeared the most frequently in each media outlet: 85% of *The New York Times* articles; 94% of *The Washington Post* articles; and 88.4% of the *Associated Press* articles. The "Deviant Other" frame was the second most frequent frame in *The New York Times* (27.4%) and *The Washington Post* (26.5%). The *Associated Press's* second most frequent frame was the "Shamed Other" (15.6%), while the "Deviant Other" (12%) was the third most frequent frame for the outlet. The "Diseased Other" frame was the third most frequent (20.4%) in *The New York Times*, while *The Washington Post's* third most frequent frame was the "Homosexual Other" (14.5%). The other otherization frames were also present in all three media outlets, except for the "Criminal Other" frame which was present in none of the articles across all three media outlets. The "Shamed Other" frame was also present in *The New York Times* (16.8%) and *The Washington Post* (11%) articles. The "Diseased

Other" frame was present in 12% of *The Washington Post* articles and 1.8% of the *Associated Press* articles, while the "Homosexual Other" frame was present in 9.7% of *The New York Times* articles and 5.3% of the *Associated Press* articles. No otherization frames were found in 12.4% of *The New York Times* articles; 3.6% of *The Washington Post* articles; and 11.1% of the *Associated Press* articles (Table 2).

To answer RQ4, which asked if there was a significant difference in the frequency of each individual otherization frame among the three American media outlets in articles regarding people living with HIV/AIDS in Africa from 1987 to 2007, a Chi-Square crosstabs statistical analysis was applied. There was no significant difference in the frequency of the "African Other" (X^2 (2, N = 421) = 3.27, p > .05), "Criminal Other" (no Chi-Square value could be calculated since the frame was not present in the study), or "Shamed Other" (X^2 (2, N = 421) = 0.47, p > .05) frames among all three media outlets. There was also not a significant difference in the frequency of no otherization frames between all three media outlets (X^2 (2, N = 421) = 4.80, p > .05). But, a significant difference was present for the frequency of the "Homosexual Other" between *The Washington Post* (14.5%) and *Associated Press* (5.3%) (X^2 (1, N = 421) = 7.03, p < .05). *The New York Times* (5.3%) had no significant difference in frame frequency for "Homosexual Other" compared to the other two outlets. There was a significant difference between the *Associated Press*'s (12%) frequency of the "Deviant Other" frame and the frequency of the frame in *The New York Times* (27.4%) (X^2 (1, N = 421) = 12.61, p < .05) and the frequency of the frame in *The Washington Post* (26.5%) (X^2 (1, N = 421) = 9.54, p < .05). However, there was no significant difference between *The New York Times'* (27.4%) and *The Washington Post's* (26.5%) "Deviant Other" frame frequency (X^2 (1, N = 421) = .021, p > .05). There was also a significant difference between *The New York Times'* (20.4%) and *Associated Press'* (1.8%)

frequency of the "Diseased Other" frame (X^2 (1, N = 421) = 10.77, p < .05). *The Washington Post* (12%) had no significant difference in frame frequency of the "Diseased Other" compared to the other two outlets (Table 2).

To answer RQ5, which asked whether there was a significant difference in the total frame frequency among the three American media outlets in articles regarding people living with HIV/AIDS in Africa from 1987 to 2007, total frame frequency was calculated and a Chi-Square crosstabs statistical analysis was applied. There was no significant difference in the total otherization frame frequency among the three media outlets (X^2 (2, N = 421) = 4.80, p > .05). 87.6% of *The New York Times* articles, 96.4% of *The Washington Post* articles and 88.9% of the *Associated Press* articles contained otherization frames (Table 2). Total numbers of otherization frames (The *New York Times*: 99, *The Washington Post*: 80, and the *Associated Press*: 200) did differ between the three outlets, but this can be attributed to the different sample sizes pulled from each outlet, since total frame frequencies did not differ significantly.

Otherization Frames in Headlines and First Paragraphs

To answer RQ6, which asked what otherization frames were the most prominent across the three American media outlets in the headlines of articles regarding people living with HIV/AIDS in Africa from 1987 to 2007, the frequency of frames coded as most prominent in the headlines of articles was calculated across all three media outlets. The largest percentage of news articles (62.7%) contained no otherization frames within the headline. The most prominent frame in headlines was the "African Other" (35.6%), while the other frames appeared much less frequently in headlines: "Deviant Other" (1%), "Shamed Other" (0.5%), and "Diseased Other" (0.2%). The "Criminal Other" and "Homosexual Other" did not appear in any headlines among all three media outlets (Table 3).

To answer RQ7, which asked what otherization frames were most prominent in each of the three American media outlet's headlines of articles regarding people living with HIV/AIDS in Africa from 1987 to 2007, the frequency of frames coded as most prominent in the headlines of articles was calculated for each individual media outlet. All three outlets had a majority of articles with no otherization frames present in the headlines: *The New York Times* (57.5%), *The Washington Post* (51.8%) and the *Associated Press* (69.3%). The next most prominent frame in the headlines for each outlet was the "African Other," with 42.5% of *The New York Times'*, 47% of *The Washington Post's*, and 28% of the *Associated Press'* headlines containing the frame. *The Washington Post* also had 1.2% of its headlines containing the "Deviant Other" frame, while the *Associated Press* had 1.3% of its headlines containing the same frame. The *Associated Press* also had two other prominent frames in its headlines, with the "Shamed Other" in 0.9% of headlines and the "Diseased Other" in 0.4% of headlines. *The Washington Post* also had 1.2% of its headlines containing the "Shamed Other" frame (Table 4).

