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**Power and Agenda-Setting in Tanzanian Health Policy: An Analysis of Stakeholder Perspectives**

Sara Elisa Fischer<sup>1,2\*</sup>, Martin Strandberg-Larsen<sup>3</sup>

**Abstract**  
**Background:** Global health policy is created largely through a collaborative process between development agencies and aid recipient governments, yet it remains unclear whether governments retain ownership over the creation of policy in their own countries. An assessment of the power structure in this relationship and its influence over agenda setting is thus the first step towards understanding where progress is still needed in policy-making for development.  
**Methods:** This study employed qualitative policy analysis methodology to examine how health-related policy agendas are adopted in low-income countries, using Tanzania as a case study. Semi-structured, in-depth, key informant interviews with 11 policy-makers were conducted on perspectives of the agenda-setting process and its actors. Kingdon's stream theory was chosen as the lens through which to interpret the data analysis.  
**Results:** This study demonstrates that while stakeholders each have ways of influencing the process, the power to do so can be assessed based on three major factors: financial incentives, technical expertise, and influential position. Since donors often have two or all of these elements simultaneously a natural power imbalance ensues, whereby donor interests tend to prevail over recipient government limitations in prioritization of agendas. One way to modulate these imbalances seems to be the institution of meaningful policy dialogues.  
**Conclusion:** In Tanzania, the agenda-setting process operates within a complex network of factors that interact until a "policy window" opens and a decision is made. Power in this process often lies not with the Tanzanian government but with the donors, and the contrast between latent presence and deliberate use of this power seems to be based on the donor ideology behind giving aid (defined here by funding modality). Donors who used pooled funding (PF) modalities were less likely to exploit their inherent power, whereas those who preferred to maintain maximum control over the aid they provided (i.e. non-pooled funders) more readily wielded their intrinsic power to push their own priorities.  
**Keywords:** Health Policy, Policy Analysis, Agenda Setting, Power, Tanzania  
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**Key Messages**

- Implications for policy makers**
- Power is a complex notion involving political forces that should not be overlooked in international policy-making; on the contrary, power should be analyzed and carefully considered throughout the process.
  - Donors who wish to negotiate with low-income country governments on the aid they provide should keep in mind that simply being 'the donor' provides them with an inherent power advantage over recipient governments.
  - Low-income country governments should recognize and capitalize on their ability to negotiate for their own priorities, regardless of donor funding modality.
  - Of the three major sources of power in policy-making, technical expertise is the simplest to improve in low-income countries. As such, governments should encourage evidence-based decision-making and emphasize the need for strong national research programs.
  - Aid is intrinsically fungible so policy-makers should work together to identify solutions that maximize the effectiveness of additional financial flows to the health sector.

**Implications for public**  
 Policy-making in low-income countries is affected a great deal by international socio-political forces. It is important to keep in mind that throughout the process of policy creation, power is wielded in various ways in order to push certain agendas. This power is inherently understood, but not always widely discussed. A greater understanding of the use (or abuse) of power in policy-making is important in order to ensure that aid is as effective as possible and that low-income countries (and their poverty-stricken beneficiaries) are reaping the maximum possible benefit from these transactions. By understanding the way in which power operates, we are better able to reinforce accountability for the decisions made by our governing bodies.

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**SECOND-LEVEL AGENDA SETTING IN THE NEW HAMPSHIRE PRIMARY: A COMPARISON OF COVERAGE IN THREE NEWSPAPERS AND PUBLIC PERCEPTIONS OF CANDIDATES**

By Guy Gilman and Wayne Waite

Second-level agenda setting was examined during the New Hampshire primary through a comparison of Gallup poll responses and coverage in three newspapers in the region. Results show that John McCain was covered much more positively than George W. Bush. The findings also show that respondents linked few of six cognitive attributes (issues, personal characteristics) to candidates or direct proportion to media coverage. The results show low support for media influence on the effective position attributes (issues) of candidates.

