

Media Framing Of Presidential Candidates In Tanzanian Multi-Party Elections Of 1995
And 2005: A Case Of Selected Newspapers

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I declare that this thesis is my original work and has not been submitted to any other college or university for academic credit

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ASP	Afro Shiraz Party
CCM	Chama cha Mapinduzi
CHADEMA	Chama Cha Democrasia na Maendeleo
CUF	Civil United Front
DM	Democrasia Makini
DN	Daily News (Newspaper)
DP	Democratic Party
HIV	Human Immune Virus
ID	Identity
IPP	Industrial Promotion Project
MISA	Media Institute of Southern Africa
N	Total Number
NCCR	Convection for Construction and Reform Mageuzi
NLD	League for Democracy
NORDEM	Norwegian Resource Bank for Democracy and Human Rights
PC	Presidential Candidate
PPI	Progressive Party of Tanzania Maendeleo
SAU	Chama cha Sauti ya Umma
SHIHATA	Shirika la Habari Tanzania
SPSS	Statistical Package of Social Sciences
TANU	Tanzania National Union
TG	The Guardian (Newspaper)
TLP	Tanzania Labor Party
UDP	United Democratic Party

ABSTRACT

The researcher set out to find out the influence of multi-party system on the framing of the presidential candidates on issues by the *Daily News* and *The Guardian* in 1995 and 2005. This study compared the framing of the presidential candidates' campaign on issues between the first multi-party election in 1995 and that of 2005, ten years after the adoption of multi-partism covered by a government and private owned newspapers.

Content analysis was the method used in this research. The unit of analysis was the sentence framing a presidential candidate. The total population of the sentences was 1,240 from 230 newspapers randomly selected from a total of 300 newspapers. The sentences were categorized in the following categories: governance, economic, health, self-related, gender and social issues.

The study found out that despite the introduction of multi-partism the media was minimally influenced on framing presidential candidates, because both newspapers put salience on the ruling party candidate by first placing him on front pages, framing him positively and strongly on issues of governance and economy in 1995 and on issues of economy and self-related issues in 2005. Second, there were changes on the kind of attributions made to the specific frames used on presidential candidates. However, gender was given minimal salience in 2005 when there was a female candidate. For over thirty years the Tanzanian media exercised their operations under a one-party system, which informed then the framing of the presidential candidate. Yet, ten years into multi-partism, thus democracy, the media appeared not to have learned how to exercise freedom of expression accorded by the democratic space. The ruling party candidate still dominated the framing of the election news.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my father John Mushi, to my mother Eveline Mushi, to my sisters Lilian, Jackline and Aikande, and my cousin Joseph Kavit and his family for their love and moral support.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Introduction

Tanzania became independent in 1961 under one political party known as the Tanganyika African Union (TANU) under the leadership of Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere who emphasized socialism as the model of political and economic development. By then Tanzania was known as the Republic of Tanganyika since it was not yet united with People's Republic of Zanzibar, which is an autonomous part made up of two islands, namely Unguja and Pemba located in the territorial waters of the Indian Ocean. In 1963 Zanzibar became independent under the political party known as Afro Shiraz Party (ASP) followed by a popular revolution in 1964. These two states united in 1964 and formed The United Republic of Tanzania. Then later in 1977, TANU and ASP combined to form Chama cha Mapinduzi (CCM). From then on the country practiced a one-party system. For over thirty years, CCM regulated the media performance on political, economic and social issues; which in one way or another had an influence on how media set agenda on issues concerning elections since the elections were not competitive (Ahluwalia & Zegeye, 2001)

However, this situation began to change in the 1980s under the administration of the then President Ally Hassan Mwinyi, Tanzanian's second president, when Tanzania undertook political reforms that included a review of the constitution. The constitutional reforms allowed the government to adopt a multi-party system of government. There had been growing pressure against a single party system from the citizens and the international community. Changes in the governance system also brought about great

reforms in the operations of the media. Media ownership was privatized and the autonomy of the press restored even though the government still supervised most of the operations of the media. This gave the media a new impetus or a new lease of life to express political and other issues freely. This freedom of expression also extended to the coverage of presidential campaign. The multi-party political system influenced the media to the extent that it started covering all political parties during election campaigns, in contrast to the past when the media were controlled by a government that operated under a single party system. As the media set themselves to cover political campaigns during the parliamentary and presidential elections, the print media had a big chance to make sure that it framed the presidential candidates' issues differently to be more objective, since more than one political party was participating in the election (Nyalali, 1991).

In the 1990's particularly starting with 1992 when the constitution was changed to adopt a multi-party system, media had a different approach to the coverage, because of the increase in the number of presidential candidates and the new status of autonomy for the media. However, even with the newly acquired freedom of expression the media struggled to set the agenda for the presidential campaigns because they were used to the one-party system. At the same time, the media sought to impress their audience that there was a difference between the one-party political system and the multi-party democratic system. They used various strategies like changing the framing of issues so as to ensure they were more fair and accurate in their coverage. The media became more influential as they set the agenda on political issues and in times of presidential elections on the candidates. This is because the elite who could read and others by extension depended on

media coverage during the election to select the person they deemed as the right candidate (Baregu & Kaijage, 1996).

During the earlier decade, the government used the Media Council of Tanzania (MCT) to regulate media performance. The role of MCT was to monitor both government and private media coverage of social, economic and political issues for the general public, by guiding the media in fairness, accuracy, objectivity and other journalistic requirements like exercising their freedom of expression. But even then the private media was not fully enjoying the freedom of expression as government media did, because they were not allowed to critique the government and freely cover the opposition parties. For example, the government refused media access to the opposition by not relinquishing its hold on the sole national broadcasting agency, Radio Tanzania (Ahluwalia & Zegeye, 2001).

Under the leadership of President William Benjamin Mkapa, the government emphasized privatization of state-owned resources in order to enhance development in Tanzania. As a result of privatization, private investors were encouraged to invest in all sectors of the economy including the communication sector. This encouraged the introduction of private media including privately owned newspapers, FM radio stations and privately owned television stations.

During the presidency of Mkapa, who is a former journalist, the media became freer. This freedom was supported by the economic liberalization. Investors in general economy also invested in media freedom of the press and freedom of expression became inevitable. This freedom extended also to the coverage of election and, in particular way,

the presidential elections. Media were now free to frame the content in such a way that would allow them to express their ideas of who these candidates were or what they stood for.

High demand for political news in the market increased freedom of expression whereby the media had a big role to cover different information about the candidate in order to inform people about what was going on in the society. “In the process of manufacturing news from everyday reality, journalists had to choose to focus on certain aspects and leave others out inevitably giving the news a dominant theme through the process of framing” (Entman, 1993, p. 53). The aspect chosen by a journalist in a news story has a big effect on how the audience receives the message and hence in one way or another it has a big influence on how an individual would perceive the information and decide from it.

Statement of the Problem

From 1961 to 1992, Tanzania’s political and media life had been dominated by a one- party system and a single presidential candidate when it came to elections. The only democratic aspect of this situation was the elections that took place every five years. In 1992, the constitution was amended to allow for multi-party politics and consequently many presidential candidates could stand in any given election. This not only introduced pluralistic political democracy but also gave the media a new lease of freedom of expression to write about and to present presidential candidates, their personalities, and the issues they stood for to the electorate.

However, it was only in 1995 that Tanzania started having more than one presidential candidate for the general elections namely: Benjamin Mkapa - Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), Augustino Mrema - Convection for Construction and Reform Mageuzi (NCCR), John Cheyo -United Democratic Party (UDP), and Ibrahim Lipumba - Civil United Front (CUF). The media before then were used to covering only one presidential candidate. But the 1995 general elections which had five presidential candidates posed a greater challenge to the media fraternity. They were challenged as to how to frame the candidates and issues they proposed to the electorate. That was a new phenomenon for the Tanzanian media. It is, then important to find out how the media faced this challenge and how the various candidates and issues they were articulating were framed. This is because the consumers of the information who were not used to large display of political candidates, ideologies and issues were to depend on media to know what was going on concerning the elections. Politics being the salient issue always becomes the focus of media agenda. It always gains coverage over time, and produces multiple versions of event that contain different attributes to influence the reader on a particular agenda (Chyi & McCombs, 2004).

This study used 1995 presidential elections to find out how media framed the presidential candidates. This is because it was the first time media were faced with the dilemma of covering more than one presidential candidate. The issue was how they framed the presidential candidates and issues. To the observer media were challenged as to how they were going to handle the coverage of many political parties, several presidential candidates and the related complex issues during the elections. They had to decide on what to make salient for the readers and in what frames to present them. In

order to look beyond the first multi-party elections of 1995 this research included the 2005 presidential election which occurred ten years later which had ten presidential candidates, namely Jakaya Kikwete - Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM), Freeman Mbowe - Chama Cha Democrasia na Maendeleo (CHADEMA), Ibrahim Lipumba - Civil United Front (CUF), Augustine Mrema - Tanzania Labor Party (TLP), Sengondo Mvungi - Convection for Construction and Reform Mageuzi (NCCR), Christopher Mtikila - Democratic Party (DP), Emanuel Makaidi- League for Democracy (NLD), Anna Senkoro - Progressive Party of Tanzania Maendeleo (PPI), Paul Henry - Chama cha Sauti ya Umma (SAU) and Leonald Shayo - Democrasia Makini (DM).

This enabled the researcher to establish if and when media operated in an expanded democratic space and freedom of expression to frame candidates and issues differently from the early years of embracing democracy. Did the framing of presidential candidates differ ten years later? Because by 2005 the journalist had had enough experience in operating in a pluralistic society where media were not only competing with each other, but many political parties' presidential candidates and issues were also in competition within the democratic space. One would assume that the 2000 presidential elections had strengthened and sharpened the media in their ability to emphasize, deemphasize or include, exclude ideas and make the appropriate issues salient to the readers. This issue of how presidential candidates are framed becomes crucial in a democratic country because of the frames the media give the electorate, as Hart and Childers cited in Lowry (2008, p. 484) explain, that "word choices collection into patterns of meaning which accumulate in the news consumer's mind to form identifiable

forms". Thus over a period of time the politicians could be positively, negatively or neutrally viewed by the audience depending on how the media had framed them.

Any democratic country requires the freedom of the press to be exercised because it ensures the citizens have free and fair press. The fact that Tanzania embraced a multi-party system and hence democratic principles not only politically but also for the media gave the media the freedom to express themselves. It also enhanced public interest in government affairs and in this case political elections and particularly presidential candidates became a matter of great interest. Therefore, this study established the kind of frames that the two newspapers used for the 1995 presidential election at the beginning of democratic era and in 2005 ten years after the democratic era.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to find out the influence of multi-party system on the framing of the presidential candidates on issues by *The Daily News and The Guardian* in 1995 and 2005.

Research Objectives

1. To establish the influence of multi-party system on media's framing of presidential candidates in Tanzania.
2. To find out the kind of frames used by media on the presidential candidates in 1995 and 2005 elections.
3. To establish the salience of gender and other issues in the framing of presidential candidates.

Rationale of the Study

This study wanted to go beyond the normal content analysis of the coverage of presidential candidates' campaigns, and to focus on how newspapers by framing presidential candidates in specific frames, provide ideas to their audience as to who the candidate is all about and stands for. Choices of frames by reporters and editors that occur in a one-party state are going to be different from those which are chosen in a democratic environment. Democracy provides an increased space for freedom of expression. Thus, in this case newspapers' framing of presidential candidates would reflect the tenets of freedom of speech, freedom of expression and freedom of press. To the best knowledge of this researcher, little or no research has been carried out to find the influence of multi-partism on the media framing of presidential candidates in Tanzania. Therefore, it is important to find out if media in multi-partism democracy did influence the framing of presidential candidates weather changes did take place in 1995 and 2005 elections.

Significance of the Study

This study is significant to the following groups: media outlets, academics and politicians.

For Media outlets

This research helps to form a basis for Tanzanian print media performance on framing different issues. It is also important to the print media organizations to review their editorial philosophies on elections events, with regard to the framing of presidential candidates' campaigns and make sure they do better in the coming elections.

For Academics

This study adds to knowledge of the kinds of frames that are used in Africa with regard to political issues. This study is also important to journalism/mass communication training institutions where the importance of the process can be well articulated with regard to the framing of issues, since it is one of the important topics to be discussed in journalism/mass communication institutions to prepare journalists' perspectives on issues about how framing has effect on the manner in which a person receives the message and decides from it.

For Politicians

This research will help politicians to know how they are framed by the media during election campaigns and hence understand the effect of media on the coverage of political issues.

Limitations of the Study

The national language of Tanzania is Kiswahili and the newspapers analyzed were in English. This means that the stories were translated to English. But where translation was required a dynamic equivalence approach was employed.

Since the method was content analysis, it allowed the researcher to study only from the vantage point of readymade content without taking into consideration the process that led to framing the story. For example, the stories in *Daily News* and *The Guardian* which the researcher used in data collection had passed through the hands of editors, who are gatekeepers. The researcher was not able to establish the reasons why the

editors allowed the stories to appear in the newspaper on the particular pages in which they appeared.

The researcher also omitted the Swahili newspapers which use the national language because during the 1995 election there were no Swahili newspapers which had high circulation throughout the country. Most of them were based in Dar es Salaam. This was done to avoid inconsistency of the framing of the presidential candidates and issues discussed for elections.

Delimitation of the Study

The scope of this study was the two Tanzanian daily newspapers, that is, *Daily News* and *The Guardian* for 1995 and 2005. These newspapers were chosen because of their high circulation as compared to the others. According to MISA (2006), *Daily News* circulates 50,000 newspapers per day, and *The Guardian* 32,000 per day. *Daily News* and *The Guardian* are in English. The study did not include the year 2000 presidential election because the researcher wanted to focus on the start of the multi-party era and ten years later when media had more experience in multi-partism. This study also looked at political candidates and not political parties, as well as readymade stories from the newspapers rather than how people processed news. The researcher as well acknowledged journalistic bias that could have influenced the gathering, processing and transmission of information, and the structure and partisan biases which may affect how stories are balanced but are not part of this study.

Assumptions of the Study

The researcher assumed that in a single party system even with a semblance of democracy, media freedom would be restricted when it comes to divergent political expressions and in particular the coverage of presidential candidates. Therefore, the introduction of multi-party system could have provided greater freedom for media to express themselves freely since there were variety of parties and candidates.

The campaign period was the time when media had a lot to cover on presidential candidates. This was when presidential candidates and issues concerning their elect ability could arise and give the media a chance to frame the candidates and issues they stood for. This study assumed that the changes from a single party and a few candidates to a multi-party system did influence how media could have framed the presidential candidates and issues during the elections.

Method

This study used content analysis to examine hard news, features and the editorials, and photographs with their captions and the entire cartoons during the months of August and October 1995 and August and November 2005, during which Tanzania prepared for the election of presidential and parliamentary candidates.

The research used the sentence as the unit of analysis for articles. The sentence was selected because as a unit, it could convey a complete idea of what was being framed. However, a photograph with its caption and the entire cartoon were independent units of analysis to explore the depth of the framing of the candidates. The study also constructed the categories based on the suggestions by the literature review and other

appropriate categories. The population was the two newspapers *Daily News* and *The Guardian*. The sample was the issues of the entire campaign period.

Definition of Terms

Elections: The coverage of the process of choosing or selecting a person for a position, in this case, the president.

Frame: A central organizing idea that selects and emphasizes specific aspects of news content, making it more salient (Severin & Tankard, 1997; Entman, 1993). For the purpose of this study frame is treated as an idea that is emphasized in a story.

Framing: The word 'framing' has developed from frame. According to Rhee (1997), framing refers to the way events and issues are organized and made sense of, especially by media, media professionals and their audiences. However Entman (1993, p.54) defines framing as "Framing essentially involves selection and salience". For the purpose of this study, framing meant a selection of an aspect in a story which is the main idea.

Multi-party era: The period from 1992 up to 2005 when the constitution changed and the country adopted the multi-party system.

Negative framing: A frame of a sentence whose idea or ideas were framed in such a way that the presidential candidate mentioned or written about was portrayed in a way that could not favor his/her being elected.

Neutral framing: A sentence's frame whose idea or ideas are framed in such a way that the presidential candidate mentioned or written about was portrayed in a way that appeared neither positive nor negative.

Newspapers: These are the two newspapers that mean, *The Daily News* and *The Guardian*, in this study.

One party era: The period from 1961 to 1992 when Tanzania had one political party.

Positive framing: A frame of a sentence whose idea or ideas are framed in such a way that the presidential candidate mentioned or written about was portrayed in a way that could favor his/her being elected.

Presidential Candidate: A person who aspires to be appointed or elected to preside over an organized body of people such as a country. In this study the expression ‘presidential’ refers to a leader or head of state.

Summary

This chapter has covered the background of the study, given the statement of the problem, the rationale of the study, a brief overview of the methodology of the study, and the limitations. The next chapter builds a theoretical framework for this study through the use of relevant literature.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The independent media have been one of the most vital and critical forces for change (Tripp, 2000). Whenever a nation experiences a change, the media are said to have played a vital role towards the enactment of the said change, since the media act as the public teacher and informers. The media play a vital role in the political development of any country. In Tanzania, the development of democracy owes much to the influence of the work of media. The proliferation of press freedom in Tanzania increased media output at the inception of electoral democracy. As compared to the times of one-party politics when the state-owned media enjoyed a monopoly, the Tanzanian press acquired more boldness for coverage and involvement in politics after the emergence of multiparty electoral democracy, whose presence advocated more freedom of the press and licensing of more private media firms (Tripp, 2000). This emergence of more independent media firms and the development of the Tanzanian political system from one-party democracy to multi-party democracy helped increase news consumption in the whole of Tanzania's mainland. It also helped increase the practice of cultural politics.

