

**FRAMING THE COMMONWEALTH IN UGANDA'S PRINT MEDIA:
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE NEW VISION AND DAILY MONITOR
NEWSPAPERS**

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Declaration

I declare that ‘Framing the Commonwealth in Uganda’s Print media: A comparative study of *The New Vision* and *Daily Monitor* newspapers,’ is my own work and that any reference to scholarly and other materials has been acknowledged.



Signed.....

Date :October 28, 2013....



Endorsed by :

William Tayeebwa, PhD
Co-Supervisor

Date :October 28, 2013....

Dedication

I dedicate this work to my family, in the hope that it will be an inspiration for many others. To my mother Grace, thank you so much for lighting the candle for me all the way. And to my daughter Laura, I hope you find reason to work hard on your studies in future.

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Acronyms

AFP	Agence France Presse
AU	African Union
CHOGM	Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting
DAAD	<i>Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst</i>
DP	Democratic Party
EAC	East African Community
FDC	Forum for Democratic Change
GNP	Gross National Product
KCC	Kampala City Council
LDCs	Low Developed Countries
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
UK	United Kingdom
UPC	Uganda People's Congress

Abstract

The purpose of this study was to assess the manner in which the leading dailies frame international organizations and the effect of such framing on the readers. With particular focus on the Commonwealth as an international organization, the study looked at its framing in the country's leading dailies, the *Daily Monitor* and the *New Vision*, during the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM) in November 2007.

The research was premised on the media theories of framing and circuit of culture. It looks at how these theories were applied in the coverage of the 2007 CHOGM in Kampala. The researcher set out to establish whether the framing of the Commonwealth in this period had a similar impact on readers as reflected in their responses through letters to the editor and commentary published in the same period. The study is qualitative in nature and employed thematic content analysis and in-depth interview methodologies for data collection.

The key finding of this study was that even in light of framing, a section of the audience will still hold different opinions on a given subject, divergent from fronted frames in the news or in the editorials. The issue/topic consequently carries different frames depending on who is making the analysis; ranging from the editorial team in media houses, the news sources quoted in stories or the readers as voiced in published commentaries or letters to the Editor.

The study also discovered a number of frames, divergent from the generic ones suggested by previous scholars. These frames included the; Corruption frame, Neocolonial frame, Commonwealth double standards frame, Security frame, Commonwealth values frame, Memorable and high profile event frame, Shoddy works frame, and Poverty frame. The generic frames suggested by previous scholars are; Conflict, Human interest, Attribution of responsibility, Morality and Economic consequences.

CHAPTER ONE: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This study is an examination of how print media in Uganda framed the Commonwealth organization, the possible explanations behind the manner of framing and the effect of the same on the reading public. It focuses on a thematic content analysis of the news stories, commentary and letters to the editor published by the two leading dailies in Uganda; the *Daily Monitor* and the *New Vision* newspapers in relation to the Commonwealth. The study looked at published content in these dailies for the month of November 2007, when Uganda hosted the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting (CHOGM). The study also involved interviewing selected members of the reading public and media personnel to gauge their perceptions of the Commonwealth based on the framing of a set of issues in the dailies.

1.1 Background to the study

This background explores how the media has framed the Commonwealth previously as reflected in some of the CHOGM summits. It also looks into what makes the news media pick interest or shun covering the Commonwealth, particularly the CHOGM summits. The last five CHOGMs prior to the 2007 Kampala CHOGM are also examined.

1.1.1 Past CHOGMs

The bi-annual CHOGM meetings are a key component of the Commonwealth and remain its most salient symbol (Polhemus 1981: 474). The first CHOGM was held in 1971 in Singapore, and subsequent ones have been held in various countries of the Commonwealth on a two year rotational basis. In 1997 during the Edinburgh (UK) CHOGM, Heads of Government were concerned about the special problems of the Least Developed Countries (LDCs). They invited donors to work for the target of 0.15 percent of Gross National Product (GNP), for LDCs and resolved to promote the role of micro credit in poverty reduction. This CHOGM marked the beginning of regular appearances of Queen Elizabeth II at the summits (McKinnon 2007: 3).

Ingram (2006: 37) notes that during the 1999 CHOGM in Durban, South Africa, the Secretary General Don McKinnon told President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda that the arrests of journalists

and limitations on the press were not compatible with the Commonwealth declaration on a free press. This was re-echoed by other Heads of State, including the British Prime Minister, Tony Blair. While addressing a press conference later on, President Museveni argued that among other things Uganda had no democracy when Britain ruled it and so she (Britain) had no right to criticize Uganda now. This was of key interest to the press. Ingram (2000: 16) notes that this CHOGM was highly attended with 47 Presidents and Prime ministers, and argues that President Obasanjo of Nigeria was another centre of attention for the media. He was fresh from prison after a recent toppling of his Government in a military coup. McKinnon (2007: 3) notes that the Durban CHOGM reinforced the return of South Africa to the Commonwealth five years earlier in 1994. The meeting emphasized the need to fight marginalization of poorer countries through aid and debt relief. The Heads of Government believed that this Meeting was highly symbolic, being the first of its kind in democratic South Africa; and recalling in this context the role which the Commonwealth had played in the global campaign to eradicate apartheid.

The 2002 CHOGM in Australia had originally been scheduled for 2001 but was rescheduled in the wake of the September 2001 terrorist attacks in the USA. This CHOGM among other things made recommendations on reforming the structure and governance of the Commonwealth, as seen in the creation of one Governing Body and one Executive Committee of member states to oversee all its work (McKinnon 2007: 3).

The media was equally highly interested in the 2003 CHOGM in Abuja, Nigeria. Ingram (2004: 7) notes that in Abuja, President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe haunted CHOGM. The spin of the meeting was not to allow itself to be hijacked by the subject of Zimbabwe, which had been suspended in 2002 over violent elections which returned President Mugabe. This was a good story for the journalists and rightly so, because it had been years since the Commonwealth was divided over Zimbabwe. Ingram (2004: 8) further argues that the Chairperson, Olusegan Obasanjo of Nigeria, made frank asides to the press about the performance of some of his African colleagues. He castigated them for failing to grasp the nature of consensus, by claiming that the decision to suspend Zimbabwe indefinitely had been reached undemocratically. President Obasanjo explained that the Commonwealth way of consensus meant that leaders who disagreed on an issue would step back a little and respect the majority view. McKinnon (2007: 4)

notes that a further statement was issued on Zimbabwe to reaffirm the Commonwealth's commitment towards assisting the return of democracy to that country. Zimbabwe responded by withdrawing itself indefinitely from the Commonwealth.

The 2005 CHOGM in Valletta, Malta issued a declaration on bridging the digital divide and supporting the use of information technology as a tool for economic development and fighting poverty. It also committed to making civil society a partner alongside governments in meeting the Commonwealth's aims (McKinnon 2007: 5)

1.1.2 Media coverage of CHOGM

The Commonwealth and CHOGM were a major source of media coverage in the earlier years, a situation that changed as the years progressed. According to Mayall (1998: 379), the media considered the Commonwealth to be useful then, than is the case at recent CHOGMs. Lyon (2006: 2) agrees and notes that CHOGMs may be important for politicians but they are generally mysterious for ordinary people, who may shrug off the inconvenience of rushed road repairs and heightened security arrangements in the hope that the new road surfaces may last longer than the conferences. In support of this view, Polhemus (1981: 471) notes that the most interesting activities of the Commonwealth take place behind closed doors, away from the exposure of the media, leaving a lot to be desired in understanding what exactly goes on. Holman (1995: 179) attributes the drop in media coverage to the fact that some of the issues which kept the Commonwealth in the media, for example South Africa's transition and Zimbabwe's independence, were resolved over the years, leaving the journalists with little to talk about the Commonwealth. He notes further that some of the Commonwealth benefits, like the informal personal exchanges that take place at the retreats, are so intangible to draw media attention. He cites the 1980 rigged elections in Uganda and argues further that the Commonwealth has not stayed true to its principles. He concludes that the world will start taking the Commonwealth seriously, and thus giving it more attention, when it puts its principles into practice.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The Commonwealth is one of the oldest international organizations, whose composition continues to grow with more members joining it. However, Ingram (2007: 557) asserts that the

Commonwealth has been a victim of poor public relations over decades. He argues that the word Commonwealth is long and unappealing in the media, with no acronym, yet it is an appropriate name and ‘we must live with it.’ For instance, a sizeable section of the public in Uganda, especially the elite who rely on the print media for information, still know little about the operations of the Commonwealth or how it affects them. The media has written less about the Commonwealth, leaving a lot to be desired (Mayall 1998).

This has created an information gap between the Commonwealth and many citizens in Uganda who know it only as occasionally portrayed in the media. Further, McIntyre (2001:1) argues that one of the significant anxieties about the future of the Commonwealth in the 21st century is the fact that little attention is paid to the Commonwealth and little is known about it, apart from its symbolic figure Head – the Queen and the Commonwealth games. Therefore, the researcher seeks to look at how the print media in Uganda framed the Commonwealth, the reasons behind this manner of framing and its effect on the readers.

1.3 Scope of the study

Although the Commonwealth is spread across 54 countries, the study concentrated on the nature of the organization’s framing in Uganda’s print media. Of interest to this study are the two leading newspapers, the *New Vision* - owned by both government and the public, and the *Daily Monitor* owned by Nation Media Group. In looking at the nature of coverage in these dailies, the research focuses on local news pages, editorials and views/commentary from the readers as reflected in the letters to the editor and commentaries published in these newspapers, for the month of November 2007 when Uganda hosted CHOGM. The stories, editorials and commentaries in this month are categorized as: those covered before, during and after CHOGM. The scope also incorporates in-depth interviews from journalists, editors, the Commonwealth media Coordinator and historians.

1.4 General objective

To analyze how the print media in Uganda framed the Commonwealth during the 2007 CHOGM and how the coverage influenced readers’ perceptions of the Commonwealth.

1.4.1 Specific objectives

- i) To examine how the *New Vision* and *Daily Monitor* newspapers framed the Commonwealth during CHOGM 2007.
- ii) To explore the factors that influenced the framing of the Commonwealth in *The New Vision* and the *Daily Monitor* newspapers.
- iii) To establish the extent to which the framing influenced readers' perceptions of the Commonwealth in Uganda.

1.5 Justification

Richmond (1955: 381) argues that the future of the Commonwealth is highly dependent on the extent to which it coordinates the social, economic and political advances of its various peoples for harmonious cooperation. The media is at the forefront of availing information to the diverse people of the Commonwealth for the aforementioned coordination role to be possible. This makes this study quite timely in explaining how the media can enhance this role. The study comes at a time when Uganda is strengthening her relations with various regional and international organizations like the East African Community (EAC) and the African Union (AU). The findings and recommendations of this study will therefore be relevant in shading light on the information relationship between the media and these organizations, for the benefit of readers or citizens.

1.6 Corpus of the study: The Print media in Uganda

This study examines coverage and framing of the Commonwealth in two of Uganda's print media, the *Daily Monitor* and *The New Vision*. The origin of Uganda's print media can be traced to the work of the missionaries, particularly the Church Missionary Society, in 1897 (Matovu 1990: 342). Their efforts were later boosted by the Roman Catholic Missionaries with more free religious publications in 1911. Robins (1997: 122) notes that *The Mengo notes* was the first commercial newspaper, a publication of the Church Missionary Society. Lugalambi and Tabaire (2010: 4) agree and note that the nature of the press started changing in 1920 when *Sekanyolya* was published as the first independent African newspaper. Many others followed, presenting a challenge to the established colonial order. Matovu (1990: 343) argues that many of these commercial African owned publications were however short-lived for numerous reasons including professional incompetence and low circulation.

This changed in the 1950's when the British colonial government deemed it fit to set up a Department of Information for consistent dissemination of publications, mainly about the government activities to both the local population and the overseas press. Many other publications by the nationals were also published, although the owners were often jailed for sedition or political activity (Robins 1997). At the time of independence in 1962, the country had two major newspapers, the *Uganda Argus* - a daily publication of the East African newspaper group, and the *Uganda Herald* – a weekly publication. Alongside these, several vernacular newspapers were in circulation, with the *Taifa Empya* as the most prominent (Robins 1997: 123).

The press was to suffer major setbacks in the early 1970s under the rule of Idi Amin, who tortured journalists and shut down all newspapers except one saved for his propaganda purpose (Robins 1997: 124). This tide changed again in 1986 with the ushering in of a new government under President Yoweri Museveni. With relative press freedom, over thirty magazines and newspapers came up. Nevertheless, many of them did not last due to financial constraints and accusations of libel. Editors, journalists, and publishers faced harassment and detentions over charges of libel, sedition, treason and in some cases, media publications were closed down (Tripp 2004: 10).

The challenges notwithstanding, the country has maintained a relatively vibrant press. A 2010 print landscape study by Synovate¹ puts the number of daily newspapers at four: *the New Vision*, *the Daily Monitor*, *the Red Pepper* (a tabloid) and *Bukedde* newspaper – published in *Luganda*; one of the local languages. In addition, there are two bi-weekly newspapers, the *Observer* and *Eddoboosi* (in *Luganda*) and fifteen weekly newspapers; *Saturday Vision*, *Sunday Vision*, *Saturday Monitor*, *Sunday Monitor*, *Sunday Bukedde*, *The Sunrise*, *The East African*, *The East African Business Week*, *Weekly Reporter*, *The Weekly Message*, *Metro News*, *Gwanga* (in *Luganda*), *Orumuri* (in Runyakitara local languages), *Rupiny* (in Ateso) and *Etop* (in Luo). The survey further puts the number of magazines at thirteen including; the *Independent magazine*, the *Sunday magazine*, the *Bride and Groom magazine*, *My wedding magazine*, *Flair magazine*, *City*

¹ Synovate is a media research firm in Uganda which produces annual media performance reports, for purposes of media monitoring and research.

beat magazine, the *CEO magazine*, *Kampala dispatch*, the *Procurement News*, *Premiership magazine*, *Floss magazine*, the *Rock magazine* and *African Woman magazine*. Most of these magazines come out on a monthly basis. *The New Vision* and *Daily Monitor* newspapers take lead in terms of circulation amongst the dailies.

1.6.1 The *New Vision* and the *Daily Monitor* newspapers

The New Vision Printing and Publishing Company Limited, was started in March 1986 as a government owned corporation, but has now transformed into a public company listed on the stock exchange as Vision Group. Government owns the majority shares at 53%, with the rest of the shares being in the public domain. This gives government a dominant say in major decisions. The newspaper board is appointed by the Finance Ministry, on behalf of government. This board is tasked with appointing the editor and deciding on the editorial policy (Media Barometer Report 2010). The Media Barometer Report indicates further that despite the pressures *The New Vision* faces, it is still a more credible and respectable paper than most government owned papers in Africa, as can for example be seen in published hard-hitting editorials on corruption within government institutions and a demand that culprits be subjected to the law. The *Monitor* newspaper opened business in 1992. It is owned by the Nation Media Group, a media conglomerate in East Africa. This publication is more known for its critical writing about government and exposing the wrongs therein. The Media Barometer Report 2010 on the media landscape in Uganda, states that *The New Vision* and *Daily Monitor* have a combined circulation of less than 70,000 copies a day. Each copy of either *The New Vision* or the *Daily Monitor* can be read by between five to ten people.

The New Vision has a daily circulation of about 31,000 copies, minus the *Saturday and Sunday Vision* which have a combined circulation of about 38,000 copies. The *Daily Monitor* on the other hand has a daily circulation of about 24,000 copies. The *Saturday and Sunday Monitor* have a combined circulation figure of 35,000 copies (February 2011 Print Media Report by Synovate). These dailies top all the other dailies in the country in terms of reach, and are in endless efforts to boost these figures.

1.7 Conclusion

This chapter situates the research study giving it a context, outlining the scope, research problem, objectives of the study, research questions and the justification. The next chapter presents the literature reviewed in relation to the study by the different scholars and the theoretical underpinnings of the study. Chapter three takes the readers through the methodology and data collection techniques. Chapter four presents the research findings and chapter five discusses these findings and offers recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO : LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

This literature review takes a look at the formation of the Commonwealth and of CHOGM, bringing out the arguments for and against the organization, by the different scholars. The chapter also takes an in-depth look at how media houses operate on a day-to-day basis, with particular focus on the sourcing of news, commentary and editorials. The review analyses how the selection is made for the content that makes it into the newspaper pages in view of the framing theory and the circuit of culture theory. In looking at framing of newspaper content, this section explores the forces behind choice of articles and how all this impacts on the readers as a final destination.

2.1 Formation of the Commonwealth

The Commonwealth, headed by Queen Elizabeth II of England, unites 54 member countries, 32 of which are small states. Most of these countries are former colonies of Britain. The origin of this organization can be traced to the 19th century when Canada, a former British colony, gained independence in 1867 (Commonwealth official website²). Over time, other former British colonies followed suit as they embraced independence especially after the First World War in 1918. These nations agreed to have a body which unites them as former British colonies and that body is the Commonwealth. The name Commonwealth was coined by Lord Rosebery in 1884 when he remarked that independent nations can stay within the empire since it was a ‘Commonwealth of Nations’ (Bogdanor 1995: 240). Consequently, a 1949 Prime Ministers’ meeting agreed to allow other independent states, which were not necessarily former colonies to join the British Commonwealth if they so wished. The London declaration adopted thereafter stated that all member countries would be freely and equally associated. The British Commonwealth now became the Commonwealth. Merchant and Rich (2004: 131) explain that the Commonwealth and its composition have undergone a series of transformations over the years. It was first known as the British Empire, a name that changed to the British Empire and Commonwealth. This was later simplified to the British Commonwealth, and finally the Commonwealth in 1931, a term that was incorporated into British law as the Statute of

²The Commonwealth History, <http://www.thecommonwealth.org/Internal/191086/191247/34493/history/>

Westminster. Richmond (1940: 380) refers to the name change as a reflection of the altered nature of the loosely linked association.

2.1.1 African States in the Commonwealth

The official Commonwealth website states that Ghana was the first African nation to join in 1957, followed by Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Tanganyika. The number of African states that voluntarily joined the Commonwealth continued to grow especially from the 1960s with the wave of independence across most of them. Uganda joined the Commonwealth in 1962 after gaining independence. The new comers also comprised of nations from the Mediterranean, Caribbean, and the Pacific regions. Rwanda, which was admitted at the 2009 Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting, Cameroon and Mozambique, are some of the most fresh entrants.

