INVESTIGATING PRINT MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE RULING PARTY IN 2019 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS: A CASE STUDY OF THE NAMIBIAN AND NEW ERA NEWSPAPERS

A research project report submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Arts in Media Studies (Honours) to the University of Namibian, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Department of Information and Communication Studies

BY

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Abstract

The context for this study was Namibia's incredible 2019 presidential elections, which investigated patterns of news framing in two leading national newspapers. The Namibian and New Era newspapers were consulted for news articles. A comparative content analysis and discourse were conducted on all SWAPO news articles published in New Era and The Namibian newspapers between January 2019 and December 2019. There were significant differences in the dominant frames used in the two newspapers, implying a link between journalism theories, ethics, and framing. Both quantitative and qualitative analysis was employed to examine findings.

The media coverage revealed a high use of horse racing reporting in both newspapers and the SWAPO campaign was more of a game of lose or win to the exclusion of other issues or impacts. These findings imply that media game framing can have negative consequences for constructive citizen engagement in election activities. The study also discussed that election coverage differs significantly between state and private newspapers, and exposed, the masculine nature of election-related media coverage.

Government (ruling party) in Namibia has devolved into a daily tragedy for failing to resolve issues such as employment, food security, peace, and infrastructure development, due mainly to Politian's desire to make promises in order to win rather than to bring about change. The media bears a significant amount of responsibility for projecting and influencing the seriousness of societal issues. The study discovered that the headlines of two national newspapers revealed differences in issue emphasis, SWAPO party portrayal, and party campaign evaluation. This illustrates the significance of changing media coverage of election campaign issues from a dramatized environment to revealing statistics in societal issues for the benefit of society.

Dedication

This work is dedicated in particular to my friend Gabriel Thomas (to whom I will be eternally grateful for always being there for me, being a pillar of strength, and encouraging me) and to my classmates who inspired me to strive for the best. I'd also like to dedicate my work to everyone out there by saying thank you so much for all of your encouragements when I was ready to give up on my academic journey.

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Declaration

I, Emilie Shimbali, hereby declare that this study has been composed entirely by myself and that it has not been submitted, in a whole or part, in any previous application for a degree in any other institution of higher education.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CDA-Critical Discourse Analysis

ECN-Electoral Commission of Namibia

EVM-Electronic Voting Machine

MPLA-Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola

NBC-Namibia Broadcasting Cooperation

PDM-Popular Democratic Movement

SWAPO-South West Africa People Organisation

SADC-Southern African Development Community

SWANU-South West Africa National Union

UNESCO-United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation

UN-United Nations

VVPAT-Voter-Verifiable Paper Audit Trail

KEY WORDS: PRINT MEDIA, FRAMING, ELECTIONS, PRESIDENTIAL

CHAPTER 1

Introduction and General Background

1.1.Introduction

Print media is one of the most widely used modes of communication between the general public and those in charge of public offices. It is a fact because

nowadays one may find people telling each other "it is true I read it in the newspaper" or sometimes you may find them debating that "let us wait tomorrow when the newspapers will be out" (Reynolds et al, 2005).

Media is a powerful tool during elections, particularly for voter education and election campaign coverage that focuses on the candidate's manifesto (Mbarouk, 2010). It is widely acknowledged that the media is a critical component of any country's quest for democracy and development (Sharma 2010).

Elections are about politicians competing for the votes of a large number of people in order to

gain popular support and power. While presidential election campaigns cost thousands of millions of dollars, they attract a lot of media attention for news purposes. Political candidates frequently purchase media space for advertisements in the hopes of receiving good coverage (Azrout et al, 2013).

According to Azrout, numerous studies and analyses have shown that the news media can influence political opinions and behaviors through the 'favorability' of their coverage, the angle they choose to report on, agenda setting, framing of the candidates in the stories, pictures used, and so on, which can lead to some parties being viewed as the best and others as not doing enough to win support.

What exactly does favorable media coverage imply? This study thus took advantage of the aspect of framing (mentioned above) to investigate media coverage of the 2019 presidential election.

Azrout went on to say that, in countries where there is no press freedom "the government can have a political interference, control the media publications and threaten Journalists so they can be talked about in a positive light." However, Azrout's statement did not specify whether enough

was being done to highlight the plight of how political parties where portrayed in the media. Therefore, this research investigated how the print media in Namibia framed the ruling party.

Little is known in Namibia about how the elements of news coverage used by various publications on political parties had an effect or not. The study looked into how the ruling party was represented in the 2019 elections from both private and state-owned newspapers' perspectives.

1.2.Orientation of the proposed study

Lister (2018) said Namibia was ranked as one of the freest countries in Africa in terms of press freedom, but nevertheless challenges still existed.

Article 21(1)(a) of the constitution says "all Namibians have the right to 'freedom of speech and expression, which shall include freedom of the press and other media". In Namibia, journalists have worked in a safe environment and there had been no killings or arbitrary arrests of media practitioners over the years.

Lister said over the years the SWAPO government has also exhibited periods of intolerance towards democratic freedoms.

Access to information through media is critical to the health of democracy because it allows citizens to make responsible, informed decisions rather than acting in ignorance or misinformation, and it also ensures that elected representatives uphold their oaths of office and carry out the wishes of those who elected them. In general, there is a global recognition that freedom of expression and political debate are essential to free, fair, and genuine elections (Lloyd, 2009).

Namibia has ratified a number of international and regional treaties that strongly support freedom of expression and media freedom, including the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Protocol on Culture, Information, and Sport, the Windhoek Declaration, and the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights. However, the country has not fully ensured that local laws are in accordance with the letter and spirit of these protocols.