Cultural politics, according to Ogunseitan (2008), dwells in the domain of public culture whose main informant is the media. As Ogunseitan further explains, public culture "deals with what is read, heard, and seen in the print, film and electronic media: what is published" (Ogunseitan, 2008, p.48). The development of media in Tanzania from the inception of multiparty democracy saw a shift of interest among the masses from reliance on popular leaders as the main informants towards making political

decisions to reliance on media. Of these media, the print media and the newspapers in particular, have become important tools of information towards political decision making especially by the way they frame the main contestants in the presidential race. This research aimed at comparing newspaper framing on Tanzanian presidential campaigns in 1995 and 2005 elections to establish the difference in the first multi-party election, when media were in the new age of exercising the freedom of the press and ten years later when media had more experience in the coverage of political issues particularly the elections.

Meaning of Media Framing

There is a plethora of meanings attached to the term framing. However, all of them seem to have a point of convergence, from where a conclusive definition can be constructed. According to Entman (1993, p.52), to frame is to “select some aspects of perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem, definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and treatment recommendation for the item described”. To further explain framing, Entman points out that, frames fulfill many functions. According to Entman, frames define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments, and suggest remedies. Similarly, Severin and Tankard (1997, p. 158) define a media frame as a “central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration”. When covering news events, journalists decide which elements to include or exclude in a story. Therefore, a single news event can be framed in various ways, producing different versions and containing different attributes.

Relevance of Framing

In regard to this study, framing was of great importance since it helped to bring to the fore the specific points of interest that the newspapers focused on in their coverage of the 1995 and 2005 presidential campaigns in Tanzania. It is through exploring how the media framed specific presidential candidates in the election campaigns that the influence of press freedom in media performance can be understood. The media have a great power and influence over people. According to Graber (2000, p.7), this power is based on media's potential to reach large audiences of "ordinary people and elites and their ability to convey information in a speedy manner". However, it should be observed that, people consume news and information according to how the news agencies have framed them. In other words, the way the news agencies have framed the news is the way the public receives them, and their conception of the information is subject to the specific frame that the news is conveyed through. Thus, to understand the influence of the media, and that of the newspapers to be precise, in the 1995 and 2005 Tanzanian presidential elections, the way the presidential campaigns and the presidential elections were framed plays a leading role.

Enteman (1993, p.54) observes that, "most frames are defined by what they omit or include in the news story, and the omission and potential problem definition, explanation, evaluations and recommendations may be as critical as the inclusions in guiding the audiences". Going by Enteman's observation, it can be concluded that the way newspapers framed 1995 and 2005 Tanzanian presidential elections news stories, what they included or omitted, in one way or another guided the public towards certain opinions and hence the decisions. But this observation should not rule out the existence

of several frames in a single news article. As Gamson and Modigliani (1989) observe, a single news story can contain more than one frame. The appearance of multiple frames within a single news story also should have its share of influence. As opposed to a single frame within one news story, a plurality of frames within one news story could result in mixed reactions in the public, a possibility that should not be ruled out when comparing the frames newspapers used in 1995 elections when the era of multiparty began and 2005 Tanzanian presidential ten years later after journalists had more experience in reporting on multi-party system and their freedom of expression.

Frames exist in the exact property of the news story that support those perceiving and embodied about the events to develop particular understanding of them. “News frames are constructed from and embodied in the keywords: metaphors, concepts, symbols and visual images influence on a news narrative” (Entman, 1991, p.7).

Press Freedom and Political Development in Tanzania

Media editors have played a key role in the provision of information that has enhanced their free and self governance. As the gate keepers they ensure that what they determine as suitable is what the citizens get to hear (Singer, 2006). However, this does not leave the news that the citizens receive at the mercies of the editor. This is because the editor as much as determines what to go or not in print. They operate within professional and organizational constraints when selecting the news to put in print or on air. Secondly, gate keeping might sometimes be more of a corporate affair than an individual endeavor; especially in situations in which the news has to pass through more than one editor. Observations of this nature enlighten on the importance of the freedom of

the press. This is because it is within the freedom found in the whole media fabric that the media would play their role as gatekeepers. Since the United Republic of Tanzania was the main working space, a brief historical account on the role of the media in the political development of the country in the period around the inception of multi-party democracy would form a good basis for the news coverage in presidential campaigns. It would also bring to the fore the importance of political understanding in the development of media coverage.

Among the major changes that many African countries have ever undergone were the emergence of multi-party democracies, the growth of position parties, and the development of electoral systems witnessed in the 1990's (Tripp, 2000). These reforms are among African issues that have received great media attention (ibid). The introduction of political freedom and democracy has been accompanied by the quest to grant the media their full autonomy from governments' control, as well as their right for freedom of expression.

In line with the struggle for democratic changes in many African states was the pursuit for the emancipation of the media from muzzling done by respective African governments under single parties. The United Republic of Tanzania was not exempt from such political cum media contestations. For a long period of time, Tanzania African National Union (TANU) under the leadership of Mwalimu Julius Nyerere and his successors, enjoyed a great deal of monopoly in the leadership of the country. Subsequently, even after the inception of multi-party democracy, this wing of political leadership still remained in power even though there were new political parties.

Tanzanian press began to grow and exercise its full potential in the 1990's after the then CCM that had evolved from TANU was separated from the government. A legislation that drove the country from single party to multi-party system was passed, the press was granted freedom of expression, and the first multi-party elections were held in 1995 (Tripp, 2000). As Tripp observes, the magnitude of these changes can only be understood in sharp contrast with postcolonial Tanzania whereby CCM was inseparable from the government. The party and the government since "Giving citizens the information, need to be free and self governing has been defined as the primary purpose of journalism" (Singer, 2006, p.23). It can be said that Tanzanian media had been handcuffed and were not playing their role, had a monopoly of the media, dominated associational life, shaped and curtailed autonomous mobilization (Tripp, 2000).

The 1990's introduction of multi-partism in Tanzania which led to the improvement in press freedom saw an increment in privately-owned media as well as news consumption (Tripp, 2000). Up until 1987 there was no single privately-owned media in Tanzania. But by 1997, there were one hundred and four privately-owned newspapers, seventy-six of them being in Kiswahili and twenty-six of them in English language. There were also eight Radio stations and two major Television stations (ibid). Observing this phenomenon, Tripp (2000, p.208) further records that, "the circulation of the new press, especially the Swahili papers like *Nipashe*, *Alasiri*, *Majira* and *Dar Leo* increased dramatically in a very short time, while circulation of the government and party papers dropped at an equal fast rate". In the same year, the number of reporters had increased to 6,000, most of them being freelances. The quality of reporting had also improved (Mzanvas, 1997). This upsurge in media growth and news consumption

reflected the fact that the media was receiving great attention among the masses and at the same time that media freedom played a key role in the process of democratization. The freedom of the media furthered the cause of democracy by providing information that was not available or could not be dispensed before. These resulted in more political autonomy and reliance on the media by the public to inform them on the affairs of the nation. Observing this phenomenon, Tripp (2000) records that,

As the independent press proliferated, the boldness of coverage also increased. The independent media began to challenge the consequences of political monopoly and the legacy of one-party state. In particular, they focused on government corruption, misuse of funds, and the complicity of government leaders in illegal activities, including unauthorized land sales and illicit drug trade. They provided information on political debates, covered activities of the opposition parties and non governmental organizations, and provided information that would help readers critically evaluate the country's leaders. (p.208)

The freedom of the press was never enjoyed to the fullest in the 1990's. There were major hurdles for the media to overcome. The Nyalali Commission established in 1991 to investigate the possibility of Tanzania embracing multi-partism identified 40 pieces of oppressive legislations that needed reform in order to facilitate the inception of multi-partism. Chief of these were laws concerning the media.

The Newspaper Act of 1976 among other Acts touching on the operation of the media still remained operational even after the genesis of multi-partism, even though they were deemed unconstitutional by the Nyalali Commission. This piece of legislation permitted the government to control all forms of public communication. It could be used to confiscate information deemed as a threat to national security and stability. It was thus used to harass journalists, and to close down media firms especially those that the

government saw as a threat to their propaganda. This instilled fear among many journalists and private media firms (Nyalali, 1991).

The Tanzanian News Agency Act of 1976 was seen to be a violation of media freedom as pointed out by the Nyalali report. This particular Act gave the Tanzanian News Agency (SHIHATA) the power to enjoy monopoly as the only corporate entity that was authorized to collect and distribute news within and outside Tanzania. There was also the Media Professional Regulation Act which allowed the government to register journalists, to shut down any newspaper and to jail reporters without trial. All these Acts and others continued to curtail the full operation of a free media in Tanzania. However, freedom from these flawed legislations began to dawn in 1997 when an independent Media Council of Tanzania was formed to protect the rights of the media, their freedom, and to manage a code of ethics to those involved in the communication business. In the same year, the Tanzanian Union of Journalists was formed to defend the fraternity from infringement by the government, to empower media personalities, and push the government towards the implementation of a free media in Tanzania.

In regard to political campaigns reporting, the media gained a more free space through the establishment of independent institutions to oversee media reporting during campaigns (Nyalali, 1991). NORDEM report was released after the 2005 general elections. An independent body, The Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA), was contracted to monitor the operations of Tanzanian media during the campaign period NORDEM (2005). This free environment of the media, especially in the campaign period and after the establishment of the Media Council of Tanzania and the Tanzanian Union of

Journalists in 1997, necessitated a research of this nature. This is because media freedom must have given news editors the autonomy to do their work as gate keepers without fear of being curtailed. However, the main question that arises is whether media reporting have any influence on the political thought systems of the readers. According to Singer (2006), through the new online reporting technology, the voices of the citizens have grown to playing key roles in shaping the editing of news. Singer conducted a research on the role of the internet newspaper editing in the 2004 US presidential campaign. This research came up with the conclusions that the audience was highly shaping media coverage.

News Framing, Politics and Public Decision Making Process

According to Gamson and Modiglian (1989) as cited by Busher (2006) frame is the way journalists view issues and give descriptions in news stories to present the subjects that arise in different descriptions. Gamson and Modiglian's observations clearly show that framing plays a key role in explaining and conveying news. Gitlin (1980) as cited by Busher (2006) observes that frames provide respect and reinforce words and images that suggest some ideas and not others. By placement and repetition, the media enhance the salience of others (Enteman, 1991). The emphasis on, or omission of information may perhaps be either of importance or of no importance.

The question that arises here is; how does media framing and politics co-relate to affect public decision making. Political tactics center on the implementation of schemes that would influence the public towards their preferred priorities. In this regard, politics contributes in the setting of framing categories that the media are most likely to adopt if

not counter-attacked, or set a counter framing schema. However, it should be noted that as Brewer and Gross (2005, p.929) observe, “Politicians and political activists often attempt to define-or frame-issues in terms of values e.g., equality, compassion, that are widely cherished among the public”.

Politicians focus on issues that are widely discussed and valued in the public sphere. They frame their centers of interest within the cultural milieu of the public. Politics provides a frame that by itself is built on social, political and economic interests of the people. Thus as much as people depend primarily on the media for information about the political world, and as much as news frames affect causal beliefs held by citizens (Iyengar, 1987), the social and political milieu that the particular news is obtained from, to a certain extent, affects the type of framing that media adopt. This is because the media as a corporate enterprise must align their framing in a way that would capture the interest of the people as well as convey their news in a way that would attest to the people’s ways of processing information. Cooper (2002, p.52) captures this concept by stating that, “people do not simply absorb media messages with utter passivity. Instead, media discourse occurs parallel to the processing of information by individuals and social networks”.

Although politics may of great necessity affect the focus of media framing, the media play a key role in providing information that can easily influence the political will and immediate interest of their consumers. The media play a leading role in setting the agenda for public discoursing, and thus the focus of their framing may easily influence and shape the public’s ability to supply a wide and varied range of reasoned arguments to

a marketplace of competing ideas. However, just as politicians frame their political argumentations within the shared values and culture of the public, the media also must incorporate the values and interests of the community in which they dispense their news if the particular framing they adopt is to make sense to the people. This is because, as noted before, framing is an interactive process in which both the media and their audience engage, each operating within a shared culture on the basis of socially defined rules (Edelman, 1993). Through this interactive process, meaning is constructed on the basis of the shared values between the media's responsibility and the audience's encoding preference, which is largely shaped by their particular value system.

On the other hand, media coverage has an important agenda setting effect in the public's immediate preferences. An issue's prominence in the news adds significantly to its prominence in the 'public mind'. The media's ability to frame news in line with the public's collective culture enables their news to go beyond their personal preferences to the activation of a collective focus on the agenda set by the media as their key point of departure in making decisions that touch on their preferences as a community (Edelman, 1993). With this idea in mind, Brewer and Gross (2005) contend that, just as frames may help individual citizens find their voices, so too they may help the public find its collective voice. Basing their arguments on studies done on the role of framing in public decision making, Brewer and Gross further argue that citizens rely on frames as resources in conversing about politics. However, it should be noted that the media's involvement in dominant issues in the public sphere does not play the role of informing alone, but also contributes to the readjustment of the public's dominant political discoursing. The media

not only transmit information but also transform information through the particular framing they embrace. To elaborate this aspect of the media Cooper (2002) contends that:

Through its coverage of issues, the mass media helps construct meaning by framing, in patterns that may well change over time. Journalists choose storylines and commentators develop arguments that support particular frames and affect the salience and intensity of issues. The mass media thus transform information rather than merely transmitting it. (p.39)

Cooper's observations lead to one important question on whether media framing affects the public's opinion wholesale. While the public might highly embrace the agenda set by the media's framing of information, studies have shown that they do not automatically buy the ideas set by the media. Rather, they engage the information critically and in relation to their preferences before making decisions. Thus, instead of directly endearing the information conveyed by the media, the public first discusses with that particular information, weighing it in the scales of their preferences, before sending out an outright response. Barker (2005) exposes this concept rightly through the argument that:

It appears that framing effects may depend on the degree to which audience members discern that the consideration(s) primed by the frame are indeed the most important or relevant ones to the decision task. In other words, framing may provide heuristic cues, but audience members do not respond as if the implications of those cues are being injected directly into the bloodstream. Rather, they may engage in some (perhaps automatic) cognitive processing in response to the cue, responding readily to cues that produce positive reactions, and rejecting cues that produce negative reactions. (p.379)

In view of Barker's observations, it can be concluded that the particular information conveyed by the media's framing of news might not always be embraced by the public. But, it might sometimes be rejected.

This brings in the importance of the particular framing that the media embrace. The observation by both Cooper (2002) and Baker (2005) enlighten on the fact that citizens' political judgments often depend on how an issue or problem is framed. This can be explained, for instance, by people's opinions about an emerging presidential candidate can depend on whether the candidate is framed as a concerned leader or a critic of the particular preferred national values. Alternatively, people's preferences over different social policies to combat different concerns affecting the health of a nation, for example, can depend on whether the policies are framed in focus of the gains they might bring to the society, or the consequential ills that might arise as a result of the implementation of such policies. To get particular on the exemplification of such effects, people's opinions about a political idea that aims at improving the economy of the Republic of Tanzania through capitalistic measures may largely depend on whether it is framed as an economic improvement endeavor or a political measure aimed at suffocating socialism which has been highly appreciated in Tanzania. On the same note, people's opinion on an agenda touching on the relationship between Tanzania mainland and the Island of Zanzibar may depend on whether it is framed as a presupposition aimed at condensing the unity between the two, or a political tool for segregating one since there has been a shaky relationship between the two (Baregu & Kaijage, 1996).

There is a large body of research that focuses on the way media frame issues and events but this study will focus mainly on framing of presidential aspirants on campaigns. The public is reliant on the mass media for political information, since only a small part of the public has the opportunity of interacting with the candidates (Devitt, 2002). Research on frames on political campaigns recorded by Graber (2000) found out that,

there are specific dominant frames commonly utilized in media coverage. With regard to presidential elections, the media rely on four main themes. These frames include: trivia information, horserace information, issues information, candidate's issues, positions and personal information (Graber, 2000). Graber (2000) found that these issues were generally covered in the media; trivia information had 15%, horserace information had 35%, issue information carried 28% of the whole election, economics had 11%, Governance had 3%, education had 3%, health issues had 3% while social issues had 9%. Candidate issue which in this study was renamed as a self related issue had 17%, while the position had 10% and personal information, 13%. Graber also found that most of the stories were in hard news (72%) and 28% of feature stories were mostly used in covering presidential candidates. Research on the media salience and process of framing record by Chyi and McCombs (2004) found out that, hard news are most preferred to be used in the news coverage. This is because they take a short time to prepare and are more consistent on maintaining the daily newspaper production compared to soft news.

In an examination of campaign news stories, Rhee (1997) identified horserace frames and issue frames as two main frames in campaign coverage. The horserace or strategy frame focuses on candidates' strategy and the aspects that lead to winning or losing. These carried 62% of the elections coverage, while the issues frame which presents proposals for problems and information on the candidate's position on specific issues had 38%.

According to Iyengar, Norpoth and Haln (2004), for the last thirty years the horserace frames came into view as the dominant frames in media coverage of political campaigns. In the midst of this view, Iyengar (cited by Busher, 2006, p.11) explains that, “today, by any standards, reports on the state of the horserace and analyses of the candidates’ strategies are pervasive themes in news coverage of campaigns”. In publications of the *New York Times* and *USA Today’s* reporting of the 1998 presidential primaries, King (1998) established that horserace coverage was the dominant frame on the front page of both newspapers.