More than thirty years have passed since McCombs and Shaw first examined the agenda-setting process of the news media during the 1968 election. Their study, which examined the media's effect on the perceived importance of issues held by the public, was later followed by hundreds of studies that have grown into an impressive body of literature.

Recently, researchers have begun to go beyond examination of the influence of the media's issue agenda on the public's issue agenda. This new research in the second-level agenda setting instead examines agenda of attributes. Researchers, thus, are examining the characteristics that the news media link to political figures and how the public subsequently links these same attributes to the political figures.

The present study will examine how the second-level agenda setting was at work during the 2000 New Hampshire presidential primary. We will compare the media content of three influential newspapers in the region with results from Gallup polls that asked respondents their perceptions of the two leading Republican presidential candidates. Our analysis, then, will examine how the newspaper coverage affected the attitudes of attributes linked to the two candidates by New Hampshire voters. Using a content analysis of the Boston Globe, the Nashua Telegraph, and the Union Leader of Manchester, the present study will attempt to determine how the newspapers framed candidates' traits.

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**RESEARCH** Open Access

**The role of policy actors and contextual factors in policy agenda setting and formulation: maternal fee exemption policies in Ghana over four and a half decades**

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**Abstract**  
**Background:** Development of health policy is a complex process that does not necessarily follow a particular format and a predictable trajectory. Therefore, agenda setting and selecting of alternatives are critical processes of policy development and can give insights into how and why policies are made. Understanding why some policy issues remain and are maintained while others drop off the agenda is an important enquiry. This paper aims to advance understanding of health policy agenda setting and formulation in Ghana, a lower middle-income country, by exploring how and why the maternal (antenatal, delivery and postnatal) fee exemption policy agenda in the health sector has been maintained over the four and half decades since a 'free antenatal care in government facilities' policy was first introduced in October 1963.  
**Methods:** A mix of historical and contemporary qualitative case studies of nine policy agenda setting and formulation processes was used. Data collection methods involved reviews of archival materials, contemporary records, media content, in-depth interviews, and participant observation. Data was analysed drawing on a combination of policy analysis theories and frameworks.  
**Results:** Contextual factors, acting in an interrelating manner, shaped how policy actors acted in a timely manner and closely linked policy content to the intended agenda. Contextual factors that served as bases for the policymaking process were: political ideology, economic crisis, data about health outcomes, historical events, social unrest, change in government, election year, austerity measures, and international agendas. Ninsin's socialist ideology first set the agenda for free antenatal service in 1963. This policy trajectory taken in 1963 was not reversed by subsequent policy actors because contextual factors and policy actors created a network of influence to maintain this issue on the agenda. Politicians over the years participated in the process to direct and approve the agenda. Donors increasingly gained agenda access within the Ghanaian health sector as they used financial support as leverage.  
**Conclusion:** Influencers of policy agenda setting must recognise that the process is complex and intertwined with a mix of political, evidence-based, finance-based, path-dependent, and donor-driven processes. Therefore, influencers need to pay attention to context and policy actors in any strategy.  
**Keywords:** Context, Fee exemption, Maternal health services, Policy actors, Policy agenda setting, Policy formulation