SWAPO Party being the dominant party in Namibia obtained legitimate political power and thereby ended colonial rule on 21 March 1990. Since then, the SWAPO Party has clearly

established its political domain. The party has support in all population groups, but its main base 95% is in the Oshivambo-speaking population group, which accounts for approximately 51% of Namibia's total population. It originated among the Oshivambo-speaking people (Tötemeyer, n.d).

Namibia is a democratic country with multiple parties participating in the parliament. Media of Namibia including Television (mostly the Namibian Broadcasting Cooperation) and newspapers such as the Namibian and New Era among others have been recognized for their vital role in the broadcasting and dissemination of information in Namibia and beyond the borders. However, there have been issues and concerns that have been raised that the media of Namibia tends to pay more attention to the ruling party.

For instance, in the 2009 presidential elections, an incident occurred in which the spokesperson of the 40 members SADC (Southern African Development Community) observer team, recommended the return to one polling day and allocating equal airtime to all parties during the election campaign in the state-owned broadcasting company (NBC) the spokesperson noted 'Vigorous coverage of electoral process in a balanced manner by local (Predominantly private owned) print media but criticized the state broadcaster NBC for its alleged bias in favor of SWAPO (Melber 2010). Hence this study established the frequency with which the print media had covered.

1.3.Statement of the problem

Over the years, the Namibian print media has continued to operate in an environment largely free of interference from the government or ruling party. The media took a much more active role in the run-up to the elections. In 2009, the media was accused that it was biased toward the ruling party, to respond to criticism a new formula for covering the campaigns of the various parties in terms of time slots was then established (Blaauw and Letsholo 2009).

According to Brichacek (2016), the media has played a significant role in politics since the first establishment of press freedom. Voters need the information to make informed decisions, and it is the journalist's responsibility to provide it to them. In the article, Brichacek finds a case study of US presidential elections that former American President Trump, has reportedly claimed that the 2020 election was "rigged" due to biased media coverage, particularly from major

publications such as The New York Times and USA Today; "recent shifts in the media landscape have changed how the press interacted with candidates, campaigns, and the voting public."

Another author, Manimaran (2022) in her research paper stated that in a competitive 24/7 news cycle, news organizations publish stories that will drive traffic, and in an effort to put out catchy headlines it sometimes leads to bias or causes disproportionate coverage.

Manimaran emphasized that the outcome of the elections provided fertile ground for an investigation of media coverage to determine its impact. This implies that election coverage in the media can have a positive or negative impact. As a result, the researcher intended to look into how the ruling party was represented or portrayed in the print media in the 2019 presidential media elections.

According to Lister (2018), President Sam Nujoma once banned The Namibian newspaper in 2001 due to its alleged anti-government stance. On the outside, Namibia appeared to have a healthy and diverse media scene, despite the ban that lasted for a decade. While the state broadcaster continues to dominate the airwaves, the print media is far more eclectic and iconoclastic. Some regard it as the savior of Namibian democracy.

As the (political) opposition is largely ineffectual and often inactive, the print media at least provides a forum for airing alternative views and criticism.

overturned by Nujoma's successor, President Hifikepunye Pohamba, prohibited government advertising in or purchase of the newspaper.

The Namibian media landscape largely adheres to the spirit of the "1991 Windhoek Declaration on a Free, Independent, and Pluralistic African Media", which urged governments to create a conducive environment for the exercise of these rights. The date of the adoption of this Declaration by journalists from across Africa at a UNESCO seminar in Namibia's capital, on 3 May, was subsequently designated as World Press Freedom Day by the United Nations General.

This study focused on how SWAPO was framed in the print media by analyzing coverage of the 2019 elections in two Namibian newspapers, The Namibian and New Era. The way SWAPO was framed in the context of print media is significant because it influenced how the public perceives

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politics and election outcome. Media framing, according to Scheufele (1999), has the potential to misinform the public about practical realities. "It has a negative impact on the functioning of democracy if the media covers the wrong aspects of electoral campaigns." Cappella and Jamieson (1997) discovered that the way the media covers politics fuels public skepticism in politics, this was also supported by other observers (Fallows 1997; Downie Jr. and Kaiser 2002; Patterson 1994).

Cappella and Jamieson were concerned about game-framed coverage; that is, coverage that frames political debate as a game between politicians rather than as a debate over important policy issues. They argue that negative attitude and disengagement of voters stem from the media's focus on the game of politics rather than the substance of policy issues. This issue is only getting worse. Commercial pressures are one of the main reasons why the media has shifted toward covering politics as a game, but the question of who owns the media should not be overlooked (Patterson 2000).

Clearly one can tell that the available evidence strongly favours this hypothesis.

1.4. Objectives of the study

The primary aim of the study was to investigate the frames and explore the role of the media in political activities using a case study of the coverage of the SWAPO party in the 2019 presidential elections. Hence, the study answered the following questions:

- In what way did the Namibian print media represent the SWAPO party in the 2019 elections?
- What was the frequency with which the two newspapers (The Namibian and New Era) covered the ruling party?
- What were the frames in the coverage of the 2019 elections by the two newspapers?
- What variations existed in coverage between the private and state print media houses?
- What are the study's recommendations for the issues covered in the study?

1.5. Significance of the study

☐ Because of the importance and role that the media plays in political activities in a democratic country like Namibia, particularly during political campaigns, the study saw it fit to investigate the subject and shed light on related issues.