Studies show that sixty percent of national newspaper articles in the 1998 USA presidential campaign were about horserace information (Bachanan, cited in Busher, 2006). Therefore, the way the media covered the presidential candidates helped the readers to familiarize themselves with what was going on during the election. It also highlighted the important issues that the presidential candidates focused on, and gave voters the information that assisted them in making voting decisions. Apart from horserace frame that has been used in elections, McCombs et al. (2000) found out that, ideologies/issues position like economic, social and education, biographical details, perceived qualifications, integrity and personal image which in this study were named as self related issues were main frames identified. McCombs et al. discovered that ideologies/issues’ positions were 28%, perceived qualifications and personal image were 52%. These were highly covered compare to integrity with 11% and biographical positions with 9%. The study also discovered that there was 60% hard news and feature stories were 40%.

According to Busher (2006), studies on the differences in news coverage between male and female candidates has been among the studies which are popular in political elections. Different research has revealed that male candidates, compared with female candidates, prevent gender stereotyping and the assumed traditional role of women (Devitt, 1999; Khan, 1992; Khan & Gordon, 1997; Norris, 1999). Personal appearance and family life were issues covered for female candidates' presumed as "female role" in the society. Davitt (1999) carried out his content analysis of the Colorado, Arizona, Maryland and Rhodes Island Gubernational elections during the 1998 general election and established that publication 'newspapers' paid more attention to female candidate's age, personality and attire.

A content analysis conducted by Aday and Devitt (cited by Busher, 2006) of news coverage of Elizabeth Dole's presidential bid in the, *the New York Times*, *Des Monie Register*, *Los Angels Times*, *Washington Post* and the *USA Today* found out that the authors recognized her gender differently. She had less expectations on her position on political issues than the then Texas governor George W. Bush, the then Arizona Senator John McCain and the publisher Steve Forbes. But the coverage recognized more of her individual disposition and moral fiber failing. She was frequently portrayed by her traits, beliefs and domestic values. According to Aday and Devitt in Busher (2006), this difference in coverage means "readers of these five newspapers were more ready to learn about the policy positions of Bush, McCain, and Forbes than they were to discover what Dole stood for, and how she planned to govern the country as president" (Busher, 2006, p.56).

The media exposed the candidates differently such that the readers who just glanced at elections coverage ended up being more familiar with the policy issues of McCain and Bush than Dole. The fact that Dole was represented based on her gender might have had an impact on how media identified her as a candidate. Readers might have understood the news coverage to indicate that Dole did not have important issue to address since they were not covered. Bystrom et al. (2001) considered that throughout the main race for governor and US Senate in 2000 on 61 campaigns where both male and female candidates were involved, news coverage offered extra consideration to female candidates.' These were sex, marital status and children.

Bystrom et al. (2001) cited in Busher (2006, p.12) suggest that, "the attention paid by print media to women candidates' marital status and children reflects the double standards still in place in society when evaluating the ability of women to balance their professional and personal/family roles". In the study conducted by Bannart, Bystrom and Robertson (2003), female candidates were found to be more focused on their gender, children and marital status. This was represented in news coverage in both the primary stage and the general elections. This kind of reporting support traditional public and private distinctions; that personal appearance and family are mainly important for female candidates than male as an alternative of coverage on political issues that disclose their perceptiveness to join politics.

Therefore, it was important for this study to determine whether a Tanzanian 2005 female presidential candidate was framed on the basis of her personal appearance and family or by her political agendas, economic strategies and leadership qualities. This

way, the researcher compared and contrasted the particular framing focus on female presidential candidates between an African state and the states from the West. In so doing, the researcher was able to show how media framing affects the public in making decisions against female presidential candidates. Secondly, it is important to note that the above information is provided only from countries in the West. Thus, as much as it is based on real life studies, it does not wholly reflect the real situation in African countries, since framing goes hand in hand with the society's culture and value system. Hence the results of the above researches reflect on framing within the USA and other Western countries whose culture and value systems may be different from that of African countries like Tanzania. It is within this challenge that this research sought to work on media framing in 1995 and 2005 Tanzanian presidential election, as a genesis towards more of such works within African countries.

Framing Effects

To embark on the role of the media in shaping the public decision making process, it should not be forgotten that communication framing plays a key role in influencing the thought systems of the listeners or the consumers of the media. Druckman (2002) calls this resultant shaping of the mind by communication framing as framing effect. Scheufele (1999) contends that framing effects are outcomes of the interaction between three participants; that is, interested sources and organizations such as politicians and political parties, journalists (media) and audiences (news consumers). However, media frames and audiences (news consumers) are the commonly used in researches. According to Scheufele (1999), there are three interrelated framing process involving

these participants. First, there is construction and use of media frames by journalists and others working in news organizations, and constantly dealing with sources as well as applying news values and news angles in the production of the news. Secondly there is transmission of framed news reports to the audience. Thirdly, there is response from the audience, which might be positive or negative, and is evidenced by their attitudes and behavior towards the particular focus of the frames.

In journalism, framing constitutes an essential step in the process of news production (Akhavan & Ramaprasad, 1998). Valkenburg et al. (1999) argue that, reporter's invariably frame political events for the purpose of assisting their audience to understand them. Since journalists work within the confines of coverage space and time limit, they employ frames to make things easier and present events to gain audience interest.

Both the earlier agenda- setting and the relatively newer framing studies focus on the link between public policy issues in the news and how the public perceives them (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000). However, Pan and Kosicki (1993, p.70) argue that, the study of frames expands beyond agenda-setting research into "what people talk and think about by examining how they think and talk" about issues in news. This is because the effect of news frame on the reader is to render certain thoughts more readily accessible through the automatic availability heuristic process (McLeod & Detenber, 1999). In other words, news framing is the ability of the media to change how an individual looks at reality by triggering a set of material concepts in long-term memory that the individual uses in subsequent cognitive tasks (Price, Tewksbury & Powers, 1997).

The fact that framing might lead audiences to have different reactions is an important implication for political communication. The analysis frames illuminate the precise way in which influence over human consciousness is exerted by transfer of information from a news report to that consciousness (Entman, 1993). Frames have also help to form public awareness of political issues or organizations (Semetko & Valkenburg, 2000), to decide the choice of news (Hanson, 1995), and to win over campaign understanding (Rhee, 1997). Election campaign coverage carries the social perceptions which are initiated throughout the framing process to bring about particular adaptations of political realities and introduce different standards that audience use to judge the implication of political agendas (Rhee, 1997). In this light, “framing plays a major role in the exertion of political power and the frame in news text becomes the imprint of power” (Rhee 1997, p. 30). In the 2008 American presidential campaigns, for instance, John McCain, on the basis of being a Republican, was framed by the media as continuing the war legacy in Iraq which had been started by George Bush, also a Republican. Similarly, Barack Obama, his political rival, and a Democrat, was shown by the media as a beacon of change, in terms of ending the war in Iraq and the financial crisis in America, based on the fact that these were Democratic policies.

Druckman (2002) identifies two types of framing effects: equivalency framing effect and emphasis framing effect. According to Druckman, an equivalency framing effect “examines how the use of different, but logically equivalent, words or phrases e.g., 5% unemployment or 95% employment, 97% fat-free or 3% fat causes individuals to alter their preferences.” Druckman (2002, p.228) explains further that, these types of effects take place when “frames that cast the same critical information in either a positive

or a negative light cause individuals to have different preferences”. Thus by utilizing Druckman’s contention, it is observable that the equivalency framing effect centers on the positive or negative depiction of the same information.

The other kind of framing effect that Druckman brings to the fore is the emphasis framing effect. This type of effect, to borrow his own words, “shows that by emphasizing a subset of potentially relevant considerations, a speaker can lead individuals to focus on these considerations when constructing their opinions” (Druckman, 2002, p. 230). An example of this is if the media focus on the religious aspect in a presidential campaign, this may lead the masses to vote for the candidate with strong religious affiliations. Also, if the media frame the presidential candidates with a focus on social amenities, the masses may be led to vote for the candidate with a better plan for the implementation of social affairs (Druckman, 2002).

A good example of the exemplification of this type of effect may be availed by a study that was done by Olsson and Paglia (2008) on Australian politics. This study showed the issue of climate change taking the centre stage in determining the party which was voted in. Climate change was set as a priority by the specific framing that both politics and the media had set. Thus, the emphasis on framing effect, like the equivalency framing effects causes the media consumers to focus on certain concerns or schema rather than others within the same thought frame. However, unlike the equivalency effects, “the frames in communication for emphasis framing effects are not logically identical ways of making the same statement; rather, the frames focus on different potentially relevant considerations” (Druckman, 2002, p. 231).

Coming back to the focus of our study, looking at the social-political situations in the Republic of Tanzania prior to the 1995 and 2005 presidential elections sheds some light on the major issues that the newspapers could have focused on and the particular framing that they might have embraced. During the year 2005, Tanzania was already in a new era of multi-party system for ten years, which changed her investment plans. The country had opened her boundaries to free trade with her neighboring countries and a president who would manage this plan was highly needed. The incoming presidents were also expected to bring change in the overall governance of the country. With these expectations reigning in the public sphere, the way the media would frame the different presidential candidates ought to have been different compared to 1995 since media had a long experience in multi-party era and press freedom. Secondly, a political party like CCM, which had been in power since independence, was in 1995 likely to be covered differently by the media in the elections, compared to the other political parties, based on the control it had had over the media in the past. This could also be due to its popularity and longevity as a political party. While the 2005 presidential elections came a decade after the multi-party era began therefore, it offered a better chance for journalists to be more experienced in the coverage of multi-party system compared to 1995.

Summary

In this chapter framing paradigm as a theoretical framework of this study has been discussed. This paradigm explains how media select an aspect in the news story and make it salient. The given meaning of framing and relevance of framing for the study have been discussed in this chapter to understand the paradigm used for the study. This also goes together with media freedom and political development in Tanzania and politics

and public decision making process to show how media freedom has the role on how media choose what to include or not to include in a story, which also shapes how the public perceive and decide from it. Lastly the chapter has also discusses the framing effects on political campaigns since media have the role as a gatekeeper on setting the agenda through framing which in one way or another influences how people perceive the information.

DAYSTAR UNIVERSITY

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This study has used content analysis method to examine how newspaper articles framed presidential candidates during campaign periods (1995 and 2005). According to Berelson as cited by Stempel III and Westley (1989), “Content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication” (Stempel & Westley, 1989, p.125). Berelson’s definition involves four concepts which are essential in content analysis method. Firstly, content analysis is objective; that is the researcher’s personal idiosyncrasies and biases should not enter into the findings, Secondly; content analysis is systematic meaning that the content to be analyzed is selected according to explicit and consistently applied rule. Thirdly, content analysis is quantitative. This means simply the recording of numerical values or the frequencies with which the various defined types of content occur. Fourthly, manifest content means the apparent content which is coded as it appears rather than the content the analyst feels is intended.

Based on the Berelson’s (1971) definition of content analysis, this study is objective since it has constructed the categories of analysis which are related to other studies done before and can precisely be applied by any other study and give the result needed by the researcher. This study is also systematic because it has chosen the campaign period of 1995 and 2005 elections to be studied. It has also selected two newspapers to be analyzed to maintain the consistent pattern in relation to the number of pages, equal representation of the days in the week and the logical flow of the

information, whereby the categories were set up to give the relevant content analyzed and to secure data relevant to the research objectives.

This study considered quantitative research as a method of data collection through examination of the articles by recording the number of stories, photographs and cartoons for presidential candidates in the two newspapers based on governance issues, economic issues, education issues, candidate issues, health issues, social issues and gender issues framed either positively, negatively or neutrally. Furthermore, this study used manifest content since it has used a sentence in a story, a photograph with its caption and the entire cartoon as units of analysis, as it appeared in a newspaper, and identified whether the presidential candidates were framed either positively, negatively or neutrally.

Unit of Analysis

Stempel III and Westley (1989, p.127) define units of analysis as: “words, statements, sentences, paragraphs or entire articles or stories”. They add that it is the researcher’s objectives for the study that would determine the units of analysis to be selected. The units of analysis depend primarily on the information required for the purpose of the study.

The unit of analysis selected for this study was the sentence in hard news, features and the editorials. The sentence was selected because as a unit it could convey a complete idea of what was being framed. In order for the story to qualify as a unit of analysis it had a reference to the candidate’s name, political party in the headline or the lead (introduction of the story). However, a photograph with its caption which was considered as sentence and the entire cartoon were included in the study as independent units of

analysis for the purpose of exploring in-depth framing of the candidates. A photograph according to Confucius (as cited in Mbulanma, 1993, p.15) is “more than a thousand words”. It is also used as a complement to the story because it adds more information and catches the eyes of the reader. The cartoon is by contrast more humorous. It gives the information to the reader on a fantastic basis, both in verbal and non verbal ways in such a way the reader can understand the information. Therefore, both a photograph and a cartoon can be used to frame the presidential candidates during their campaign period because it is among one of the important events in political issues.

Categories

A category is one of the most important elements in content analysis. It helps the content analyzer to classify the content of the publication or messages in the media. An important factor to consider in forming categories is mutual exclusiveness of the units of analysis. In this study therefore, each category dealt with a single variable to ensure that the elements in the variables were mutually exclusive. Wimmer and Domminic (1994, p.71) point out that, “all category systems should be mutually exclusive, exhaustive and reliable”. They explain that, a category system is mutually exclusive if the units of analysis can be placed in one and only one category. Once a category is defined and a particular unit of analysis is found in two or more categories, then such categories need to be re-evaluated so that only a single unit of analysis can be dealt with.

Also, the categories reflect the purpose and objectives of the study because this is necessary, in order to maintain a focus on the phenomenon being studied. This is based on the study done by Rhee (1997) who identifies issue frame as one of the most common

frames used in elections because they present proposals for problems and information on candidates' position on specific issues. Graber (2000) also finds that the media rely on nine main themes, namely trivia information, horserace information, issues information like governance, economic, education, health, social, candidate's issues, position and personal information. Therefore, based on the above studies, this study has focused on the following categories: governance issues, economic issues, education issues, health issues, self related issues, social issues and gender issues because of the context in which the research was done.

Governance issues

According to (Tuschke and Sanders 2003, p. 632) "governance is the set of policies, roles, responsibilities and processes that are established in an enterprise to guide, direct and control how the organization" or a nation is run. Governance issues in this study were those sentences in a story, a photograph with its caption of the candidate alone, the candidate in campaign activities or a photo of the candidate in newsroom manage, and the entire cartoon which framed the candidate's position on issues of economy positively, negatively or simply neutrally, which indicate changes in governance through guides, controls, and legal frameworks to fight corruption, open budgeting and consultations with citizens.

Economics issues

According to (Cohen 2004, p. 29) "economics is the social system of production, exchange, distribution and consumption of goods and services of a country or other areas like in an organization". Economic issues in this study were those sentences in a story, a

photograph with its caption and the entire cartoon which framed the candidate's position on issues of economy positively, negatively or simply neutrally on how they can help engineer economic activities that would bring changes in the economic status of the country and the people. An example of this was if the candidate was positioned towards economic growth, bringing investors to the country, decreasing taxes, creating jobs, alleviating poverty, improving agricultural output and industrial production.

Education issues

According to (Richardson 2002, p. 58) "education comprises both teaching and learning of knowledge, proper conduct, and technical competency. It focuses on the cultivation of skills". Education issues in this study were those sentences in a story, a photograph with its caption and cartoon which framed the candidate's position on issues of education, namely teaching, learning of knowledge, technical and cultivation of skills positively, negatively or simply neutrally framed. An example of this was if the candidate was positioned for lowering school fees, building new learning institutions, introduction of computers in schools, free education for primary schools, and give loans for higher education.

Self related issues

According to (Lyons 1997, p. 793) "a candidate is a person who aspires to be appointed or elected to preside over an organized body of people such as a country". Candidates' issues in this study were those sentences in a story, a photograph with its caption and the entire cartoon which framed the candidates' position on issues of the candidate's personal matters like religion, marital status, ethnicity and the self-projection

of the candidate on a particular issue, and to see whether the candidates were positively, negatively or simply neutrally framed.

Health issues

According to (Boncz et al. 2004, p. 254) “health is the overall condition of a person to be free from body or mind disease and abnormality”. Health issues in this study were those sentences in a story, a photograph with its caption and the entire cartoon which framed the candidate’s position on issues concerning specific common diseases such as malaria and HIV-AIDS, improvement in health care services, opening of new hospitals, lowering the cost for health services to be affordable to all people and improving health equipment, to see whether they were positively, negatively or simply neutrally framed.

Gender issues

According to (Risman 2004, p.431) “gender refers to the social construction of female and male identity”. It can be defined as more than biological differences between men and women. It includes the ways in which those differences, whether real or perceived have been valued, used and relied upon to classify women and men and to assign roles and expectations to them. Gender issues in this study were those sentences in a story, a photograph with its caption and the entire cartoon which framed the candidate’s position on issues of their differences as male and female or as men and women in their social, cultural and economic position, and to see whether they were positively, negatively or simply neutrally framed.

Social issues

According to (Risman 2004, p. 431) “the term social is relating or belonging to characteristics of a particular society”. Social issues in this study were those sentences in a story, a photograph with its caption and the entire cartoon which framed the candidate’s position on issues of participation in fund raising which aimed to solve societal problems, participation on offering help to the public, solving natural disasters and caring for the orphans, and to see whether they were positively, negatively or simply neutrally framed.

Population

The populations of this study were all hard news stories, features and editorials, candidates’ photographs and cartoons found in *Daily News and the Guardian* newspapers. A total of 202 stories were randomly selected from 230 newspapers. The study covered presidential campaigns during the period of three months between mid-August to October 1995 and four months between mid-August and mid-December 2005. *Daily News* is the Government owned newspaper since 1972. The newspaper was chosen due to its high circulation of 55,000 newspapers per day. *The Guardian* is the daily newspaper, started in 1994, which is privately owned by Reginald Mengi, who is also the owner of Industrial Promotion Project (IPP) in Tanzania. The newspaper was chosen due to its high circulation of 32,000 newspapers per day.