According to Holmes (1962: 296), the African period served a double purpose. It boosted the prestige and morale of the Commonwealth and at the same time gave Africans pride in the institution they had helped create. He further argues that it emphasized the Commonwealth's role as a bridge between East and West, North and South. He notes that the emergence of African nations as part of the Commonwealth has given this organization a new sense of mission, and injected into it a much needed dose of ebullient African reality. He concludes that increasing emphasis has been placed on consultation as the virtue and advantage of the Commonwealth association, and that there is profit for all in the constant contact of European, North American, Asian, Caribbean and African thinking. This view is shared by Srinivasan (1998: 624) who notes that consultation within the Commonwealth provides for greater mutual understanding and the ability to maintain friendly relations.

However, Mayall (1998: 379) argues that the Commonwealth was hurriedly fashioned after 1945 to help the British political class face the realities of loss of empire, but has since outlived its usefulness. This is seconded by Hossain (1992: 19), who argues that the Commonwealth is a club that has evolved more by instinct than design. He asserts that decisions adopted by consensus in the Commonwealth have often been, 'agree to disagree.' But Ingram (2007: 560) contrasts these scholars with the argument that the inner strength of the Commonwealth is

premised on the fact that it has always evolved. He argues further that the Commonwealth was never planned, but was made up along the way and changes when the need arises.

2.1.2 Relevance of the Commonwealth to Member States

Across all member countries, the Commonwealth is reportedly engaged in the areas of democracy building, economic development, policy formation, environmentally sustainable development, gender issues, health concerns, human rights and public sector development. Srinivasan (1998: 627) argues that the uniqueness of Commonwealth values stems from the fact that they are rooted in Commonwealth traditions and experience, and do not just imitate those of other international organizations. He notes further that Commonwealth values are consensus-based statements which lay down the fundamental principles of the Commonwealth. According to the Commonwealth website, the Commonwealth carries out these functions in a number of ways including holding CHOGMs, engaging in policy development, advisory services and funding activities in the 54 member states³.

Smith and Sanger (1981: 282) note that the most important attribute of the Commonwealth is enlarging the vision of its members and beyond them, of the world community. So by belonging to the Commonwealth, countries feel that they are part of a bigger international family and therefore attune their mindset to that level. Mayall (1998: 380) agrees and notes that the advantages of being inside the Commonwealth are not necessarily material. He argues that membership gives governments diplomatic and political support as well as a platform to pursue special interests and technical assistance, especially for the small states.

However, Merchant and Rich (2004) argue that it is not enough to belong to a diverse organization which does not directly answer to your needs. They assert that the diversity of the Commonwealth raises questions about its meaningfulness and its relevance continues to be wanting. This argument shades light on a possible explanation for limited news coverage of the Commonwealth. Srinivasan (1998: 624) however disagrees and argues that the emphasis on multilateralism particularly valuable to weaker and more vulnerable states is the Commonwealth's greatest contribution to world affairs. This counter argument then relates to the

³ <http://thecommonwealth.org/our-work/governance>

general objective of the study: To analyze how the print media in Uganda framed the Commonwealth and its influence on readers' perceptions of the Commonwealth, since the Commonwealth is said to play a major role in world affairs. Ingram (2007: 559) contests this view with the argument that the Commonwealth should be playing a bigger role in the world as opposed to being seen as doing great work for small states and filling in the gaps left behind by other international organizations. He argues that although half of the Commonwealth member states are small, the other half comprises of both big states and middle income earners like Canada, Australia, UK, Pakistan India, South Africa, Malaysia, and Nigeria; who should be pulling their weight. He asserts that the Commonwealth is not seen as a big player because its leaders are not using it enough.

To Hossain (1992: 19), the Commonwealth is but a diplomatic forum of informal political discussions while evolution of history solves the problems through its own processes. He intimates that the adage on which the Commonwealth rests is that 'the purpose of life is a life of purposes.' Holmes (1962: 136) argues that the Commonwealth is a transitional institution which may cease to exist in due course. He argues further that when this happens, the Commonwealth will have served history well for the contributions made to international harmony, during one of the most dangerous periods in history; when the old imperial orders were being transformed.

According to Carter's (1956) interpretation, the United Kingdom uses the Commonwealth to keep her position as a major international force. He argues that this partly explains why the communication seat of the Commonwealth has over the years remained in Britain irrespective of the fact that the composition of the organization has grown. Carter asserts that this has resulted into inconsistencies in communication between and amongst the Commonwealth countries.

2.1.3 Studies on the Commonwealth

Hall (1953: 998) argues that most of the public discussion and literature on the Commonwealth has focused on the negative aspects of status, like absence of contractual bonds between members, absence of a covenant or charter and independence of its members. He says scholars are quick to describe what the Commonwealth is not, as opposed to understanding its real nature, and advocates for appreciating the Commonwealth in its uniqueness.

Merchant and Rich (2004) note that initial studies about the Commonwealth were mainly British studies, with Canadian universities supporting most of them since imperialism was an extension of the sovereignty of the European nation-states. With the changing composition and diversity of the Commonwealth, less and less studies about it have taken root. This implies that the continued existence and expansion of the Commonwealth has not been matched with equally up-to-date studies, literature and information about each member country and operations that are descriptive enough for the Commonwealth to have more meaning to member states. This notion is seconded by Polhemus (1981), who notes that the Commonwealth has escaped analysis of international organizations and has not been subjected to systematic quantitative and behavioural study. This view on inadequate literature is also shared by McIntyre (2001:1), who notes that away from the Queen as Head of the Commonwealth and the Commonwealth games, this organization remains obscure with very little known about it. This raises anxieties about the future of the Commonwealth in the 21st century and creates a low profile around it.

This makes this study timely in contributing to an up-to-date understanding of the Commonwealth, in relation to Uganda. The media can help close this gap by occasional reporting, probing and critiquing the Commonwealth and its activities, highly benchmarking on the relevance/irrelevance of this organization to its diverse people/states on a case by case basis. It is the role of the media to inform and educate the peoples of the Commonwealth about each other and how they stand to benefit or not to benefit from the union. According to Pennell (1963: 29), the journalist is the voice of the Commonwealth and has a role to objectively interpret events/happenings in the country he/she is stationed, in relation to the broader Commonwealth. Tusa (1996: 217) agrees about objectivity and in reference to his time as a journalist notes that,

It has occupied me since my days in the BBC World Service, when we as broadcasters and journalists believed what we had to report frequently came into conflict with what the foreign and Commonwealth office thought we should report in the national interest.

Tusa notes further that this was done to make journalism suit the convenience of diplomats. He adds that the truth was often subordinated if it was likely to cause discomfort with a host government. Ingram (2007: 557) concludes that the Commonwealth continues to be misunderstood partly because it is a complex organization with no historical precedent. It carries

imperial baggage and yet it stands far away from that taint. It is therefore less written about because it seems to make no logical sense to many academicians.

2.2 Formation of CHOGM

Commonwealth meetings started in 1944 and were initially referred to as Meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers (Polhemus 1981:474). They were more of an informal interaction of Prime Ministers, with no set agendas, no speeches to be delivered or resolutions for each meeting. He notes that the duration and scheduling of these meetings was equally unpredictable as they lasted between two to twenty one days, with a spacing of six months to three years between each meeting. The meetings were called when need arose, as interpreted by Great Britain.

With time, this changed to a more structured format of meetings on a two year rotational basis between member countries – a practice that has continued to-date. At the close of each meeting, members agree on the time and venue of the next meeting (Polhemus 1981:477).

As member states turned to Presidential and military forms of government, the term ‘Meeting of Commonwealth Prime Ministers’ was revised to Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting (CHOGM) in a 1964 communiqué (Polhemus 1981: 470). Polhemus notes that attendance in these meetings ranged from 100% to 45% for different reasons, sometimes with or without representations. Ingram (2007: 555) refers to CHOGMs as a bag of surprises. He cites some examples including the 1971 Singapore CHOGM during which British Prime Minister, Edward Heath, sulked and left after his plan to sell arms to South Africa was opposed.

2.2.1 Uganda’s CHOGM experience

It was during the 1971 CHOGM conference in Singapore that President Milton Obote of Uganda, who was in attendance, was overthrown in a military coup by Idi Amin (Ingram 2007). Consequently, the country went unrepresented in 1977 since President Idi Amin was, according to the British Prime Minister, unwelcome. Srinivasan (1998: 625) notes that the situation in Uganda, especially violation of human rights under President Idi Amin, was a challenge to the Commonwealth since this organisation believed in the principle of non-interference, although it was at the same time committed to the values of freedom and the rule of law for member states.

He argues that this made the credibility of the Commonwealth highly questionable, since it was unwilling to suspend Uganda despite condemning President Idi Amin. In relation to Uganda, Holman (1995: 179) notes that the performance of the commonwealth during the 1980 elections in the country was disgraceful, because the commonwealth team sent to monitor the elections endorsed the rigged election. He argues that this was done more in the interest of Tanzania's Julius Nyerere who wanted President Milton Obote, his old friend, to be restored. The situation in Uganda later stabilized and the country was identified as suitable to host the 2007 CHOGM under President Yoweri Museveni (Lyon 2006).

2.2.2 CHOGM in Uganda

According to Lyon (2006: 2), it was during the 2003 Abuja CHOGM that Uganda agreed to support Malta's bid to host CHOGM in 2005, on condition that Malta backed Uganda's application for the 2007 CHOGM. In support of this, Katusiimeh & Mol (2011: 49) note that as far back as 2003, Uganda started preparing for this major international event which would bring over fifty heads of government to consult, share experiences, and deliberate on issues of international significance. Lyon (2006: 3) notes that CHOGMs have become complex affairs with preparations beginning months or years beforehand. He notes further that much miscellaneous business is conducted at a CHOGM, although usually limited by the range of official agendas and the shortage of time since Heads of Government have to summarize the proceedings to two and a half days (Lyon 2006: 6).

The appropriateness of Uganda to host the 2007 CHOGM was an issue of controversy. The country's President, Yoweri Kaguta Museveni, was in his 21st year in power after changing the constitution to remove term limits, contrary to Commonwealth provisions on respect for the constitution. Ingram (2007: 556) notes that a Commonwealth report in relation to the 2006 elections, during which the opposition in Uganda was harassed, indicated that the election was flawed but acceptable. He argues that the actions of President Museveni were contrary to the Harare and Millbrook declarations. This view is seconded by Hadfield (2008: 40) who notes that the Commonwealth was inconsistent in regard to the Harare Principles and their role as a benchmark of good governance, by rewarding Uganda with a CHOGM and suspending Pakistan over unconstitutional behavior. She notes that the Uganda government viewed CHOGM as an

opportunity to show the country's progress, in what turned out to be a show down between Government and the opposition, as reflected in the media. Whereas the Museveni camp framed CHOGM as a time for the world spotlight to be on Uganda showing that the country had come of age politically, economically and socially thus making the country an excellent destination for future Commonwealth tasks; the opposition focused on highlighting government's failures like the broad allegations of human-rights abuses, infringements of democracy and absence of multi-party democracy. These exchanges were confined to the press in what turned out to be a 'veritable battle field,' especially towards the CHOGM event (Hadfield 2008: 36).

2.3 Theoretical framework : Circuit of Culture

This study is first informed by the Circuit of culture theory. Hall (2007: 2) argues that culture traditionally embodies the best that has been thought and said in a society. It refers to whatever is distinctive about the way of life of a particular people, nation or social group. He discusses a turn in the definition of this term that has seen more emphasis put on the importance of meaning to the definition of culture. He notes that culture is concerned with the production and exchange of meaning between members of a society or group. It is the manner in which participants make sense of the world in similar ways. It is about feelings, emotions, attachments as well as concepts and ideas.

du Gay (1997: 13) agrees and notes that culture is a way of life of particular groups, peoples, nations, or periods. He notes that what matters for people involved in a particular culture is that they are organized, guided and framed by engaging in practices meaningful to them. Hall (2007: 4) further notes that participants in a culture give meaning and interpretation to people, events and objects; by how they use them. Meaning is also given by how things/people are represented, through words used about them, the stories told, images of them, the emotions associated to them and the values placed on them. He argues further that meanings are produced at different points and circulated through different processes or practices, which he describes as the circuit of culture. These meanings define what is normal, who belongs and who is excluded in that culture. The circuit of culture theory is relevant in forecasting what is deemed as acceptable and unacceptable norms in the Commonwealth, hinging on the values/practices that member states adhere to. This circuit involves five stages of production, regulation, representation, consumption

and identity. Hall (2007) argues further that the mass media is an avenue of producing and circulating meaning between different cultures.

Jjuuko (2012: 52) agrees and notes that the news media are cultural institutions where representations and meaning construction occur. She argues further that media texts are produced and negotiated in a variety of contexts including socio-cultural, historical, political and economic, in the construction of meaning which relates to human values, their changefulness and their recognisable commonality. According to Jjuuko, the media represents, maintains and makes meaning of the world through communications. She argues that each of the stages in the circuit of culture is interlinked with other moments in the circuit and is indispensable to the whole.

At the production stage/moment, Jjuuko (2012) argues that political, economic and newsroom routines influence the production, gathering, selection and treatment of stories. She adds that this process starts with systematic sorting and selecting of events and topics based on a socially constructed set of categories, values and norms. The regulation stage draws in formal and self regulation as informed by professional guidelines and individual routines like objectivity. The moment of representation refers to the manner in which people or issues are represented and constructed in the media, highlighting what is included and what aspects are excluded. This is followed by consumption and identity, which relates to the fact that different audiences interpret media texts differently as influenced by socio, political, economic and cultural dispositions. (Hall 2007 and Jjuuko 2012).

The views of these two scholars (Hall 2007 and Jjuuko 2012) help the researcher identify the type of meaning the mass media produced and circulated about the Commonwealth/CHOGM throughout the different moments of the circuit. By looking at how the media constructed meaning, the type of meaning constructed and circulated in relation to CHOGM, the researcher links this study to the framing theory as well. The framing theory primarily deals with the confines in which an issue is defined/interpreted. The researcher relates all the stages of the circuit; production, regulation, representation, consumption and identity; to the exogenous and endogenous factors that influence framing of issues in the media as expounded in section 2.4.1. (Tayebwa 2012). These circuit moments were present in the published news stories, editorials and commentary about the Commonwealth.

2.3.1 Circuit of News selection

The media has a role to inform and educate people about different issues happening at both local and international levels. This is usually done through availing news to audiences or readers, under the assumption that it is in the best interest of these readers to know, irrespective of whether they have expressed interest in knowing or not (Center and Jackson 2003: 209). Hodgson (1996:11) defines news as ‘tidings, new information, and fresh events reported.’ When selecting the newsworthiness of an event, timeliness, proximity, human interest and prominence are some of the values considered. Events that happen within the proximity of the community are deemed newsworthy to that community because they in one way or another directly affect the people in that community.

Rich (2002: 20), explains that away from proximity, human interest stories are an excellent source of news for the obvious fact that people want to know about what is happening to other people in the same measure they would like to know about unusual happenings/events. News can also be gathered from prominent people in society and what they say or do. These include politicians, the clergy, opinion leaders and artists. Another key news value is conflict. Irrespective of who the conflicting parties are or what the source of their conflict could be, this area is an interesting source of news because human beings are bound to conflict over a wide range of issues in their day to day dealings with one another. A news item may not necessarily have direct business implications, but could be relevant to the recipient audience as a public interest piece. Public interest points towards a common good for all, therefore putting the interest of the majority before individual interests (McQuail 1992: 21).

In light of the above context, the Commonwealth was a newsworthy event in 2007 because CHOGM was happening in Uganda for the very first time. The event gathered high level diplomats, heads of state and prime ministers. In the build up to the Commonwealth summit, the local press was awash with stories about preparations for the summit, told from various angles some of which highlighted conflict of interest between government and the opposition (Hadfield 2008: 36). After collecting as many relevant facts as possible, journalists then have to quote sources’ account of events as they build the story. They establish credibility by using trusted sources whose statements can be relied on as fact without further investigation. According to

Ericson (1998: 87), organizations usually select the best person to represent their interests in the media. Ericson however notes that a story involving a powerful source in a strong allegation may have to be verified with more than one source. Journalists usually shy away from documents because of the extra interpretive work needed, yet they lack the technical knowledge to do so and instead prefer to quote sources.

With the story now written, it still has to go through another check before it is published. In his seminal work on Professional Journalism, Kamath (1980) discusses the operations of a modern newsroom. He gives insight into how decisions are made and by whom in terms of the stories that will eventually make it to the public domain. Kamath introduces the editor in a newsroom as the person who makes a final decision on the manner a story will appear in the press describing this as playing 'God' (Kamath 1980:11). Editors may not necessarily be right as they carry out their duties, but are guided by the principle of honesty, which has direct implications on how credible a particular media house is (Kamath 1980:13).

The only common denominator that can be ascribed to editors is their concern for people and their interest in news guided by aspects like novelty, personal impact, crime and conflict among others (Kamath 1980:83).

In relation to this research, Kamath puts into perspective the flow of the news selection process which is important in understanding why the Commonwealth and its activities may or may not be newsworthy across a section of media houses in Uganda.

2.3.2 News coverage in the Print media

It is important to note that some media houses are business oriented and therefore prioritize profit maximization in order to sustain operations. This implies that editors in such media organizations and other content managers have it at the back of their minds that whatever they are to publish must sell. Some media houses have as a result of this policy, opted to employ news editors who have a background in marketing. The other option has been to incorporate marketing executives as part of the team of editors. Underwood (1993:15) notes that with the advent of media conglomerates and newspaper buyouts, editors of newspapers have tended towards behavior similar to that of managers of corporate entities. He explains that executives of daily newspapers treat their readers as a market and news as a product to appeal to that market. As a

result, the editor working in this environment is a perfect blend between an editor and a marketing official. Underwood (1993: 29) emphasizes that these demands, have created a new type of stress for current newsroom editors as they juggle to fulfill what is expected of them from the media house owners on one side and readers on the other side. It is only natural that these editors will pass on the same pressure to the news reporters and entire newsroom staff. In relation to this study, the researcher analyzed the possibility that the Commonwealth could have been considered a selling item at specific periods.