☐ The study contributed to informing the audience since they are consumers of the news and findings lead to a better understanding of the factors that contribute to the issues affecting the SWAPO coverage in the print media.

☐ The study's findings assisted the general public and editors of various media platforms in understanding the underlying issues that must be addressed in SWAPO coverage.

☐ Based on research findings, the research made recommendations that may improve the professionalism of media practitioners in covering elections in the future.

☐ The study greatly benefited the newspapers under investigation because it revealed their weaknesses and strengths in election coverage, and because there had not been much light on the subject by other researchers in Namibia, it served as a benefit to future researchers' as a point of reference.

1.6. **Limitation of the study**

Politics and the media have a long relationship. In Namibia, however, the subject of politics and media framing received little attention. This research study only looked at two daily newspapers (New Era and The Namibian) from January 1 to December 31, 2019. Other daily newspapers in the country include The Namibian Sun 9 (published in English), Allgemein Zeitung (published in German), Die Republikein (published in Afrikaans), The Villager, and others. This study is limited because assumptions could be made outside the scope of the selected newspapers. The following are some of the study's other limitations:

- The study was limited to the Namibian print media coverage on the ruling party
- The study was limited to the editorials of the two selected newspapers
- The study was limited because of the language used in the published stories, which means its only using English publications
- The study was limited to the timeframe of 12 months only

- The researcher had narrowed the scope of the study because only newsworthy articles were included in the sample.
- The research looked only at what was published in the papers, rather than looking into websites and social media pages, which could have revealed critical information about the coverage.
- Due to financial and time constraints, the study was delimited two newspapers only.
- There was limited literature since the subject matter has not been extensively studied in Namibia.

Ross et al (2019) explained that limitations are flaws in a research design that can affect the research's outcomes and conclusions. Researchers owe it to the academic community to present the full and honest limitations of any study they present. Authors frequently use generic descriptions to describe study limitations. Incorporating redundant or irrelevant limitations is a waste of the already limited word count.

1.7. Literature review and theoretical framework

When it comes to the extent of influence on public opinion, the news media play a critical role in society (Gillespie, et al., 2013). Scholars argue that media representation of political coverage goes beyond influencing voter choices, the impact of results, and the public understanding of political candidates (Van Aelst et al. 2009).

Political variables were found to be less prevalent in the election coverage literature. Even so, they should have a significant impact on how elections are framed in the media. First, the basic institutional structure affects the nature of elections and, as a result, how the media portrays them (Binderkratntz and Green-Pendersen 2009).

Studies wrote that there are numerous ways to assess how elections are covered in campaigns. One method is to examine the number of coverage elections as a percentage of total space (McMenamin et al. 2013). Another one is to look at the ratio of soft news to hard news (Scott and Gobetz 1992). A third method is to investigate the relative importance of story driven versus contextual (general) frames (Iyengar 1991).

One of the most common ways to differentiate between types of news coverage is to look at policy-focused news and news relating to the game of politics (Cappella and Jamieson 1997;

Aalberg, Strömbäck, and de Vreese 2012) for a thorough examination of the literature on strategy and game frames in election news.

Theoretical Framework

The framing theory guided the research. The primary focus of frame analysis is conceptualising news texts into factually operationalisable dimensions (Pan and Kosicki 1993). The theory studied news stories for the presence and absence of various frames.

1.8.Methodology

This study employed both qualitative and quantitative tools of analysis. Firstly, content analysis was used for the two publications, The Namibian and New Era newspapers for elections coverage of 2019, on sourcing the numerical representation of SWAPO news articles. A total of 114 news articles from both publications were analysed for the study.

The frames regarding SWAPO media coverage were then identified, defined, and explained using framing analysis. According to Scheufele (1999) and Reese (2007), framing is used as an analytical tool in media studies to determine how issues are constructed, discourse is constructed, and meaning is developed. Critical discourse analysis (CDA) was used to conduct an in-depth examination of the elections. CDA seeks to expose commonly held assumptions and values and connect them to power and dominance structures in media discourse. The two newspapers were chosen because they have a large distribution and readership, and they also reflect more of Namibia's political environment.

1.9.Research ethics

Strydom (2002) emphasised that for research groups in the social sciences, the ethical issues are pervasive and complex, since data should never be obtained at the expense of human objects. The data were gathered from public publications, specifically The Namibian and New Era newspapers, and the study did not focus on the views expressed, the personalities of the reporters, or anything else pertaining to the reporters as individuals; rather, this study focused solely on the written pieces, and how reporters handled the journalistic ethic of objectivity in their reporting.

Furthermore, the researcher obtained ethical clearance/permit letter that was advised by the supervisor, as well as seek permission from The Namibian and New Era to access their online archives and resource centers. Although the political news is in the public domain and does not require specific permission from the author or publisher, it was appropriate to notify them that an investigation was underway.

Summary of the chapter

This chapter served as an introduction to the thesis titled "investigating print media coverage of the ruling party in 2019 presidential elections: a case study of The Namibian and New Era newspapers"

The chapter included an introduction, study orientation, problem statement, research objectives, significance, and limitations of the study, Literature review and theoretical Framework. Chapter 2 discussed the literature relevant to the research topic, which aided in clarifying the study and allowed the researcher to identify gaps in existing knowledge.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The main objective of this chapter is to provide a literature review within a theoretical structure that examines the intersections of elections coverage and Namibian print media. The theoretical framework and literature review explored and discussed the following aspects; background of SWAPO, a glimpse of investigated papers, investigating the print media, background of elections and the media conflicts, context of 2019 elections, the media's role, and the theoretical framework.