In addition, these newspapers were chosen because they are read by adults aged 18 years and above, who are literate and can read English newspapers, and belong to middle class economic position, which allows them to afford to buy the newspapers. The study also focused on the campaigns of the presidential candidates only and concentrated only on mainland Tanzania popularly known as *Bara*. This is to say that the

other part of Tanzania known as Zanzibar was not included in the study. This is because Zanzibar chooses its own president who is the second vice - president of the United Republic of Tanzania. Secondly, the newspapers that formed the focus of this study mostly operate in the mainland Tanzania, and do not have a large readership in Zanzibar

Sample and Sampling Method

Babbie (2004, p.180) views sampling as, “the process of selecting unit for observation”. This study used random sampling to give each day of the week an equal chance to be drawn into the sample. From the mid August to October 1995 there was a total of 92 newspapers, from these 60 were random selected. This process involved placing the total number for each day of the week in separate boxes then four from each box were randomly selected. The same process was applied to the 170 newspapers in 2005 from mid-August to October and mid-November to mid- December since there was an extension of campaign period because of the death of one of presidential candidates from SAU. For both years a total of 230 randomly selected newspapers were used for the content analysis. In cases where a day in a week appeared to be more than four in a month, the researcher selected two dates to give equal chance for the extra day to be selected. Newspapers published in the three months of the campaign period were analyzed since they were in a position to offer what was happening during the week and because the newspapers are sold more on week days than weekends. Saturday and Sunday newspapers were also included because there were more political activities especially on Saturdays and many people were at home so they were likely to read the newspapers.

Data Collection: Process and Tools

A coding sheet was used to collect data from each newspaper, which was used to classify the date, month, year, and placement of the sentence, name of the candidate and the categories to get the information provided from the sentence of the story, photograph and cartoon. Then the data was processed using the Statistical Package of Social Sciences (SPSS) program.

Data Analysis Plan

Quantitative data were collected from the newspapers showing the information on the framing of the presidential candidates and were analyzed using SPSS. This provided tables as outputs which were used in data analysis.

Training of Coders

A research assistant who assisted the researcher was trained to understand the purpose of the study, the categories of the study, frame codes and how to code the stories in the newspapers using a coding sheet. Then an experienced researcher was hired to conduct a second coding in order to ensure inter and intra-coder reliability.

Reliability of Coding

The reliability of the coding was checked by the researcher using intra-coder and inter-coder agreements. One person coded the coder agreement for the first time and then repeated it for the second time to check if there was intra-coder agreement at 90%. Then the inter-coder agreement was 80%. According to Stempel III and Westley (1989, p.102) “what percent is acceptable for reliability of coding is entirely a matter of judgment”

though they recognize other ways of establishing this. The researcher therefore decided that the 90% and 80% were enough to establish the reliability of coding for this study.

Summary

This chapter has given the methodology that was used to conduct this research. It has also given the population, the sample and sampling frame, data collection process, and tools, data analysis plan and reliability of coding.

DAYSTAR UNIVERSITY

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, INTERPRETATION AND ANALYSIS

Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the study: The data were obtained from the *Daily News* and *The Guardian* newspapers covering the periods of mid-August to October 1995 and mid-August to December 2005. A total of 202 stories were obtained from 230 randomly selected newspapers. Of this sample, 54.6% or 71 stories were from the *Daily News* and 45.4% or 59 stories were from *The Guardian*. Since the sentence was the unit of analysis, each sentence had to be fitted in one of the following categories: governance, economic, education, health, candidate's person, social and gender issues. A total of 1,240 sentences were identified from the selected sentences of which 191(56.5%) were from *The Guardian* and 147(43.5%) from the *Daily News* for the year 1995, while 510 (62.1%) were from *Daily News* and 392 (37.9%) were from *The Guardian* for the year 2005 (see table 1).

Table 1: Total number of sentences by month in 1995

Month	Daily News	The Guardian
August	1.5	1.8
September	18.3	26.3
October	23.7	28.4
November	-	-
December	-	-
Total Percent	43.5	56.5

N=338

In the 1995 presidential campaigns the *Daily News and the Guardian* carried most of their coverage on presidential candidates in September and October. However most of the sentences framing the presidential candidates were in *The Guardian*.

Table 2: Total number of sentences by month in 2005

Month	Daily News	The Guardian
August	7.0	7.0
September	24.8	11.6
October	19	9.5
November	5.2	4.9
December	6.1	4.9
Total Percent	62.1	37.9
N=902		

In both newspapers, the majority of the sentences (62.1%) framing the presidential candidates appeared in the *Daily News* (see the table 2 above), while *The Guardian* carried the remaining 37.9%. The findings indicate that most of the framing of presidential candidate's issues was presented in the *Daily News*, the state-owned paper. For the *Daily News*, most of the coverage was in September and October. This was not the same for *The Guardian* newspaper in spite of ten years of experience of democratic increased space.

Table 3: Overall framing of presidential candidates in 1995 and 2005

	Daily News	The Guardian	Total Percent
Governance	13	7.7	20.7
Economic	20	16.6	36.6
Education	3.6	4.4	8.0
Self Related	14.4	8.3	22.7
Health	2.4	2.3	4.7
Social	3.1	2.0	5.1
Gender	0.9	1.3	2.2
Total Percent	57.4	42.6	100

N=1240

In both years, the majority (57.4%) of the sentences framing the presidential candidates' issues appeared in the *Daily News* (see the table 3 above) while *The Guardian* carried the remaining 42.6%. The findings indicate that it is the government-owned newspapers which carried most of the sentences framing presidential candidates on issues.

Table 4: Sentences framing of presidential candidates on all issues in 1995 and 2005

Candidate Issues	1995		2005	
	DN	TG	DN	TG
Governance	12.1	13.6	13.3	5.4
Economic	22.2	23.4	19.2	14.1
Education	1.8	2.4	4.3	5.2
Self Related	5.3	9.2	18.3	7.9
Health	-	3.6	3.3	1.8
Social	0.6	5.0	4.1	0.9
Gender	-	0.9	1.2	1.4
Total Percentage	100		100	
	N 338		N 902	

Most sentences (45.6%) framing presidential candidates on issues in 1995 focused on economic issues in 1995, of which 22.2% were in the *Daily News* and 23.4% in *The Guardian*. In 2005, sentences framing presidential candidates on governance were 12.1% from the *Daily News* and 13.6% from *The Guardian*. When it came to the framing of presidential candidates on self-related issues, 5.3% were from the *Daily News* and 9.2% were from *The Guardian*. The two issues, namely governance and economic were the most covered in 1995. However in 2005 greater percentages (33.3 %) of sentences framing the presidential candidates were on economic issues, 26.2% of the sentences were of self related frames, while 18.7% were of governance. The rest were minimally covered (see table 4). The most prominent frames in 2005 were economic and candidate's self related issues which were mostly covered in the *Daily News*. This agrees with the

study by Graber (2000) who found that economic and candidate issues which is referred to as self related issue in this study were highly framed in 2000 US election.

It is interesting to note that the privately- owned newspaper by framing the self-related issue with a considerable percentage of sentences (18.3%) was making a step in the direction of free expression; perhaps an indication that democracy was beginning to take place allowing media to dare write about personal issues of presidential candidates.

Overall Framing of Presidential Candidates by Each Newspaper

Table 5: *Sentences framing presidential candidates in 1995*

Candidate	Daily News	The Guardian
Benjamin Mkapa	14.2	21.9
Augustino Mrema	7.4	15.4
Ibrahim Lipumba	10.7	10.1
John Cheyo	9.7	10.6
Total Percent	42.0	58.0

N=338

Overall, sentences framing the 1995 presidential candidates (58%) were in *The Guardian* and 42% in the *Daily News*. The highest percentages of sentences framing Mkapa were 21.9% and 15.4% framing Mrema in *The Guardian* privately-owned newspaper. Mrema (7.4%) and Cheyo (9.7%) had the least percentage of sentences framing them in the *Daily News* a government-owned newspaper. It is notable that it is the privately-newspaper which gave the ruling party's candidate most of the coverage in

terms of sentences. He was followed by Mrema who was then a very strong opposition candidate.

Table 6: *Sentences framing presidential candidates in 2005*

Candidate	Daily News	The Guardian
Jakaya Kikwete	37.4	14.3
Ibrahim Lipumba	7.5	6.9
Freeman Mbowe	8.2	5.5
Sengondo Mvungi	3.2	3.9
Anna Senkoro	2.1	3.5
Augustino Mrema	1.8	2.5
Paul Henry Kyara	1.6	1.3
Christopher Mtikila	1.6	0.8
Total Percent	63.4	36.6

N=902

Overall sentences framing presidential candidates during the 2005 election were 63.4% in the *Daily News* and 36.6 % in *The Guardian*. In both newspapers Jakaya Kikwete had the majority percentage of sentences (51.7%) in both newspapers most of which were in the government paper. Lipumba followed distantly with 14.4%, Freeman Mbowe had 13.7%, Mvungi, 7.1%, Senkoro, the only female candidate, was framed in 5.6% sentences by both newspapers. The rest of the candidates, Mrema, Kyara and Mtikila, were framed in 8.6% sentences by both newspapers. The data indicate that, whether government or state controlled newspaper, both framed the presidential campaign of Kikwete the ruling party candidate with a high percentage of sentences. It is

interesting to note that Mrema who had featured quite prominently in the 1995 presidential campaign as an opposition candidate had fewer sentences framing issues about him. It is also noted that the only female candidate came in with a higher percentage of sentences framing presidential campaign issues than three of her male colleagues.

Data Related to the Objectives of the Study

Table 7: *Story type and the framing of presidential candidates 1995*

	Hard News		Feature		Photographs		Cartoons		Editorial	
	DN	TG	DN	TG	DN	TG	DN	TG	DN	TG
Benjamin Mkapa	19.1	10.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Augustine Mrema	12.0	16.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ibrahim Lipumba	11.7	10.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
John Cheyo	10.0	10.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total Percent	52.8	47.2								
N=338										

In 1995 both newspapers covered presidential candidates using the hard news type of story. Mkapa, the ruling party presidential candidate, had 19.1% sentences in the *Daily News* which is a government newspaper and 10% in *The Guardian* a privately-owned newspaper. Mrema had 16.5 % hard news sentences framing his presidential campaign in *The Guardian* and 12.0% in the *Daily News*. Lipumba and Cheyo both had 11.7% and 10% respectively of sentences framing their issues in the *Daily News* and 10% and 10.7% in the *Guardian*. The data indicate that the government-owned newspaper carried more

coverage of the hard news sentences framing the ruling party candidate-Mkapa, while the *Guardian* did the same for the leading opposition presidential candidate -Mrema.

Feature stories which demanded a lot of research and investigations did not form part of the sentences that framed the 1995 presidential campaigns; neither did photographs, editorials and cartoons. It appears that the media did not want to venture into situations of serious critique of the candidates and the political system of the time. This is contrary to the study by McCombs et al. (2000) in which both features and hard news were used in framing presidential candidates even though the hard news was used more than feature stories.

Table 8: *Story type and the framing of presidential candidates 2005*

	Hard News		Feature		Photographs		Cartoons		Editorial	
	DN	TG	DN	TG	DN	TG	DN	TG	DN	TG
Jakaya Kikwete	32.8	14.5	3.7	0.67	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ibrahim Lipumba	4.8	7.3	2.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Freeman Mbowe	8.3	5.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sengondo Mvungi	2.99	4.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Augustino Mrema	1.8	2.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Anna Senkoro	2.5	0.99	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Paul Kyara	1.6	1.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Christopher Mtikila	1.6	0.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total Percent	56.39	36.94	6.0	0.67						

N=902

During the 2005 elections, presidential candidates' issues were framed by sentences in the hard news type, 56.39% of them were in the *Daily News* and 36.94% in *The Guardian*. Kikwete had the highest percentage (47.3%) of sentences framing his

presidential campaign in both newspapers. The opposition candidates combined had 23.59% sentences framing issues about their campaign in both newspapers, of which the female candidate had 3.49%.

The media framed the presidential candidates with a minimal percentage (6.67%) of feature news stories in both newspapers. The feature stories that appeared were mainly on Kikwete (4.37%) and Lipumba (2.3%). This was contrary to 1995 when the media did not have features on any presidential candidate. There was a slight move on the part of the media, government-owned rather than private to venture into feature stories, perhaps an indication that media were beginning to get hold of the tenets of democracy. This is in line with the study by McCombs et al. (2000) in which both features and hard news were used in framing presidential candidates even though in this study features were slightly used compared to the Spanish election.

Placement of the Story

Table 9: *Placement of the story and presidential candidates 1995*

Candidate	Daily News			The Guardian		
	Front	Inside	Back	Front	Inside	Back
Benjamin Mkapa	7.1	8.8	-	14.2	10.9	-
Ibrahim Lipumba	2.7	4.2	1.1	4.6	2.4	-
Augustino Mrema	-	4.5	1.0	9.7	3.4	-
John Cheyo	-	8.5	-	10.5	6.4	-
Total Percentage	37.9			62.1		

N=338

Front page placement of sentences framing the presidential candidates in 1995 favored Mkapa (14.2%) in *The Guardian* and (7.1%) in the *Daily News*. Lipumba was the only opposition candidate to be placed on the front pages of the government-owned newspaper *The Daily News* with 2.7% and 4.6% in the *The Guardian*. The other opposition candidates were placed on the front pages but only in *The Guardian*. The data are an indication that the private newspaper gave greater prominence to the sentences framing the presidential candidates, be they of the ruling party or the opposition, more than the government-owned newspaper.

Table 10: *Placement of the story and presidential candidates 2005*

Candidate	Daily News			The Guardian		
	Front	Inside	Back	Front	Inside	Back
Jakaya Kikwete	32.8	3.8	-	6.4	8.8	-
Ibrahim Lipumba	1.3	5.0	-	1.3	5.7	-
Freeman Mbowe	-	7.3	1.1	-	5.2	-
Sengondo Mvungi	2.2	0.8	-	0.7	3.4	-
Anna Senkoro	1.1	1.0	-	-	1.4	13
Augustino Mrema	-	1.8	-	-	2.5	-
Paul Kyara	1.6	-	-	-	1.2	-
Christopher Mtikila	-	1.6	-	0.9	-	-
Total Percentages	62.4			37.6		

N=902

Most sentences framing the presidential candidates which were placed on the front pages were on Kikwete (32.8%) in *Daily News* and (6.4%) in *The Guardian*. The other candidates placed on the front pages were Mvungi with 2.9%, Lipumba with 2.6%

and Senkoro with 1.1%. Three of the presidential candidates were not placed on the front pages of the two newspapers. Overall sentences framing presidential candidates' campaign that were placed in the inside pages were 21.3% in the *Daily News*. Mbowe had the highest percentage of 7.3. *The Guardian* carried 28.2% most of which (8.8%) were on Jakaya Kikwete. The data indicate that the ruling party candidate was favored by the government newspaper which placed most sentences framing him on the front pages. Interestingly, the private newspaper also placed most sentences framing him on the front pages. By placing 13% of sentences framing the Senkoro, the only female candidate on the back pages, the *Guardian* a private newspaper did give her a certain level of prominence. This is because none of the other candidates received such placement.

Frame Direction

Table 11: *Sentences in framing direction of presidential candidates 1995*

Candidate	Daily News			The Guardian		
	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Neutral
Benjamin Mkapa	16.9	-	-	16.9	2.4	-
John Cheyo	9.8	-	-	10.7	-	-
Ibrahim Lipumba	4.7	3.0	3.0	7.9	2.0	-
Augustine Mrema	5.3	-	2.4	12.4	0.8	1.8
Total percentage		45.1			54.9	

N= 302

Mkapa had the most (33.8%) positive sentences in both newspapers, followed by Cheyo with 20.5% and Mrema with 17.7%. Lipumba had the least number (12.7%) of positive sentences. When it came to negative sentences framing of presidential candidates, all candidates, except for Cheyo, had a share in negative sentences framing them. Lipumba had the most (5.1 %) in both newspapers, while Mkapa had 2.4% sentences negatively framing him and these, as might be expected, were in the privately owned newspaper. Mrema had 0.8% negative sentences in *The Guardian*.

Table 12: Sentences in framing direction of presidential candidates 2005

Candidate	Daily News			The Guardian		
	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Negative	Neutral
Jakaya	36.4	0.4	-	15.2	0.4	-
Kikwete						
Freeman	6.8	0.9	0.7	2.8	0.9	1.8
Mbowe						
Ibrahim	7.3	-	-	6.3	-	-
Lipumba						
Augustino	1.3	0.4	-	1.4	0.7	0.4
Mrema						
Sengondo	2.8	-	-	3.8	0.6	-
Mvungi						
Christopher	1.6	-	-	0.8	-	-
Mtikila						
Anna Senkoro	2.1	-	-	1.4	-	-
Paul Kyara	1.6	-	-	1.3	-	-
Total		62.3			37.7	
Percentage						

N 902

The majority (51.6 %) of sentences framing Jakaya Kikwete were positive. Most of them (36.4%) were in the *Daily News*, the government newspaper, and 15.2% in *The Guardian*. Among the opposition candidates, Lipumba had the highest percentage of positive sentences framing presidential candidates on issues (13.6%) while Mbowe had 9.6%, Mvungi had 6.6%, Mrema had 2.7%, Mtikila had 2.4%, and Senkoro, the female candidate had 3.5%. When it came to the sentences framing negatively the presidential candidates on issues, Kikwete had 0.4% in the *Daily News* and the *Guardian*. Mbowe had 1.8% in both newspapers, Mrema had 1.1% and Mvungi had 0.6%. Mtikila, Senkoro and Paul Henry did not have any negative sentences framing their issues.