The view that newspapers target sales is contrasted by Hodgson (1996: 57), who stresses that an editor has a more compassionate relationship with readers, and cares that their interests are considered irrespective of the surrounding pressures. Hodgson nevertheless agrees that the editor is sometimes influenced by statistical information on readership across audiences, and will occasionally adjust the editorial planning towards a position that favours sales. This is coupled with personal interests of media house owners and managers, which in most cases form the unwritten code of ethics adhered to. Oates (2008: 25) argues that the prevailing political environment at a given time and media ownership, are key factors not to be ignored in discussing factors that affect news production. With Uganda as a host for the 2007 CHOGM and President Yoweri Museveni as Chairman of the Commonwealth by then, it is possible that media houses were obliged to give ample coverage to the event.

2.3.3 Gauging the Readers' perceptions

In writing and presenting news, journalists and editors are optimistic that readers will understand and interpret the message as is intended. This however is not always the case. Readers perceive messages differently and in as many diverse forms as the diversity of the readers. McQuail (1997: 111) points out that the diversity of the audience makes it complex to frame messages appropriately. This implies that it is equally difficult to gauge how this diverse audience will perceive the message. Nevertheless, media practitioners still go ahead and put messages together as per what they deem fit for their target audiences. They then hope to get feedback on the effectiveness of the message through available channels and use that as a basis to improve. One of the ways through which newspapers gauge the relevance of their content is by responses from readers. The *Daily Monitor* and *New Vision* have space for readers' feedback in form of letters

and commentary mailed and published in the newspapers. This feedback is constructively used by the newspapers to not only improve their content, but to also know which issues out of the many, have caused more reaction from the public. Hodgson emphasizes that information from readers' letters can be useful in guiding editorial planning.

Letters are some of the most important aspects of the press and newsrooms receive several readers' letters. This explains why some national papers dedicate an entire correspondence department or central registry to handle such letters (Hodgson 1996: 60).

In writing editorials, editors are sometimes guided by the current issues that have generated debate in the public domain. That notwithstanding, editors also seek to be in line with what their media houses stand for, as they write these editorials since the editorial cuts across as a newspaper's official voice; a way of speaking out on current issues, events or prominent persons. But as McQuail (1997) points out, readers also experience a similar challenge in relating with communicators. Forms of feedback like research and market forces have not sufficiently addressed views and feelings of readers. Readers can be highly active and engaged with their media in a healthy relationship through feedback in forms initiated by that particular media, which may include letters to the editor and opinion columns. This research looked at these available forms of feedback in establishing how readers perceived the Commonwealth after reading what the papers wrote about it.

2.4 Theoretical framework : Framing theory

The research is built on the framing theory as advanced by Goffman, who argues that people need to be guided in making meaning of the many complexities in the world. They need to be given frames to help them interpret life experiences (Goffman 1975: 24). The research looks at the kind of frames that the leading print media provided for the reading audience to make meaning of the Commonwealth culture, and how the Commonwealth as framed in the dailies affected the audience's views about this international organization.

2.4.1 The tenets of framing

The framing theory falls in the broader effects studies, which assume that the mass media have significant effects (McQuail 1994: 327). It has been used in different fields including studies in sociology, psychology and the media. In all these studies however, the major premise of this theory centers on the fact that an issue can be viewed from a variety of perspectives and be

construed as having implications for multiple values or considerations (Chong and Druckman 2007). This study limits itself to the use of this theory in the media. The theory denotes that people cannot fully understand and interpret life experiences and therefore need to use primary frameworks in interpreting and making meaning of information (Goffman 1975: 24). Tankard (2001: 96) defines framing 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. This view is shared by Gitlin (2010: 75) who describes frames as the primary principles of selection, emphasis, and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens and what matters. He argues that researchers need to look at persistent patterns not just isolated stories, when analyzing frames. Entman (1993: 52) put it more succinctly and notes that to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them salient in a communicative text. By doing this, a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation or treatment recommendation is promoted. Entman emphasizes that frames fulfill several functions including defining problems, diagnosing causes, making moral judgments and suggesting remedies. He considered the concepts of selective attention, intimate involvement, and non-contradiction in outlining the role of frames; calling journalism and mass communication 'social frameworks' that help individuals understand events (Endres 2004: 17).

People's experiences and interpretations of the world continuously shift as informed by social cues, which can be subtle or universal. Baran and Davis (2003: 277), assert that the framing theory is quite flexible and open minded when looking at social life as constantly evolving. They describe these changes from one frame to another as down-shifting and up-shifting. But McCombs (2004) argues that there is a connection between framing and the agenda-setting theory. He refers to it as second-level-agenda setting that not only tells people what to think about, but also how to think about it. This view is however challenged by Price & Tewksbury (2000), who insist that the two are separate entities. They assert that agenda setting considers the mere selection of an issue as a determinant for public perception. Framing, on the other hand, goes a step further to analyze the manner in which an issue is presented irrespective of what the issue may be. Vreese (2005: 53) concurs with this argument in favour of framing and notes that while the agenda-setting theory deals with the salience of issues, framing is concerned with the presentation of issues.

In relation to media studies, Oates (2008: 24) emphasizes that framing differs significantly in media studies. Some scholars look at it as a crucial defining tool while others consider it as something that stretches across various levels of media studies. This explains the different frames by scholars. Brewer and Kimberly (2010: 159) argue that partisan frames are usually constructed and sponsored by actors with the intention of moving public opinion towards particular outcomes. These scholars discuss frames in terms of frame sponsors. The researcher finds this applicable to this research in identifying who the frame sponsors were in relation to CHOGM and the nature of frames they sponsored/advocated for.

Lugalambi (2006: 127) agrees that there are different conceptualizations of framing. He notes that this points towards global questions concerning how public and social discourses are defined; how messages are constructed; how meaning is deciphered; and the premises upon which the interpretation of social reality is built. He discusses three paradigms to framing; the cognitive, critical, and constructionist paradigms. The cognitive paradigm articulates framing in relation to individual's information processing dynamics when they engage with media messages. These people will use the schemas available to them in interpreting information. This is similar to the consumption and identity stages of the circuit of culture as argued by Hall (2007), who relates such schemas to the cultural, social and political dispositions people have.

Critical scholars of framing, like D'Angelo 2002 and Gitlin 1980, on the other hand argue that frames emerge from the newsgathering routines of journalists. These journalists provide information about issues and events in ways that favour the viewpoints and values of the elite. Such frames dominate both the news and audience perceptions (Scheufele 2000). In relation to the circuit of culture, this stage is the regulation moment which Jjuuko (2012) also relates to the professional guidelines like objectivity, available to journalists. Tayeebwa (2012: 71) calls for a good understanding of journalism routines and values, to help elucidate how and why certain frames are favoured over others. He argues that the absence of time, cultural incompetence and inadequate financial resources in local media houses makes journalists depend on news feeds from international agencies like *Reuters*, and *Agence France Presse*. He argues further that the problematic question of how international foreign correspondents frame issues then comes into play.

Lugalambi (2006:133) notes that journalists allow some frames to emerge at the expense of others, by selecting what to include and exclude. The critical paradigm is highly relevant to this research, since it allows the researcher highlight which frames emerged in the published CHOGM stories (as allowed by journalists); and which frames emerged in the audience commentary. The researcher is aware that the frames in the stories may not necessarily be from the point of view of the journalists, since these journalists often quote sources. These frames could therefore be from the frame sponsors as pointed out by Brewer and Kimberly (2010). D'Angelo & Kuypers (2010: 1) note that a dialectical relationship exists between news sources who frame topics to make information interesting and pleasant to journalists and the journalists who adopt such frames or often overlay their own set of frames to come up with the final hybrid framing of the events. So these frames could be beholden in the different sources feeding into a news story, as informed by their socio-political values and diverse cultures.

The above ties in well with the constructionist paradigm, which argues that framing is a function of social processes including a society's political culture of values, ideologies, and collective experiences. Lugalambi (2006 : 128) notes that the constructionist paradigm is a macroscopic view of framing that treats frames as socio-cognitive outcomes and processes related to broad and diffuse collective discourses on a range of social, political, cultural, and economic phenomena. He notes further that the territory of framing is marked by a cognitive frontier and a social hinterland. Baran & Davis (2006: 285) are in consensus and note that it is crucial to understand the social-cultural and political context in which framing takes place.

2.4.2 Framing in the News

Relevant to this study are the works of Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), who sought to analyse the frames in the media during the Amsterdam meeting of European heads of state in 1997. These scholars considered five national newspapers and television news stories. They concluded that the news had five dominant frames of: attribution of responsibility, conflict, economic, human interest, and morality.

The above seminal works of Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) fall in the broader category of generic frames. Generic frames transcend thematic limitations and can be identified in relation to

various topics. Vreese (2005: 56) argues that the generic nature of the above frames is yet to be tested in a cross-national comparative setting to establish their applicability. The researcher uses this as a background to test the applicability of these generic frames in a Ugandan setting at the hosting of CHOGM. Vreese (2005: 55) notes further that issue-specific frames emerge in relation to particular issues/events, although the challenge with them is the inability to generalize or compare empirical deductions for purposes of theory building. It nonetheless allows for more detail in relation to the issue being investigated.

In relation to news, Reese (2010: 37) notes that professional constraints, like objectivity, make it hard for journalists to impose their own frames of issues for fear of being accused of subjectivity. This is however contested by Tankard (2001) who argues that the framing theory allows for bias in the presentation of issues. The researcher notes that when writing news, journalists will underplay their own frames in favour of what is framed by their sources. In instances where journalists are keen on having their frames featured in a news story, they will identify sources that subscribe to the same and quote them. Journalists are more influenced by culturally embedded frames in the interpretation and internalization of messages. Van Gorp (2010: 87) argues in favour of cultural competence, if journalists are to become conversant with the cultural contexts in which they are working. In the case of reporting on CHOGM, Van Gorp brings into perspective the importance of journalists who reported on this event to have had a good understanding of the cultural context of the function and subsequently of the participating countries.

Allan (2010: 75) argues that once a frame has been identified in relation to a particular story, journalists will limit themselves to information deemed appropriate for that frame. Ericson (1998: 88) agrees and notes that journalists are reluctant to add information to a story especially after that story has been framed in a certain way, for fear of changing the frame. As a result, potentially relevant facts are ignored since they tend to make the story complicated. Tuchman (cited in Endres 2004: 17), took this further by looking at how the media routinely handle stories. She argues that frames are institutionalized through news beats and pack journalism, and that media frames also reflect the dominant norms, values, and culture of society. Perry (2002: 107) argues that the conventional news values, including prominence, proximity and unexpected events, are indeed frames. Perry's

analysis helps the researcher focus more on the framing theory since he argues that the very essence of news as advanced in the news values, is grounded in frames.

Vreese (2005: 53) notes that there is little consensus on how to identify frames in the news. He argues that research on frames in the news 'shares little conceptual ground' and this explains why studies rely on working definitions of frames designed for purposes of a specific study. This helped the researcher in understanding why particular frames emerged for this study, some of which were not necessarily generic. Vreese (2005: 52) discusses frame-building and frame setting as key aspects in news. Frame-building considers factors that influence the structure of news frames, and these are mainly the factors inherent to journalism. These frames will manifest in the news text. Frame setting on the other hand considers the external factors to journalism. In frame-setting, media frames interact with individuals' prior predispositions, and may affect learning, interpretation, and evaluation of issues and events. Other scholars have referred to these as endogenous frames instead of frame building and exogenous frames for frame setting (Gans, 2004; Gitlin, 1980). In the circuit of culture context, the researcher relates endogenous frames to the moments of production, regulation and representation. The exogenous factors are in the same vein brought out in the moments of consumption, representation again and identity.

According to Entman (1993: 52) frames in the news can be identified by keywords, phrases, stereotypes, sources of information and sentences that reinforce clusters of facts or judgments. This is seconded by Lugalambi (2006: 127) who notes that the commonly used units of observation for frames include message like news, campaign rhetoric, and arguments; textual components and an individual's recollection of information about an issue. He argues that the social system as demonstrated in the behavior and attitudes of institutions and audiences can also be used to identify the existence of frames. The researcher agrees with these scholars and adds that the implied meaning in words, sentences or phrases is yet another way of identifying frames. This nonetheless is subject to debate since embedded messages can carry different meanings depending on who is making the interpretation. The researcher adds further that symbols, logos and personalities; especially in the case of organizations or social movements can also be used to emphasize frames. Queen Elizabeth II as Head of the Commonwealth is framed as a symbol of respect for Commonwealth citizens. Holmes (1962: 293), argues that the Queen inspires a

respect and an affection that might have been prejudiced if her throne had remained a symbol of domination over British subjects.

2.4.3 Effects of media frames on audiences

Oates (2008: 24) argues that framing goes beyond explaining how a story is finally presented, but also considers how a story was originally conceived by news producers and how the audience receives it. Oates opens up a new dimension in the analysis of framing suggesting that framing starts at the point a story is conceived and runs through to the after effect on the audience. A similar argument is advanced by circuit of culture scholar, Jjuuko (2012 :86), who notes that the production moment in the circuit of culture starts with systematic sorting and selecting of events and topics based on a socially constructed set of categories, values and norms.

The argument by Oates (2008) on the power of framing draws important dimensions in understanding how framing is done, the possible effect it can have on audiences and implications of this to this study in relation to the Commonwealth. Chong and Druckman (2007), argue that frames in communication affect the attitudes and behaviors of recipient audiences. These scholars assert that frames with weak arguments have weaker effects compared to strong frames which appeal to emotions like fear or anger. Vreese (2005: 52) agrees and notes that the effects of framing can be looked at from both an individual level, which may involve change in attitudes, and a societal level where the frames may contribute towards shaping social level processes. He notes that politicians often adopt communication frames used by fellow politicians, the media, or citizens. Likewise media frames also mimic frames used by politicians or other groups/organisations. The researcher agrees with Vreese and adds that it is sometimes inevitable for the media to adopt frames of politicians or organizations, especially when these are used as sources in writing a story. Matthes (2012: 250) notes that framing effects in news also depend on the credibility of the news sources and interpersonal communication among citizens. The view that credibility is key in determining the effect of frames is also shared by Brewer and Kimberley (2010). Price and Tewksbury (1997) note that the effects of a message depends on the degree to which certain aspects of that message are in tandem with a recipient's existing cognitive schemas. Media studies have shown that news frames have strong immediate effects on citizens' thinking, but these effects tend to waver and are short lived in the presence of contradicting frames (Druckman 2007).

2.4.4 How the Commonwealth frames itself

According to the Commonwealth website, the Secretary General, Kamalesh Sharma, made the following closing remarks in reference to the Commonwealth Meeting in Trinidad and Tobago, November 2009:

...that place in the world which comes nearest to a shared vision of a truly international community. Vision can become reality, and I believe it has done so these sixty years, and these last few days. Mr. Chair, where does the 60-year old Commonwealth head from here? Only those who are rhetorically inclined talk of consigning it (*the Commonwealth*) to history as a relic and an irrelevance. I hope that any critic can see that the Commonwealth has never been more relevant than it is now: in an interdependent world demanding collective thinking and solutions, it is ready-made for the 21st Century.

The above remarks frame the Commonwealth as the ultimate place for garnering solutions to challenges of member states. The Commonwealth frames itself as an institution of high values like the rule of law, respect for human rights, gender equality, which are relevant and ideal for member states (Srinivasan 1998). Nevertheless, the above remarks of the Secretary General are not oblivious of the fact that there are dissenting voices to the manner in which the Commonwealth frames itself, as has been expounded on in the literature review.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has looked at the literature review and argued out the need to carry out this study. It has also situated the study in the appropriate theoretical framework of circuit of culture and the framing theory informing it, citing previous works by scholars in similar studies. The next chapter will discuss the methodology used for the research.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents and discusses the methods used in gathering information about this qualitative research. As Wimmer and Dominick (2003: 108) point out, no proper definition of a qualitative research has been agreed upon, but the term is used in reference to “a broad philosophy and approach to research, a research methodology, and a specific set of research techniques.” In this respect, this research adopted the qualitative methodology in conducting interviews and gathering supportive data. A total of 135 stories, 12 editorials, and 45 commentaries/letters, were published by both dailies for the period of November 2007. The researcher presents only half of the stories and commentaries as will be expounded on later. All published editorials are considered.

3.1 Research Design

This research adopted a comparative study design. Comparative research involves weighing two or more things to discover similarities or differences. It allows for specific questions and hypotheses to be drawn (Clasen 2004: 94). The researcher compares *The New Vision* and the *Daily Monitor* newspaper to weigh how a privately owned newspaper framed the Commonwealth in contrast to how a partially government owned newspaper framed the same.

3.2 Research Methodology

As Creswell (2003: 18) puts it, the qualitative methodology gives a researcher an opportunity to conduct research in the physical environment of the respondent, which is recipe for gathering enough detail through interactive methods that allow for follow up questions. This method made it possible for the researcher to build rapport with the sources, and as a result, the respondents opened up more on the area of discussion. Qualitative research provides the researcher with an opportunity to uncover communication features that would otherwise be taken for granted (Creswell 2003: 181). Patton (2002: 47) notes that qualitative inquiries have a key advantage of taking researchers into the time and place of the observation, to get a feel of what it was like then. For this research focusing on the framing of the Commonwealth, the qualitative approach is relevant to allow for analysis of the meanings inherent in the texts. As noted by Reese (2001: 1) qualitative framing analysis helps resist the reductionist urge to sort media texts and discourse into containers and count their size or frequency. It gives room to capture the meanings

embedded in the internal relations within texts, which collapsing into reductive measures would obscure.

3.3 Data Collection techniques

These are the techniques used to gather information from identified data and respondents, in relation to the study. This research used in-depth interviews and thematic content analysis in gathering information.

3.3.1 In-depth interviews:

Keyton (2006: 269) describes an interview as a ‘practical qualitative method of discovering how people think and feel about their communication practices.’ It involves asking people about their activities and getting responses in form of their views (Deacon et al, 1999). It is important in bringing out a participant’s opinion. To conduct an in-depth interview is to explore what people think and experience (Bryman 1988). In-depth interviews are conducted more so to find out about things which cannot be directly observed. Patton (2002:341) emphasises that it is impossible to observe things that happened in previous times, and interviews are the best way to recollect these things. He adds that interviews are also important in getting people to talk about the meanings they attach to what happens around them, and by interviewing these people a researcher gets the opportunity to appreciate their perspective. This is in line with this research, which seeks to analyse how the Commonwealth was framed, by interviewing key respondents and understanding their perspectives on the Commonwealth. Keyton (2006: 269) advises that a researcher must have theoretical and contextual knowledge, and also have a variety of communication skills in order to successfully conduct an interview. Lindlof & Taylor (2002) note that while conducting an interview the researcher learns about events and interactions that cannot be directly observed. For this research, journalists, editors, historians, the CHOGM media Coordinator and the Commonwealth Assistant Spokesperson for Africa were interviewed, for their views on the framing of the Commonwealth in the print media.