2.1. INTRODUCING SWAPO

SWAPO was established on April 19, 1960, as the successor organisation to the Ovambo-land People's Organisation. The party's leaders renamed it to show that it represented all Namibians. However, the organization's headquarters were among the Owambo people of northern Namibia, who made up nearly half of the total population (Melber et al, 2016).

The battle for independence

Melber said, in 1962, SWAPO became Namibia's dominant nationalist organization. It was dominant in various organisations, including the South West Africa National Union (SWANU) and, later, the Namibia African People's Democratic Organisation. SWAPO fought the South African Defense Force using guerrilla tactics. The first major clash of the conflict occurred on August 26, 1966, when a unit of the South African Police, supported by the South African Air Force, exchanged fire with SWAPO forces. This date is widely regarded as the start of what became known as the Border War in South Africa.

The United Nations General Assembly recognised SWAPO as Namibia's "sole legitimate representative" in 1972. In 1974, the Norwegian government began directly assisting SWAPO in its political activities.

Angola gained independence on November 11, 1975, after its war for independence. The leftist Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA) took power, backed by Cuba and the

Soviet Union. In March 1976, the MPLA offered SWAPO bases in Angola from which to launch attacks against South African forces.

Independent Namibia

When Namibia gained independence in 1990, SWAPO spread throughout the country. Though the organization rejected the term South West Africa in favor of Namibia, the organization's original name, which was taken from the territory's old name, was too deeply rooted in the independence movement to be changed (Costea, (1990), Williams, (2009). However, the original full name is no longer used; only the acronym remains. Despite "considerable efforts to counter perception," SWAPO and much of Namibia's government and administration remain dominated by the Ovambo ethnic group.

After SWAPO won the inaugural election in 1989, Sam Nujoma was declared Namibia's first President. A decade later, Nujoma had the constitution amended so that he could run for a third term in 1999, as the presidency is limited to two terms (Melber, 2016).

Hifikepunye Pohamba, Nujoma's hand-picked successor, was the SWAPO presidential candidate in 2004. Hage Geingob, the Vice-President of SWAPO at the time, was the SWAPO presidential candidate in 2014 and was voted again in 2019 to serve five more other years.

2.2. GLIMPSE OF THE NAMIBIAN AND NEW ERA

The Namibian newspaper is Namibia's most popular privately owned daily newspaper. The majority of its content is in English, with an additional section in Oshiwambo. Gwen Lister, a veteran journalist, launched The Namibian as a weekly newspaper with approximately 10,000 print copies in 1985. On April 1, 1989, The Namibian began daily publication (Remmert, 2019).

The New Era newspaper is a government-registered newspaper that started out as a weekly newspaper under the New Era Publications Corporation Act of 1992 (Katiti, 2013). The circulation of The New Era is 11,000. The paper began as a weekly periodical, then became bi-weekly, and then began publishing daily in 2004.

2.3. INVESTIGATING THE NAMIBIAN PRINT MEDIA

The goal of the investigation into the print media was to provide a professional, comprehensive, and objective assessment of political diversity and balance in the New Era, The Namibian, 2019

presidential coverage. In general, the investigation aimed to inform the public about the media's conduct during the elections, start a discussion about the objectivity and quality of media reporting, and promote media compliance with international standards and best practices regarding freedom of expression and press independence in Namibia.

Because of the differences in the nature of various forms of media, the press has traditionally been free to have a strong political bias. The public's access to and influence by the press differs markedly from that of, say, broadcast media (Melber, 2020).

According to the Electoral Act of 1992, as cited by Melber (2020), the ECN supervises and controls the registration of political parties and requires them to sign a Code of Conduct. The electoral system in Namibia governs the allocation of seats to political parties. The constitution governs and supports Namibian politics' multiparty system; however, as in any other country, difficulties arise when the ruling and opposition parties exercise their legislative roles.

According to Debie Lebeau and Edith Dima (2005), the Namibian newspaper was banned by the government in 2001 because it was critical of government officials and was deemed 'anti-government.'

Gwen Lister (2018), explained that the ban meant that government offices were not permitted to purchase the paper and could not advertise in it. This ban had a negative impact on voter education in 2004 because the ECN was not permitted to publish voter education and information materials in the newspaper. Many readers complained that they couldn't get important educational and voter-related materials, despite the fact that inserts and advertisements had appeared in other newspapers. On 5 November 2004, for example, an insert detailing polling stations for the National Assembly, presidential, and regional council elections was not permitted to be placed in The Namibian.

In the 2004 media and election dispute, the CoD accused the New Era of fabricating a memorandum for election coverage. As a result of this disagreement, the Media Tenor and IPPR analysed the media coverage of political parties in the run-up to the national and regional elections in early November 2004. This analysis, the first of its kind in Namibia, sought to answer several questions, including: what political parties were covered and how frequently during the election period; what prominence was given to elections; and how the media in general portrayed elections in ways that could influence voting patterns and voter turnout (Keulder and Soiri 2004).

According to Rothe (2010), over the past years, opposition parties have always accused New Era of covering SWAPO too extensively and too positively, while other political parties have little chance of expressing their views and are systematically marginalised while The Namibian newspaper, had been described as too critical, especially through its cartoons, headlines, and too negative for SWAPO.