To answer RQ8, which asked if there was a significant difference in the primary frame prominence in headlines among the three American media outlets in articles regarding people living with HIV/AIDS in Africa from 1987 to 2007, a Chi-Square crosstabs statistical analysis was applied. There was a significant difference between the frequency of the "African Other" being the primary frame prominent in the headline between the *Associated Press* (28%) and *The New York Times* (42.5%) (X^2 (1, N = 338) = 7.15, $p < .05$) and the *Associated Press* (28%) and *The Washington Post* (47%) (X^2 (1, N = 308) = 9.87, $p < .05$). No significant difference (X^2 (3, N = 196) = 1.52, $p > .05$) was present in the frequency of the "African Other" being the primary frame prominent in the headlines between *The New York Times* (42.5%) and *The Washington Post* (47%). There was also a significant difference between *The Washington Post's* (51.8%) and

the *Associated Press's* (69.3%) amount of no otherization frames that were prominent in the headline (X^2 (1, N = 308) = 7.71, p < .05). *The New York Times'* frequency of no otherization frames in the headline did not significantly differ between either *The Washington Post* (X^2 (3, N = 196) = 2.52, p > .05) or the *Associated Press* (X^2 (5, N = 338) = 9.80, p > .05). The remainder of the frames in the headlines across all three media outlets were not significantly different in their frequencies (Table 4).

To answer RQ9, which asked what otherization frames were the most prominent across the three American media outlets in the first paragraphs of articles regarding people living with HIV/AIDS in Africa from 1987 to 2007, the frequency of otherization frames in the first paragraphs of articles was calculated across all three media outlets. The majority of first paragraphs did not contain any otherization frame (51%). The frame that was most frequent in first paragraphs was the "African Other," with 44.2% of first paragraphs in all three media outlets containing the frame. The three other otherization frames that appeared in first paragraphs were much less frequent: "Diseased Other" (2.4%), "Deviant Other" (1.2%), "Shamed Other" (1.2%) (Table 5).

To answer RQ10, which asked what otherization frames were the most prominent in first paragraphs of each of the three American media outlets in articles regarding people living with HIV/AIDS in Africa from 1987 to 2007, the frequency of otherization frames in the first paragraphs of articles was calculated for each individual media outlet. The majority of the first paragraphs in all three media outlets contained no otherization frame: *The New York Times* (57.5%), *The Washington Post* (48.2%), and the *Associated Press* (48.9%). The primary frame prominent in *The New York Times*' first paragraphs was the "African Other" (38.9%), then followed by the "Diseased Other" (1.8%), and the "Shamed Other" (1.8%). The primary frame

prominent in *The Washington Post*'s first paragraphs was the "African Other" (49.4%), followed by the "Deviant Other" (1.2%) and "Shamed Other" (1.2%). The primary frame prominent in the *Associated Press*'s first paragraphs was the "African Other" (44.9%), followed by the "Diseased Other" (3.6%), the "Deviant Other" (1.8%), and the "Shamed Other" (0.9%) (Table 6).

To answer RQ11, which asked if there was there a significant difference in the primary frame prominence in the first paragraphs among the three American media outlets in articles regarding people living with HIV/AIDS in Africa from 1987 to 2007, a Chi-Square crosstabs statistical analysis was applied. It was found there was no significant differences in the primary frame that was prominent in the first paragraph of all three media outlets (X^2 (10, N = 421) = 12.7, p > .05). (Table 6).

Tone in News Articles

To answer RQ12, which asked what article tone was used most frequently across the three American media in articles regarding people living with HIV/AIDS in Africa from 1987 to 2007, the frequency of each type of article tone was calculated across all three American media outlets (*The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and the *Associated Press*). The largest percent of all articles had a mixed positive and negative tone (44.4%), and a large percent had a negative tone (39.9%). Much lower percents of articles had a positive tone (15%) or a neutral tone (0.7%) (Table 7).

To answer RQ13, which asked what article tone was most frequently used in each of the three American media outlets in articles regarding people living with HIV/AIDS in Africa from 1987 to 2007, the frequency of each type of article tone was calculated for each individual media outlet. The largest percent of articles in *The New York Times* had a negative tone (45.1%). The next most frequent tones in *The New York Times* were mixed positive and negative tone (39.8%),

positive tone (14.2%), and neutral tone (0.9%). In contrast, the largest percent of articles in *The Washington Post* contained a mixed positive and negative tone (56.6%), followed by a negative tone (30.1%), and then positive tone (13.3%), while no articles contained a neutral tone. The *Associated Press* also had a majority of articles that contained a mixed positive and negative tone (42.2%). Of the remainder of *Associated Press'* articles, 40.9% had a negative tone, 16% had a positive tone, and 0.9% had a neutral tone (Table 8).

To answer RQ14, which asked if there was a significant difference in the article tone frequency among the three American media outlets in articles regarding people living with HIV/AIDS in Africa from 1987 to 2007, a Chi-Square crosstabs statistical analysis was applied. It was found there was no significant difference in the four different types of article tone across all three media outlets (X^2 (6, N = 421) = 7.5, p > .05) (Table 8).