Governance Frame

Table 13: *Sentences framing presidential candidates on Governance issues 1995*

Governance issues	Mkapa		Lipumba		Mrema		Cheyo	
	DN	TG	DN	TG	DN	TG	DN	TG
Changes in Control	6.9	-	5.7	-	-	5.7	-	-
Changes in legal framework	6.9	13.8	5.7	6.9	4.6	-	-	-
Strong cooperative union	8.0	3.4	4.5	4.6	4.5	5.7	-	12.9
Total Percentages	39.0		27.4		20.7		12.9	
	N=87							

Overall Mkapa as presidential candidate on governance was framed as the strongest (39%) over issues of control, legal framework and on cooperative unions. *The Daily News* had 21.8% and *The Guardian* had 17.2%. However, 13.8% sentences framed

him on the issue of change in legal framework and these were in *The Guardian* newspaper. Generally Lipumba also had 27.4% sentences and Mrema had 20.6% sentences on the issue of governance. The result could indicate that the sitting presidential candidate was most favored on the issue of governance by the fact that both newspapers gave him the highest percentage of sentence framing this issue.

Table 14: *Sentences framing presidential candidates on Governance issues 2005*

Governance	Kikwete		Mbowe		Lipumba		Mrema		Mvungi		Mtikila		Senkoro	
	DN	TG	DN	TG	DN	TG	DN	TG	DN	TG	DN	TG	DN	TG
Changes in governance	-	7.1	1.8	8.0	-	-	2.4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Changes in legal	5.3	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	7.5	-	-	-	-
Open budget	18.9	-	17.8	2.4	10	-	3.6	-	1.5	-	2.1	-	3	3.8
Total Percentage	31.1		30.0		15.0		6.0		9.0		2.1		6.8	
N=169														

The sentences framing Kikwete on the governance issue were 18.9% in *The Daily News* and 17.8% in *The Guardian* and most of them focused on his ability to make changes in the legal framework. Mbowe had 17.8% on open budgeting and consultation with citizens in *Daily News*. Ibrahim Lipumba had 15.0% sentences on changes in legal

framework and open budgeting. The rest of the candidates received media coverage of 23.1% on the same governance issues.

The sentences framing on governance indicate a higher percentage (31.3%) than other candidates as Jakaya Kikwete. However, the focus was in the area of open budgeting and consultation with citizens with 18.9% in *Daily News*, while 7.1% was on changes in governance and 5.3% on changes in legal framework. Quite similar to Jakaya Kikwete, 30% of sentences on governance were of Freeman Mbowe most of it being on open budgeting and consultation with citizens. Ibrahim Lipumba had 15.0%, sentences on changes in legal framework and open budgeting. The rest of the candidates received media coverage of 23.1% on the same governance issues. Economic Frame

Table 15: *Sentences framing presidential candidates on Economic issues 1995*

Economic issues	Cheyo		Mkapa		Mrema		Lipumba	
	DN	TG	DN	TG	DN	TG	DN	TG
	-	2.6	4.4	5.8	3.9	7.1	-	5.2
Economic growth								
Poverty alleviation	-	-	-	-	-	4.5	-	-
Infrastructure	-	-	3.8	3.9	-	1.3	-	1.9
Loans to workers	-	-	1.3	3.9	-	0.6	-	-
Export trade	-	-	-	-	4.5	-	-	-
Increase income	-	-	-	-	2.6	2.6	2.6	-
Bring investors	2.6	-	-	3.2	-	-	-	-
Decrease taxes	-	1.9	-	1.9	-	-	-	-
Job creation	9.0	-	3.2	5.8	-	-	3.4	-
Agricultural output	2.6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Use of public money	3.9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total Percent	22.6		37.2		27.1		13.1	

N154

In 1995, the economic stories (37.2 %) were of Benjamin Mkapa, 24.5% from *The Guardian* and 12.7% from *Daily News*, John Cheyo had 22.6% of the stories while Augustine Mrema had 27.1% stories and Ibrahim Lipumba 13.1% of the economic stories as presented in Table 15. Stories covered were mostly on economic growth and job creation.

Table 16: Sentences framing presidential candidates on Economic issues 2005

Economic issues	Kikwete		Mrema		Mvungi		Lipumb a		Mbowe		Mtikila		Kyara	
	DN	TG	DN	TG	DN	TG	DN	TG	DN	TG	DN	TG	DN	TG
Economic growth	12.5	2.7	-	-	1.3	-	1.7	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Poverty alleviation	5	-	1.3	1.3	-	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
Infrastructure	4	8	-	-	-	1.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Loans to workers	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Export trade	-	2.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Income increase	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bringing investors	2.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	1.3	-
Decrease taxes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Job creation	3.3	3.7	2	2	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	-	-	-
Use of public money	-	2.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Industrialization	1.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Agricultural output	11.2	-	1	1.7	-	-	-	1	-	-	1.3	2.3	-	2
	59.1		9.3		4.0		14.7		4.0		3.6		5.3	
	N=300													

Findings indicate that the majority (59.1 %) of sentences framing presidential candidates on the economic issue were of Jakaya Kikwete. Out of these sentences, 40.4% were in the *Daily News* and 18.7% in *The Guardian*. Ibrahim Lipumba had 1 4.7%

economic sentences, Augustine Mrema, Sengondo Mvungi, Paul Henry Kyara, Freeman Mbowe and Christopher Mtilkila had less than 10% of economic sentences in both newspapers. Jakaya Kikwete was indicated by data as the candidate for 59.1 % for economic growth, infrastructure development, export trade and job creation in both newspapers, although the *Daily News* added the possibility of bringing in investors, industrialization and agricultural output. This agrees with the study by Graber (2000) which found out economic frame was highly covered in the 2000 US election.

Education Frames

Table 17: Sentences framing presidential candidates on Education issues 1995

Education issues	Lipumba		Cheyo		Mkapa	
	DN	TG	DN	TG	DN	TG
Building new learning institutions	42.9	-	-	-	-	-
Introduction of computers in schools and loans for higher education	-	7.1	-	-	-	-
Free primary and secondary education and loans	-	-	-	28.6	-	21.4
Total Percentages	50.0		28.6		21.4	
	N=338					

Most sentences (50%) framing the presidential candidates on education in 1995 were on Lipumba who had 42.9% of the sentences in *Daily News* and 7.1% in *The Guardian*. These issues were on building of new learning institutions and the introduction of computers in primary and secondary schools and loans for higher education. Another

28.6% of education stories were of John Cheyo and 21.4% were of Benjamin Mkapa. From the findings it can be said that because of his high number of education stories, Ibrahim Lipumba was a popular candidate in 1995.

Table 18: *Sentences framing presidential candidates on Education issues 2005*

Education issues	Kikwete		Mbowe		Lipumba		Mrema		Mvungi	
	DN	TG	DN	TG	DN	TG	DN	TG	DN	TG
Building new learning institutions	-	7	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-
Introduction of computers in schools	17.4	-	8.1	-	-	10.5	-	-	4.5	-
Free primary and secondary education	10.5	7	-	-	4.7	7	-	-	-	-
Concern for teachers	-	-	-	9.3	-	-	-	7	-	-
Total Percentages	41.9		24.4		22.2		7.0		4.5	
N= 86										

As shown in table 18, 41.9% of sentences on education issues were on Jakaya Kikwete, while 27.9% were from the *Daily News* and 14% from *The Guardian*, followed by 24.4% of Freeman Mbowe and 22.1% for Ibrahim Lipumba while Augustine Mrema and Sengondo Mvungi were covered less than 10%. Based on education stories, Jakaya Kikwete was a popular candidate.

Frames on Self Related Issues

Table 19: Sentences framing presidential candidates on Self related issues 1995

Self related issues	Mkapa		Lipumba		Mrema		Cheyo	
	DN	TG	DN	TG	DN	TG	DN	TG
Self projection	14.3	12.2	12.2	12.2	-	22.4	-	6.1
Ethnicity	-	-	-	-	-	-	10.2	-
Marital status	-	4.3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Drawing voters	-	6.1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Interest								
Total percentages	36.9		24.4		22.4		16.3	
	N=49							

When it comes to sentences framing self - related issues, Mkapa had 36.9%, of which 22.6% were in *The Guardian* and 14.3% in *The Daily News* followed by Lipumba with 24.4% and Mrema with 22.4%. Only 16.3% of the candidate's stories were of Cheyo.

Table 20: Sentences framing presidential candidates on Self related issues 2005

Self related issues	Kikwete		Mbowe		Lipumba		Mrema		Mvungi		Mtikila		Senkoro		Kyara	
	DN	TG	DN	TG	DN	TG	DN	TG	DN	TG	DN	TG	DN	TG	DN	TG
Self projection	34.1	7.8	9.1	5.6	4.3	0.9	-	3.4	3.0	5.2	1.3	-	2.6	-	1.5	-
Ethnicity	1.7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Marital Status	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Drawing Voters Interest	3.9	2.6	2.2	2.6	4.3	-	-	-	-	2.6	-	-	1.3	-	-	-
Total percentage	50.1		19.5		9.5		3.4		10.8		1.3		3.9		1.5	

N=232

Half of the self related frames were of Kikwete. The sentences included 41.9% on self projection. Of this percentage, 34.1% were from *Daily News* and 7.8% from *The Guardian*, 6.5% on drawing audience interest and 1.7% on ethnicity. Another 19.4% of the sentences were on Freeman Mbowe and 10.8% were of Sengondo Mvungi on issues of self- projection and enhanced audience interest. Only 6.9% of the sentences were on Christopher Mtikila, Anna Senkoro and Paul Henry Kyara. Ethnicity was not an issue in both elections. The cases appeared negligible to all the presidential candidates.

Health Frames

Table 21: *Sentences framing presidential candidates on Health issues 1995*

Health issues	Cheyo		Mrema		Mkapa		Lipumba	
	DN	TG	DN	TG	DN	TG	DN	TG
Improvement of health care services	-	33.3	-	25.0	-	16.7	-	8.3
Lowering the cost of health services	-	16.7	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total percentages	50.0		25.0		16.7		8.3	
N=12								

In 1995 most of the sentences framing presidential candidates on health issues focused on the improvement of health. Only John Cheyo had stories on the issue of lowering the cost of health services. Most (50%) of the stories on health were on John Cheyo and a quarter on Augustine Mrema. Another 16.7% of the health stories were on Benjamin Mkapa and 8.3% on Ibrahim Lipumba. In 1995, the *Daily News* did not carry sentences on health issues for any of the presidential candidates. Overall health appears not to have been a crucial issue for the newspapers to address it extensively.

Table 22: Sentences framing presidential candidates on Health issues 2005

Health issues	Kikwete		Senkoro		Mbowe		Mtikila		Mvungi		Lipumba	
	DN	TG	DN	TG	DN	TG	DN	TG	DN	TG	DN	TG
Common disease (Malaria and AIDS)	13	13	-	-	-	3.5	6.0	-	4	-	-	1.0
Improvement in health	19.5	-	-	-	5.4	2.1	-	-	-	-	2.5	-
Free medical services	-	-	10.9	15.1	4.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	45.5		26.0		15.0		6.0		4.0		3.5	
	N= 46											

On health stories, most (45.5%) of sentences were of Jakaya Kikwete, 31.5% from *Daily News* and 13% from *The Guardian* while 26.0% were on Anna Senkoro, 10.9% from *Daily News* and 15.1% from *The Guardian*. Others were less covered than 10%. The social stories in both newspapers were on common diseases, improvement in health services and free medical services.

Social Frames

Table 23: Sentences framing presidential candidates on Social issues 1995

Social issues	Mkapa		Lipumba		Cheyo		Mrema	
	DN	TG	DN	TG	DN	TG	DN	TG
Participating on offering help to the public	10.5	26.3	-	25	-	8.3	16.4	2.6
Participating in fund raising to solve societal problems	-	10.5	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total percentages	47.7		25		8.3		19.0	
N=19								

Most of the sentences (47.7%) framing presidential candidates on social issues were of Mkapa in 1995 mostly covered in *The Guardian*, followed by Ibrahim Lipumba with 25% of the sentences in same private newspaper, while 19.0% were on Augustino Mrema. The majority of sentences on participating on offering help to the public and participating in fund raising to solve societal problems were from the private media.

Table 24: Sentences framing presidential candidates on Social issues 2005

Social issues	Kikwete		Mbowe		Lipumba	
	DN	TG	DN	TG	DN	TG
Participating on offering help to the public	64.4	15.6	6.4	-	-	-
Participating in fund raising to solve societal problems	-	4.4	-	-	6.4	2.8
Total Percentages	84.4		6.4		9.2	
N=45						

In 2005, Jakaya Kikwete had the most (84.4%) social sentences, 64.4% from *Daily News* and 15.6 % from *The Guardian*, followed by Ibrahim Lipumba with 9.2% and 6.4% on Freeman Mbowe. The sentences were on participation in fundraising to solve societal problems and caring for orphans. This is contrary to the study done by McCombs et al. (2000) which shows that the cultural difference in the coverage of issues and the social issues were among the important issues which were addressed by the candidates hence mostly covered in the media.

Gender Frames

Table 25: *Sentences framing presidential candidates on Gender issues 1995*

Gender issues	Lipumba		Cheyo	
	DN	TG	DN	TG
Women development	-	33.3	-	66.7
Total Percentages	33.3		66.7	
N=3				

In 1995 only two presidential candidates had gender sentences in the two newspapers; 66.7% of the sentences were on John Cheyo and 33.3% on Ibrahim Lipumba as depicted in Table 25 above. All the sentences on gender were on women development. From the findings it can be concluded that the majority of the candidates did not have sentences on gender issues in 1995.

Table 26: *Sentences framing presidential candidates on Gender issues 2005*

Gender issues	Kikwete		Lipumba	
	DN	TG	DN	TG
Women development	37.5	45.9	8.3	8.3
Total Percentages	83.4		16.6	
N=24				

In 1995, only two presidential candidates had gender stories covered with emphasis on women development. A percentage of 83.4%, of the gender stories were on Jakaya Kikwete and 16.6% were on Ibrahim Lipumba. This indicates that even with a female candidate in the presidential campaigns, gender stories did not receive a wide coverage.

Summary of Findings

The Guardian newspapers in 1995 exposed more issues on the presidential candidates than *The Daily News*. *The Guardian* had a wide coverage on issues during the multi-party period in 1995. However in 2005, the state-owned newspaper the *Daily News* covered more presidential candidates than the privately-owned one. In 1995, all the stories were hard news. In 2005, the majority of the stories were hard news with only a slight percentage of feature stories that covered the two presidential candidates who were fairly prominent, namely Jakaya Kikwete and Ibrahim Lipumba.

The placement of stories for the popular and particularly the sitting head of state had their stories placed on the front pages while other candidate issues were placed in the inside pages of the newspaper. Only a few stories of presidential candidates were placed on the back pages. The majority of the presidential candidates in 1995 and 2005 were framed positively.

The economic and governance issues were covered prominently in 1995. During this same period, Tanzania was in the transitional period from socialism to capitalism and from one-party to multi-party system of governance, hence the economic and governance issues were important issues during this time. In 2005, economic and self-related issues were most covered in both newspapers. Economic issues are core in the development of any economy. Self-related issues were of focus in 2005 because of the number of presidential candidates that had increased from four in 1995 to ten in 2005.

Despite media attempt to exercise democratic space, still there were two presidential candidates in 2005, namely Emanuel Makaid (NLD) and Leonald Shayo

(DM) from the opposition parties who were not covered in both government and private newspapers during the campaign period.

From the findings there was no difference in coverage for male or female candidates in 2005. The media covered all the candidates as they appeared on issues rather than their personality, age and family.

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CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

The study on media framing of presidential candidates in the multi-party era was conducted to find out the influence of the multi-party system on the framing of the presidential candidates on issues by *The Daily News* and *The Guardian* in 1995 and 2005. Three objectives informed this study: first to establish the influence of the multi-party system on the media's framing of presidential candidates in Tanzania, second to find out the kind of frames used by media on the presidential candidates in 1995 and 2005 elections, and third to establish the salience of the gender issue. This chapter presents discussion of the findings, recommendations and conclusions.

Discussions

The Influence of Multi-partism on Media Framing of Presidential Candidates

In Tanzania, the development of democracy owes much to the influence of the media. The 1990's introduction of multi-party in Tanzania as well as the improvement in press freedom saw an increment in privately-owned media houses as well as news consumption as recorded by Tripp (2000). This was a great achievement for the country since it had been under a single party. Before this, Tanzania had government media only. It was only in 1994 that a privately- owned media started to burgeon. In the first multi-party election, the privately-owned media did not differ much from the government-owned. Both gave the ruling party candidate more coverage than the opposition candidates. Media coverage was not influenced by multi-partism because the two

newspapers still gave the ruling party candidate a higher percentage than the opposition candidates.

In the choice of the type of the story to frame the presidential candidate in 1995, both newspapers did not use features to cover presidential candidates, nor did the media exploit democratic space to use feature. This shows that there were no changes in coverage. Media focused on hard news as the way of covering presidential candidates during the campaign period. This agrees with the study by Graber (2000) and McCombs et al. (2000) who discovered that hard news were used on framing candidates rather than features even though features were also used in the coverage of elections. This also concurs with the study done by Chyi and McCombs (2004) that, hard news are most preferred to be used in news coverage. This is because they take a short time to prepare and are more consistent in maintaining the daily newspaper production compared to soft news. In 2005 there were very few feature stories covering two presidential candidates who were fairly prominent; Jakaya Kikwete and Ibrahim Lipumba. According to this research, the democratic dispensation had not been adequately captured by both the government and the privately-owned newspapers.