In discussing the advantages of in-depth interviews, Wilmer and Dominick (2003: 127) explain that these interviews allow for lengthy observations of non-verbal responses, and can be applied on a smaller sample size. These interviews are customised to individual respondents, who do not necessarily have to answer the same questions. This eventually leads to detailed information

especially since, each response can generate another question on its own. Wimmer and Dominick add that in-depth-interviews are more reliable in providing accurate responses to sensitive topics, more so because of the rapport created between the interviewer and interviewee. They however point out that while conducting in-depth interviews, chances are high that respondents will answer a different version of the question or a completely different question altogether. These interviews pose a challenge in data analysis and interpretation. In-depth interviews expose the interviewer to bias while questioning and this can be detected by the interviewee, although its impact on the interviewee cannot be gauged. Kvale (1996) argues that in-depth interviews expose the researcher to too much information which necessitates sieving through. This can be time wasting. To guard against the limitations of in-depth interviews, the researcher used structured questions to guide the interview sessions.

Irrespective of the above shortcomings, in-depth interviews were ideal for this research given the nature of information the researcher needed to gather from respondents. To guard against the shortcomings, the researcher explained to the respondents the purpose of the study and also made sure that the interviewees stayed focussed on the topic.

3.3.2 Thematic content analysis:

In discussing thematic content analysis, Joffe and Yardley (2004: 57) explain that it involves combining analysis of how often certain codes appear, with analysis of their meaning when put in context. These scholars define a theme as a specific pattern found in the data of interest. It may refer to something directly observable or something implicitly referred to from the data being analyzed. The researcher opted for thematic content analysis because it is a flexible data collection tool. For this study, thematic content analysis is used to analyse how often certain issues appear and what implied themes they carry (Joffe and Yardley 2004). It is therefore used both as a data collection tool and data analysis tool. As noted by Braun and Clarke (2006: 79), thematic content analysis has no clear guidelines on how one goes about using it and therefore researchers manipulate it to serve the purpose of their research. For purposes of this research, the researcher categorised the themes to be represented by the emerging frames both generic and issue-specific. Keyton (2006: 296) argues that themes are identified by looking at recurrence, repetition and the forcefulness with which certain aspects appear. Recurrence involves having at

least two parts of a report with the same meaning, but not necessarily repetition of same words or phrases in the identified parts. Researchers derive themes from existing theoretical underpinnings, also known as deductive coding, or from the raw information itself – inductive coding. Deductive themes allow researchers to refute or replicate initial discoveries. Inductive themes on the other hand are useful in new areas of research (Joffe and Yardley 2004: 58). The researcher used both deductive themes, which are the generic frames, and inductive themes, which are the issue-specific frames.

The researcher applied thematic content analysis in relation to the research objectives, with particular interest in examining how the commonwealth was framed by the leading dailies and the impact this framing had on the readers, for the select period of November 2007. Themes were derived from the raw information in the published stories and editorials on one hand; and from readers' responses as reflected in the commentary, opinions and letters to the editor, on the other hand. The collected data was categorized as falling into the five generic frames of morality, attribution of responsibility, conflict, economic consequences and human interest as advanced by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), or categorized as new emerging frames. The researcher first looked at the frame/theme categories arising from the published news stories and editorials then compared these with frames/themes from published readers' responses. This was consistent with the assumption of the framing theory that the manner in which an aspect is framed has the same impact on the audience (Chong and Druckman 2007).

3.4 Research instruments

These are the tools the researcher used to collect information from both the in-depth interviews and the thematic content analysis in order to meet the research objectives. This research used an interview guide and code sheets as the major tools to collect information from both the in-depth interviews and the thematic content analysis.

3.4.1 Interview guide

The researcher developed an interview guide, employed in conducting interviews (see appendices i - v). The interview guide was used in guiding responses from editors, journalists, historians, the CHOGM media Coordinator and a representative from the Commonwealth Secretariat. Keyton (2006: 275) notes that the interview guide not only highlights the topics to be

covered but also the sequence to be followed in carrying out the interview. It can be highly structured with the researcher strictly adhering to it, or less structured and used as a memory aid during discussion. Patton (2002: 343) argues that the interview guide is prepared to have consistency in the line of questioning. The interviewer is at liberty to take on a conversational style with the respondents, within the confines of a predetermined subject but keeping in mind the limited time at hand. He adds that the interview guide allows for systematic and comprehensive conducting of interviews around the issues to be explored. In interviewing respondents, the researcher used open-ended questions. This allowed for full descriptions and answers to the questions posed (Keyton 2006: 274). The questions asked were both in the past and present tenses. This is because the research, being conducted in the present, was in reference to a past event, which necessitated both tenses. Patton (2002: 351) in discussing the time frame of questions, notes that questions can be in the past tense, present or future tense, depending on the nature of inquiry.

3.4.2 Code sheet

Wimmer and Dominick (2003: 152) describe coding as ‘placing a unit of analysis into a content category.’ In coding the data, standardised code sheets are developed, under which the content is fed into pre-determined categories. Such sheets usually allow for rapid tabulation of data. The researcher developed a code sheet to categorise and code data from the content analysis. Keyton (2006: 293) emphasises that categorising data helps the researcher narrow it into manageable samples for easy interpretation. He is in favour of a larger data set for easier categorising of data. Categorising of data for this research was informed by the five generic frames as discussed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000). The specific interpretation of these can be found in the code book (**Appendix vii**). The researcher developed more categories for the data that did not fit any of these generic frames as will be expounded on in Chapter 4. The researcher coded the content by placing each story and commentary in its appropriate frame/theme in accordance with the broader research question on how the Commonwealth was framed by the *Daily Monitor* and the *New Vision*.

3.5 Sampling Technique

Wimmer and Dominick (2003: 84) describe a sample as ‘a subset of the population that is representative of the entire population.’ They explain that sampling is done because of the time

and resource limitations in examining an entire population. They discuss two broad categories of samples as the probability and non probability samples. Probability samples are based on mathematical guidelines, with each unit's chance of selection clearly articulated unlike the non probability samples. This research adopted the non probability option, to allow for purposive sampling of respondents who will provide appropriate responses, as accommodated in this option. Purposive sampling, according to Wimmer and Dominick (2003: 88) involves identifying subjects who meet certain characteristics.

Bailey (1994: 96) argues that a researcher using purposive sampling engages his/her own judgement in choosing respondents and settles for those who are relevant to the study. The researcher, while interviewing respondents, particularly looked out for those who had in one way or another been involved with CHOGM. The journalists interviewed had reported about the Commonwealth, the editors were in charge of assigning these journalists to cover different aspects of CHOGM and the Media Coordinator was the responsible for overseeing press coverage of the event. A similar yardstick was used in identifying historians. The researcher looked out for those who have written, read, lectured or directly benefitted from the Commonwealth. The researcher felt that this category was more competent in understanding and providing useful information about the Commonwealth.

3.6 Sample size

Keyton (2006:130) describes a sample size as the number of people from whom meaningful observations are to be deduced. He emphasizes that for every study, a sample size must be determined. The researcher looked at a sample size in relation to purposive sampling, and only chose respondents who met the study objectives. These included one editor from the *New Vision*, one editor from the *Daily Monitor*, four journalists from the *New Vision*, two journalists from the *Daily Monitor* and two historians. One of these historians heads the History Department at Makerere University and the other is both a Lecturer at Makerere University and a beneficiary of the Commonwealth scholarship. Other key respondents included John Nagenda, the Coordinator of CHOGM press coverage in 2007, and Julius Mucunguzi - the Commonwealth Assistant Spokesperson for Africa. The researcher also took into consideration all articles and editorials related to the Commonwealth that were published in the two dailies under the national news pages, for the period of November 2007. Similarly, all the commentary and letters to the editor

that were related to the Commonwealth for the same period were considered. A total of 135 stories, 12 editorials, and 45 commentary/letters, were published by both dailies for the period of November 2007.

3.7 Limitations of the study

In conducting this research, the researcher met some constraints, resulting into a smaller sample size to interview. Some of the journalist and editors who were actively involved in covering the Commonwealth summit or in writing the editorials in 2007, were no longer attached to the particular media houses. A section of them, especially in respect of the *Daily Monitor*, had either switched professions or were no longer in the country. An attempt to widen the scope and interview more journalists/editors was fruitless since most of them had little to talk about in relation to the Commonwealth and the 2007 CHOGM. Nevertheless, the researcher capitalised on the available news stories, editorials and commentary for the thematic content analysis of the select period.

3.8 Data Presentation and Interpretation

The data gathered was presented and interpreted to make meaning as informed by the study objectives. Each objective was presented with the data collected pertaining to it, and an interpretation derived thereafter. Keyton (2006: 296) notes that interpretation of data is a necessary process in deriving meaning out of patterns, themes, concepts and propositions. It involves analysing the data as a whole and deriving meaning from it. As Keyton (2006: 307) put it, a researcher must interpret findings for each question and also reconcile the findings as a whole.

In presenting the data, the researcher organises it in relation to the frame sponsors including Government, Commonwealth officials, Legislators, Clergy, Editors, Ordinary people, the Opposition, Service providers and Member countries. The frames sponsored by the ordinary people are mainly reflected in the commentaries and letters to the Editor. The frames sponsored by the Editors are derived from the Editorials. The other categories of frame sponsors are derived from the published news stories throughout the CHOGM period.

Although a total of 135 stories, 12 editorials, and 45 commentary/letters, were published by both dailies for the period of November 2007, the researcher narrowed the scope further to allow for a

manageable data presentation (Keyton 2006). Half of the stories, 67, and half of the commentaries, 22, are presented. All editorials are considered although the *Daily Monitor* published more of these than the *New Vision*.

3.9 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the research methodology and the application of data collection methods in gathering the relevant information. The next chapter presents the findings and gives an interpretation thereof.

CHAPTER FOUR : PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

4.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings from the research, after the field interviews (see appendix vi for the list of interviewees) and thematic content analysis of published stories, editorials and commentary. The researcher used data from the thematic content analysis to understand how the Commonwealth was framed by the leading dailies as reflected in the published stories and editorials. Data from the thematic content analysis was also used to show the effect of this framing on readers as reflected in the published commentaries and letters to the editor.

Content from the in-depth interviews was mainly used in explaining the factors responsible for the manner in which the Commonwealth was framed. A total of 135 stories, 12 editorials, and 45 commentaries/letters, were published by both dailies for the period of November 2007. In the tables below, the researcher analyses all the published editorials, and half of the published stories and commentary; which translates into 67 stories and 22 commentaries.

4.1 Framing of the Commonwealth in the print media

The researcher presents the manner in which the Commonwealth was framed as reflective of the different frame sponsors including Editors, Government, the Opposition, the Commonwealth Secretariat, Commonwealth Members countries, the Clergy, Legislators, Ordinary people and Service providers. The frames derived are informed by previous research on framing by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), who discovered that conflict, human interest, attribution of responsibility, economic consequences, and morality were the dominant frames used by the media in the coverage of the Amsterdam meeting of European heads of state in 1997. For purposes of this study, the researcher substitutes the ‘economic consequences frame’ to a ‘business frame,’ but retains the meaning as fronted by these scholars. Some new frames that proved to be persistent in the data of analysis, also emerged. As noted by Gitlin (2010: 75) researchers should look for persistent patterns when analyzing frames.

The researcher in presenting the stories and editorials tabulated them with sections on what was published before CHOGM between the 1st – 21st November, during CHOGM between the dates

of 22nd – 25th November, and after the CHOGM event spanning from the 26th – 30th November 2007. The tables below show the stories published in the *Daily Monitor* and *The New Vision*, highlighting the issues emerging as paraphrased from the news stories; and the correspondent frames deduced. Important to note is that some stories, editorials and commentary carried more than one frame.

Table 1: Framing of the Commonwealth in Daily Monitor stories, November 2007

Date and Title of News Article	Emerging Issues	Emerging Frames
Daily Monitor before CHOGM		
1 st Nov. 2007 CHOGM : Uganda gets high tech gadgets. By Emmanuel Gyezaho and Zurah Nakabugo, Pg. 1	Uganda gets a donation of sophisticated global police communications system from Interpol.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neocolonial frame • Security
1 st Nov. 2007 Use event to speak out against gays – MPs. By Yasin Mugerwa, Pg. 6	Oyam South MP, Ishaq Otto says Government should denounce homosexuality during CHOGM.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Morality
1 st Nov. 2007 Errant motorists face arrest. By Grace Natabaalo, Pg. 6	Prime Minister Amama Mbabazi warns motorists of arrests if found driving on pavements and road Islands.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Security
1 st Nov. 2007 Mbarara to benefit from Queen’s offer of ATMs. By Felix Basiime and Alfred Tumushabe, Pg. 6	Commonwealth pilot business center to be set up in Mbarara as an offer from the Queen of England.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neocolonial frame • Business
1 st Nov. 2007 Beef in Plenty, government assures By Grace Matsiko, Pg. 6	Government has allayed fears of shortage of beef for the 5,000 CHOGM guests.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poverty
2 nd Nov. 2007 Ugandans line cars for CHOGM hire. By Walter Wafula, Pg. 3	Government officials and individuals are surrendering their cars for transporting CHOGM delegates at a cost.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Business
12 th Nov. 2007 Museveni opens improved airport	President Yoweri Museveni opened improved Entebbe airport ahead of summit.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Business

Date and Title of News Article	Emerging Issues	Emerging Frames
By Ephraim Kasozi, Pg. 4		
14 th Nov. 2007 Queen to get banknote. By Martin Luther Oketch, Pg. 4	President Museveni will officially hand over a CHOGM bank note to the Queen of England as a souvenir gift.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neocolonial frame • Memorable and high profile event
14 th Nov. 2007 Clerics appeal to Queen By Gladys Oroma, Pg. 4	The Acholi Religious leaders Initiative has appealed to CHOGM through Queen Elizabeth over the unresolved LRA (Lord's Resistance Army) rebels.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neocolonial frame
14 th Nov. 2007 Cabinet rejects love zones By Evelyn Lirri, Pg. 4	Cabinet has rejected a suggestion to create special love zones for prostitutes during CHOGM.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Morality • Business
14 th Nov. 2007 UK firm got 1.4billion pushing Uganda's CHOGM. By Yasiin Mugerwa, Pg. 4	The Auditor General says a UK firm was irregularly paid over 1.3 billion to draft Government's CHOGM bid.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Corruption
23rd Nov. 2007 Firm denies liability in Wava CHOGM case By Lominda Afedraru, Pg. 18	Spear Motors Limited sued Government jointly over breach of Euros 1.31million contract to supply CHOGM vehicles.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Corruption
7 th Nov. 2007 Uganda Museum awaits event. By Christopher Mason, Pg. 18	Officials at the Uganda museum have their hopes in CHOGM tourists.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Business
13 th Nov. 2007 Cabinet for CHOGM public holidays, By Risdal Kasasira, Pg.1	A cabinet sub-committee recommended that November 22 nd and 23 rd be declared public holidays countrywide.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Memorable and high profile event
14 th Nov. 2007 Ex-service men ask Queen for gratuity By John Muto-ono P'Lajur, Pg. 13	Ex-soldiers in Gulu who served in the first and Second World Wars are requesting for assistance from the Queen. The ex-service men want compensation from the British Government for their service.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neocolonial frame
15 th Nov. 2007 CHOGM love zones set up in Kampala By Siraje Lubwama and Andrew Bagala, Pg. 1	Authorities have established isolated zones in the city suburb for commercial sex workers.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Morality • Business

Date and Title of News Article	Emerging Issues	Emerging Frames
16 th Nov. 2007 UYD plans demo By Andrew Bagala, Pg. 6	The Uganda Young Democrats will organize a demonstration during CHOGM.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conflict
18 th Nov. 2007 FDC disagrees, votes on CHOGM By Charles Mwanguhya, Pg.1	Uganda's five leading opposition parties are yet to agree on whether they will formally participate in any activity related to CHOGM.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conflict
18 th Nov. 2007 Fight over CHOGM money starts By Chris Obore, Pg. 2	The Ministry of Gender is under the spotlight over failure to account for shs. 178 million of its shs. 896 million CHOGM budget.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Corruption
20 th Nov. 2007 Army, PGB take over Kampala Security By Grace Matsiko, Pg.1	The 1,000 plus Special Police Constables were withdrawn, for Presidential Guard Brigade soldiers (PGB) to take over city security.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Security
20 th Nov. 2007 FDC to hold own CHOGM activities By Evelyn Lirri, Pg. 4	The party is particularly bitter that the Commonwealth Secretariat in London has not responded to several complaints including gross human rights violations, lack of democracy and lack of the rule of law in Uganda, even after the matter was referred to them.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conflict • Neocolonial frame
20 th Nov. 2007 Transport fares hiked By Robert Mwaje, Pg. 4	Travelers in Kampala will pay high transport fares on key routes due to road closures and new diversions.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Business
<i>Daily Monitor during CHOGM</i>		
22 nd Nov. 2007 The second coming of the Queen By Christopher Mason, Rodney Muhumuza, & Grace Matsiko, Pg. 1	Thousands upon thousands lined Entebbe road to greet Queen Elizabeth the II and her husband the Duke of Edinburgh.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neocolonial frame
23 rd Nov. 2007 It's a better Uganda, Queen tells Parliament. By Christopher Mason, Pg.1	Queen congratulated Uganda for the fight against HIV/AIDS, peace mission in war torn Somalia, and efforts to peacefully resolve the conflict in the North.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neocolonial frame • Poverty • Conflict
23 rd Nov. 2007	Police spent several hours battling members of the Democratic Party	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conflict