Calls for Action in News Articles

To answer RQ15, which asked what calls for action were most frequently used across the three American media outlets in articles regarding people living with HIV/AIDS in Africa from 1987 to 2007, the frequency of each type of calls for action was calculated across all three American media outlets. The majority of articles (97.1%) contained no calls for action, with only 12 articles overall having calls for action to "Learn more about HIV/AIDS" or an "Other" type of call for action. The "Other" category included any other types of calls for action that were not listed in the codebook. In these articles, the calls for action involved learning more about legislation related to HIV/AIDS, along with visiting an "AIDS in Africa" exhibit (Table 9).

To answer RQ16, which asked what calls for action were the most frequently used in each of the three American media outlets in articles regarding people living with HIV/AIDS in Africa from 1987 to 2007, the frequency of each type of calls for action was calculated for each

individual American media outlet. The majority of articles from each media outlet contained no calls for action, with no articles in *The New York Times* containing calls for action. Only one article (1.2%) in *The Washington Post* contained a call for action (Learn more about HIV/AIDS). Five articles (2.2%) in the *Associated Press* had calls for action to "Learn more about HIV/AIDS," and six articles (2.7%) had an "Other" call to action (Table 10).

To answer RQ17, which asked if there was a significant difference in the calls for action frequency among the three American media outlets in articles regarding people living with HIV/AIDS in Africa from 1987 to 2007, a Chi-Square crosstabs statistical analysis was applied. It was found there was no significant difference in the different types of calls for action across all three media outlets (X^2 (4, N = 421) = 8.1, p > .05) (Table 10).

Otherization Frames in the Early Period versus Late Period

To test H1, which predicted that the frequency of otherization frames in articles about HIV/AIDS in Africa will be higher during the period when the disease was not yet treatable (1987-1996) than after the period when the HIV treatment drugs became widely available in the United States (1997-2007), a Chi-Square crosstabs statistical analysis was applied. The early period had less news articles (*N*=77), than the late period (*N*=344), which meant that there were also less total otherization frames in the early period (*N*=145) than the late period (*N*=460). The comparison of the frequencies between the two periods showed that there was not a significant difference (X^2 (1, N = 421) = 0.501, p > .05) in the frequency of otherization frames in the period of 1987 to 1996 (92%) and the frequency of otherization frames in the period of 1997 to 2006 (89.5%). Thus, H1 was not supported (Table 11).

To test H2, which predicted that the frequency of each individual otherization frame in articles about HIV/AIDS in Africa will be higher during the period when the disease was not yet

treatable (1987-1996) than after the period when the HIV treatment drugs became widely available in the United States (1997-2007), a Chi-Square crosstabs statistical analysis was applied. There was not a significant difference in the amount of the "African Other," "Diseased Other," or "Shamed Other" individual frames present between the two periods. However, there was a significant difference (X^2 (1, N = 421) = 38.74, p < .05) in the amount of the "Deviant Other" frames present between the two periods, with significantly more articles in the early period (44.2%) containing the frame, than articles in the late period (13.4%). The same held true for the "Homosexual Other" frame (X^2 (1, N = 421) = 28.05, p < .05), with significantly more articles in the early period (23.4%) containing the frame, than articles in the late period (4.9%). Thus, H2 a, c, and d were not supported, while H2 b and e were supported (Table 11).

Table 1. *Frequency of Otherization Frames Across The New York Times, The Washington Post, and Associated Press*

	Frames							
	African Other	**Deviant Other**	**Diseased Other**	**Shamed Other**	**Homosexual Other**	**Criminal Other**	**No Otherization Frame**	**Total Frames**
All Three Media Outlets	88.8%	19%	12.1%	15.4%	8.3%	0.0%	10%	90%

Table 2. *Frequency of Otherization Frames in News Articles by News Outlet*
Each superscript letter denotes whether each individual frame frequency significantly differs from that same frame's frequency for each news outlet. Significance is compared down the columns and is measured at the 0.05 level. For example, for the "African Other" frame, since the superscript is an "a" for *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post* and *Associated Press*, this means that none of the frequencies significantly differ from each other. But for the "Diseased Other" the "a" superscript for *The New York Times* illustrates that the outlet significantly differs from the *Associated Press* which has a "b" superscript. The frequency of the "Diseased Other" frame in *The Washington Post* does not significantly differ from either *The New York Times* or the *Associated Press*, which is why the superscript contains both an "a,b".