Keulder (1996), stated that the ruling party's dominance is insufficient as an excuse of excessive coverage due to the high degree of press freedom and the impressive number of independent and politically aware media (at least in the print sector). The failure of the opposition parties to provide meaningful news stories of political substance and worth reporting is at least as much to blame for the lack of adequate public media coverage, which is attributed to the fact that even the state-owned daily newspaper "New Era" offers noticeable space for coverage of government-critical views.

2.3.1. CONTEXT OF THE 2019 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS

The 2019 Presidential Elections were held on November 27 and were the most competitive elections in Namibian history, making the outcome difficult to predict. The candidacy of Panduleni Itula, a card-carrying member of the ruling SWAPO party, who decided to run as an independent candidate to challenge the party's candidate, President Hage Geingob, in the Presidential election, heightened political competition.

Presidential elections are won by the candidate who receives the most votes, of a least more than 50% of the votes, if no candidate receives a 50 percent majority, voting will continue until one candidate receives a 50 percent majority (Melber, 2020). Namibian President Hage Geingob was re-elected for a second term in 2019 with 56.3 percent of the vote, beating out his nearest rival Panduleni Itula with 29.4 percent. However, Geingob's vote share was significantly lower than the 87 percent he received in his first term in 2014.

The lack of a voter-verifiable paper audit trail (VVPAT) was a major issue raised by opposition political parties. The main opposition Popular Democratic Movement (PDM) underscored that the initial agreement for the use of EVMs was on the basis that they should have a paper trail, as articulated in the Electoral Act. However, the Electoral Commission of Namibia (ECN) informed

the opposition that a court ruling delivered on the matter in 2014 stated that it was legal to use EVMs without the VVPAT (Melber, 2020).

Concerns about this issue were exacerbated by the loss of some electronic voting machines (EVMs) loaned to the SWAPO party by the ECN for internal elections, as well as ineffective communication and engagement on the subject. Other concerns included verbal attacks on journalists, the widespread dissemination of fake news, and political disinformation in public discourse during political campaigns. Information on election-related matters from various relevant authorities, i.e. ECN, was insufficient, disorganized, and confusing (Mwenye, 2019).

2.4. THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA

McCombs & Ghanem (2001) et al, defined mass media as mass communication. Such communication can take the form of writing, broadcasting on television or radio, or speaking. Movies, the internet, newspapers, and magazines are all examples of mass media.

According to Mare (2019), Namibia has a diverse print media landscape. A number of independent newspapers are free to report and act as watchdogs. A few newspapers include investigative journalism as a regular feature. In contrast, the Namibia Broadcasting Corporation (NBC) has acted cautiously, refraining from airing any views that might upset the dominant political party (BTI Report, 2018). Political officeholders are frequently uncooperative when it comes to the independent media, and the Minister of Information announced plans to tighten media regulation in 2016 (BTI Report, 2018).

For many years, the media has served a variety of functions. Some of the roles, according to McCombs, Shawn, and Weaver (1997), including keeping the public entertained and informed. This is primarily accomplished through the use of radio, television, cinemas, and magazines, all of which broadcast a variety of entertainment programs. The media's other function is to disseminate news and current events.

According to Scheufele, and Shanahan, (2005), people need to be informed about what is going on around them, whether it is about the weather, health, fashion, politics, or peace in their country.

The media is also responsible for bringing the electorate closer to their leaders by making public all political developments and decisions. The media is also responsible for bringing the electorate

closer to their leaders by making public all political developments and decisions. This enables people to cast informed ballots (Aghamelu, 2013).

Happer and Philo (2013) state that the media, which include television, print, and online publications, play an important role in informing people about what happens in their immediate surroundings and the entire world. These authors acknowledge the fact that the consumers of media messages do not sheepishly and uncritically take in media messages because they are thinking beings with agency. These authors nevertheless acknowledge that the media can influence public discourse on various issues through the manner in which they portray those issues.

2.5. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Understanding framing theory

It is unclear why the news media covers political campaigns in the manner that they do. Elections can be framed in terms of conflict or strategy, or they can be framed in terms of horse-race framing and the role of the media and journalists themselves in elections; however, it is critical to investigate the factors that explain the variation in the campaign news coverage (Azrout et al, 2013).

According to Azrout et al. (2013), little is known about differences in election coverage between different types of media (TV vs. newspapers) or between different formats within the same medium (broadsheet vs. tabloid newspapers; public vs. private television), which is why this research seeks to investigate.

Framing is defined as the "spatial and temporary bounding of a set of interactive messages" (Bateson, 1972) that serves as a form of meta-communication (Hallahan, 2008). The practice of thinking about news items and story content within a familiar context is referred to as framing. Framing is similar to agenda-setting, but it broadens the research by focusing on the essence of the issues at hand rather than a specific topic. The media focuses attention on specific events and then places them within a field of meaning, according to framing theory (Mass Communication Theory, 2017).

During election campaigns, media platforms, for instance, social media, serve to persuade and influence the audience's perceptions (Arowolo, 2017; Scheufele, 1999).

This theory is a step up from the agenda-setting theory, which explains how the media tells the audience what to think about, but the framing theory goes a step further in how events and occurrences are reported in the media. Simply put, framing is the process by which the media source creates any information provided to the receiver (Arowolo 2017).

Frames can be used to improve understanding or as cognitive shortcuts to connect stories to the bigger picture. While there is a clear conceptual intersection between the concept of framing and the concept of agenda setting (Weaver, 2007), the concept of framing is similar to the 'second level' of agenda setting, which "examines the relative salience of attributes of issues," as McCombs (2005) and Ghanem (1997) describe in detail. These attribute agendas are referred to as "the second level," as opposed to "the first level, which has traditionally focused on issues (objects), although the term "level" implies that attributes are more specific than objects" (Weaver, ibid).