Date and Title of News Article	Emerging Issues	Emerging Frames
Police disperse DP demonstrators By Robert Mwanje, Pg. 5	Youth Wing for organizing a demonstration in an unrestricted area.	
23 rd Nov. 2007 Pakistan issue tops CHOGM debate BY Grace Matsiko, Pg. 4	The constitutional crisis in Pakistan, Climate Change, international trade and good governance are top on the agenda of the 2007 Kampala Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting which gets underway this morning.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Commonwealth values
23 rd Nov. 2007 Queen unveils Elizabeth ward at Mildmay By Benon Herbert Oluka, Pg. 4	Queen Elizabeth II launched, the Elizabeth ward at Mildmay, a UK based charity that runs projects on HIV AIDS.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neocolonial frame • Poverty
24 th Nov. 2007 Queen opens the CHOGM, calls for mutual respect By Grace Matsiko, Pg. 2	Queen, ‘I hope in your discussions you will reiterate that principle that we should treat those around us the same way we would wish to be treated ourselves.’ Museveni, ‘Why can’t the group become an influential voice in world affairs across the whole spectrum of issues?’	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Commonwealth values
24 th Nov. 2007 Prince Charles visits Amref projects By Evelyn Lirri, Pg. 3	Prince Charles visited an Amref funded project to rehabilitate sex workers in Kampala. Amref works to improve health care in some of the poorest and most marginalized communities in Africa.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poverty • Neocolonial frame
24 th Nov. 2007 Protesters demand pay over plunder Tabu Butagira & Richard Wanambwa, Pg. 4	Kizza Besigye of FDC held a political rally to marshal mass support to “liberate” Uganda from European control and exploitation. FDC Publicist, Toterebuka Tibamwenda said CHOGM was a pricey and useful cocktail for corrupt African dictators, designed to advance British neocolonialism.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neocolonial frame • Conflict • Corruption
25 th Nov. 2007 CHOGM hits businesses Tom Magumba & Joseph Mitti, Pg. 4	Kampala City was a sea of quiet and calm throughout CHOGM. Traders suffered the greatest disadvantage of the summit that had been touted as one that would bring windfall for the business community.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Business
Daily Monitor after CHOGM		
27 th Nov. 2007	KCC lacks the capacity to maintain the newly installed city facilities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poverty

Date and Title of News Article	Emerging Issues	Emerging Frames
KCC lacks capacity to maintain CHOGM facilities By Robert Mwanje, Pg. 6	including street lights, the Town Clerk has revealed.	
26 th Nov. 2007 Commonwealth Leaders agree on Climate change By Christopher Mason, Grace Natabaalo and Frank Nyakairu, Pg. 2	The Commonwealth meeting concluded with resolutions on climate change and trade.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human interest

Table 2: Framing of the Commonwealth in The New Vision stories, November 2007

Date and Title of News Article	Emerging Issues	Emerging Frames
<i>New Vision before CHOGM</i>		
1 st Nov. 2007 KCC deploys vigilantes for CHOGM By Milton Olupot, Pg. 4	Kampala City Council has deployed vigilantes to arrest anyone littering the city ahead of CHOGM.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Security
3 rd Nov. 2007 Government plans mock commonwealth motorcade By Herbert Ssempogo, Pg. 4	A mock commonwealth summit motorcade will be held days before the event.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Memorable and high profile event
10 th Nov. 2007 This is what CHOGM is all about By Henry Mukasa, Pg. 10	The summit is a meeting of great minds, in other words, a global think tank.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human interest
19 th Nov. 2007 Kololo demarcated for CHOGM demos By Steven Candia, Pg. 3	Government has designated Kololo independence grounds for demonstrating during CHOGM.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conflict
13 th Nov. 2007 Cultural chiefs to attend royal dinner By Apollo Mubiru, Pg. 5	“Traditional leaders will meet the Queen and have a hand shake with her,” said Foreign Affairs Minister Sam Kutesa.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neocolonial frame
13 th Nov. 2007 Queen’s commemorative book launched, By Raymond Baguma and Milton Olupot, Pg. 5	British High Commissioner, Francois Gordon, launched a book, ‘The Royal visit to Uganda’, commemorating Queen Elizabeth II’s last visit to Uganda 53 years ago.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neocolonial frame • Memorable and high profile event
13 th Nov. 2007	Hotels in Kampala have increased rates ahead of	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Business

Date and Title of News Article	Emerging Issues	Emerging Frames
Hotels hike charges, By Peter Kauju, Pg. 2	CHOGM from \$ 150 to \$ 600 per night.	
7 th Nov. 2007 Janet tours CHOGM hotels By Raymond Baguma, Pg. 4	First lady visits a number of hotels to check on readiness to host CHOGM.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Business
6 th Nov. 2007 M7 tours CHOGM roads By Herbert Ssemugo and Apollo Mubiru, Pg. 4	President Yoweri Museveni inspected several city roads currently under repair.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Memorable and high profile event
14 th Nov. 2007 Prince Charles to campaign at CHOGM. By British Daily Mail, Pg. 1	Prince Charles is to launch a diplomatic charm offensive in Kampala to ensure that he and his son Prince William inherit the Queen's role on the World stage.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neocolonial frame
15 th Nov. 2007 CHOGM : No power blackout By Cyprian Musoke and Steven Candia, Pg. 3	Govt assures citizens of 24 hour power availability throughout CHOGM. The Vice President asked the media to minimize negative coverage.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Memorable and high profile event
16 th Nov. 2007 M7 launches CHOGM boats By Herbert Ssemugo, Pg. 6	President Museveni commissions four boats worth euros 1.9m to monitor Lake Victoria during CHOGM.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Business • Memorable and high profile event. • Security
17 th Nov. 2007 Parliament ready for CHOGM, By New Vsn, Pg. 7	Members of Parliament and staff rehearse a welcome for Queen Elizabeth.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Memorable and high profile event
17 th Nov. 2007 Bunyoro to boycott Queen banquet By Raymond Baguma, Pg. 5	Bunyoro Kingdom wants compensation from Britain for injustices committed in the colonial era.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attribution of responsibility • Neocolonial frame
17 th Nov. 2007 Lohana pupils march for CHOGM By Nicholas Kajoba, Pg. 5	Pupils of Lohana Academy marched on the streets of Kampala in mock preparations to welcome Queen Elizabeth II.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neocolonial frame
20 th Nov. 2007 Abuses unacceptable – Commonwealth boss By Milton Olupot, Pg. 1	Commonwealth Secretary General, Don McKinnon has urged organizations to speak out against human rights abuses.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Commonwealth values

Date and Title of News Article	Emerging Issues	Emerging Frames
21 st Nov. 2007 We do not miss the Commonwealth, says Mugabe By AFP, Pg. 4	Robert Mugabe, ‘We shall never go back to that evil organization.’ Deputy information Minister, Bright Matonga, ‘We don’t miss it and we do not wish to rejoin it.’	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conflict
22 nd Nov. 2007 Commonwealth flags fly high By S. Candia, R. Okello, C. Businge and A. Senyonga, Pg. 5	Flags of the Commonwealth member states flew high at different points in Kampala, heralding the arrival of Queen Elizabeth II.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neocolonial frame
9 th Nov. 2007 Nagenda to man Queen’s coverage By Henry Mukasa, Pg. 3	President Yoweri Museveni has appointed his media advisor, John Nagenda, Press Coordinator for the State visit of Queen Elizabeth II.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Memorable and high profile event
<i>New Vision during CHOGM</i>		
22 nd Nov. 2007 The Queen is here By Felix Osike, Alfred Wasike and Henry Mukasa, Pg. 1	Entebbe road was thronged with crowds who waved both British and Uganda flags as they surged forward to have a glimpse of the Queen.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neocolonial frame
22 nd Nov. 2007 Commonwealth can help Zimbabwe, Tsvangirai By Cyprian Musoke & Harriette Onyalla, Pg. 3	Zimbabwe’s main opposition leader, Morgan Tsvangirai, says the Commonwealth can still play a role in resolving the crisis in Zimbabwe.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neocolonial frame
22 nd Nov. 2007 UPC petitions Commonwealth By Moses Mulondo, Pg. 4	UPC has petitioned the Commonwealth on the political situation in Uganda.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neocolonial frame
22 nd Nov. 2007 First Lady calls for support to the poor By Vsn reporter, Pg. 7	Janet Museveni says spouses of Commonwealth Leaders can form a common front to improve lives of the poor.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poverty
23 rd Nov. 2007 21 heads of state here for CHOGM By Alfred Wasike & Milton Olupot, Pg. 3	21 leaders are in Uganda for CHOGM.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Memorable and high profile event
24 th Nov. 2007 Duke brings Kasese to a standstill By Carol Natukunda & Kyomuhendo Muhanga, Pg. 4	The Duke of Edinburgh, Prince Philip, opened a computerized information centre in Kikorongo village, Kasese district.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neocolonial frame

Date and Title of News Article	Emerging Issues	Emerging Frames
<i>New Vision after CHOGM</i>		
<p>26th Nov. 2007</p> <p>CHOGM vows to fight corruption By Henry Mukasa & Moses Mulondo, Pg. 1</p>	<p>Leaders committed to fight corruption, fight human trafficking and to end impunity for perpetrators of crimes against humanity by supporting the International Criminal Court (ICC).</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Corruption • Human interest
<p>26th Nov. 2007</p> <p>M7 wants UK to pay war veterans By Geresom Musamali, Pg. 1</p>	<p>President Yoweri Museveni has held discussions with British Prime Minister, Gordon Brown, on compensation for Ugandan World War II veterans.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attribution of responsibility • Neocolonial frame
<p>26th Nov. 2007</p> <p>Bishop Lwanga louts Gov't over CHOGM By Paul Kiwuuwa, Pg. 3</p>	<p>Archbishop Cyprian Kizito Lwanga, calls on states to fight corruption and poverty.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Corruption • Poverty
<p>26th Nov. 2007</p> <p>Clock tower park declared forest By Gerald Tenywa, Pg. 4</p>	<p>Kampala's green park at Clock Tower declared a forest reserve for CHOGM commemoration trees.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Memorable event and high profile event
<p>27th Nov. 2007</p> <p>Mao blasts Besigye over CHOGM demo By Chris Ocowun, Pg. 1</p>	<p>Mao of DP said it was wrong for FDC to demonstrate against CHOGM.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conflict
<p>26th Nov. 2007</p> <p>Commonwealth states agree on democracy, gender equality By Vsn reporters, Pg. 6&7</p>	<p>Commonwealth states agree to preserve democracy and gender equality.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human interest
<p>27th Nov. 2007</p> <p>MPs summon Nasasira over travel agents' pay By Paul Kiwuuwa, Pg.4</p>	<p>MPs summoned Works Minister Eng. John Nasasira on delayed pay of tour and travel agents who transported CHOGM delegates.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Corruption
<p>27th Nov. 2007</p> <p>4 CHOGM delegates mugged By Herbert Ssempogo, Pg.4</p>	<p>Police investigates how four CHOGM delegates were robbed of their property.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poverty

4.1.1 Framing by the different frame Sponsors

Neocolonial frame

This frame was sponsored by a number of groups including Government, the Opposition and the Commonwealth in the news stories. Gyezaho and Nakabugo (2007, November 1:1) in a *Daily Monitor* story titled '*CHOGM: Uganda gets high tech gadgets,*' note that the country had received a sophisticated communication system from Interpol to boost security ahead of the summit. The researcher categorizes this to fall under the neocolonial frame which spells out that former colonies still rely on super powers to manage home affairs (Altback 1971: 237). In this story, this frame is sponsored by the Commonwealth, which was in charge of seeing to it that such equipment is in the country. On 14th Nov 2007, the *New Vision* in a story titled '*Prince Charles to campaign at CHOGM,*' also reflects the neocolonialism frame as sponsored by the Commonwealth. The story reads in part:

Prince Charles is to launch a diplomatic charm offensive in Kampala next week to ensure that he and his son Prince William inherit the Queen's role on the World stage when she dies. The initiative reflects concern that the Commonwealth may choose someone else, leaving Charles and in time William, with no international standing and virtually nothing to do outside the UK (*British Daily Mail*, in *The New Vision* 2007).

The same frame is sponsored by the Opposition in another *Daily Monitor* story titled '*Protesters demand pay over plunder,*' by Butagira & Wanambwa (2007, November 24: 4) where the main opposition party FDC accused superpowers of continued interference in issues of the developing world. The story partly reads:

FDC party President, Kizza Besigye turned the afternoon session into a political rally to marshal mass support to 'liberate' Uganda from the vestiges of continued European control and exploitation, which he said was being helped by the puppet dictatorship in Kampala. Acting FDC Publicist, Toterebuka Tibamwenda said CHOGM was a pricey and useless cocktail for corrupt African dictators, designed to advance British neocolonialism on the continent.

In sponsoring this frame, the Clergy appealed to Queen Elizabeth to reign in and resolve the conflict between Government and the LRA rebels, in a *Daily Monitor* story by Oroma (2007, November 14: 4). The neocolonial frame manifests again in another story on the same date titled '*Mbarara to benefit from Queen's offer of ATMs*'. In this story, the Queen of England offered automated teller machines to Uganda and India in a pilot project (Basiime and Tumushabe 2007, November 1:6). Oroma (2007, November 14: 4) highlights the neocolonial frame further in a

story titled '*Clerics appeal to Queen,*' in which the Acholi religious leaders asked the Queen to mitigate in the conflict between the Government of Uganda and the Lord's Resistance Army Rebels (LRA).

Government is seen to sponsor this frame in a *New Vision* story by Mubiru (2007, November 13:5) titled '*Cultural Chiefs to attend royal dinner,*' in which the writer notes that cultural leaders will have an opportunity for a handshake with the Queen at a dinner in her honour, as pointed out by the Foreign Affairs Minister Sam Kutesa. The dinner is packaged as a once in a lifetime opportunity, involving a rare handshake with the Queen.

In a another story titled '*The Queen is here,*' Osike, Wasike & Mukasa (2007 November 22 : 1) note that during the arrival of Queen Elizabeth II, Entebbe road was thronged with crowds waving both British and Uganda flags as they surged forward to have a glimpse of the Queen. The researcher interprets this as befitting of the neocolonial frame, as sponsored by the ordinary people.

As a former member of the Commonwealth, Zimbabwe is seen to sponsor this frame when the opposition leader, Morgan Tsvangirai, says the Commonwealth can play a role in resolving the crisis in Zimbabwe (Musoke and Onyalla 2007, November 22 : 3).

Morality frame

Mugerwa (2007, November 1:1) in a *Daily Monitor* story titled '*Use event to speak out against gays – MP,*' writes about a Member of Parliament (MP) who is calling upon the leaders to denounce homosexuality strongly during CHOGM. This is reflective of a morality frame as sponsored by the Legislators. Lirri (2007, November 14: 4) highlights yet another morality frame in a *Daily Monitor* story, '*Cabinet rejects love zones*' in which Government, as a frame sponsor, rejected a request to have special areas demarcated as love zones to allow prostitutes do business during CHOGM. The same frame is carried in a contradictory story in *The New Vision* titled, '*Respect Gay rights – People's Forum*' in which the Commonwealth Peoples' Forum proposed that minority rights including gay rights be recognized. This is reflective of framing by the ordinary people.

Commonwealth values frame

The *New Vision* highlights this frame in a story titled, '*Abuses unacceptable – Commonwealth boss.*' In this story, the then Commonwealth Secretary General, Don McKinnon, urged organizations to speak out against human rights abuses since this practice was unacceptable in the Commonwealth (Olupot 2007, November 20:1). Another story published by the *Daily Monitor* titled, '*Pakistan issue tops CHOGM debate,*' (Matsiko 2007, November 23:4) talks about Pakistan as a key item on the CHOGM agenda due to the constitutional crisis in that country. A related frame is carried in a story by the same paper titled, '*Queen opens CHOGM, calls for mutual respect.*' In this story, the Queen urged member countries to reiterate the principle on respect for one another. The main sponsor here is the Commonwealth. Queen Elizabeth II is quoted to have said:

With the theme respecting differences, promoting understanding, I hope in your discussions you will reiterate that principle that we should treat those around us the same way we would wish to be treated ourselves.

In the same story, the head of state, President Yoweri Museveni is quoted to have said,

Why can't this group become an influential voice in world affairs across the whole spectrum of issues such as world trade, terrorism, global warming, etc?

This statement from President Museveni emphasizes that the Commonwealth is not as significant as it ought to be, as earlier noted by Ingram (2007: 559), who argues that the Commonwealth is not asserting itself as wholly as it should.

Business frame

The business frame manifests in a story published in the *Daily Monitor* on the 7th Nov 2007 titled, '*Uganda Museum awaits event*', highlighting anticipation by officials at the Uganda Museum that the tourism sector will get the much needed boost with CHOGM delegates in the country (Mason 2007, November 7:18). This is reflective of framing by the ordinary people.

In another story, published by the same paper titled '*Transport fares hiked,*' Mwanje (2007, November 20: 4) notes that charges on transport within the city went up as a result of new road diversion ahead of the summit. This is reflective of framing by the service providers.

The New Vision in a story titled, 'Hotels hike charges,' (Kauju 2007, November 13:2) highlights yet another business frame, as sponsored by service providers. The same newspaper carried a story titled, 'Janet tours CHOGM hotels,' in which the first lady inspected some of the newly constructed hotels to check on their readiness to host CHOGM.

Conflict frame

Mwanje (2007, November 23: 5) in a Daily Monitor story titled 'Police disperse DP demonstrators,' reflected a conflict frame when he reported about police dispersing demonstrators of an opposition political party. In this story, the conflict frame is sponsored by both Government and the opposition. The story reads in part:

Police spent several hours battling members of the Democratic Party Youth Wing in Kisenyi for organizing a demonstration in an unrestricted area on Namirembe road.

The conflict frame manifests again in another story by the same paper (Mwanguhya 2007, November 17: 1) titled 'FDC disagrees, votes on CHOGM.' In this story, the opposition parties were divided on whether or not to participate in CHOGM activities, including the main opposition party, FDC. The conflict frame here is sponsored by the opposition. The story reads in part:

The opposition was considering calling for public demonstrations as a way of highlighting what they termed as the NRM government's continued violation of the principles held and cherished by the Commonwealth such as respect for human rights, good governance and democracy.

The conflict frame also emerged in a *New Vision* story titled, 'Mao blasts Besigye over CHOGM demo' (Ocowun 2007, November 27: 1). In this story, one of the opposition party leaders, Norbert Mao, blamed another opposition party leader, Kizza Besigye, for staging a demonstration during CHOGM. Here, the conflict frame is again sponsored by the opposition. The story reads in part:

Sometimes we in the opposition also need to pretend as if there are no problems when we have visitors around.