	Frames							
News Outlet	**African Other**	**Deviant Other**	**Diseased Other**	**Shamed Other**	**Homosexual Other**	**Criminal Other**	**No Otherization Frame**	**Total Frames**
New York Times	85.0%[a]	27.4%[a]	20.4%[a]	16.8%[a]	9.7%[a,b]	0.0%	12.4%[a]	87.6%[a]
Washington Post	94.0%[a]	26.5%[a]	12.0%[a,b]	11.0%[a]	14.5%[b]	0.0%	3.6%[a]	96.4%[a]
Associated Press	88.4%[a]	12.0%[b]	1.8%[b]	15.6%[a]	5.3%[a]	0.0%	11.1%[a]	88.9%[a]

Table 3. *Frequency of Otherization Frames in Headlines Across The New York Times, The Washington Post, and Associated Press*

	Frames						
	African Other	**Deviant Other**	**Diseased Other**	**Shamed Other**	**Homosexual Other**	**Criminal Other**	**No Otherization Frame**
All Three Media Outlets	35.6%	1%	0.2%	0.5%	0.0%	0.0%	62.7%

Table 4. *Frequency of Otherization Frames in Headlines by News Outlet*
Each superscript letter denotes whether each individual frame frequency significantly differs from that same frame's frequency for each news outlet. Significance is compared down the columns and is measured at the 0.05 level. For example, for the "Deviant Other" frame, since the superscript is an "a" for *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post* and *Associated Press*, this means that none of the frequencies significantly differ from each other. But for the "African Other" the "a" superscript for *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post* illustrates that the two outlets significantly differ from the *Associated Press* which has a "b" superscript. The frequency of no otherization frame in *The New York Times* does not significantly differ from either *The Washington Post* or the *Associated Press*, which is why the superscript contains both an "a,b".

	Frames						
News Outlet	**African Other**	**Deviant Other**	**Diseased Other**	**Shamed Other**	**Homosexual Other**	**Criminal Other**	**No Otherization Frame**
New York Times	42.5%[a]	0.0%[a]	0.0%[a]	0.0%[a]	0.0%	0.0%	57.5%[a,b]
Washington Post	47.0%[a]	1.2%[a]	0.0%[a]	1.2%[a]	0.0%	0.0%	51.8%[b]
Associated Press	28.0%[b]	1.3%[a]	0.4%[a]	0.9%[a]	0.0%	0.0%	69.3%[a]

Table 5. *Frequency of Otherization Frames in First Paragraphs Across The New York Times, The Washington Post, and Associated Press*

	Frames						
	African Other	**Deviant Other**	**Diseased Other**	**Shamed Other**	**Homosexual Other**	**Criminal Other**	**No Otherization Frame**
All Three Media Outlets	44.2%	1.2%	2.4%	1.2%	0.0%	0.0%	51%

Table 6. *Frequency of Otherization Frames in First Paragraphs by News Outlet*
Each superscript letter denotes whether each individual frame frequency significantly differs from that same frame's frequency for each news outlet. Significance is compared down the columns and is measured at the 0.05 level. There is no significant difference between the frequency of otherization frames in the first paragraphs of articles among all three media outlets.

	Frames						
News Outlet	**African Other**	**Deviant Other**	**Diseased Other**	**Shamed Other**	**Homosexual Other**	**Criminal Other**	**No Otherization Frame**
New York Times	38.9%[a]	0.0%[a]	1.8%[a]	1.8%[a]	0.0%	0.0%	57.5%[a]
Washington Post	49.4%[a]	1.2%[a]	0.0%[a]	1.2%[a]	0.0%	0.0%	48.2%[a]
Associated Press	44.9%[a]	1.8%[a]	3.6%[a]	0.9%[a]	0.0%	0.0%	48.9%[a]

Table 7. *Frequency of Article Tone Across The New York Times, The Washington Post, and Associated Press*

	Article Tone			
	Positive	**Negative**	**Mixed Positive and Negative**	**Neutral**
All Three Media Outlets	15%	39.9%	44.4%	0.7%

Table 8. *Frequency of Article Tone by News Outlet*
Each superscript letter denotes whether each individual frame frequency significantly differs from that same frame's frequency for each news outlet. Significance is compared down the columns and is measured at the 0.05 level. There is no significant difference between the frequency of article tone in articles among all three media outlets.

	Article Tone			
News Outlet	**Positive**	**Negative**	**Mixed Positive and Negative**	**Neutral**
New York Times	14.2%[a]	45.1%[a]	39.8%[a]	0.9%[a]
Washington Post	13.3%[a]	30.1%[a]	56.6%[a]	0.0%[a]
Associated Press	16.0%[a]	40.9%[a]	42.2%[a]	0.9%[a]

Table 9. *Frequency of Calls for Action Across The New York Times, The Washington Post, and Associated Press*

	Calls for Action								
News Outlet	**Donate money**	**Get HIV tested**	**Use condoms**	**Take antiretroviral meds**	**Learn more about HIV/AIDS**	**Visit a doctor**	**Talk more openly about HIV/AIDS**	**Other**	**None**
All Three Media Outlets	0%	0%	0%	0%	1.4%	0%	0%	1.4%	97.1%

Table 10. *Frequency of Calls for Action by News Outlet*
Each superscript letter denotes whether each individual frame frequency significantly differs from that same frame's frequency for each news outlet. Significance is compared down the columns and is measured at the 0.05 level. There is no significant difference between the frequency of calls for action in articles among all three media outlets.