Goffman (1974), says Frame Analysis, proposes that people interpret their surroundings through their primary framework. According to Goffman (1974), this framework has two distinctions within primary frameworks: natural and social. Both play a role in assisting individuals in interpreting data. So that their experiences can be understood in the context of a larger social context.

The distinction between the two is purely functional. Natural frameworks identify events as physical occurrences, taking natural quotations literally and not attributing the causation of events to any social forces. Events are viewed as socially driven occurrences in social frameworks because of the whims, goals, and manipulations of other social players (people).

Natural frameworks serve as the foundation for social frameworks. These frameworks, and the frames they create in our communication, have a significant impact on how data is interpreted, processed, and communicated. Goffman's underlying assumption is that people are capable of using these frameworks on a daily basis. Whether or not they are aware of them.

Mass Communication Theory (2017) framing refers to "drawing attention to certain attributes of the objects of news coverage, as well as to the objects themselves."

This alluded to why the nature of framing is difficult to identify. However, "comparison reveals that such choices are not inevitable or unproblematic, but rather are central to how the news frame

helps establish the literally "common sense" (i.e. widespread) interpretation of events". Entman (1991) identifies five popular ways for framing news stories in order to identify framing in the news: Conflict between parties can be prioritized over the decision itself. Personalization, the presentation of a story with a human face, and personality are prioritized over more important aspects. The consequences can be far-reaching.

Pursuing a policy may be unwise in terms of maintaining unity within a party or coalition, or in terms of a nation's global standing. Morality, media coverage can often moralize, sometimes due to political actors' indiscretions; alternatively, policies can be seen as morally questionable.

The framing process creates reality in the sense that reality is explained by specific factors, which in turn create specific meanings of reality. As such, framing is a powerful tool for influencing discourses, and the way something is presented influences people's choices and actions (Arowolo, 2017). As a result, a specific contextualization and classification of a phenomenon may have a direct impact on reality.

Conclusion

The literature review has outlined various issues launched against The Namibian newspaper and New Era about the political coverage. The publications play an important role when it comes to informing, educating, and updating the public on various issues. The conflicts, for instance, in the 2004 elections have proved a fertile ground for a need to investigate the issues around coverage of the ruling party. Clearly, the opposition parties had been accusing the media is of too negative when it comes to the elections news reports. The theory has prompted an investigation in the media contents specifically how the media frames the message to the public, and provides an explanation of the meanings of messages in the print media.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The primary goal of this chapter is to describe in detail the methods used in this study to collect and analyse data, such as the research design, population, sampling techniques, research instruments, reliability and validity, data collection, procedures, and ethical considerations for the study.

3.2. Research design

The study employed content analysis and critical discourse analysis of newspaper articles on the coverage of the 2019 presidential elections, with a focus on the ruling party. Kothari (2011), strongly advised the use of qualitative approaches which are based on attitudes, beliefs, and perceptions such as disappointment would be the best to use for this specific study. The way the media covered the SWAPO party was best presented through detailed descriptions as well as an examination of the manifest content of the various news stories (Wimmer and Dominick, 2005).

This study carefully examined articles written about the SWAPO party in the 2019 elections from January to December of 2019. By doing so, the researcher was able to identify pertinent issues related to the study's objectives. These are things like frequency, frames, variations of photographs, headlines and captions. This was accomplished through deconstructive reading, as recommended by experts such as (Frohmann (1992) and Nahl (2007).

3.3. Data Collection Methods

The researcher first read through the media code of ethics and conducted to review of journalistic practice in political coverage. The researcher collected 2019 physical copies of New Era and The Namibian newspapers, as well as properly browsed through the online archives of targeted newspapers, for content analysis and critical discourse analysis, and looked for articles that specifically covered the 2019 presidential elections on the SWAPO party.

3.3.1 Quantitative Content Analysis

Quantitative content analysis, according to Wimmer and Dominick (2013), can be used to shed light on large amounts of data that appear in the media in order to understand what print media publications contain. In support of the preceding author, Gunter (2008) stated that quantitative content analysis can be used to describe and assess the representation of specific societal groups. The study had chosen content analysis because of this context. However, some authors, such as Hansen et al. (1998), are opposed to content analysis, claiming that it has several flaws that make it ineffective.

According to the authors above, objectivity is impossible to achieve based solely on content analysis because researchers tend to focus attention on aspects that they consider important, hence, given the limitations of content analysis, this researcher combined it with critical discourse analysis. This was consistent with Bryman (2012), who proposed that combining data analysis methods allows for triangulation, which eliminates the shortcomings of using only one method.

3.4. Population of the study

Bhatacherjee (2012) defined a population as all people or items with the features that one wishes to study. Similarly, vein Burns and Grove (2003) defined a research population as all the elements that meet the criteria for inclusion in a study".

The population of this study consisted of 114 articles from the 2019 presidential elections related to SWAPO published from January to December, in The Namibian, and New Era.

3.5. Sampling techniques (Content Analysis)

Firstly, several factors influenced the selection of these newspapers. Among them is the fact that they are all published in English, Namibia's official language and the language in which this study is conducted. In terms of circulation and reach, they all have relatively large print runs and are influential, reaching nearly every part of the Republic of Namibia.

Furthermore, the two newspapers mentioned above have well-managed online archives accessible via their websites. More importantly, compared to the New Era, the Namibian newspaper is the most popular, and it is an independent free publication that is not controlled by

the state at any cost. Dunn et al, (2011) supported the use of an independent publication as an important factor in the selection and analysis of media sources.