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use to informing by its connection of media content and its effects on the public. ^ (4) 703-717. Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly, 79, 7-25. Cambridge: Blackwell, ISBN 978-0-8039-2516-8. ^ a b c d Cobb, R.W.; Elder, C. doi:10.1177/10776990970400404. Comments and reply's given potential for people to address your thoughts or open new doors for conversation. S2CID 154854950. Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication. ^ West, Richard; Turner, Lynn H. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum. Since the study of 1940 presidential election in Erie County, Ohio, by Paul Lazarsfeld and his colleagues, little evidence of mass communication effects was found over the next twenty years. Retrieved 2010-12-02. In Europe, agenda-setting theory has been applied in similar pattern as in the United States.[77][78] McCombs and Maxwell also investigated agenda-setting theory in the context of the 1995 regional and municipal elections in Spain.[41] Maniou and Bantimiaroudis (2018) examined the application of agenda-setting theory in the case of the Greek media during the left administration of A. This is now the case because the general public can now create their own media. This means that the less direct experience people have with an issue, the greater is the news media's influence on public opinion on that issue.[3][19][34] Moreover, unobtrusive or high-threshold issues do not pertain into media agenda as quickly as obtrusive issues and therefore require a buildup, which is a function of more than the amount of space or time the media devote to the story. 11: 555-594. Wanta, W.; Wu, Y.C. (1995). "Agenda setting and the biosphere: An analysis of the relationship between mainstream media and political blogs". In other words, "how forces and groups in society try to shape public discourse about an issue by establishing predominant labels is of far greater interest from a framing perspective than from a traditional agenda-setting one." News processing: For framing and agenda-setting, different conditions seem to be needed in processing messages to produce respective effects. Hence, if relevance is low, people will feel the need for less orientation. Some may argue that Twitter is still being used as a place for people to follow celebrity news and the culture of Hollywood more than it is being used for important issues and world news. Rogers also suggests that Funkhouser was geographically isolated at Stanford, cut off from interested researchers, whereas McCombs and Shaw had got other people interested in agenda setting research. You can have a normal conference audio call or a conference video call, depending on the capabilities of your equipment. Norwood, N.J.: Ablex Pub. ^ Conway, Bethany A.; Kenski, Kate; Wang, Di (July 2015). Agenda setting between media and other sources Recent research on agenda-setting digs into the question of "who sets the media agenda" [54] In the broad field of political communication there is a current that draws on both political science and communication science, and is concerned with the extent to which and how the media contribute to the establishment of the political agenda.[55] The original agenda-setting study by McCombs and Shaw found that the amount of media exposure given to a topic influences the public salience of that topic.[41] Meaning, repeated exposure is what causes the public to deem, a topic as important. According to a study conducted by Lang and Lang, the media coverage at first belittled the watergate scandal and the President's involvement. Whatever the source you use, ensure that other participants to the meeting are using a similar program. Setting the Agenda: The Mass Media and Public Opinion (Repr. ed.). interpretation of news issue).[45] When talking about the second-level of agenda setting, as well as the political aspects of the theory, its pivotal to include priming. Journalism. In training the journalist, businesses can ensure that the reporters avoid bias and keep in mind the business' values. Twitter is being used as a resource to gather information, reach a larger audience and engagement, stay up to date with current social and political issues, and to achieve the agenda building role. ^ Walgrave, S; Van Aelst, P (2006). 24 (6): 567-587. 94: 53-78. One example that provides realistic criticism for this theory was the use of Twitter by reporters during the 2012 presidential election[86] and the role that two way communication models now exist within the news media discourse. ^ Gans, H.J. (1979). MORE FROM BLOGLINES This article is written like a personal reflection, personal essay, or argumentative essay that states a Wikipedia editor's personal feelings or presents an original argument about a topic. However, the public is not as passive as the theory assumed. "Watergate: An exploration of the agenda-building process". When respondents are asked what the most important problem facing the country is, they answer with the most accessible news issue in memory, which is typically the news media focus on the most. Application of agenda-setting theory for the study of various topics in USA Twitter application Over the last few years, the increase in social media use has had a direct effect on political campaign strategy, particularly on the Social Media platform Twitter. 