	Calls for Action								
News Outlet	**Donate money**	**Get HIV tested**	**Use condoms**	**Take antiretroviral meds**	**Learn more about HIV/AIDS**	**Visit a doctor**	**Talk more openly about HIV/AIDS**	**Other**	**None**
New York Times	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%[a]	0%	0%	0%[a]	100%[a]
Washington Post	0%	0%	0%	0%	1.2%[a]	0%	0%	0%[a]	98.8%[a]
Associated Press	0%	0%	0%	0%	2.2%[a]	0%	0%	2.7%[a]	95.1%[a]

Table 11. *Frequency of Otherization Frames Compared Between Periods Across All Three Media Outlets (The New York Times, The Washington Post,* and *Associated Press)*
Each superscript letter denotes whether each individual frame frequency significantly differs from that same frame's frequency for each news outlet. Significance is compared down the columns and is measured at the 0.05 level. For example, for the "African Other" frame, since the superscript is an "a" for both the Early Period and the Late Period, this means there is not a significant difference between the two frequencies. But for the "Deviant Other" and "Homosexual Other" frames, since there is the "a" superscript in the early period and the "b" superscript in the late period, this means that there is a significant difference in the frequencies between the two periods.

	Frames						
News Outlet	**African Other**	**Deviant Other**	**Diseased Other**	**Shamed Other**	**Homosexual Other**	**Criminal Other**	**All Frames**
Early Period (1987-96)	88.3%[a]	44.2%[a]	18.2%[a]	14.3%[a]	23.4%[a]	0.0%	92.0%[a]
Late Period (1997-06)	89.0%[a]	13.4%[b]	10.8%[a]	15.7%[a]	4.9%[b]	0.0%	89.5%[a]

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION

Otherization is an old concept developed in the 1800s by Hegel (1807), but has stayed a problem in the twenty-first century (Powell & Menendian, 2017). However, the analysis of otherization in the news media appears to be relatively new (Considered, 2016), with the first studies of otherization in the news media not showing up until the late 1990s, and appearing infrequently since then (Myers, Klak, & Koehl, 1996). In addition, analysis of otherization in media studies has been scattered across different types of news topics, such as Lee's (2006) study on gendered otherization of Filipina sex workers in Korea, Afshar's (2013) study on the religious and cultural otherization of Muslims in the post-9/11 Western world, and Mensing's (2016) study on the foreign otherization of migrants in Germany. This research to the author's knowledge, is the first study in which analysis of otherization framing has been applied to the American media's HIV/AIDS news coverage in Africa from 1987 to 2007.

The present study found that the American media did otherize those living with HIV/AIDS in Africa. The frame that was used most often for otherization across all three media outlets (*The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and the *Associated Press*) and each individual media outlet was the "African Other." It was also found there was a significant difference between the frequency of the "African Other" frame and every other frame in the study. That the "African Other" was the most frequently used otherization frame in this study is unsurprising, given the Western media's long history of otherizing minorities and the continent of Africa (Appiah, 1992; Chege, 1994; Fair, 1992, 1994; Hall et al., 2013; Hawk, 1992; Jarosz,

1992; McClintock, 1995). This historical otherization of Africa was represented in this study through the presence of the "African Other" frame. Following the definition of the "African Other" frame, the results suggest that the American media frequently portrayed Africans as "outside the global popular culture" (Ibelema, 2014), and behaving in a way different from the mainstream Western norms. Ibelema's (2014) 12-year study of American news coverage of Africa found that the continent remained a "remote other" in news stories, in part because reporters accentuated the differences of living in the West compared to Africa, especially related to the practice of tribal customs, which he termed a "tribal fixation." The "African Other" also symbolizes what some scholars have termed "geo-conflation," which assumes that singular differences between Africans and African countries are not acknowledged, but rather all Africans are lumped together in one group, as a "homogenized, collectivized 'they'" (Pratt, 1985). An example of these types of "African othering" can be seen in a 2005 *The New York Times* article from this study, aptly titled, "AIDS Now Compels Africa to Challenge Widows' 'Cleansing'":

> *"But change is coming slowly, village by village, hut by hut. In a region where belief in witchcraft is widespread and many women are taught from childhood not to challenge tribal leaders or the prerogatives of men, the fear of flouting tradition often outweighs even the fear of AIDS."*

Initial instances of othering began as soon as the West started to colonize the continent of Africa, and found native people living different lifestyles than themselves. That difference was further enhanced when Westerners started to enslave Africans and set up colonial posts on the continent, ensuring that there was a separating and distancing between those who were free, and those who were slaves (Machungo, 2014). The otherization could have also been perpetuated over time by Americans who chose images and representations of Africa that aligned with their

worldview (Fair, 1994), which could also be connected to stereotyping, which can be defined as a lazy way to easily assign people into categories in the brain (Link & Phelan, 2001). Ebo (1992) proposed the idea that this otherization has continued over time, because the American media has continued to create and sustain bias by choosing to report stories on Africa that are focused only on negative events, such as war, famine, political upheaval, or other disasters. This statement was to some degree supported by this study, which found that a large percentage of news articles (39.9%) from all three news outlets were written in a negative tone.[2] Additionally, the majority of articles in *The New York Times* contained a negative tone. Past studies have found that if a topic continually receives negatively toned news coverage, it increases the negative public perception of the topic (Sheafer, 2007). But, a negative tone can also make the issue more salient and important to the public agenda (Schoenbach & Semetko, 1992). These findings from previous literature suggest for this study that the high frequency of negatively toned news coverage (39.9%) could have helped to perpetuate negative and stereotyped images of the continent (Palmberg, 2001), increased the public's negative perception of the HIV/AIDS epidemic in Africa, while also having emphasized that the issue was an important topic needing addressing.