In terms of placement of sentences in 1995, *The Guardian* a privately-owned newspaper gave more coverage to the sitting head of state. This means that, in the first multi-party election private media still needed time to learn how to use their democratic space in the presidential campaigns. In 2005 *The Guardian* departed from the 1995 coverage trend by giving less front page coverage to the ruling party, and more to opposition candidates. The difference in the coverage over the years could be attributed

to the recognition of greater democratic space. The inside placement of the sentences for the rest of the candidates for both years confirms that they were not given priority in their coverage like the sitting candidate. The placement of few sentences of presidential candidates on the back pages set an agenda for the readers through placement and repetition, and thus increased the salience of the presidential candidates.

As regards frame direction in 1995, both newspapers were equal in terms of positive frame of the sitting candidate. This means that *The Guardian* did not explore the democratic space in the first multi-party election to the advantage of the ruling party candidate. The ruling party candidate was also favored in 2005, by having more percentages in positive frame compared to the other presidential candidates. However, in 2005 the private media departed from covering the ruling party at par with government media. Its coverage tended towards the coverage of other presidential candidates positively. The sitting candidate's continued privileged coverage by both government and private media was an indication that CCM had more experience in the political arena than the opposition parties which needed more time to learn how to carry out the whole process of campaign.

It is worth noting that the data indicate that multi-party influence on presidential candidates' framing on issues was minimal. It only occurred in 2005 when *The Guardian* carried fewer sentences on opposition candidates compared to the sitting candidate. This can be attributed to the increase in presidential candidates in 2005.

The kind of frames used by media

The frames used in framing presidential candidates were based on categories developed by Graber (2000) and were adopted in this research. Governance issues framing were those sentences in a story which indicated: changes in governance through guides, controls and legal frameworks to fight corruption, open budgeting and consultations with citizens. In this respect, the two newspapers focused on governance as it was related to changes in legal framework. In 1995, legal framework coverage across the media gave Mkapa more coverage compared to the other candidates. As a salient issue in governance, both newspapers emphasized on it in both elections. They gave comparably equal percentage to Jakaya Kikwete and Freeman Mbowe in 2005. According to this research the legal framework is usually important in African election. It was one of the issues which were of importance in the Tanzanian constitution.

Economic issues in this study were those sentences in a story, which could help engineer economic activities that would help to bring changes in the economic status of the country and the people; for example, if the candidate was positioned towards economic growth, bringing investors to the country, decreasing taxes, creating jobs, alleviating poverty, improving agricultural output and industrial production.

In 1995 all issues were taken to be of importance to be addressed by presidential candidates particularly in the privately-owned media. Mkapa was leading on economic growth by more coverage in *The Guardian*. This was because in 1995, there was a transitional period from socialism to capitalism and from one party to multi-party system of governance. Therefore, economic issues were the critical issues addressed at that time.

The government newspaper in 2005 was also concerned with economic frame on economic growth too. It gave Kikwete more coverage although all the candidates were covered. This also indicates that ten years after multi-partism economic issues still were issues to be addressed by presidential candidates. This concurs with the study by McCombs et al. (2000) which shows that the economic issue was one of the key issues discussed during the Spanish elections.

Education issues in this study were those sentences in a story addressing the candidate positioned for lowering school fees, building new learning institutions, introduction of computers in schools, free education for primary schools, and giving loans for higher education among others. In 1995 building new learning institutions was highly addressed by Lipumba and Cheyo from the opposition party in the government newspaper. This shows that the government media was looking on opposition candidate as people who could lead on education. However, in 2005 the introduction of computers in schools stood out as an important education issue to be addressed by the ruling party candidate. The fact that the government media had the chance to emphasize any issue of importance which was addressed during the campaign periods shows that there was a sense of democratic space in terms of favoring either the opposition or the ruling party on its performance.

Self- related issues of framing which in this study were those sentences in a story, which framed the candidates' position on issues of the candidates' personal matters like religion, marital status, ethnicity and the self- projection of the candidate on a particular issue. Self- projection in 1995 appeared in almost all candidates led by the sitting

candidate. The private media covered Mkapa on marital status and drawing voters' interest which was not addressed by the other candidates. This shows that the private media began to practice democratic space by trying to articulate individual candidate's issues which are of interest to the public. In 2005 self -projection was also widely covered led by Kikwete in the government media. Therefore, it was a selling point for the candidates since it was generally addressed by all presidential candidates. The sitting candidate was given more coverage in the *Daily News*. The way the media cover self-related issues agree with Grabber (2000) who point out that the presidential candidates prefer self related issues that are important in elections.

Social issues in this study were those sentences in a story, which framed the candidates' position on issues of participation in fundraising which aimed to solve societal problems, participating in offering help, solving natural disasters and caring for the orphans, among others. Participation in fundraising to solve societal problem and participating in offering help to the public were given more coverage for the sitting candidates in the private media in 1995 and in the government media in 2005. This is contrary to the study done by McCombs et al. (2000) which shows that social issues were among the important issues which were addressed by the candidates and these are mostly covered in the media.

Health issues in this study were those sentences in a story, which framed the candidates' position on issues concerning specific common diseases such as malaria and HIV-AIDS, improvement in health services, opening of new hospitals, lowering the cost for health services to be affordable to all people and improving health equipment.

Improvement of health care services was the most popular issue which was emphasized by the private media. John Cheyo from the opposition party was most covered in 1995 general election. As regards common disease such as malaria and HIV- AIDS, the sitting candidate's coverage was highly covered in 2005 in both *Daily News* and *The Guardian* newspapers. This implies that there was a difference in the kind of frames used to frame the presidential candidates between 1995 and 2005. This is because different candidates were highly covered in different issues, even though the sitting candidate tended to be covered in most issues. This also meant that media set an agenda for the sitting candidate that is why the sitting candidate from CCM continued to be elected in spite of the introduction of multi-partism. This brings in the importance of the particular framing that the media embraces. Cooper and Baker's (2005) observations sensitize us on the fact that citizens' political judgments often depend on how an issue or problem is framed.

Gender salience

In terms of gender frame in 1995 there was no female candidate while in 2005 there was only one female candidate among the ten presidential candidates. From the findings in this study, gender did not affect the way media perceived presidential candidates. Anna Senkoro was the only female presidential candidate in 2005. In the case of story type, hard news was used to cover her, while her sentences were placed on the front page in the *Daily News*, and inside of both the *Daily News* and *The Guardian*. In both these papers, she was positively covered, with neither negative nor neutral framing.

Anna Senkoro's coverage was based purely on political issues particularly on health frame whereby she was among the most covered presidential candidate in both

Daily News and *The Guardian* newspapers, emphasizing on free medical services. However, she was less covered on self-related issues, for example on self-projection in the *Daily News* and governance issues on changes in laws, neither was she covered on the economic frame which was one of the core issues in the 2005 election as well as the other frames such as, education, social and gender. This indicates that as a female presidential candidate, she was not covered fully in all aspects of the frames used in the presidential campaigns.

These findings concerning gender contradict numerous and previous findings which show that coverage of male candidates when contrasted with female candidates stems from gender stereotyping and the presumed traditional role of women (Devitt, 1999; Khan, 1992; Khan & Gordon, 1997; Norris, 1999). Davitt's (1999) research findings of general elections found that newspapers paid more attention to female candidate's age, personality and attire. Studies by Aday and Devitt (1999) cited by Busher (2006) found out that there were differences that the authors attributed to gender. Female candidates received less coverage on political issues and therefore when readers examined the coverage of the election, they were more likely to find out more about the policy issues of male presidential candidates. In the study conducted by Bannart, Bystrom and Robertson (2003), female candidates were found to be more focused on their gender, children and marital status. This was represented in news coverage in both the primary stage and the general elections. This was not the case with female candidate covered in this study; she was covered based on issues of elections as attributed to the context of the study.

These findings indicate that issues about Anna Senkoro, the female candidate, were fewer than those of other male presidential candidates. This could point to the fact that a female candidate appearing on the political scene for the first time in Tanzania was not considered that important to warrant setting an agenda for the readers on the concern for a female candidate to seek leadership in a high position in government.

Conclusions

The multi-party system minimally influenced the framing of presidential candidates in both 1995 and 2005. The sentence frames used in the framing of the presidential candidates in both government and private media slightly changed from 1995 to 2005. Where as in 1995 the emphasis was on governance and economy, in 2005 the emphasis was on self- related issues and the economy. The private newspaper used its democratic space to provide some more space for the opposition presidential candidates despite the fact that the ruling party candidates had a higher percentage of sentences framing their campaigns in both years. In both years in both newspapers the majority of sentences framing the presidential candidates positively favored the ruling party candidates.

The type of story in both years in both newspapers was hard news. There were a few feature stories in 2005 which framed only two candidates, namely Jakaya Kikwete from (CCM) the ruling party and Ibrahim Lipumba from (CUF) one of the opposition parties. There were no cartoons neither were there photographs detached from the story nor were there editorials which focused on a particular candidate. The editorials focused on the political parties and elections in general rather than on a candidate. These could

be indicators of a fragile democratic space in which the newspapers were operating even ten years after the introduction of multi-partism. The meaning of media framing as used in this study focused on Entman's (1993, p.52) definition, which defines frame as "select some aspects of perceived reality and make them more salient in communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem, definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and or treatment recommendation for the item described".

The frames as found in this study only communicated some aspects of reality of the framing presidential candidates and did not explore in-depth all the dynamics and processes of the coverage of presidential campaigns in a fledging democracy. The data do, however, gave some aspects of perceived reality and made them more salient.

Recommendations

To media outlets

Data indicated that there were underlining tones of fear, perhaps based on long years of one-party system. The media, particularly the private media, would do well to embrace the expanding democratic impetus and carry it to full blossom by having to challenge the presidential candidates on policies by pulling resources to increase the democratic space and thus press freedom.

To Editors

The data did indicate that the editorials were focusing on general issues and steered away from the presidential candidates. This researcher recommends that editors take on the issues and the candidate's integrity when writing the editorials. They would

also need to include cartoons and stand alone photographs in the selection of content to frame presidential candidates.

To Journalists

While writing hard news is easy and may be rewarding in the short term, in the long run, features do provide in-depth analysis of issues, therefore, this researcher recommends that journalists covering presidential campaigns should take advantage of democratic space and frame them in the feature type of story.

Further Research

This study was done to examine the media framing of presidential candidates in Tanzania multi-party elections and based on the findings, the researcher recommends that the method of content analysis used in this study be used alongside focus groups and survey of journalists, editors and even extend it to the receivers of frames so as to gauge their perceptions.

A comparative study of media framing of presidential candidates in the five East African countries would make a good contribution to the framing concept and exploration of media and democracy.

The researcher recommends further studies on readers' response to media coverage on various presidential candidates during the multi-party period. This would establish the perception of the readers in terms of placement of the story, frame direction, and the role played by the different types of stories in framing the presidential candidates.

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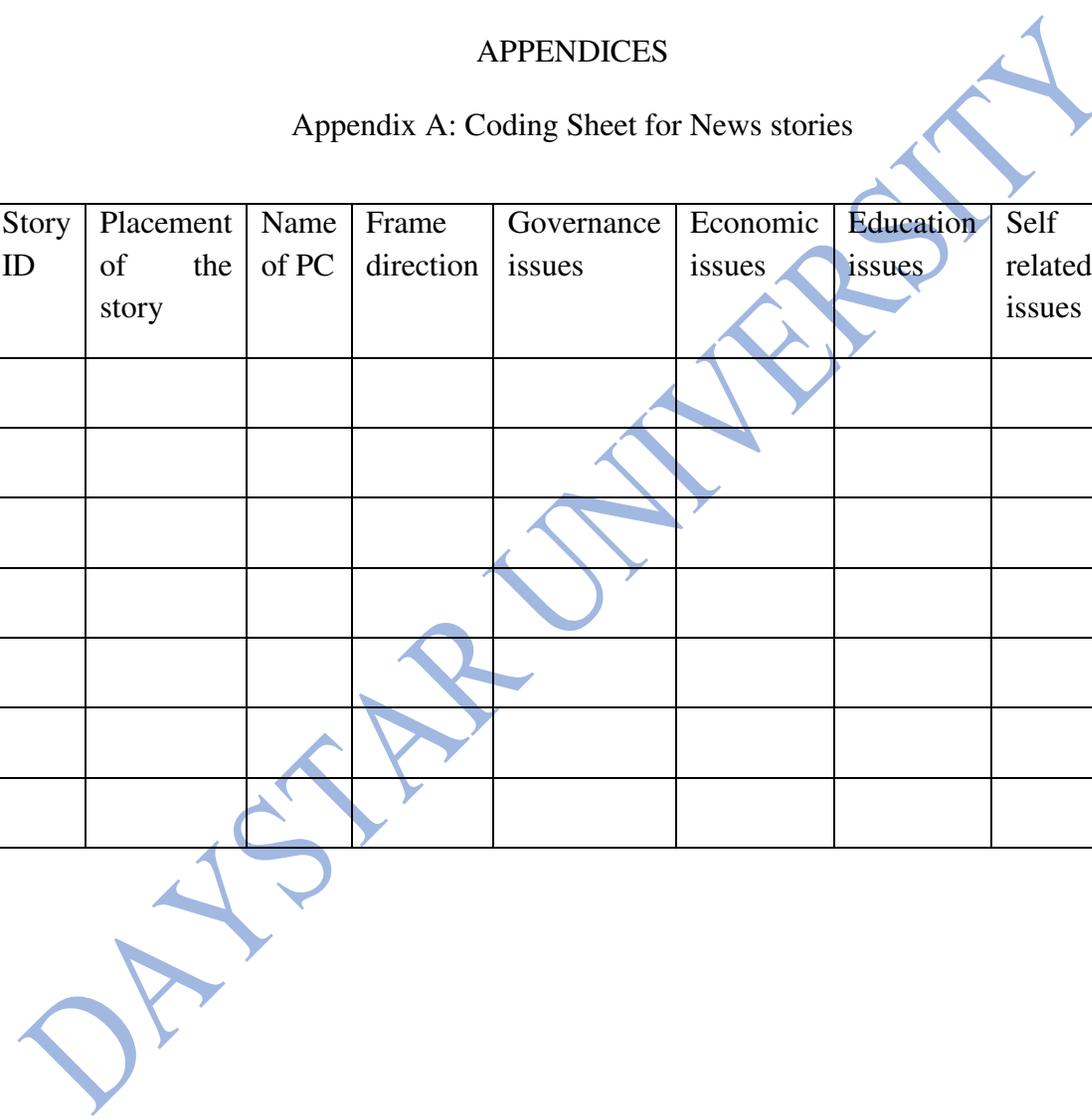
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APPENDICES

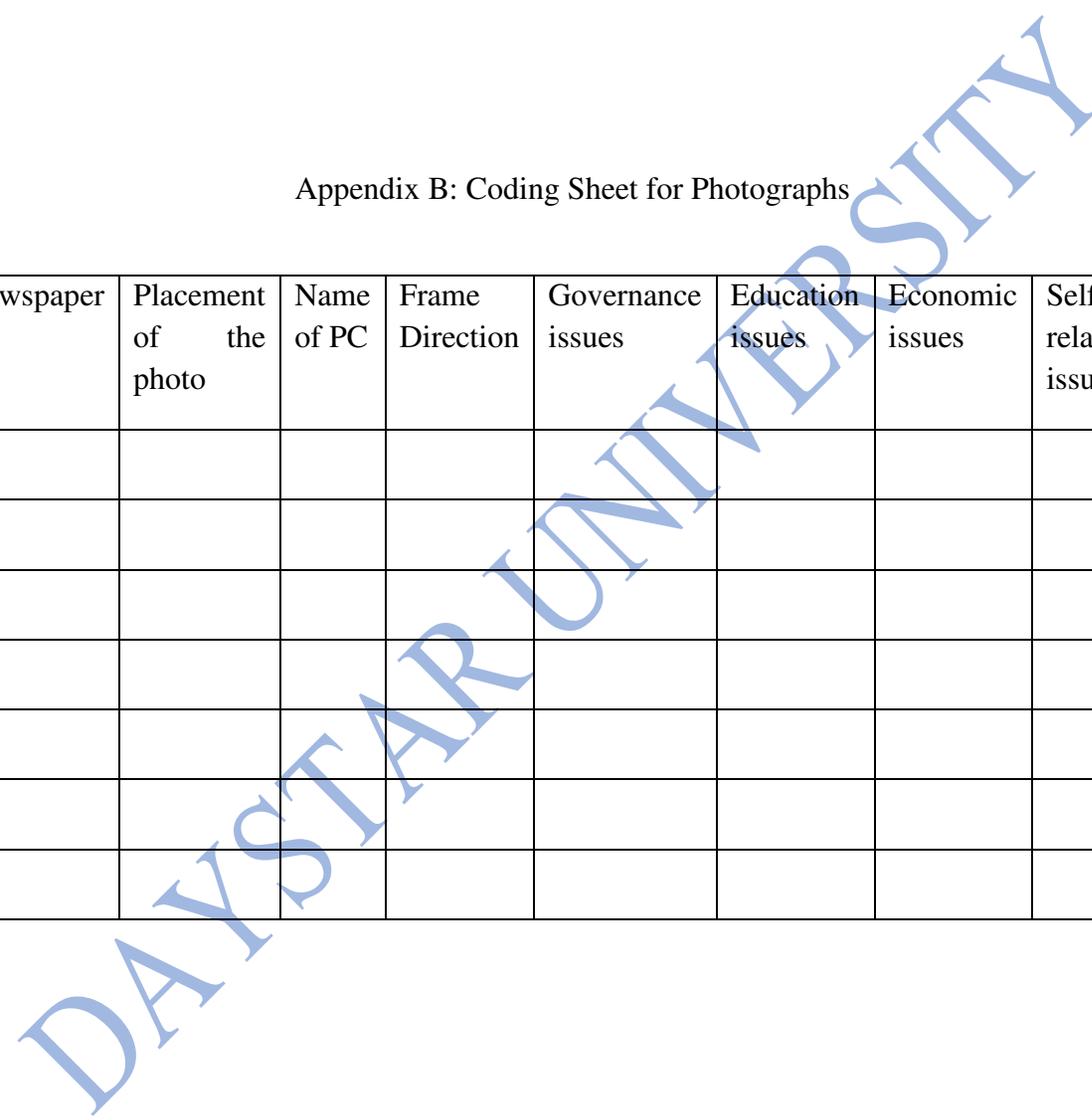
Appendix A: Coding Sheet for News stories