The conflict frame as sponsored by a former member state, Zimbabwe, is carried in a *New Vision* story titled, 'We do not miss the Commonwealth, says Mugabe.' (AFP 2007, November 20: 1). President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe refers to the Commonwealth in this story as an evil organization that Zimbabwe will never go back to.

Attribution of responsibility frame

The attribution of responsibility frame emerged in a *Daily Monitor* story titled 'Ex-service men ask Queen for gratuity,' (P'Lajur 2007, November 14: 13). In this story, ex-service men of the 1st and 2nd World wars were demanding compensation from the British Government for their service during these wars. This is framing by the ordinary people.

The same frame manifests in a *New Vision* story titled 'Bunyoro to boycott Queen banquet,' where Bunyoro Kingdom was demanding compensation from the British Government for injustices committed during the colonial era, before turning up for a banquet organized for the Queen and monarchies in the country (Baguma 2007, November 17: 5). This is also framing by the ordinary people. Government sponsored this frame in a *New Vision* story titled, 'M7 wants UK to pay war veterans,' in which the head of State, President Yoweri Museveni, asked the British government to compensate Ugandan World War II veterans and landlords (Musamali 2007, November 26 : 1).

Corruption frame

Another key emergent frame was corruption highlighted in several CHOGM stories of the dailies. According to the *Daily Monitor* in a story titled 'UK firm got 1.4billion pushing Uganda's CHOGM,' the country's bid to host CHOGM did not follow proper procedures (Mugerwa 2007, November 14: 4). The researcher categorises this frame to be sponsored by Government since it refers to an audit query by the Office of the Auditor General. The story reads in part:

A UK based firm that drafted the Government bid to host the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting has come under the spotlight after the Auditor General queried the deal. In his latest report of the year ended June 30th, 2006, the Auditor General says the firm which was paid over 1.3 billion in tax payers' money was hired irregularly.

More of this frame as sponsored by Government is seen in another *Daily Monitor* story titled 'Fight over CHOGM money starts,' (Obore 2007, November 18: 2). In this story, the Ministry of Gender failed to account to the Parliament's select committee, how 178 million shillings of the allotted 896 million CHOGM budget was spent. The money had been released to enable preparations for the Commonwealth Youth Forum.

The Clergy are seen to sponsor this frame in a *New Vision* story titled '*Bishop Lwanga laments Government over CHOGM,*' in which the Kampala Archbishop Dr. Cyprian Kizito Lwanga is quoted to have said:

Corruption is a disease worldwide. I call on the member states to fight corruption. If poverty and corruption are not addressed, I am afraid the gap between the rich member states will widen (Kiwuuwa 2007, November 26: 3).

The Commonwealth is yet another sponsor of this frame as seen in a *New Vision* story titled, '*CHOGM vows to fight corruption,*' (Mukasa and Mulondo 2007, November 26: 1), in which the summit resolves to eliminate the vice.

Poverty frame

The poverty frame was reflected in a *Daily Monitor* story titled '*KCC lacks capacity to maintain CHOGM facilities.*' In this story, the Kampala City Council (KCC), mandated to run the city, raised fears that it was not in position to maintain the high standard of facilities polished ahead of CHOGM due to a limited resource envelope and personnel (Mwanje 2007, November 27: 6).

Here, the poverty frame is sponsored by Government. Government sponsors this frame further in a *New Vision* story titled '*First Lady calls for support to the poor,*' (Vision reporter 2007, November 22: 7). The First Lady, Janet Museveni, expressed need for the spouses of leaders of the Commonwealth countries to join hands in improving the lives of the poor and disadvantaged across member states. This frame is also sponsored by the Commonwealth as seen in a *Daily Monitor* story titled, '*Queen unveils Elizabeth ward at Mildmay,*' in which the Queen visited Mildmay centre dedicated to HIV/AIDS projects (Oluka 2007, November 23: 4).

Human interest frame

In a *New Vision* story titled, '*This is what CHOGM is all about,*' the writer highlights various aspects of the Commonwealth and describes CHOGM as a meeting of great minds, a global think tank (Mukasa 2007, November 10: 10). The researcher interprets this to fall under the above frame as sponsored by the Commonwealth. The same frame as sponsored by Commonwealth

member countries manifests in a *Daily Monitor* story titled, ‘*Commonwealth leaders agree on climate change*,’ (Mason, Natabaalo and Nyakairu 2007, November 26: 2). The story is a summary of the cross cutting issues agreed upon at the close of the summit including climate and trade amongst members states.

Memorable and high profile event frame

Another frame that emerged was the reflection of CHOGM as a memorable and high profile event. In a *Daily Monitor* story titled ‘*Cabinet for CHOGM public holidays,*’ (Kasaira 2007, November 13: 1), the author notes that a cabinet sub-committee recommended that the 22nd and 23rd November be declared public holidays countrywide to allow for less congestion in the city during CHOGM. The researcher interprets this to be sponsored by Government in reflecting CHOGM as a memorable and high profile event.

In a similar frame carried by *The New Vision* for a story titled, ‘*Government plans mock commonwealth motorcade,*’ the Works Minister, Eng. John Nasasira, arranged for a mock traffic motorcade ahead of the summit to test the traffic flow plan ahead of the memorable and high profile CHOGM (Ssemugo 2007, November 3: 4). This is also reflective of Government frame sponsorship. Government is further seen to sponsor this frame in another *New Vision* story titled, ‘*M7 tours CHOGM roads,*’ (Ssemugo and Mubiru 2007, November 6 : 4), in which the Head of state inspected several roads within the city to check on progress of repairs ahead of the summit. The researcher interprets this as evident of frame sponsorship by Government, which necessitated the head of state to personally get involved in the inspection. To emphasize this frame sponsorship further, the Head of State was also expected to hand over a CHOGM bank note to the Queen, as a souvenir on behalf of Bank of Uganda (Oketch 2007, November 14: 4).

The same frame was sponsored by the Commonwealth as seen in a *New Vision* story titled, ‘*Queen’s commemorative book launched,*’ (Baguma and Olupot 2007, November 13: 5), in which a book, ‘*The Royal visit to Uganda,*’ was launched. The book chronicles the Queen’s earlier visit to Uganda in the 1950s and was launched by the British High Commissioner, Francois Gordon. In this story, the frame is sponsored by the Commonwealth.

The Legislators also sponsored this frame as seen in a *New Vision* story, ‘*Parliament ready for CHOGM,*’ (Vision reporter 2007, November 17: 7), in which the legislators were involved in a long day rehearsal for the anticipated welcoming of the Queen to the house. The 21 Heads of State who turned up for the Kampala CHOGM as seen in another *New Vision* story is further

emphasis of this frame, albeit sponsored by Commonwealth member countries (Wasike and Olupot 2007, November 23: 3).

Security frame

This frame as sponsored by Government comes out in a *Daily Monitor* story titled, ‘*Army, PGB take over Kampala Security,*’ (Matsiko 2007, November 20: 1), in which soldiers from the regular army and the Presidential Guard Brigade (PGB) took over city security ahead of the summit. Another story by the same newspaper titled, ‘*Errant Motorists face arrest,*’ (Natabaalo 2007, November 1: 6), Government is seen to sponsor this frame when the Prime Minister warns motorists against driving on pavements. The same newspaper carried a similar frame in a story highlighting that the country had acquired sophisticated communication equipment from Interpol to detect stolen or fake passports (Gyezaho and Nakabugo 2007, November 1: 1). Here, the frame is sponsored by the Commonwealth. A similar frame is carried by *The New Vision* in a story titled, ‘*KCC deploys vigilantes for CHOGM,*’ (Olupot 2007, November 1: 4) in which the City Council deployed vigilantes to arrest anyone littering the city. This is also sponsored by Government.

In another story by the same newspaper, ‘*Four CHOGM delegates mugged,*’ Ssempogo (2007, November 27: 4) notes that police was investigating circumstances under which four delegates of the CHOGM were robbed of their property. Two of these delegates were from the UK, one from Zambia and the other from Singapore. The researcher interprets this to be both a security concern and it is also reflective of poverty, as framed by the ordinary people.

4.1.2 Framing by the Editors

This section presents framing as seen in the editorials of both dailies, sponsored by the Editors.

Table 3: Framing of the Commonwealth in Daily Monitor editorials, November 2007

Date and Title of Editorial	Emerging Issues	Emerging Frames
Editorial before CHOGM		
21 st Nov. 2007 CHOGM: Bunyoro deserves a hearing By Charles Mwanguhya	Give Bunyoro its chance, if not formally, at least allow them a demonstration at Munyonyo or a major highway where their grievances will be heard.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Attribution of responsibility ● Conflict

Date and Title of Editorial	Emerging Issues	Emerging Frames
<i>Daily Monitor</i> editorial, Pg. 28 22 nd Nov. 2007 CHOGM: Listen to alternative views <i>Daily Monitor</i> editorial, Pg. 10	If the Commonwealth can invite the opposition in Zimbabwe to make their case at the Kampala summit, how can they deny a similar opportunity to the opposition in the host country?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Commonwealth double standards
Editorials during CHOGM		
23 rd Nov. 2007 CHOGM should not be a mere talking shop <i>Daily Monitor</i> editorial, Pg. 10	The Commonwealth should be an international organization of action that brings errant members back on the track of good governance and democracy.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Commonwealth values
24 th Nov. 2007 Museveni's key moment <i>Daily Monitor</i> editorial, Pg. 5	The summit provides an opportunity for Uganda to develop at a faster pace.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Business
Editorials after CHOGM		
27 th Nov. 2007 Let's maintain the spirit of CHOGM <i>Daily Monitor</i> editorial, Pg. 10	The editorial calls for maintenance of the hygiene and security standards exhibited during CHOGM.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human interest

Table 4: Framing of the Commonwealth in New Vision editorials, November 2007

Date and Title of Editorial	Emerging Issues	Emerging Frames
Editorials before CHOGM		
18 th Nov. 2007 Kampala after CHOGM, Pg. 10	Kampala city authorities and the government must keep the city polished even after CHOGM.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human interest
19 th Nov. 2007 CHOGM: Ugandans have reason to smile, Pg. 14	The country will greatly benefit from CHOGM in the short and long terms.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human interest • Business
21 st Nov. 2007 Karibu to the Pearl of Africa, Pg. 12	Let us open our shops and service centres on time and deliver our best service to ensure that our guests are attracted back with more revenue.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Business
22 nd Nov. 2007 CHOGM is a vote of confidence in Uganda, Pg. 12	The summit would not be here if we were not observing the minimum standards that define	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Commonwealth values

Date and Title of Editorial	Emerging Issues	Emerging Frames
	the Commonwealth mission.	
Editorials during CHOGM		
24 th Nov. 2007 CHOGM should work on climate, Pg. 12	The Commonwealth should call on big emitters like Australia to cut down on emissions.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Commonwealth values
Editorials after CHOGM		
26 th Nov. 2007 Congratulations, Pg. 14	Government should put in place a framework to reap the benefits of hosting CHOGM.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human interest

The published editorials in both dailies carried frames similar to those seen in the news stories as discussed below:

Attribution of responsibility frame

A *Daily Monitor* editorial titled '*CHOGM: Bunyoro deserves a hearing,*' (Editorial 2007, November 27: 28), carries this frame and reads in part:

Why deny Bunyoro her five minutes to say we were wronged but are now ready to forgive and your acceptance of the wrongs your people committed against our people will help us at least psychologically begin to rebuild our lives?

In this editorial, the editor is concerned that Bunyoro kingdom has been denied a request for a moment with the Queen of England to state their grievances against colonial rule.

Conflict frame/Commonwealth has double standards frame

The *Daily Monitor* further highlights a conflict frame in an editorial titled '*CHOGM: Listen to alternative views,*' (*Daily Monitor* Editorial 2007, November 22: 10). In this editorial, the editor was concerned that the main opposition leader in Zimbabwe, Morgan Tsvangirai, was given a chance to make a presentation on what is happening in his country and yet the same chance had been denied the Opposition in Uganda. The researcher interprets this story to be reflective of both a conflict frame and a 'double standards in the Commonwealth' frame.

Business frame

The *New Vision* (2007, November 21: 12) published an editorial titled, '*Karibu to the Pearl of Africa,*' which emphasized the business frame by encouraging the business community to offer service with courtesy. The editorial reads in part:

Let us open our shops and service centers on time and deliver our best service with courtesy to ensure that our guests are attracted back with more revenue to build our beloved country.

The emphasis here is that CHOGM was framed to carry economic benefits both in the short and long run. The same frame is carried in a *Daily Monitor* Editorial, '*Museveni's key moment,*' (*Daily Monitor* Editorial 2007, November 24: 5), in which the editor points out that the summit is an opportunity for Uganda to develop at a faster rate, adding that the summit could be used to push harder for both domestic and foreign investments.

Human interest frame

A *New Vision* Editorial titled, '*Kampala after CHOGM,*' (*New Vision* Editorial 2007, November 18: 10) urges the city authorities to maintain the city's improved standards after CHOGM. A similar call is made in a *Daily Monitor* Editorial titled, '*Let's maintain the spirit of CHOGM,*' which calls for maintenance of the hygiene and security standards exhibited during CHOGM. This is of human interest. (*Daily Monitor* Editorial 2007, November 27: 10).

A similar frame is seen in another editorial by *The New Vision* titled, '*Congratulations,*' (*New Vision* Editorial 2007, November 26: 14), which congratulates Uganda for successfully hosting the 5,000 CHOGM guests and urges Government to consolidate the gains of hosting the summit.

Commonwealth values

This frame is carried in an editorial by *The New Vision*, urging the Commonwealth to prioritize climate change and ask member states, especially those with high emissions to cut down. The editorial relies on values of the Commonwealth to see that this is achievable (*New Vision* Editorial 2007, November 24: 12). In a *New Vision* editorial titled '*CHOGM is a vote of confidence in Uganda,*' the editor notes that the summit would not have been held in Uganda if the country was not observing the Commonwealth standards, and argues that the summit is

therefore a vote of confidence in the country's leaders and citizens (*New Vision* Editorial 2007, November 22:12). The researcher interprets this to also be reflective of the Commonwealth values frame.

A similar frame is carried by the *Daily Monitor* in an editorial titled, 'CHOGM should not be a mere talking shop,' (*Daily Monitor* Editorial 2007, 23: 10). As seen in the above frames, not all generic and issue specific frames manifested in the editorials. The researcher interprets this as an indication that generic frames may not necessarily surface, but other frames will surface depending on the event or issue.

4.2 Reasons for the manner of framing in the dailies

In the interviews conducted, the researcher discovered that a number of factors were behind the manner in which the Commonwealth was framed as expressed by the journalists. As noted by Oates (2008: 24), editors and reporters set out to embark on particular stories with pre-conceived ideas on what they want the final story to reflect or emphasize. Some of the journalists interviewed explained that they were obliged to write about the Commonwealth as positively as possible because Uganda was a first time host for the CHOGM summit in 2007. Commonwealth was an international event of a big magnitude and the first of its kind in the country (Katusiimeh & Mol 2011). This unusual event, as a news value, attracted media coverage and was a big story worth headlines in the local dailies (Hodgson 1996). A *New Vision* Journalist Henry Mukasa notes that the Commonwealth was bait for any newsroom.

CHOGM was expected to put Uganda on a pedestal. It was hoped to leave Uganda a lot of advantages and so this made it newsworthy (Interview, 12 September 2011).

Framing of the Commonwealth was also influenced by newspaper ownership especially in relation to *The New Vision*. A story published in this paper on 15th November 2007 titled, '*CHOGM: No power blackout*,' (Table 2, pg. 44) attests to this. In this story, the then Vice President of Uganda, Prof. Gilbert Bukenya, made an appeal to the press to minimize negative coverage ahead of the summit. In light of this comment, Mukasa adds that:

Uganda was the host country for CHOGM. As a journalist, my role was to promote the country in positive light, where possible (Interview, 12 September 2011).

Framing of the Commonwealth in the dailies was also influenced by content from the Commonwealth Secretariat, which was spot on in availing as much information as possible to journalists on the list serve.

I was subscribed to the Commonwealth emailing system. This put me in touch with a lot of information about the Commonwealth, which I sometimes developed into stories (Mwanguhya, C. Interview, 19 September 2011).

Subscribing journalists to a mailing system is a practice the Commonwealth has kept up with for a number of years (Tusa 1996:217). The researcher found out that the main source of information journalists and editors used as background was the internet, commonwealth website and responses from the Communications team at the Commonwealth Secretariat, which was in effect an extension of the framed content, designed to present the Commonwealth in positive light.

The Commonwealth summit was in Uganda and at such close proximity. As one of the news values, events that are within readers' proximity affect their lives in various ways, and the readers usually want to know more about them (Rich 2002 : 20). With all the preparations and big number of dignitaries in the country for the summit, readers turned to the media for updates on what was happening in their neighborhood. Citizens living in and around the capital city Kampala had to adjust their schedules in various aspects ahead of the summit as for instance seen in stories about change in the traffic flow, declaration of public holidays for the summit days and national budget adjustments, to mention but a few. Grace Natabaalo a journalist with the *Daily Monitor* argues that the hosting of CHOGM in Uganda was a contributing factor to her involvement.

In writing about the Commonwealth, I was mainly influenced by CHOGM coming to Uganda. I wrote a number of stories because it was easy to access information from sources handling the preparations (Interview, 18 October 2011).

The proximity issue partly explains why stories about the Commonwealth and consequently the summit were at a peak in the leading dailies, with both *The New Vision* and the *Daily Monitor* introducing special pullouts to maximize coverage of the summit and what it had to offer. Emmanuel Gyezaho, another journalist with the *Daily Monitor* shares this view too.

Until the hosting of CHOGM, I felt we were detached from the Commonwealth and did not write much about it or its activities. Now with the CHOGM summit close, it was an opportunity for me to get to know more about this organization (Interview, 19 September 2011).

Publishing articles about the Commonwealth was also quite timely and of human interest to both the local and international community. This made it worthy to cover.

Uganda subscribes to the Commonwealth and issues like democracy and human rights bind member countries. So I wrote about the Commonwealth so as to feel part of it (Olupot, M. Interview, 12 September 2011).

Framing of the Commonwealth was also informed by the Journalist's inquisitive mind, and need to update readers about what was transpiring. The media has a role of informing and educating the masses about issues around them and events around the Commonwealth had to be made known in the simplest possible terms. Felix Osike, a journalist with *The New Vision* argues that he was driven by the urge to know more about the Commonwealth.