However, the article tone that was most frequently found across all three media outlets was a mix of a positive and negative tone (44.4%), while articles with only a positive tone were a much smaller percentage (15.7%). Because the largest percent of articles contained an even mix of positive and negative statements, this suggests that reporters mostly presented the issue of HIV/AIDS in Africa in a balanced sense that acknowledged both negative and positive events. Both positive and negative attributes need to be present to illustrate situations in their full complexity, so this was a feature of the news coverage that is a hopeful sign from this study

[2] The largest percent of articles in the study had a mixed positive and negative tone.

(Martin et al., 2013). But, the consistent presence of otherization frames indicates that otherization and perhaps indirectly, stigmatization, were still occurring.

Besides, the "African Other," four other otherization frames were also widely present in news articles from this study including, the "Deviant Other," "Shamed Other," "Diseased Other," and "Homosexual Other." This finding illustrates that the American media's otherizing and stigmatizing characterization of those living with HIV/AIDS was not confined only to domestic coverage, as this literature review illustrated, but also expanded out to international coverage of the continent of Africa. Stigmatizing characterization of those living with HIV/AIDS, which demonizes out-groups, such as gay men, drug users and other marginalized people, was a facet in Western news coverage of their own countries in the 1980s and early 1990s (Crimp, 1992; Gilman, 1988; J. Kitzinger, 1993; J. Kitzinger, 1995; Sontag, 1989; Treichler, 1999; Watney, 1989, 1996). So, this study showed that the same stereotypes and stigmatization which were initially produced in Western domestic news coverage continued to be reproduced by the outlets in their coverage of HIV/AIDS in Africa. Past studies found that once highly effective antiretroviral medication became widely available in 1996, the news frames used for HIV in the West shifted from otherizing to instead framing the disease as a manageable chronic illness and a routine health news story (Rofes, 1998; Siegel & Lekas, 2002). However, this present study did not discover the same trend of coverage of those living with HIV/AIDS in Africa. On the contrary, it was found that the frequency of otherization frames did not significantly differ between the early period (1987-1996) and the late period (1997-2006). This means that overall otherizing news coverage remained constant over the 20-year period, suggesting that American media highly otherized African people living with HIV/AIDS, regardless of what was happening in the outside environment. Two individual frames were exceptions to this rule. The frequency of

both the “Homosexual Other” frame and the “Deviant Other” frame significantly decreased from the early period to the late period. It is likely this could be attributed to changing attitudes towards HIV/AIDS, as society came to understand that HIV/AIDS is a disease which can affect anyone and not only marginalized groups of people, such as homosexual men, sex workers, and injection drug users (Bardhan, 2001; Hunter et al., 2007; McAllister, 1992). In contrast, the “African Other,” “Diseased Other,” and “Shamed Other” otherization frame frequencies did not differ over the two periods. This might suggest that as the “Homosexual Other” and “Deviant Other” frames came to be seen as problematic, they decreased over time, but were quickly replaced with other, perhaps less problematic otherization frames. Since the frequency of total otherization frames remained constant between the early period and late period, it seems likely this frame substitution is what occurred. In addition, this study found that the total otherization frame frequency did not differ significantly between the three media outlets, and each outlet had a high percentage of articles containing otherization frames (all over 87%). Thus, it can be stated that all three media outlets consistently contained otherization frames and there was no significant difference in otherization frame frequency between the outlets.

Other studies have found that the “Shamed Other” and “Diseased Other” are frames which are present today, if not necessarily in news coverage, but in everyday societal attitudes towards HIV/AIDS. As recently as October 2017, UNAIDS released a report warning countries around the world to be aware that those living with HIV/AIDS are often too worried about HIV-related stigma and discrimination to seek health care for their condition, sometimes delaying medical visits until they are very ill. Similarly, fear of HIV-related stigma has been found to make people reluctant to get tested for HIV or consistently adhere to the antiretroviral medicine regimen. The UNAIDS declared that significantly reducing HIV/AIDS as a public health threat,

as well as the number of people living with the disease cannot be achieved until HIV-related stigma and discrimination are eliminated (UNAIDS, 2017). In addition, academic institutions, international aid groups, and advocacy organizations continue to publish fact-sheets and hold education seminars on how to dispel HIV-related stigma and discrimination (DeCarlo & Ekstrand, 2016; Mahajan et al., 2008; Policy, 2018). The University of California, San Francisco's fact sheet on HIV-related stigma helps those unfamiliar with the concept to understand why stigma exists, how stigma is manifested, and what can be done to address stigma. One of the keys in addressing stigma is to reduce the stigma of other conditions that are often co-present in those living with HIV/AIDS, including substance use, mental health issues, sex work, and homelessness (DeCarlo & Ekstrand, 2016). The national Center for HIV Law and Policy has an HIV policy resource bank to help those living with HIV/AIDS to encounter and navigate stigma in different areas of their lives, including obtaining employment, enrolling in the military, being incarcerated in a prison or a jail, and even emigrating to the United States (Policy, 2018). A systematic review of the scientific literature on HIV/AIDS-related stigma revealed that stigma can occur and be reduced at five different types of levels: intrapersonal via counseling or support groups, interpersonal via care and support, community via education in mass media or public health campaigns, institutional via training programs or policy development, and governmental/structural via legal interventions and rights-based approaches (Mahajan et al., 2008). All three of these are examples of ways to reduce HIV/AIDS-related stigma, thus, also serving as proof that HIV-related stigma is still very much alive and present today. HIV/AIDS-related stigma could be manifested through the representation of any of the otherization frames in this study, but the "Diseased Other" and "Shamed Other" frames seem particularly relevant to the modern-day stigma and attitudes towards HIV and AIDS described by these resources.