Date ID	Month ID	Year ID	Story ID	Placement of the story	Name of PC	Frame direction	Governance issues	Economic issues	Education issues	Self related issues	Health issues	Gender issues	Social issues



Appendix B: Coding Sheet for Photographs

Date ID	Month ID	Year ID	Newspaper ID	Placement of the photo	Name of PC	Frame Direction	Governance issues	Education issues	Economic issues	Self related issues	Health issues	Gender issues	Social issues



Appendix C: Coding Sheet for Cartoons

Date ID	Month ID	Year ID	Name of PC	Frame Direction	Governance issues	Economic issues	Education issues	Self related issues	Health issues	Gender issues	Social issues

Appendix D: Coding Guide for News Stories of Presidential Candidates

Date ID

Month ID

1. August
2. September
3. October
4. November
5. December

Year ID

1. 1995
2. 2005

Newspapers ID

1. Daily News
2. The Guardian

Story ID

1. Hard News
2. Feature
3. Editorial

Placement of Story

1. Front
2. Inside
3. Back

Name of candidate for 1995

1. Benjamin William Mkapa-Chama cha mapinnduzi(CCM)
2. John Cheyo-United Democratic Party (UDP)
3. Ibrahim Lipumba-Civil United Front (CUF)
4. Augustine Mrema National Convection for Construction and Reform Mageuzi (NCCR)

Name of candidate for 2005

1. Jakaya Kikwete -Chama cha Mapinduzi(CCM)
2. Freeman Mbowe -Chama cha Democrasia na Maendeleo(CHADEMA)
3. Ibrahim Lipumba- Civil United Front (CUF)
4. Augustine Mrema -Tanzania Labor Party(TLP)
5. Sengondo Mvungi-Convection for Construction and Reform Mageuzi (NCCR)
6. Christopher Mtikila-Democratic Party(DP)
7. Emanuel Makaidi-League for Democracy(NLD)
8. Anna Senkoro- Progressive Party of Tanzania Maendeleo (PPI)
9. Paul Henry-Chama cha Sauti ya Umma (SAU)
10. Leonald Shayo -Democrasia Makini (DM)

Frame direction

1. Positive frame
2. Negative frame
3. Neutral frame

Governance Issues

1. Changes in control i.e. in different ministries
2. Changes in legal framework:
3. Open budgeting and consultations with citizens
4. Strong cooperative union
5. Change of leadership to fight corruption
6. Strong and authoritative government

Economic Issues

1. Economic growth
2. Poverty alleviation
3. Bring investors
4. Decrease of taxes
5. Job creation
6. Poverty alleviation
7. Agricultural out put
8. Industrialization
9. Infrastructure
10. Export trade
11. Increase income
12. Loan to workers
13. Use of public money

Education issues

1. Building new learning institutions
2. Opening of new education sectors
3. Introduction of computers in schools and loans for higher education
4. Free primary and secondary education and loans
5. Concern for teachers

Self related issues

1. Self projection
2. Ethnicity
3. Marital status
4. Drawing voter's interest

Health issues

1. Improvement in health services
2. Lowering the cost of health services

3. Free medical services
4. Common disease such as Malaria and AIDS
5. Improvement of health equipment

Gender issues

1. Women development
2. Gender equality

Social issues

1. Participation on offering help to the public
2. Participation on fundraising to solve societal problems

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Appendix E: Coding Guide for Photograph and its Caption of Presidential Candidate

Date ID

Month ID

1. August
2. September
3. October
4. November
5. December

Year ID

1. 1995
2. 2005

Newspapers ID

1. Daily News
2. The Guardian

Photo ID

1. Photo of candidate alone, it give prominence(detached from the campaign)
2. Photo of candidate in campaign activities with crowd of people(attach him with campaign activities)
3. Photo of candidate talking to officials to the political party(attach him with campaign period)

Placement of the story

1. Front
2. Inside(news)
3. Back

Name of candidate for 1995

1. Benjamin William Mkapa-Chama cha mapinnduzi(CCM)
2. John Cheyo-United Democratic Party (UDP)
3. Ibrahim Lipumba-Civil United Front (CUF)
4. Augustine Mrema National Convection for Construction and Reform Mageuzi (NCCR)

Name of candidate for 2005

1. Jakaya Kikwete -Chama cha Mapinduzi(CCM)
2. Freeman Mbowe -Chama cha Democrasia na Maendeleo(CHADEMA)
3. Ibrahim Lipumba- Civil United Front (CUF)
4. Augustine Mrema -Tanzania Labor Party(TLP)
5. Sengondo Mvungi- Convection for Construction and Reform Mageuzi (NCCR)
6. Christopher Mtikila- Democratic Party(DP)
7. Emanuel Makaidi- League for Democracy(NLD)
8. Anna Senkoro- Progressive Party of Tanzania Maendeleo (PPI)
9. Paul Henry-Chama cha Sauti ya Umma (SAU)
10. Leonald Shayo Democrasia Makini (DM)

Frame direction

1. Positive frame
2. Negative frame
3. Neutral frame

Governance Issues

1. Changes in control i.e. in different ministries
2. Changes in legal framework
3. Open budgeting and consultations with citizens
4. Strong cooperative union
5. Change of leadership to fight corruption
6. Strong and authoritative government

Economic Issues

1. Economic growth
2. Poverty alleviation
3. Bring investors
4. Decrease of taxes
5. Job creation
6. Poverty alleviation
7. Agricultural out put
8. Industrialization
9. Infrastructure
10. Export trade
11. Increase income
12. Loan to workers
13. Use of public money

Education issues

1. Building new learning institutions
2. Opening of new education sectors
3. Introduction of computers in schools and loans for higher education
4. Free primary and secondary education and loans
5. Concern for teachers

Self related issues

1. Self projection
2. Ethnicity
3. Marital status
4. Drawing voter's interest

Health issues

1. Improvement in health services
2. Lowering the cost of health services
3. Free medical services
4. Common disease such as Malaria and AIDS
5. Improvement of health equipment

Gender issues

1. Women development
2. Gender equality

Social issues

1. Participation on offering help to the public
2. Participation on fundraising to solve societal problems

Appendix F: Coding Guide for the Entire Cartoons of Presidential Candidate

Date ID

Month ID

1. August
2. September
3. October
4. November
5. December

Year ID

1. 1995
2. 2005

Newspapers ID

1. Daily News
2. The Guardian

Placement of Cartoon

1. Front
2. Inside
3. Back

Name of candidate for 1995

1. Benjamin William Mkapa-Chama cha mapinnduzi(CCM)
2. John Cheyo-United Democratic Party (UDP)
3. Ibrahim Lipumba-Civil United Front (CUF)
4. Augustine Mrema National Convection for Construction and Reform Mageuzi (NCCR)

Name of candidate for 2005

1. Jakaya Kikwete -Chama cha Mapinduzi(CCM)
2. Freeman Mbowe -Chama cha Democrasia na Maendeleo(CHADEMA)
3. Ibrahim Lipumba- Civil United Front (CUF)
4. Augustine Mrema -Tanzania Labor Party(TLP)
5. Sengondo Mvungi- Convection for Construction and Reform Mageuzi (NCCR)
6. Christopher Mtikila-Democratic Party(DP)
7. Emanuel Makaidi- League for Democracy(NLD)
8. Anna Senkoro- Progressive Party of Tanzania Maendeleo (P.I)
9. Paul Henry- Chama cha Sauti ya Umma (SAU)
10. Leonald Shayo- Democrasia Makini (DM)

Frame direction

1. Positive frame
2. Negative frame

3. Neutral frame

Governance Issues

1. Changes in control i.e. in different ministries
2. Changes in legal framework:
3. Open budgeting and consultations with citizens
4. Strong cooperative union
5. Change of leadership to fight corruption
6. Strong and authoritative government

Economic Issues

1. Economic growth
2. Poverty alleviation
3. Bring investors
4. Decrease of taxes
5. Job creation
6. Poverty alleviation
7. Agricultural output
8. Industrialization
9. Infrastructure
10. Export trade
11. Increase income
12. Loan to workers
13. Use of public money

Education issues

1. Building new learning institutions
2. Opening of new education sectors
3. Introduction of computers in schools and loans for higher education
4. Free primary and secondary education and loans
5. Concern for teachers

Self related issues

1. Self projection
2. Ethnicity
3. Marital status
4. Drawing voter's interest

Health issues

1. Improvement in health services
2. Lowering the cost of health services
3. Free medical services
4. Common disease such as Malaria and AIDS
5. Improvement of health equipment

Gender issues

1. Women development
2. Gender equality

Social issues

1. Participation on offering help to the public
2. Participation on fundraising to solve societal problems

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Appendix G: Example of Sentences Framing Presidential Candidates on *Daily News* in
1995

September 2

Mkapa (CCM) - Economic issues

He said that CCM would make it priority to build road from Dar es Salaam to Lindi to end long term transportation.

Mkapa also promised to search for markets of crops produced in the region and cattle which could go a long way towards improving people's income.

October 4

He said his government, would negotiate with producers to see how it would help in financing or looking for partners abroad to revamp the sisal industry which would have a trickle down effect on the economy by increasing employment opportunities.

October 25

Addressing an election campaign rally at Ilulu stadium in Lindi urban on Thursday evening, Mr. Mkapa said improvement of road infrastructure was among his top priorities.

September 12

Mr. Mkapa pledged that, if elected president in October elections, he would initiate sweeping social economic changes and encourage the informal income generation projects so as to create more jobs for the unemployed.

October 25

Governance issues

He reiterated his commitment to fight corruption which had been reducing the national income and hampering implementation of social-economic development programmes.

October 23

Mr. Mkapa said, if CCM was elected he would form a leadership based on 'know how' to enable it cope with prevailing political and economic reforms.

September 27

"This is the only party which can assure you good leadership because it has experience" said Mr. Mkapa adding that he would use the experience to lead the country into the next century.

September 2

Self related issues

"This is because they found me capable, loyal and with good academic background" said Mkapa.

September 12

Lipumba - (CUF) Economic issues

He said his party would take professionalism seriously and appoint executives according to their specialties to enhance national development.

September 12

He noted that the project would create employment for youth from Southern areas. He further said that a CUF government would put emphasis on improving social services like health.

September 7

Education issues

“Teachers are not properly housed, schools lacked the necessary equipment,” he said Prof. Lipumba told his audience that if Tanzanians do not want a recurrence of the pathetic situation in the next five years they should vote for CUF.

October 20

Governance issues

Prof. Lipumba said, his party would make sure that the court dispenses equal judgment according to one’s merit and not according to how much one has.

Civil United Front (CUF) presidential candidate, Professor Ibrahim Lipumba, has said that, his party would fight corruption in judicial system.

October 28

In a dramatic announcement made before reporters at Embassy Hotel in Dar es Salaam in the evening, professor Lipumba accused the ruling party CCM of using security and intelligences forces “to win the election by hook and crook”.

September 26

Cheyo - (UDP) self related issues

Cheyo said it was improper to lock horns with fellow opposition leaders because his intention was to build a new Tanzania which would cherish religious, political and ethnic harmony.

October 4

Economic issues

Mr. Cheyo said that his government would invite foreign and local investors to help improve industry, agriculture, tourism and business in order to improve the national income.

October 29

Mr. Cheyo said investors would be welcome to invest in industries and create employment opportunities. He told the campaign rally at Uhuru stadium here on Thursday afternoon that all taxes collected would be directed at improving social services, including provision of safe and clean water, education and health.

October 12

Mr. Cheyo said his government would strengthen the free market economy with a view to enabling farmers decide where to sell their crops for their own benefits and the benefit of the nation as whole.

September 29

UDP presidential candidate John Cheyo yesterday said if he wins the presidency, he would ensure farmers benefit from their produce unlike now when their crops were being nationalized.

September 4

Mrema (NCCR) - Economic issues

NCCR- Mageuzi promises its government will accord indigenous Tanzania special favor when providing capital to business men to discourage illegal exportation of the country's foreign exchange.

September 27

Mr. Mrema, who is also the National chairman of NCCR- Mageuzi, said it was only his party that could pull Tanzania out of economic problems.

October 20

The NCCR - Mageuzi presidential candidate, Mr. Augustine Mrema, said yesterday that if his party wins the general elections he will increase salaries for all civil servants.

October 2

Advising thousands of Iringa residents over the weekend, Mr. Mrema said his party would ensure that justice was done all regardless of their religious beliefs, race or tribal affiliation.

The NCCR - Mageuzi presidential candidate said his government would closely follow the performance of all magistrates and court assessors to check corruption.

Appendix H: Example of Sentences Framing Presidential Candidates on *The Guardian* in

1995

September 3

Mrema (NCCR) - Economic issues

At the rally, Mr. Mrema introduced some of his party's candidates for parliamentary seats saying if he and NCCR triumphed in the October polls, the government's would be on fighting corruption and "recapturing the country's lost glory".

Mr. Mrema hinted that a government under his party would, as a matter of policy seek to bridge the social and economic gaps between the rich Tanzanians and their poor compatriots.

September 5

Governance issues

He said if elected to power, he would take two years to discipline corrupt leaders who are in the current government. "I will run a very clean government if elected, a government free of corruption and social evils," he said adding that "mine will be a model government".

September 6

Mr. Mrema said a government with him as executive president would immediately scrap all oppressive laws "manipulated to victimize innocent citizens."

In his acknowledgements in approval of chief Fundikira's gesture, Mr. Mrema pronounced himself in favor of the formation of government of national unity.

September 13

As a matter of policy his government will fight tooth and nail to alleviate poverty, side by side the war against corruption, he stated. An NCCR- Mageuzi government would review the policy of privatization because the policy was a "major source of corruption in the CCM government."

September 6

Lipumba (CUF) - Governance issues

Reviving the badly term national economy and fighting all types of discrimination, whether racial, religious, and tribal or gender will top the government agenda of CUF presidential candidate Prof. Ibrahim Lipumba if he won the forthcoming presidential election. "For 34 years of independence this country, particularly this city (Dar-es Salaam) has had no reliable supply of water, electricity and medicine, regardless our riches of natural resources. These resources can be extensively harnessed if corruption is eliminated and a climate of justice and honest enterprise prevails," Prof. Lipumba emphasized.

September 25

Prof. Lipumba promised that if elected president he will move to Dodoma by November (Moving the capital city as party of his new mode of governance). "I will make sure that essential community services such as water, electricity, health and accessible roads are available," Prof. Lipumba said, stressing that he was not happy with how the CCM government had dealt with the issue of transferring the capital city to Dodoma.

October 20

Civic United Front (CUF) presidential candidate Prof. Ibrahim Lipumba says that other political parties do not have clear solutions to the country's battered economy and do not even know the causes.

The causes of economic malaise were the poor and unachievable Ujamaa policies followed by TANU and then CCM whose architect was the revered President Julius Nyerere, Prof. Lipumba told the campaign meeting.

October 20

Economic issues

Presidential candidate contesting through a CUF ticket Prof. Ibrahim said if elected, he will camp for two months at Rufuji, costal region to supervise construction of bridge across Rufuji River and a road to the south. Prof. Lipumba told The Guardian, through his party's secretary General Mr. Shabaan Mloa in Dar es Salaam yesterday that he believes the completion of the bridge across Rufuji River and the road to Lindi and Mtwara regions in the South would speed up economic development of the areas.

September 13

Mkapa (CCM) - Governance issues

CCM Presidential Candidate Mr. Benjamin Mkapa has vowed to fight corruption ruthlessly if elected and to use the full force of the law to root out malpractices. "If we win elections we shall ensure that corruption is dealt with according to the law and laid-down procedures. Emotions will have no place in this exercise. We want a government that respects the rule of law."

September 23

Economic issues

In his address, Mr. Mkapa said he would ensure small-scale miners were helped to prosper. He said the Government would survey mining areas for allocation as one way of assuring them of the government's support to improve their situation.

October 11

Creating a conducive environment, enabling large foreign investments, increasing employment opportunities in the country would be accorded priority if CCM presidential candidate Benjamin Mkapa is elected, the candidate has affirmed.

Addressing a campaign rally at Majiji stadium in Songea, Mr. Mkapa said that the adequate availability of medicine in dispensaries and health centers was a matter of most concern to him.

October 16

Addressing Mbinga residents later yesterday, Mr. Mkapa promised that he would work to bring about balanced development among regions, by an effort to uplift the country's more peripheral areas.

October 22

Cheyo (UDP) - Economic issues

Mr. Cheyo said if elected, his government would give priority to the provision of social services to the community such as health, education, transport and water as well as alleviation of poverty by ensuring youth employment. Mr. Cheyo said as a solution to unemployment, his government will build five factories at Manzese.

October 3

United Democratic Party (UDP) leader and presidential candidate Mr. John Cheyo has meanwhile vowed to build a political culture facilitating opposition among political parties without disrupting the prevailing peace.