I wrote about the Commonwealth because I wanted to know how international organizations respond to crisis. There was a crisis in Pakistan with the undemocratic government of President Musharaf. I was keenly interested in how the Commonwealth was going to tackle this issue (Interview, 16 September 2011).

Raymond Baguma, another Journalist with *The New Vision* was equally driven by the desire to know more.

I was inspired to write about the Commonwealth because of the British presence in Uganda as seen for example from the names of streets like William street, Johnson street. I wanted to get more information about the British and the Commonwealth was part of it (Interview, 9 September 2011).

As discovered from interviews from both journalists and editors, there is a feeling that the Commonwealth is detached from the daily lives of people. Many of the Journalists and editors were more obliged to write about the Commonwealth mainly during the summit, at close quarters, and hardly made any efforts towards subsequent coverage.

The Commonwealth is one big thing in the world. What happens there is not felt. I think I can do without it (Olupot, M. Interview, 12 September 2011).

The Commonwealth does not matter to me. I do not feel it and it does not feel me. It could refine its purpose of existence (Mwanguhya, C. Interview, 19 September 2011).

I do not know why we are members of the Commonwealth. I do not see how it helps us today (Gyezaho, E. Interview, 19 September 2011).

I have not benefitted from the Commonwealth. I think it is a body of political leaders going for a photo shoot (Osike, F. Interview, 16 September 2011).

The Commonwealth is a utopian elitist organization that functions far above the Common man. Its CHOGM meeting left a bad taste in the mouth of Ugandans especially after the

inquiry into mishandling of money by government officials (Musoke, C. Interview, 13 September 2011).

4.3 Impact of framing on Readers' perceptions

The tables below show the impact of framing on readers' perceptions, as seen in the published commentaries and opinion columns in relation to CHOGM.

Table 5: Perception of the Commonwealth in the Daily Monitor, November 2007

Date and Title of Commentary	Emerging Issues	Emerging Frames
Daily Monitor before CHOGM		
7 th Nov. 2007 Why Kampala is not ready for CHOGM By Andrew Nkurunziza, Pg. 29	The road repairs have come with consequences like flooding because the drainage systems have been clogged by debris in many parts of the city.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shoddy works
7 th Nov. 2007 You must account for money sunk in CHOGM preparations By Emmanuel Gyezaho, Pg. 32	Will the opening up of manholes and the digging up of pavements continue until the last minute? Some of the works in all honesty are ridiculous.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shoddy works
14 th Nov. 2007 What will happen to Uganda after CHOGM? Gaaki Kigambo, Pg. 12	While Museveni bid to host CHOGM, his strongest political rival Dr. Kizza Besigye, was thrown in jail over trumped up charges. The Commonwealth did nothing, and handed Museveni hosting rights.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Commonwealth double standards
15 th Nov. 2007 Ask the Queen for compensation. Sony Lukonga, Pg. 11	Will Uganda use the chance of hosting the Queen and the British Prime Minister to ask them for compensation for colonizing us?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neocolonial frame
18 th Nov. 2007 Is the Commonwealth British colonialism in disguise By Sam Akaki, Pg. 11	Why is the Commonwealth holding its meeting in Uganda where according to their own report, candidates were not competing on a level playing field in the Presidential elections?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Commonwealth double standards

21 st Nov. 2007 Who will benefit from CHOGM? Dr. Vali Jamal, Pg. 11	With all the security checks, people have gone back to the villages. After dark, the town centre is a no go zone as people are fearful of being searched and harassed.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Business
21 st Nov. 2007 Uganda's politics before, during and after CHOGM By Charles Onyango Obbo, Pg. 10	The concentration of national resources in Kampala for CHOGM provided the NRM related extraction machine with the largest pot to steal from.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Corruption
21 st Nov. 2007 Does the Commonwealth matter? Austin Ejiet, Pg. 29	If President Robert Mugabe had not seized white owned farms and clobbered a few white farmers, it is conceivable that he would still be a proud and respected member of the Commonwealth regardless of what he was doing to black Zimbabweans.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Commonwealth double standards
22 nd Nov. 2007 FDC should attend CHOGM By Lydia Komugisha, Pg. 11	I suggest we look at CHOGM in an unselfish way and let our country shine for once.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Memorable and high profile event
Daily Monitor during CHOGM		
23 rd Nov. 2007 Women and girls need an AIDS Vaccine Janet Museveni, Pg. 12	My appeal to all members of the Commonwealth is that they play their part in finding an AIDS vaccine.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Human interest • Poverty
23 rd Nov. 2007 So what? Even the Queen beeps By Omar Kalinge Nnyago, Pg. 10	I reflect on CHOGM again. The shoddy road works. The wet paint. The poor school kids who would stand in the sun to sing and dance for the Queen. The media 'conspiracy' to have all the fifty or more heads of state coming to town disappear before the Queen.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shoddy works • Neocolonial frame
Daily Monitor after CHOGM		

24 th Nov. 2007 UBC disappointed us on CHOGM coverage. By David Muhwezi, Pg. 6	Quite disappointing, the UBC crew failed to cover some parts of this memorable event.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Memorable and high profile event
26 th Nov. 2007 The big party is over but the rot still hangs in the homestead By Muniini K. Mulera, Pg. 10	By holding CHOGM in Kampala the Commonwealth is rewarding Museveni's authoritarianism, social injustice and human rights abuses.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Commonwealth double standards
27 th Nov. 2007 The 'CHOGM slap' should sober up the Ugandan opposition By Nicholas Sengoba, Pg. 10	Most times the so called international community has its own selfish interests and more 'serious things' to think about than the democratic health of an African state.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Commonwealth double standards
27 th Nov. 2007 West ignored CHOGM By James Taylor Mwesigwa, Pg. 11	I was shocked by the almost nonexistent coverage given to CHOGM by the global media especially CNN and BBC.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Memorable and high profile event

Table 6: Perception of the Commonwealth in The New Vision, November 2007

Date and Title of Commentary	Emerging Issues	Emerging Frames
<i>New Vision before CHOGM</i>		
6 th Nov. 2006 The Queen will not see the true Uganda By Chrissie Busiinge, Pg. 13	We would rather present Uganda by way of 'cosmeticking' yet inside we are rotting.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poverty
6 th Nov. 2007 Maintain Kampala's beauty after CHOGM H.G.K. Nyakoojo, Pg. 15	Kampala is looking more beautiful than it has been for a very long time. What happens after CHOGM?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Memorable and high profile event
6 th Nov. 2007 We knew about CHOGM long ago By Nsekabuseka Muruhanga, Pg. 15	We knew the country would host CHOGM two years ago but one can't believe what is happening today. The roads are being dug up and no money is being spared for the occasion.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attribution of responsibility
21 st Nov. 2007 The poorest of the poor live in the Commonwealth By Opiya Olyoa, Pg. 14	The bulk of extremely poor people live within the Commonwealth, where economic independence is something dreamed about.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poverty
21 st Nov. 2007	Ugandans are living on the	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poverty

Date and Title of Commentary	Emerging Issues	Emerging Frames
CHOGM relevant only if it tackles poverty, Pg. 13	wrong side of the global village as they continue wallowing in poverty.	
<i>New Vision during CHOGM</i>		
22 nd Nov. 2007 CHOGM boss on what to expect from the summit By Don McKinnon, Pg. 12	CHOGM Kampala presents Fiji and Pakistan at the top of the agenda for the Commonwealth Ministerial Action Group.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Commonwealth values
<i>New Vision after CHOGM</i>		
27 th Nov. 2007 CHOGM 2007 was a roaring success, Karooro Okurut, Pg. 14	The writer congratulates Uganda, and the press, on CHOGM. 'The press especially the print media rose to the occasion.'	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Memorable and high profile event

Tables 4 and 5 above show the research findings in relation to how readers' perceptions were shaped after reading stories and editorials about the Commonwealth. The framing theory asserts that the manner in which something is framed will have a similar impact on readers. By framing an issue in a certain manner, the confines of the debate are set and readers will use these parameters in making sense out of this issue (Goffman 1975: 24). In relation to this study, the framing theory alludes to the fact that the issues presented by journalists and editors about the Commonwealth are the same issues around which readers reactions were centered.

4.4 Discussion and interpretation of data

The above tables highlight the frames derived from readers, most of which are similar to those manifested in both the published stories and editorials. Nevertheless the line of arguments in these commentaries was in many cases different from that raised in the news stories and editorials. A case in point is a *Daily Monitor* commentary titled, '*Why Kampala is not ready for CHOGM.*' Nkurunziza (2007, November 7 : 12) argues that the ongoing road repairs have done more harm than good by clogging drainage channels, in what has turned out to be shoddy works.

The commentary reads in part:

The road repairs have come with consequences like flooding because the drainage systems have been clogged by debris from the repair activities in many parts of the city such as near Mukwano, Katwe and clock tower.

This is in contrast to an earlier story in the *Daily Monitor* titled '*Errant motorists face arrest,*' in which the Minister of Security, Amama Mbabazi, gave an update on the situation in the city highlighting that the road works are complete and warning pedestrians and drivers against damaging pavements (Natabaalo 2007, November 1: 6). The story quotes the Security Minister to have said:

Some vehicle drivers park on the pavements and break them. Pedestrians are passing through the (road) Islands and boda boda riders are doing the same. Make sure you do not find yourself on the wrong side of the law.

This story carried the frame of security, since culprits were warned of arrest. But the reader's response put the same issue of road repairs in an entirely new frame of shoddy works, not seen before in the editorials or stories published. The same issue was therefore, argued within the same confines but carried varying frames in the eyes of the writer/editor and the reader on the receiving end. To demonstrate this further, the researcher makes reference to a *Daily Monitor* commentary titled, '*Who will benefit from CHOGM?*' where Jamal (2007, November 21: 11) notes that citizens will not benefit from the Commonwealth summit. The commentary reads in part:

With all the security checks, people have just about gone back to the villages. After dark, the town centre is a no go zone as people are fearful of being searched and harassed. My business is down by one third compared to before CHOGM.

The researcher categorized this to fall under the business frame. This is in contrast to two *Daily Monitor* stories both carrying the same frame of CHOGM as a memorable and high profile event. One of these stories by Kasasira (2007, November 13 : 1) titled, '*Cabinet for CHOGM public holidays,*' in which November 22nd and 23rd were declared public holidays throughout the country, in the hope that people would be in town to open businesses and highly cash in on CHOGM guests. The other story titled '*Army, PGB take over Kampala Security,*' (Matsiko 2007, November 1: 1) shows that the city was now under the watch of soldiers from the regular army and the Presidential Guard Brigade (PGB). Jamal's commentary reflects that the developments in these two stories put him and consequently his business at a disadvantage during CHOGM.

The researcher also discovered that some of the commentary and opinion pieces in the *Daily Monitor* carried the same frames as seen in the news articles and editorials, albeit with additional information to emphasize the frame. In a commentary framing the Commonwealth as an

organization with double standards titled, *'Is the Commonwealth British colonialism in disguise,'* Akaki (2007, November 18 : 11) argues that the Commonwealth has not applied uniform measures in staying true to its principles across member states. The article partly reads:

Why is the Commonwealth holding its meeting in Uganda where, according to its own report so far as the electoral process as a whole is concerned, it is clear that the environment in which the elections were held had several negative features which meant that candidates were not competing on level playing field?

In another commentary titled *'West ignored CHOGM,'* and fitting the frame of CHOGM as a memorable and high profile event, Mwesigwa (2007, November 27: 11), notes that there was hardly any international media coverage of CHOGM irrespective of the fact that citizens had been told that all eyes would be on Uganda. He concludes that CHOGM will always be a periphery gathering since the Commonwealth is missing on the list of the world's economic or military powers.

The researcher notes that the overwhelming media coverage of the event was criticized by readers, yet no criticism of the kind was in the news stories or editorials. In a *Daily Monitor* commentary, Nnyago (2007, November 23: 10) argues that the media were in conspiracy to give Queen Elizabeth maximum coverage irrespective of the fact that there were many other high profile dignitaries in the country. The researcher interprets this to mean that readers will not only limit themselves to content in the newspapers but can see beyond what is framed and make their own judgments. The commentary reads in part:

I reflect on CHOGM again. The inconvenience. The shoddy road works. The wet paint. The poor school kids who would stand in the sun to sing and dance for the Queen. The media 'conspiracy' to have all the fifty or more heads of state coming to town disappears before the Queen – they will only be mentioned in passing.

This commentary is in contrast to a *New Vision* commentary titled, *'CHOGM was a roaring success,'* in which the author praises the print media for rising to the occasion in relation to coverage of CHOGM (Okurut 2007, November 27: 14). The researcher discovered that the readers' responses in *The New Vision* also carried frames similar to those in the news stories and editorials, some of which were generic. But as seen in the *Daily Monitor*, reader's responses in *The New Vision* carried different explanations of the same issue, which in some cases meant that a particular issue fell in a frame different from that seen in the news story/editorial. A case in

point is a story titled *'The Queen will not see the true Uganda,'* (Busiinge 2007, November 6:13), in which the author argues that the current presentation of Uganda given the numerous repairs is cosmetic and leaves the true picture of the poor state of affairs in the country masked. The commentary carries a poverty frame and reads in part:

We would rather present Uganda by way of 'cosmeticking' yet inside we are rotting. That is why our government has chosen to buy BMWs using taxpayer's money yet they will not be appreciated.'

This is contrary to stories framing the event as memorable and of a high profile; whose preparations have necessitated the involvement of the Head of State himself, for instance when he inspected road works ahead of CHOGM (Ssempogo & Mubiru 2007, November 6: 4).

4.4.1 Views from Historians and Media personnel

The view on insufficient information about the Commonwealth is shared by key historians and media personnel in the country:

People get drawn to the Queen and Duke in a sentimental way. Without her, I wonder whether there would be so much to the Commonwealth. Gaining in the Commonwealth is not in the sense of profiting but in the knowledge that you are part of a bigger family. But the Commonwealth could be more relevant by having more favorable terms of trade for member countries. I believe this will contribute to generating information about it in terms of stories (Nagenda, J. Interview, 20 September 2011).⁴

I think the British do not want to let go and one way is to make former colonies believe that they are together. So they formed an association of members especially in view of competition from America and China to overthrow the British influence. As a beneficiary of the Commonwealth scholarship, I had to go to Canada to study about my own country - Uganda. There is not much information about the Commonwealth. Academia and media have a critical role to play in changing the agenda of the Commonwealth (Kamukama, D. Interview, 12 October 2011).⁵

I do not think the Commonwealth can be included on the syllabus. There are a lot of pending and more relevant issues for our heritage that we need to learn from, rather than scatter our attention to an association that is mainly a politician's project (Nzarwa, K. Interview, April 2012).⁶

⁴ John Nagenda Coordinator of Uganda CHOGM press coverage.

⁵ Dr. Dickson Kamukama; a historian at Makerere University and beneficiary of the Commonwealth scholarship.

⁶ Dr. Katono Nzarwa heads the History Department at Makerere University.

4.4.2 Views from the Commonwealth Secretariat

According to Julius Mucunguzi of the Commonwealth Secretariat, the Commonwealth's niche is in the area of elections and small states; which form a bigger percentage of the Commonwealth. He argues that this explains why the Commonwealth may not make occasional appearances in the news and adds:

Some of the work of the Commonwealth, like mediation, is behind the scenes and cannot be measured by the number of headlines the Commonwealth makes or how much column space it has consumed. But most Journalists continue to fall victim of publicity machinery in organizations, partly because they do not probe much. If you send a report, they will dash for the executive summary and ignore much of the detail in the rest of the report. So most of them are easily attracted to events and leave it at that (Interview, 28th August 2013)

The above argument ties in with what Ericson (1998: 87) observed, that journalists usually shy away from documents because of the extra interpretive work needed.

4.5 Conclusion

This Chapter has presented the findings from the thematic content analysis of the news stories, editorials and commentary; and responses from interviews conducted. It has also discussed what these findings mean in relation to the study on framing and its impact on readers. The next Chapter concludes the study and suggests recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter is a synthesis of the study. It incorporates a summary of the research findings and how they relate to both the literature review and the two theoretical frameworks; the circuit of culture and framing. The chapter also gives recommendations where applicable and suggests areas for further research on the subject.

5.1 Summary of major findings

The study set out to establish how the Commonwealth was framed in Uganda's print media and how this framing influenced reader's perceptions of the Commonwealth, in both the *Daily Monitor* and *The New Vision* newspapers. The essence was to find out if the nature of framing had a similar impact on readers, as is true of the theory of framing which argues that the manner in which an issue is framed influences and affects news consumers. The findings are discussed below in relation to the study objectives.

5.1.1 How the Commonwealth was framed

The study discovered that both dailies carried similar frames in the news stories, commentary and opinion columns. No frame was peculiar to any newspaper for the CHOGM period. The Commonwealth culture and values were a constant point of reference in both the published editorials and news stories for the select period, November 2007. As clearly put across by the different frame sponsors including personnel at the Commonwealth Secretariat, politicians and media practitioners; each of these made reference to the Commonwealth culture either by putting the Commonwealth to task where it seemed to deviate from its own values, or by explaining actions in relation to these values. The same approach was seen in the commentaries and opinion columns by the readers. As noted by Hall (2007), cultural meanings define what is normal, who belongs and who is excluded from that culture.

This therefore means that the framing of the Commonwealth was as per its own culture; communicated and circulated by the media (Jjuuko 2012), irrespective of whether the published piece was in praise or criticism of the Commonwealth. The media, as a conduit for the various interest groups or frame sponsors at the hosting of the 2007 CHOGM summit, was indeed a busy

platform for these divergent voices; some of which put the Commonwealth to task to revise its culture and be more relevant to the changing needs of member states (Hadfield 2008). In the broader context of the circuit of culture, the researcher notes that the 2007 CHOGM experience as depicted in the media content of the two dailies, creates a rich background for both the Commonwealth and the media to re-assess their roles in serving member states. The researcher believes that culture is flexible and can adjust to be more responsive to the paradigm shifts.