The present study also analyzed which frames featured most prominently in both the headlines and first paragraphs of news articles. It was found that the majority of headlines and first paragraphs contained no otherization frame. Because headlines and first paragraphs are usually used to initially introduce a frame message which is reinforced throughout the remainder of the article (Gregorio et al., 2012), the absence of otherization frames in headlines and first paragraphs could indicate that otherization may not have been the main message the authors were trying to convey. But, the frequency of no otherization frames within the whole news article, was very low (10% for all three news outlets, and less than 12% for each individual outlet). This illustrates that otherization framing was occurring in the news articles, but not necessarily within the headline or the first paragraph, and could serve as evidence for primary and secondary framing. A primary frame is the frame which is most prominent in a news article, and is usually found in the headline, subheading, or first paragraph, and usually has more sources quoted in support of the frame. Secondary frames includes frames that are found throughout the remainder of the article, by analyzing the remaining salient elements of the text as well as the remaining quoted sources (Gregorio et al., 2012). The "African Other" continued to be the frame most prominent in the headlines (35.6%) and the first paragraphs (44.2%) of news articles in the study, while other frames only appeared very minimally as prominent in the headlines and the first paragraphs. This seems to suggest that the "African Other" was the primary frame and main message being transmitted when otherization was occurring in news articles, while the other otherization frames were only secondary frames that were used later in the story to convey a less important otherization message. The primary and secondary framing could have been a subconscious decision that the reporters from *The New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and the *Associated Press* who were writing on HIV/AIDS in Africa made while working from their own

privileged positions. Assuming that these journalists were not of African origin, they could have easily relied on stereotypes to make simplistic categorizations (Pickering, 2001), which could have been why otherization frames appeared as secondary frames later in the news articles.

Interestingly, the majority of articles (97%) across all three media outlets contained no type of explicit behavioral recommendation or "calls for action" at all. Out of the 12 articles which contained a call for action, the most common call for action was "Learn more about HIV/AIDS." Because of the low frequency of behavioral recommendations within news articles, it can be assumed that most readers were not prompted to change their behavior, including health behavior (getting HIV tested, using a condom), regarding HIV/AIDS (Babin & Burns, 1997; Chang, 2011, 2016; Hornik, 2002; Wallack, 1993). Since the different types of calls for action were newly developed for this study using common public health-related action messages present on the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention's website, there is no previous literature to compare them to. But the development of these categories for this study makes them available for use in future HIV/AIDS related media research. Having a new HIV/AIDS behavior related calls for action variable could allow journalists to analyze their own behavioral recommendation practices, while also allowing public health practitioners and communicators to understand whether the media is relaying HIV/AIDS public health messages to the news-reading audience.

The findings of this study point out that otherization of Africa and Africans living with HIV/AIDS was frequent in the American media's news coverage through the late 1980s, the 1990s, and early 2000s. This leaves us with the question of how current reporters can prevent future otherization in their own news coverage of Africa and those living with HIV/AIDS. This is especially important in the context of international journalism where Western reporters may be

working through their own worldview, and considering Western values and behaviors as the standard norm. Instead, journalists reporting on or within a country which is not their homeland should attempt to learn, understand, and acknowledge the unique culture within that country. One simple suggestion regarding language would be to recognize the individual differences between countries, rather than writing generalized statements to refer to Africa (e.g., Kenyans rather than Africans). This could help to dispel the stereotype which was cited by many Africans as hearing from Americans that "Africa is a country" (Kermeliotis, 2014), and reduce geo-conflation overall (Pratt, 1985).

Reporters should also carefully consider their language use when referring to the developing world. NPR reporter, Nurith Aizenman, recently questioned her usage of the term "hut" in a news story she wrote about a government aid program that distributes cash to people living in poverty in Zambia. When she asked Africans whether they found the term offensive, she got varying responses. Many did consider the word "hut" to be a Western way of portraying the poor and an "inferior type of lifestyle." Other Africans said that huts should not be widely generalized as always being the homes of those living in poverty. But in the end, after multiple discussions, Aizenman decided since she was writing specifically about poverty, it would have been disrespectful to not use the term "hut," because it would have "purposefully obscured the reality of their poverty" (Aizenman, 2017). This is to say, there may not be straight hard and fast rules for writing about the developing world, but rather that it should be an ongoing conversation reporters have with the people they interview, among themselves, and with their editors, to find the terms that are most respectful and representative of situations.

The language used when writing about those living with HIV/AIDS should also be carefully considered. The national organization, Positive Women's Network, has a guideline for

journalists they recommend using to help stop the otherization of those living with HIV or those in communities who are at risk of contracting HIV (Wojciechowicz et al., 2018). Some of the suggestions include replacing stigmatizing terms with more inclusive terms, such as, "HIV positive" with "person/people living with HIV"; avoiding sensationalist headlines or first paragraphs about HIV transmission; and displaying the full complexity of the disease, and what living with it can be like (Wojciechowicz et al., 2018).