The key phrases such as 'SWAPO 2019 elections', '2019 Presidential elections', and 'Hage Geingob' were mostly used to search the online portals of the selected newspapers.

De Vos (2002) stated that "the major reason for sampling is feasibility, since a complete coverage of the total population is seldom possible, and all the members of a population of interest cannot probably be reached". Sample designs are classified into two types: probability sampling and non-probability sampling.

Non-probability sampling, according to Kothari (2004), is a sampling procedure that does not provide a basis for estimating the probability that each item in the population has of being included in the sample. The researcher chooses the items in the sample on purpose in this type of sampling. Probability sampling, on the other hand, is also known as "random sampling" and it states that every item has an equal chance of being included in the sample.

This study's sample was chosen puposefully, which is a type of non-probability sampling. Purposive sampling required the researcher to select specific elements from the population that are representative of the topic of interest (Berg, 2004; McMillan & Schumacher, 1997). In order to conduct a more thorough analysis, 20 news reports from The Namibian and New Era newspapers were chosen on the SWAPO 2019 presidential elections because of their newsworthiness. According to Galtung and Ruge (1965), threshold, negativity, unambiguity, and personalsation news values most influence the selection of news articles for consumption, which is the focus of this study.

3.6. Explaining Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Numerous authors like, Renkema (2004), Stubbs (1996), Toolan (2002), and Van Dijk (2005), Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is both a theory and a method for examining texts in order to uncover often hidden themes related to social power and political identities.

CDA is a model that studies language as it is used by and in society, with a focus on the social and a reference to textual analysis. Various scholars have acknowledged the various interpretations of CDA and what it entails, (Philo, 2007) advances the notion that "there are

many different theoretical strands in discourse analysis and the word discourse is used in various ways."

Other attempts to define CDA have been made by renowned scholar van Dijk, who defines CDA as "an interdisciplinary discipline interested in the analysis of various discourse contexts" (Dijk, 1988, p.2).

In light of this, it is necessary to explain what Critical Discourse Analysis is and why CDA was chosen as an appropriate method of data analysis for this study.

In short, discourse analysis examines the structure of naturally occurring spoken/written language. According to Yule (1996), the effort to interpret and be interpreted; an effort based on background knowledge, is what matters most in Discourse Analysis.

Yule (1996) argued that language determines how we think. Thus, discourse can be defined as the totality of codified language within a specific field of study.

Discourse, according to Foucault (as cited by Wodak and Meyer 2001), represented systems of thought comprised of ideas, attitudes, and courses of action, beliefs and, practices that systematically construct the subjects and worlds about which they speak. It is the driving force behind all human activities and social changes.

This implies that without shared knowledge and assumptions, communication between readers and writers, or speakers and listeners, is impossible. "We often know what kind of language to expect in different situations," Stubbs (1983) added. "And, conversely, given a fragment of language, we can often reconstruct in some detail the social situation that produced it." Thus, it is possible to argue that language is inextricably linked to its users, that language operates within specific parameters, and that neither language nor its users exist freely.

It is important to note that each discourse has a distinct style, vocabulary, and presentation required to convey the respective ideas to a specific audience. Critical Discourse Analysis seeks to question the ideology underlying discourse and maintains that discourse is a tool of power used to keep people in their confined social positions.

Thus, the term "critical" is central to challenging, analysing, examining, and exposing dominant ideas that, in most cases, reveal inequalities, repression, subjugation, and isolation, to name a few.

Wodak (2009) saw language (discourse) as a type of social practice in which not only individuals but also institutions and social groups, have specific meanings and values that are expressed in language. This means that when critically analysing a text, one must consider both the immediate conditions of the situational context and the most remote conditions of institutional and social structures.

In CDA, texts must be considered in terms of what they include as well as what they exclude. A number of social theorists, including Bourdieu, Foucault, and Habermas, have advocated for the growing importance of language (cited by Fairclough 1991). These scholars agree that we live in a linguistic epoch in which language is important enough to warrant the attention of all citizens.

As Fairclough puts it, "it becomes necessary to highlight how language, in its everyday as well as professional usages, enables us to understand issues of social concern." To be more specific, to investigate how the ways in which we communicate are constrained by the structures and forces of the social institutions in which we live and function.

This is part of the reason why CDA has been chosen to examine the language of the print media of Namibia and their portrayal of the ruling party.

Thus, CDA goes beyond discourse to investigate the motivation behind any form of communication.

Fairclough (2005) stated that discourse can be used to bring about social and political subjugation, and that the way discourse is used to create meaning is not obvious to the casual reader; thus, the task of the competent critical discourse analyst is to go beyond the surface of text the, which includes pictures and headlines, to appreciate how discourses work, and explain hidden meanings and constructions. Indeed, as McCarthy (1994) argued, discourse can convey far more than what is immediately apparent in a sentence or paragraph within a text.

3.6.1 Analysis and Coding Schedule

Given that any aspect of a news article can be quantified, Hansen et al (1998), stated that researchers must concentrate on only those aspects that are relevant or important to the research. Such an approach would allow researchers to create a coding schedule that captures aspects that are relevant to their study's objectives.

With this in mind, this researcher read extensively what non-journalistic authors who have an interest in politics and can go into depth about the media and political coverage.

This researcher was able to create a coding schedule from all 2019 SWAPO articles which were collected with the help of a political science graduate. To generate emergent codes, this researcher randomly selected 12 articles (4 from each of the newspapers studied) to identify appropriate themes in line with the study's objectives.