In analyzing how the Commonwealth was framed and developing the relevant frames, the study was informed by the five generic frames of conflict, morality, economic consequences, human interest and attribution of responsibility advanced by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000). The study discovered that these frames indeed manifested in the news stories of both dailies. Other frames nevertheless were persistently seen and merited to stand alone (Gitlin 2010: 75). These included framing CHOGM in terms of corruption, neocolonialism, memorable and high profile event, poverty, security, Commonwealth values, and Commonwealth double standards frame. These frames were identified by the sources quoted, individual's recollection of information, keywords and phrases used, which proved consistent (Entman 1993, Lugalambi 2006). The emergence of these other frames had an advantage of allowing for more detail in relation to the manner of framing of CHOGM (Vreese 2005: 55).

The case was different in the editorials with only the frames of attribution of responsibility, neocolonial frame, business, human interest, Commonwealth values and Commonwealth double standards manifesting. Of these, only two frames; attribution of responsibility and human interest are generic. This implies that the generic frames, do not all have to be present, although chances are high that one of them is bound to manifest in a news story, editorial or commentary.

5.1.2 Factors that influenced framing of the Commonwealth

In the broader perspective of Uganda, framing in the newspapers was taking place in an environment where the Head of State, President Yoweri Museveni was the Chairperson of the CHOGM summit happening in the country for the first time. The country's main opposition party had petitioned the Commonwealth against holding this summit in Uganda, which they argued was not adhering to Commonwealth principles (Mulondo 2007, November 22: 4). For a

poor country like Uganda, citizens had been told that the summit had immense benefits both in the short and long term; most of which would reportedly catapult the country to better economic times (*New Vision* Editorial 2007, November 19: 14). It is in this political and social environment that framing was taking place, which scholars refer to as the constructionist paradigm of framing (Lugalambi 2006). As noted by Baran & Davis (2006: 285), it is crucial to understand the social-cultural and political context in which framing takes place. This was coupled by appeals from Government for positive coverage by the mass media (Musoke and Candia 2007, November 15: 3). Such exogenous factors influence the framing of news (Lugalambi 2006, Tayeebwa 2012).

The news values including proximity, unusual happening, timeliness and prominence also explain why the Commonwealth was framed the way it was (Hodgson 1996, Rich 2002). CHOGM was a newsworthy event happening in the country for the first time (Katusiimeh & Mol 2011). The journalists provided information about all the happenings of CHOGM, most of which reflected the viewpoints and values of the elite. Consequently, similar frames were passed on to the audience (Scheufele 2000, Lugalambi 2006).

Framing of the Commonwealth was also influenced by newspaper ownership especially in relation to the *New Vision*, where Government holds majority shares. A story published in this newspaper (Musoke and Candia 2007, November 15: 3) in which the Vice President asked the media to minimize negative coverage of the event, explains why *The New Vision* editorials framed CHOGM more in terms of the business advantage and human interest, unlike the *Daily Monitor*, whose editorials highlighted conflict and Commonwealth double standards too. This implies that the editorials in *The New Vision* were originally conceived with a bias for CHOGM. As noted by Oates (2008: 24), framing also considers how a story was originally conceived.

It is also important to note that some stories, and subsequently the embedded frames, were reprinted in the local press as carried from the international media. Tayeebwa (2012: 71) notes that the absence of time, cultural incompetence and inadequate financial resources in local media houses makes journalists depend on news feeds from international agencies like Reuters, and *Agence France Presse*. A story published on 21st Nov. 2007 in *The New Vision* titled, '*We do not miss*

the Commonwealth – Mugabe,’ was carried on behalf of *Agence France Presse*. This story carried the conflict frame.

With the journalists getting content from the Commonwealth website and Secretariat, the manner of framing in the dailies was also an extension of frames from other personalities including politicians and Commonwealth officials. Vreese (2005: 52) notes that media frames also mimic frames used by politicians or other groups/organizations. The manner of framing was also as a result of the news sources in the case of interviews conducted to feed into the news stories. D’Angelo & Kuypers (2010: 1) note that a relationship exists between news sources who frame topics to make information interesting and pleasant to journalists and the journalists who adopt such frames. The nature and varied interests of the frame sponsors also explain why some stories were framed in a particular manner. As noted by scholars like Brewer and Kimberly (2010), Lugalambi (2006) and Tayeebwa (2012), frame sponsors have the intention of moving public opinion towards particular outcomes.

The above is coupled with the fact that journalists were reluctant to change the frames already rolling in relation to CHOGM stories. This is a possible explanation as to why there were hardly any stories depicting shoddy works of CHOGM repairs, including poorly done road surfaces; an issue that came out prominently in the readers’ commentaries. As noted by Allan (2010: 75) and Ericson (1998: 88) journalists will limit themselves to information deemed appropriate for a particular frame, and this makes them reluctant to add information to that story.

As noted in the interviews conducted, some journalist hardly knew a thing about the Commonwealth and its operations until the hosting of CHOGM in Uganda. This then raises questions on the cultural competence these journalists had to ably and thoroughly probe around CHOGM, away from the unfolding events in Kampala. It is less surprising therefore that the interviews revealed further that with CHOGM out of the way, the journalists cared less about the Commonwealth; with some of them describing it as a ‘utopian elitist organization,’ an organization of ‘political leaders going for a photo shoot,’ while others questioned why Uganda is even a member of the ‘impact-less’ Commonwealth. Journalists need to be well versed with the cultural context in which they are working (Van Gorp 2010: 87).

5.1.3 Influence of framing on Readers' perceptions of the Commonwealth

From the data presented and results of the research, the study confirmed that framing in the media indeed has an impact on readers, especially in setting the terms of the debate. The study discovered that readers' responses, as reflected in commentary and opinion columns, discussed CHOGM basing on the confines and frames in the news stories/editorials. Such responses consequently carried frames similar to those reflected in the news stories. The frames that emerged reflected CHOGM as an issue of human interest, neocolonialism, corruption, a high profile event, a morality concern, economic consequences, a conflict, a blame game as reflected in the attribution of responsibility frame, and also as a poverty issue.

In other instances however, the readers only referred to information in the stories as background and went ahead to raise pertinent issues not discussed before. On the subject of the Commonwealth and CHOGM, some readers brought out detailed information, probing the organization's values, unseen in the stories/editorials. Consequently the responses/commentary of this nature fell under frames/themes that were different from those in the stories and editorials. Basing on this therefore, the study discovered that the impact of framing on readers is not always in tandem with the initial frame in a story. This implies that the manner in which a story/editorial is framed does not necessarily carry the same impact frame on readers. The effect of framing is limited. Important to note is that some entirely new frames like 'shoddy works' emerged.

The study also discovered that readers are aware of media trends and will not hesitate to point out instances in which the media is seen to be giving unbalanced coverage on particular issues over others. Some readers pointed out that the Presence of Queen Elizabeth II was to be hyped in the media irrespective of the presence of other high profile guests in the country. Indeed, this is what transpired for the period that the Head of the Commonwealth was in the country.

The study established that media houses frame issues differently in the production of news stories and editorials sometimes without even realizing it or intending to do so; but more so as a response to a number of pressures some of which are from Government. Some of these pressures take into consideration the need to have story angles and strategies to boost sales. With this in mind, it is less surprising that both the *Daily Monitor* and the *New Vision* introduced special

pullouts to maximize CHOGM coverage; ‘CHOGM vision’ by the *New Vision*, and ‘CHOGM Special’ by the *Daily Monitor*.

The extent to which an issue is written about in the media is largely dependent on its newsworthiness as informed by its relevance to the readers of a particular media house. This allows for constant reporting about the developments around that issue as informed by the news values or a particular news value. CHOGM rode on a number of news values including its being an unusual event, it was of human interest and attracted high profile delegates.

5.1.4 Contribution to scholarly discourse

This research has tested the generic frames suggested by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) and found that these frames are highly applicable, although they may carry different names to suit the study. For this study, the researcher substituted “economic consequences” for business. The research has in the same vein found that the above generic frames do not always remain the only ones, as seen from the many other frames that manifested for the CHOGM case.

This research has contributed to scholarly literature on the Commonwealth by bringing out what citizens of Uganda think about the Commonwealth as reflected in published commentaries and interviews with journalists. The researcher supports the revision/adjustment of set organizational cultures to be more responsive to societal needs, especially where the media has shown a vacuum in society in relation to the works of an organization.

In relation to framing theory, the research has established that the manner in which an issue is framed will indeed set the confines of the debate by the readers/audience. However the issue under discussion can take on a new frame unlike the one in the initial story/editorial.

5.2 Recommendations

It is incumbent upon media practitioners, in this case editors and journalists to furnish themselves with as much information as possible about an issue/event be it of local or international magnitude. In light of international organizations, many of them remain obscure to the citizens for whom they are intended to serve and only get to the limelight during events. This is not to say that such organizations do not have issues worth highlighting occasionally. It then

comes back to the media to bring this out and show readers/audiences how such organizations are relevant/irrelevant as objectively as possible irrespective of the biases of frame sponsors.

The study therefore recommends that media practitioners continue to probe and ask tough questions in relation to the operations and relevance of international organizations and how they serve the people. It is the role of the media to make known the unknown and to educate people about issues around them, in as much detail as possible. In the perspective of international organizations, many citizens rely on the media to break down for them the essence of these bodies and help close the information gap.

5.3 Areas for further research

Further inquiry could be carried out into:

- How local media houses act as conduits of framed messages from media practitioners in international organizations.
- How framing theory informs the decision making process of editors in newsrooms.
- How ownership affects the nature of framing of media content.

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Appendix i: Interview Guide for Historians

Dear respondent,

My name is Marion Alina, a Masters student for the degree of Arts in Journalism and Communication, at Makerere University. I am conducting interviews on how people understand and relate to the Commonwealth in Uganda. Your response will be treated with confidentiality and you need not to worry about giving your full names. The information you provide will be used for academic purposes only. Your cooperation in this interview will be highly appreciated.

1. What is your name

.....

2. What is your position in this institution/organization?

.....

3. How is the Commonwealth presented in historical literature?

.....

4. What are the possible factors that influence how it is presented?

.....

5. How do you perceive the Commonwealth?

.....

6. What factors influences this perception?

.....

7. In your opinion, what can be done to enhance public information about/knowledge of the Commonwealth?

.....

Thank you

Appendix ii : Interview Guide for Journalists

Dear respondent,

My name is Marion Alina, a Masters student for the degree of Arts in Journalism and Communication, at Makerere University. I am conducting interviews on how people understand and relate to the Commonwealth in Uganda. Your response will be treated with confidentiality and you need not to worry about giving your full names. The information you provide will be used for academic purposes only. Your cooperation in this interview will be highly appreciated.

1. What is your name?

.....

2. Which media house do you work for?

.....

3. Have you written about the Commonwealth?

.....

4. If yes, what inspired you to write about the Commonwealth?

.....

5. Briefly describe the kind of stories you wrote.

.....

6. What factors influenced you to write about the Commonwealth?

.....

7. What were your sources of background information?

.....

8. What do you know about the Commonwealth?

.....

9. How did you know it?

.....

10. If you had to choose between covering a story about the Commonwealth and a story about dissemination of research findings on malaria, which one would you choose?

Why.

.....

11. In what ways/to what extent do you feel you are a part of the Commonwealth? Give reasons for your answer.

.....

12. How can journalists be inspired to write more about the Commonwealth?

.....

Thank you

Appendix iii: Interview Guide for Editors

Dear respondent,

My name is Marion Alina, a Masters student for the degree of Arts in Journalism and Communication, at Makerere University. I am conducting interviews on how people understand and relate to the Commonwealth in Uganda. Your response will be treated with confidentiality and you need not to worry about giving your full names. The information you provide will be used for academic purposes only. Your cooperation in this interview will be highly appreciated.

1. What is your name?

.....

2. Which media house do you work for?

.....

3. How often do you assign journalists to cover stories about the Commonwealth?

.....

4. What factors influence the decision to cover the Commonwealth?

.....

5. Have you ever written editorials about the Commonwealth?

.....

6. If yes, what aspect of the Commonwealth have they been about?

.....

7. Which were your sources of background information?

.....

8. In what ways/to what extent do you feel you are a part of the Commonwealth? Give reasons for your answer.

.....

Thank you

Appendix iv: Interview Guide for Readers

Dear respondent,

My name is Marion Alina, a Masters student for the degree of Arts in Journalism and Communication, at Makerere University. I am conducting interviews on how people understand and relate to the Commonwealth in Uganda. Your response will be treated with confidentiality and you need not to worry about giving your full names. The information you provide will be used for academic purposes only. Your cooperation in this interview will be highly appreciated.

1. What is your name?
.....
2. How do you perceive the Commonwealth?
.....
3. What are your sources of information about the Commonwealth?
.....
4. Have you written about the Commonwealth in a commentary or opinion poll?
.....
5. If yes, what have you typically written about?
.....
6. What arguments about the role of the commonwealth, for instance, have you advanced?
.....
7. In what ways/to what extent do you feel you are part of the Commonwealth? Explain your answer.
.....

Thank you

Appendix v: Interview Guide for Commonwealth Secretariat

Dear respondent,

My name is Marion Alina, a Masters student for the degree of Arts in Journalism and Communication, at Makerere University. I am conducting interviews on how people understand and relate to the Commonwealth in Uganda. Your response will be treated with confidentiality and you need not to worry about giving your full names. The information you provide will be used for academic purposes only. Your cooperation in this interview will be highly appreciated.

1. What is your name?

.....

2. What position do you hold at the Commonwealth Secretariat?

.....

3. How do you explain the lack of continued presence of the Commonwealth and its issues in the local press?

.....

4. Is the Commonwealth relevant to the average person?

.....

5. Do you think the press is doing enough in explaining the role of international organizations, away from major events?

Appendix vi: Interview respondents' dates and contact information

<i>Name of respondent</i>	<i>Date of interview</i>	<i>Designation</i>	<i>Affiliation</i>	<i>Telephone</i>
Raymond Baguma	9 th Sept 2011	Journalist	<i>The New Vision</i>	0782 312 136
Henry Mukasa	12 th Sept 2011	Journalist	<i>The New Vision</i>	0772 468 905
Cyprian Musoke	13 th Sept 2011	Journalist	<i>The New Vision</i>	0779 450 797
Milton Olupot	13 th Sept 2011	Editor	<i>The New Vision</i>	0772 413 842
Felix Osike	16 th Sept 2011	Journalist	<i>The New Vision</i>	0772 509 719
Charles Mwangusya	19 th Sept 2011	Editor	<i>Daily Monitor</i>	0772 601 097
Emmanuel Gyezaho	19 th Sept 2011	Journalist	<i>Daily Monitor</i>	0712 216 734
John Nagenda	20 th Sept 2011	Reader	Both dailies	0752770 600
Dr. Kamukama.	12 th Oct 2011	Historian	Mak	0752 693 728
Grace Natabaalo	18 th Oct 2011	Journalist	<i>Daily Monitor</i>	0782 508 992
Dr. Katono Nzarwa	4 th April 2012	Historian	Mak	0772 466 457
Julius Mucunguzi	28 th August 2013	Assistant Spokesperson for Africa	Commonwealth Secretariat	

Appendix vii : Code book

Emerging frames

The frames that emerged include neocolonialism, morality, economic consequences, memorable and high profile event, conflict, corruption, attribution of responsibility, human interest and poverty. Below is an explanation and interpretation of these frames, as used in the collected data.

Neocolonialism

Altback (1971: 237) defines neo-colonialism as the continued post colonial impact of advanced industrial countries on the policies of developing nations. He argues that it involves indirect political control and leaves substantial leeway to the developing country. Berman (1974: 4) agrees and notes that independence for former colonies has meant trading the direct political control of colonialism for the indirect economic, political and cultural controls of neocolonialism. Stoneman and Suckling (1987: 516) explain that imperial powers sought ways of maintaining influence in former colonies and neocolonialism is the term to explain this process, which can be seen through suggestions like free trade. For purposes of this study, the term neocolonialism is used to refer to the news stories, commentary or editorials that in one way or the other show the presence or influence of Britain as the former colonial master.

Morality

In discussing generic frames, Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), used the morality frame to interpret issues in the confines of religious tenets or moral values. The researcher agrees with this approach but widened it to include values as embedded in the Commonwealth principles of good governance, rule of law and respect for human rights to mention but a few.

Economic consequences/Business

The economic consequences generic frame as discussed by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), hinges on the economic implications of an issue. The researcher employed it in analyzing the stories, commentary and editorials written in relation to the economic benefits (or lack of) of hosting CHOGM. These accrued to the implied benefits to Uganda s a whole and also at an individual level.

Memorable and high profile event

The researcher introduces this frame to refer to stories, commentary and editorials that portrayed the CHOGM as an event that will go down the books of history as one of a kind. Such stories included the nature of dignitaries who attended, the amount of attention paid to their comfortable stay while in the country and souvenirs procured as a memory of the event.

Conflict

Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) explain the conflict frame as highlighting conflict amongst groups or countries that could be based on one or many issues. The researcher found this frame highly applicable throughout the CHOGM period, and used it especially in reference to the conflict between government and the opposition, and also amongst different Commonwealth countries, as reflected in the published stories, commentary and editorials.

Corruption

The researcher introduces the corruption frame to refer to stories, editorials and commentary that highlight misappropriation or lack of accountability for funds. The same is used in reference to improper procedures in awarding contracts to service providers for the event in the broader sense of money having exchanged hands in favour of some service providers against others.

Attribution of responsibility

This generic frame apportions responsibility for causing or solving to either the government or to an individual/group (Semetko and Valkenburg 2000). The researcher applied it in describing stories, commentary and editorials that attributed responsibility to the colonial government for things that went wrong during the colonial era, whose effects are still evident – necessitating calls for compensation. The same frame was also used in reference to blame directed at government for any CHOGM misgivings.

Human interest

In discussing the human interest frame Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), used it in reference to stories with an emotional angle. The researcher used the same but widened it to accommodate

stories, commentary and editorials that highlighted what ordinary people were to benefit and therefore why they ought to care about CHOGM or not to care about it anyway.

Poverty

The researcher introduces the poverty frame in reference to stories, commentary and editorials that highlighted poverty as a key issue in the CHOGM discussions, and as a major constraint in the Commonwealth.

Commonwealth double standards

This frame was used for stories, commentaries that show inconsistency in the Commonwealth, for example as seen in not adhering to its own principles.

Security

The researcher uses this frame to categorize stories and commentaries that highlighted heightened security or the lack of it, during the summit.

Commonwealth values

This frame is used for stories, commentaries and editorials that emphasized the principles of the Commonwealth.

Shoddy works

This frame was used to reflect poor workmanship for the ongoing repairs in the city ahead of the summit.