Western journalists should also consider the tone they use to write about Africa, and the negative and positive aspects of the crisis that they highlight. It is possible that the high percentage of negatively toned coverage in this study could partly be attributed to the severity of HIV/AIDS at the time in Africa, as well as the lack of resources to combat the disease on the continent. And, it should also be considered that negative news sells. Even with domestic news coverage in Western countries, main stories of the day are often focused on negative events. Palmberg (2001) suggested that international news was originally developed to "provide shareholders in Europe with news on conflict areas," meaning that reports probably focused on negative events. However, though there seems to be a historical tradition of reporting on conflict and crisis situations, that does not mean a pattern of negative news coverage must continue. Instead, the American media should consider what their coverage of Africa looks like, and perhaps shift their focus to also include positive stories coming out of the continent, concentrated on the successes of the African people.

This study makes a theoretical contribution to the previous literature on otherization framing of HIV/AIDS in the news media, by finding and adding a new frame that to the study author's knowledge has not yet appeared in the published literature (e.g., Afshar, 2013; Albert, 1984; Bardhan, 2001; Clarke, 1992; Gilman, 1988; Ibelema, 2014; McKay et al., 2011; Petros et

al., 2006). The new otherization frame, the "Shamed Other," was found through noticing the frame occurrence in multiple news articles in the study. The existing literature on HIV/AIDS supported the idea that those living with HIV/AIDS often feel an internalized shame because of society's attribution of shame to the disease (Bennett et al., 2016). Contributing a new type of otherization frame to the existing scholarship on the representation of those living with HIV/AIDS in the news media, will allow for better analyses and future studies of HIV/AIDS reporting.

In addition, a new set of "calls for action" about HIV/AIDS were developed for this study, which can be used in future analyses of behavioral recommendations in HIV/AIDS-related news stories. No previous literature was found to have specific behavioral recommendations regarding HIV/AIDS, so this set of calls for action contributes to the health communication literature by allowing public health professionals to evaluate what public health messages are being distributed. It could also serve as a way for journalists to understand what health recommendations they may be purposely or inadvertently implementing in their stories.

To the study author's knowledge, this is the first study of its kind to systematically analyze the amount and change of otherization framing of HIV/AIDS in American news coverage over this 20-year news period. Thus, the study will add to the current literature on framing regarding the topics of otherization, HIV/AIDS, and the continent of Africa, and hopefully, fuel future studies on the topic.

Limitations and Future Research

This study was conducted over a 20-year period using random sampling among *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post* and the *Associated Press*. Other media outlets may have showed more frequent, as well as different types of otherization frames, compared to these three

media outlets. It is also possible that other types of otherization frames may have been noticed in other media outlets, especially outlets outside of the mainstream media. Both *The New York Times* and *The Washington Pos*t have been criticized by conservatives as promoting liberal views. To account for the possibility of this happening, a future study could also incorporate a traditionally conservative newspaper, such as *The Wall Street Journal*.

The three media outlets used in this study are also primarily print-focused, and it is possible that television or radio outlets may have also had other otherization frame types or frequencies. Future studies could incorporate a wide range of national television outlets, including CNN, Fox News, ABC News, NBC News, CBS News, as well as radio news from the same outlets. Public media could also be interesting to analyze, since these outlets are also a main source of news for Americans. Thus, analyzing National Public Radio's (NPR) and the Public Broadcasting System's (PBS) content could add another dimension and help fill in the gap of the literature around otherization framing.

It is also unclear whether there is still otherization of Africa and those living with HIV/AIDS in Africa occurring in today's present news coverage. Since this study focused on news coverage for 20 years during a high interest period of the disease (1987-2007), there is room for another study to explore the following ten years of news coverage to look for the presence of otherization frames. In a similar sense, this study focused solely on otherization frame presence in news coverage of those living with HIV/AIDS in Africa. That leaves much of the globe up for exploration in similar studies – particularly it could be of interest to conduct a study using the same otherization frames and see if their presence was detected in American domestic news coverage during the same time and in the same news media outlets. Similarly, HIV/AIDS also became a real issue for Asian nations in the 1990s and early 2000s, so it could

also be an interesting area of the world to analyze for otherization framing in HIV/AIDS-related news coverage.

In addition, it should be noted that this study only looked for the occurrence of negative otherization, through analyzing the frequency of negative frames of the "African Other," "Criminal Other," "Homosexual Other," "Deviant Other," "Diseased Other," "Feared Other," and "Shamed Other." However, it did not account for whether positive othering may have been occurring in the news articles. The literature has shown that positive stereotyping, where one group's characteristics are emphasized as different in a positive way, does occur. This can be illustrated through the common tropes, "Black women are strong" or "Italians are good cooks" (Devarajan, 2018). The process of stereotyping usually occurs after the process of otherization has been initiated (Pickering, 2001). So, if it's possible for positive stereotyping to occur, it's also possible that positive otherization can occur. Thus, examination of positive stereotyping or positive otherization in HIV/AIDS news stories could be an avenue for exploration in future studies.

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