87 (4): 716. ^ Meraz, Sharon (2011). This is why when reading newspapers, certain articles influence people differently because editors are working behind the scenes to figure out the placement of articles and how long or short the stories will be. "Level of uncertainty is the second defining condition of need for orientation. In D.L. Shaw and M.E. McCombs (Eds.), The Emergence of American Public Issues: 107-120. ^ Wallsten, Kevin (2007). Balmas, M.; Sheafer, T. A.; Tewksbury, D. For example, media coverage of a political candidate's experience would be included in the substantive dimension of second-level agenda-setting, whereas the attitude toward the candidate's experience (positive, negative, or neutral) would be included in the affective dimension.[39] Hierarchy of Effects Theory Coleman and Wu (2009) emphasized the similarities between the hierarchy of effects theory and agenda-setting theory, and how the latter can be used to analyze the former. The Never-ending campaign. Deciding what's news. Only 5.6% of the international news produced by the United States media covers Africa which likely means viewers do not receive a well-rounded view of the entire continent.[76] Study of topics outside US Europe: Agenda-setting theory is applicable to other countries as well. 50 (3): 175-205. Very powerful resources of information can even influence whether an issue receives media attention at all.[31] The relationship of media and policymakers is symbiotic and is controlled by shared culture of unofficial set of ground rules as journalists need access to official information and policymakers need media coverage; nevertheless the needs of journalists and policymakers are often incompatible because of their different orientation in time as powerful sources are at their best in routine situations and react more slowly when crisis or disaster occur.[3][20] Consequently, policymakers who understand the rules of this culture the best will be most capable of setting their agendas and issue definitions.[20] On the other hand, media also influence policymakers when government officials and politicians take the amount of media attention given to an issue as an indirect expression of public interest in the issue.[3] Academic research on agenda-setting theory Review studies on agenda-setting theory Various critiques have been made of agenda-setting theory. Agenda-setting is an inherently causal theory, but few studies establish the hypothesized temporal order (the media should set the public's agenda). Since the 1968 study, published in a 1972 edition of Public Opinion Quarterly, more than 400 studies have been published on the agenda-setting function of the mass media, and the theory continues to be regarded as relevant. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2006.00333.x. Yagade, A.; Dozier, D.M. (1990). The affective factor is focused on the positive, negative, and neutral side of things. ^ Ramsey & McGuire, 2000 ^ Carroll, Craig E., and Maxwell McCombs. ^ Lang & Lang (1981). It seems the more correct to argue the possibility that when journalists look to their own interests for story ideas, they are actually trying to predict their audience's needs. 22: 2. In addition to social media, popular daily publications such as The New York Times and The Washington Post are "agenda setters" within the United States Media. S2CID 1787353. doi:10.1177/1077699090908600104. repr. ed.). ^ a b c Hilgerten, S; Bosk, C.L. (1988). (1997)[41] demonstrated that agenda-setting research at the second level deals with the influence of 'attribute' salience, whereas the first level agenda-setting illustrates the influence of 'issue' salience. 41 (2): 143-158. doi:10.1080/14616700500250438. 31: 36-57. For framing effects, empirical evidence shows that the impact of frames on public perceptions is mainly determined by perceived importance of specific frames rather than by the quickness of retrieving frames.[51] That is, the way framing effects transpires is different from the way second-level agenda-setting is supposed to take place (i.e., accessibility). ^ Balmas, M; Sheafer, T (June 2010). doi:10.1080/00909880500420242. This may sound similar to attribute agenda-setting. How the Mass Media Influence Perceptions of Corporate Reputation: Exploring Agenda-Setting Effects within Business News Coverage. p. Searching for a better way to cover a campaign - Shoreline Center". This "setting" an agenda refers to the effect of the media agenda on society.[3] transfer of the media agenda to the public agenda,[20] while "building" an agenda includes "some degree of reciprocity" between the mass media and society[19] where both media and public agendas influence public policy. Over the last few years, the increase in social media use has had a direct effect on political campaign strategy, particularly on the Social Media platform Twitter. 87 (4): 716. ^ Meraz, Sharon (2011). This is why when reading newspapers, certain articles influence people differently because editors are working behind the scenes to figure out the agenda-setting theory Review studies on agenda-setting theory Various critiques have been made of agenda-setting theory. Agenda-setting is an inherently causal theory, but few studies establish the hypothesized temporal order (the media should set the public's agenda). 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