Appendix I: Example of Sentences Framing Presidential Candidates on *Daily News* in
2005

August 29

Kikwete (CCM) - economic issues

He promised to work hard to emulate President Benjamin Mkapa's record on economic and social development.

August 29

Addressing the well attended rally at Mwakangale stadium in Kyela, Mr. Kikwete asked the people to vote for CCM, promising to fight poverty. He promised to work out effective marketing strategies aimed at helping peasants to get good prices for their farm produce.

September 7

He told the gathering that CCM government intends to improve livelihood of farmers by helping to acquire better farming methods and equip them with modern tools. He said farmers would be helped get loans from banks. He also told the crowd that his government would elevate the status of women by posting more of them in decision-making positions.

September 9

After thanking the president and his predecessor Mr. Kikwete first promise to Tanzanians was to maintain peace and tranquility, and the union between Tanganyika and Zanzibar if elected to power. He also pledged to defend the country's constitution, uphold the rule of law, correct gender imbalance at all segments of society and fight all forms of social injustice.

September 14

As his rallies Mr. Kikwete urges Tanzanians to refrain from voting into the State House, parliament or councillorship, aspirants vying for those positions from opposition parties. He says, "They are still inexperienced and naive on the rugged political terrain. Mr. Kikwete often points out that CCM has rescued the nation from a state of profound poverty and placed it in a more respectable position.

September 27

CCM Union presidential candidate Jakaya Kikwete has assured Zanzibar of more funds for its development if elected.

October 18

CCM union presidential candidate Jakaya Kikwete yesterday assured Ulanga residents in Morogoro that a permanent bridge is to be constructed over Kilombero River within the next five years if he wins elections later this month.

“We will introduce a proper system of crop procurement for mutual benefit of both farmers and buyers,” Mr. Kikwete promised.

October 13

CCM Union presidential candidate Jakaya Kikwete has assured Shinyanga residents that if elected his government will work hard for revival of cotton production.

September 20

Kikwete - education issues

Earlier, Mr. Kikwete had talked of plans to provide overall support for all orphans, including provision of free education.

September 1

CCM presidential candidate Jakaya Kikwete yesterday pledged to establish another university college to enable Tanzanians to acquire high education, which he said, was necessary to attain development goals. He said if elected to lead the nation, he would pull resources to revive all stalled industrial units in Kilimanjaro region to create jobs and alleviate poverty which has been haunting several communities in the area.

September 21

The Chama Cha Mapinduzi presidential candidate Mr. Jakaya Kikwete has promised to stamp out embezzlement of public funds. In his usual cool and confident style, Mr. Kikwete went through his standard campaign message that includes improvement of social services like education and healthcare.

September 29

Kikwete - governance issues

CCM Union presidential candidate Jakaya Kikwete has asked Tanga residents to vote for him, promising to mobilize investors to process fruits in the region. He warned that stern measures would be taken against embezzlers of public funds in the local authorities.

August 29

CCM Union presidential candidate Mr. Jakaya Kikwete yesterday expressed deep concern over the attaining rate of HIV/AIDS infection in Mbeya Region and promised to intensify the battle against the scourge if elected president. He promised forming a government that would shamelessly fight the disease with new zeal, vigor and speed.

October 19

CHADEMA Union presidential candidate Freeman Mbowe has called upon residents of Dodoma and other parts in the country to live harmoniously and remain united despite political differences. He charged that president Mkapa's government has forgotten the rural poor and that most peasants were now languishing in poverty.

October 17

CCM Union presidential candidate Jakaya Kikwete has pledged to work for a win-win formula for investment that will ensure that both investors and the nation benefit. Mr. Kikwete, who said one of his priorities if elected president would be to build the economy, pointed to investment as a major means to attaining economic growth.

October 17

CCM Union presidential candidate Jakaya Kikwete has vowed to solve the problem of pirates in Lake Victoria if elected in the general elections later this month. "Give me your votes and I will make an extra effort to solve the problem," the presidential candidate told the rally.

September 23

He promised the people of Singida that the fourth phase government will tarmac the Singida- Babati road to connect it to Sindida- Nzega –Kahama and Dodoma- Singida road.

October 21

He promised cheering Maneromango people to end once and for all their water blues if voted into the highest office. He explained how the next government would turn around the national economy and his party's plans to fight poverty.

October 22

He vowed that if elected president he would strengthen the capacity of the police force to deal effectively with escalating levels of bandit and criminal acts.

October 24

CCM Union presidential candidate Jakaya Kikwete yesterday wound up his campaign trail in Dar-es Salaam with a promise to improve water supply in the city. "I will give the problem the attention and priority it deserves," declared Mr. Kikwete in his campaign rallies at Ilala Kiwalani.

November 23

Mr. Kikwete promised Bungu and Hanga villages that he would look seriously at the issue of low cashew nut prices. "We would like to phase out the system whereby speculators fix their own prices. The farmers should have reliable markets and buyers," Mr. Kikwete said.

November 25

Chama Cha Mapinduzi Union presidential candidate Jakaya Kikwete yesterday said if Tanzanians will re- elect his party next month, its government will strive to improve the economic status of local fishermen.

November 26

CCM Union presidential candidate Jakaya Kikwete vowed on Thursday that if voted into the highest office, he would ensure that the disable persons are not marginalized in employment because of their physical disabilities.

December 3

The government envisages reviving pyrethrum farms in Makete district and revamping a processing plant that stalled a few years ago when cultivation of the crop stumped, the union presidential aspirant on CCM ticket Mr. Jakaya Kikwete said here yesterday.

December 5

CCM Union presidential candidate Jakaya Kikwete has promised to revive the Kilimanjaro Industrial sector should he win the presidency. He said apart from improving education, health and water sectors, he would make sure that farmers get farm implements on time in addition to getting a steady market for their produce.

Kikwete - health issues

The presidential candidate observed that HIV/AIDS posed a serious threat in the country and pledged assistance to the affected persons that includes expanding the anti- retroviral drugs (ARVs) dispensation programme.

August 29

Mrema (NCCR) - economic issues

Mrema said through Lake Victoria, more employment opportunities would be created in the areas surrounding the Lake and Shinyanga regions.

August 29

Mrema - governance issues

NCCR- Mageuzi yesterday launched its election campaign with the party's presidential candidate. The Union presidential aspirant on the Tanzania Labor Party ticket Mr. Augustine Mrema has promised to form a commission that will review changes that convicted prisoners if elected to power.

September 2

Lipumba (CUF) - economic issues

He promised to work hard to ensure the country attains a 8-10 per cent economic growth annually within the next five years, creation of at least half a million jobs each year, and

to make education up to secondary level free, meals for primary school pupils and primary health-care will be provided for free.

December 13

CUF Union presidential candidate Prof. Ibrahim Lipumba yesterday said that if elected, he would fight corruption by establishing an independent organ that would be responsible to the parliament. He also pledged to eradicate poverty by using locally available resources and set up 15 percent budgetary allocation for agricultural sector.

December 13

Lipumba - self related issues

CUF presidential candidate Ibrahim Lipumba has vowed to fight graft in the country if his party is elected to power at next week's polls. Prof. Lipumba blamed CCM for what he described as "widespread poverty" in many regions including Tabora, saying villages lacked good roads and electricity as a result of corruption.

October 24

Lipumba - governance issues

He claimed that the CCM union presidential candidate Mr. Jakaya Kikwete "is surrounded by corrupt party and government officials over whom he may not have incisive control."

September 10

Mbowe - governance issues

Union presidential aspirant on CHADEMA ticket Freeman Mbowe has said that if elected to the country's topmost post he would overhaul the country's system of governance by appointing cabinet members from outside the National Assembly.

September 27

CHADEMA Union presidential candidate Freeman Mbowe yesterday ruled out formation of a political alliance by opposition parties due to what he described as selfishness of some leaders. "With such different ambitions, it is difficult for us (opposition parties) to join our forces," he said blasting leaders who turned politics as business enterprise and sources of income.

September 29

Chama Cha Demokrasia na Maendeleo (CHADEMA) contemplates to revive some of the principles of Arusha Declaration as a strategy for enforcing good governance. "There are some people who have vast experience in public leadership, but incompetent and corrupt," he alleged.

October 19

Senkoro - self related issue

Progressive Party of Tanzania (PPT-Maendeleo) Union presidential candidate Anna Senkoro yesterday vowed to set up a government of national unity and promised to

deliver good governance if voted into office later this month. The Presidential candidate blamed CCM government for what she described as “giving little and often too late to mothers and children.”

October 24

Mbowe - self related issues

CHADEMA Union presidential candidate Freeman Mbowe has said his policy of scraping regions and districts to introduce semi- autonomous provinces will not lead to tribalism, but instead speed up development.

October 25

She said if elected president, she would provide subsidies to the media institutions. She also cautioned against electing to power politicians who are striving to secure leadership position through corrupt means.

October 21

Mbowe - economic issues

He said that there was a crying need to turn around economic policies in the country to rescue those who are suffering with poverty.

September 8

Mbowe - education issues

CHADEMA Union presidential candidate Freeman Mbowe has blamed the country's high unemployment rate on citizens' poor education and promised to the sector priority upon his election to the top government job.

September 10

Senkoro - governance issues

She would also create a special department which would cater for the needs of the elderly and disabled including medical care free of charge.

September 12

Kyara - economic issues

Sauti ya Umma (SAU) launched its election campaigns yesterday, pledging to improve the agricultural sector and create more jobs.

September 19

Mvungi - economic issues

Dr. Mvungi urged Tarime people to vote for him saying if elected president he would empower the youth.

October 25

Dr. Sengondo Mvungi promising to put equal weight on poverty eradication and HIV/AIDS fight if voted into the country's top post. The presidential aspirant also

promised in his speech to strengthen the economy, tame unemployment and improve the people's well-being.

October 25

Mtikila - self related issues

Democratic Party (DP) Union presidential candidate Rev. Christopher Mtikila has said that when elected into office he would rewrite the country's constitution to ensure that it gives people power to hold leaders accountable. Rev Mtikila said under his presidency peasants would be provided with government subsidies and that their agricultural procedure would be bought by the government.

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Appendix J: Example of Sentences Framing Presidential Candidates on *The Guardian* in
2005

October 10

Kikwete - economic issues

CCM presidential candidate Jakaya Mrisho Kikwete has vowed not to spare any local government officials found to have embezzled public money, if elected president.

December 6

CCM was the only party that was capable of maintaining peace and unity in Tanzania, Kikwete said and dismissed all other political parties as a “bunch of gamblers”. He promised that his government would build all weather roads between Rau and Uru and Kwa Sadala and Masama and construct decent houses for teachers in Kilimanjaro Region.

September 10

CCM union presidential candidate Jakaya Kikwete has promised to renew the Dodoma capital development project with new vigor, strength and pace. Kikwete also promised that in the next five years, the fourth phase government under CCM’s leadership would construct a tarmac road to link Bbati, Kondoa and Dodoma.

October 5

CCM presidential candidate Jakaya Kikwete has promised to increase Tanzania People’s Defense Force (TPDF) if elected. Speaking at a campaign rally yesterday, Kikwete said he would ensure that the armed forces are efficient by giving them salaries and other incentives.

September 1

Addressing thousands of Mbeya residents on Thursday, the party’s presidential candidate, Jakaya Kikwete, said that the 2005 CCM election manifesto spell a plan for special institution for rendering housing loan to workers.

September 1

With an impassioned, the CCM presidential candidate on Tanzania Mainland Jakaya Kikwete promised better standard of life, a million jobs for the people and declared a fight for justice.

August 24

Kikwete - education issues

Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) has promised to construct 2,556 public secondary schools throughout the country in the next five years. Addressing the party members, supporters and residents of Lindi, Kikwete said he would make sure that the project to construct a tarmac road to link the southern regions of Lindi and Mtwara with Mwanza would be completed by December next year.

September 20

CCM union president Jakaya Kikwete has promised to provide free education to HIV/AIDS orphans. Kikwete told the campaign rally at Mishenye in Bukoba yesterday that if elected, all Aids orphans would receive free education.

August 22

Kikwete - gender issues

Buoyed by news, Kikwete promised to give priority to women in national development. He promised to defend the constitution, uphold the rule of law, correct gender imbalances at all segments of society and fight all forms of social justice, besides making sports a core area of national development.

He also pledged to maintain the momentum of economic growth set in motion by outgoing president Benjamin Mkapa and his predecessors Ali Hassan Mwinyi and Mwalimu Julius Nyerere.

August 27

CCM presidential candidate Jakaya Kikwete has promised to increase the number of women in the cabinet if he makes to the State House. He said the promise was in line with CCM's election manifesto, which among other things, seeks to empower women politically and economically.

November 22

Kikwete - social issues

CCM Union presidential candidate Jakaya Kikwete has promised to oversee the establishment of a new water source for Dar es Salaam if he is elected next month.

August 31

Kikwete - health issues

CCM's fourth phase government will put more efforts to ensure the increased supply of antiretroviral (ARVs) drugs to Aids sufferers, the part's presidential candidate, Jakaya Kikwete said. Addressing thousands of Tukuyu residents in Rungwe district yesterday, Kikwete said placing more efforts in ensuring that more life-prolonging drugs are distributed in the 2005 CCM's election manifesto.

August 25

Mrema - education issues

Mrema said in Mwanza earlier this week when launching TLP'S campaign that Tanzanians should not vote for Prof. Lipumba because he was not yet ripe politically.

September 7

Mrema - governance issues

NCCR- MAGEUZI says if it is entrusted to rule the country it will review the country's legal system fundamentally to ensure meaningful development

October 6

Mrema - education issues

He also declared full war against corruption, saying that the perils of corruption are more devastating than one would imagine.

December 8

Mrema - self related issues

Mrema said basically he is accepted countrywide even by his opponents, because of his non discriminatory performance in development issues, adding that no one has been able to beat his record ever since he left the government.

November 25

Mrema - economic issues

He said if TLP would be elected, it would put more emphasis on agriculture and dish out related agricultural inputs for free.

October 12

Mrema - economic issues

The NCCR-Mageuzi presidential candidate, Dr. Sengondo Mvungi, has pledged to make the railway network more effective in the country.

August 25

Mbowe - self related issues

A group of youths, believed to be supporters of opposition parties, stopped the CCM Union presidential candidate's entourage at Nanyanga in Tandahimba and heckled him on Wednesday evening. He said that emphasis would be put on revamping agriculture, livestock and fishing. This however provoked the youths into heckling and shouting. "You are lying", they told him.

November 22

CHADEMA's presidential candidate Freeman Mbowe has castigated the ruling party CCM for spending billions in its lavish campaigns while oblivious of the chronic problems of low incentive to doctors in referral hospitals.

Mbowe told a campaign rally in Moshi Rural District over the weekend that the CCM government did not care about the welfare of workers. Mbowe urged voters to elect him so that he could address this and many other problems Tanzanians were facing.

December 2

Freeman Mbowe, CHADEMA's Union presidential candidate, says his Majimbo policy, in which provincial leaders have to be elected, is aimed at easing provision of services to the people.

September 5

Mbowe - economic issue

Mbowe said “The first job after you elect me to be president will be to do away with the appointment or nomination system put up by the Queen in colonial days and replace it with a system whereby all leaders will be elected by the people”.

September 21

Mbowe - education issues

CHADEMA has promised that if elected, its government will allocate 37 percent of annual government revenue to improve education.

With regard to education, Mbowe said more needs to be done to improve the sector adding that school teachers need to be provided with decent accommodation and better remuneration.

August 27

Lipumba - economic issue

He said that CUF planned to bolster the economy by creating more jobs, providing education and health care free of charge.

October 5

CUF presidential candidate Prof. Ibrahim Lipumba said his party was determined to make a difference in people’s incomes if elected to form the next government.

October 15

Civic United Front Presidential candidate (CUF) Prof. Ibrahim Lumumba has said if elected he would take stern measures against corrupt civil servants.

August 23

Lipumba - education issues

Civic United Front (CUF) has said it would abolish fees for poor students at secondary schools level if it wins the forthcoming general election.

September 5

A Civic United Front (CUF) led government will introduce computers studies in schools to prepare Tanzanian children for twenty-first century of science and technology, presidential candidate Prof. Ibrahim Lipumba said on Saturday. Prof. Lipumba also urged Tanzania to avoid behavior that put them at risk of contracting HIV/AIDS, adding that his government’s emphasis would be on prevention, voluntary counseling and testing, treatment and care for those living with the disease.

September 27

Lipumba - governance issues

CIVIC United Front’s Union presidential candidate, Prof Ibrahim Lipumba, has promised to compensate artisanal miners in Geita District whose prospecting rights were taken away by government and given foreigners.

September 14

Kyara - economic issues

Kyara said more funds would be pumped for improving the agricultural sector, instead of the current allocation of only 4 percent out of the budget.

October 7

The party presidential candidates, Paul Kyara said his party led government, would build new railway lines and completely rehabilitate the current railway facilities.

September 20

Mvungi - education issues

Dr. Mvungi said if elected to power, it would scrap the current mining policy together with its relative laws, which the party says, ensure foreign investors benefit more from the country's mineral resources than the wananchi.

November 29

Mvungi - self related issues

NCCR- Mageuzi presidential candidate Dr. Sengondo Mvungi has said the country's Prevention of Corruption Bureau (PCB) is toothless and pledged that if voted into power his party would implement the report by Judge Joseph Warioba on war against corruption.

October 11

Mtikila - economic issues

Rev. Mtikila told a public rally here that if elected, he would also improve the agricultural sector to absorb the jobless youths roaming the streets of urban centers. "The youths will be given incentives to go back to the rural areas and engage in farming" he told his audience.

September 10

Senkoro - health issues

Dr. Senkoro, who is the first Tanzanian woman to run for the country's presidency, promised that if elected she would take care of all elders aged above 60 years by providing them free medical services.