3.7. Sampling techniques (CDA)

Sampling is the process of identifying and selecting participants or units of analysis for a study from a predetermined target population. It is used to select a subset of the population for research. The sample size is determined by the type of study, time, available resources, and the extent to which the selected sample is representative of the target population (Gobo, 20I7). A qualitative study, triangulation was used, and the study was based on a purposive sampling method.

The sample size of 20 news articles was chosen on purpose from New Era and The Namibian and were put under investigation relevant to the phenomenon of the study. This researcher used the purposive sampling method to collect the most detailed data possible in order to meet the study's objectives.

3.7.1. Purposive sampling

Purposive sampling was used to select study units in this study. Purposive sampling, as defined by Blaxter et al (2006), is a sampling method that involves handpicking supposedly typical or interesting cases. It chooses units of study from a pre-selected target population based on some distinguishing characteristics that make them data repositories for the study.

The newspapers studied in this study were chosen because they are published in English which is Namibia's official language and they cover the entire country in terms of reporting, in other

words, they have a wide reach in terms of circulation. Another reason is that the articles were covered within the significant period of the study and they covered SWAPO in the 2019 presidential elections.

3.8. Research instruments

Using keywords and phrases such as 'SWAPO' '2019 Elections' 'Hage Geingob' etc., this researcher searched the online archives of the newspapers chosen for this study. A preliminary search yielded 75 articles. These were chosen for their suitability for content analysis and critical discourse analysis (CDA). Those that were too broad could not make it to the analysis and were considered irrelevant to this study. Entman (1993), McQuail (1994), and others inspired the use of keywords and phrases to select articles for analysis. The researcher also made use of the 2019 physical copies of Newspapers to gather the articles.

3.9. Reliability and validity

In research, reliability is defined as obtaining similar results regarding what is being investigated regardless of when the investigation was conducted (Monareng, (2021).). The codebook served as a guide for the coding process. A second coder reviewed the articles from each newspaper after the researcher completed the coding process. The second coder was a graduate student in political science at the University of Namibia with prior coding experience. To ensure the coding schedule's reliability, the researcher and the other graduate coder were able to identify potentially problematic codes, particularly those that were too broad or ambiguous; some codes were added, while others were removed in the process.

3.10. Procedure

The researcher sought permission from Unam to conduct the research in print media. The researcher visited the two publications and obtained permission to access their online archives and as well collected the physical copies of newspapers. Each news article published in daily hard copy, as well as those obtained from the online archives of The Namibian and New Era, were analysed for data, using the coding guide which included elements like page, location of the article, and the source of news.

3.11. Data analysis

Data analysis is the process of inspecting, cleansing, transforming, and modeling data in order to discover useful information, support decision-making, and inform conclusions (Xia & Gong, 2014). Weirs (1995) advised that qualitative data should be analysed and coded through setting context codes to ascertain that the phenomenon under study is given due attention. In line with this recommendation, a coding schedule was used to capture the content of articles that were studied using content analysis, while CDA techniques were used to analyse some of the articles in more depth and breadth.

3.12. Research ethics

To uphold ethics, the researcher fully attributed all ideas taken from previous researchers and authors that were referred to in this study. This was done in line with the wise counsel of Babbie and Mouton (2003) who advised that to avoid falling into the pitfalls of plagiarism and academic dishonesty, all sources must be fully acknowledged. The researcher also obtained an ethical clearance letter which was presented at the publications to access permission to online archives.

Conclusion

This chapter discussed the methodology and the research design that was employed to conduct the study. The next chapter takes a look and discuss data gathered through content analysis.

CHAPTER 4

Data Presentation

4.1. Introduction

This chapter describes the findings of a research study on the coverage of the ruling party, SWAPO, in 2019.

The study's main goal is to look into how The Namibian and New Era newspapers reported the same event (presidential elections) differently, sending different messages about the same issue (ruling party), and how journalists handle the role of media in political activities. Below is a recap on the study's ==questions==:

•   In what way did the Namibian print media represent the SWAPO party in the 2019 elections?

•   What was the frequency with which the two newspapers (The Namibian and New Era) covered the ruling party?

•   What were the frames in the coverage of the 2019 elections by the two newspapers?

•   What variations existed in coverage between the private and state print media houses?

•   What are the study's recommendations for the issues covered in the study?

The findings were analysed through content analysis, framing analysis and critical discourse analysis' of the articles in the print media, The Namibian and New Era newspapers published between 1, January 2019 and 31, December 2019.

The discourse analysis, particularly CDA involved all the articles of the SWAPO coverage in each newspaper and are discussed in the next chapter.

4.1.2. In this study, 114 news articles on SWAPO coverage in the 2019 presidential elections were analysed. Between January 2019 and December 2019, 61 news stories from The Namibian were used, accounting for 54% of the total, and 53 from New Era, accounting for 46%.
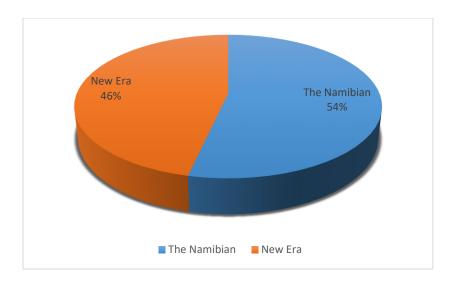
Figure 1: The total number of news articles per percentage covered by the study from the two newspapers.

4.2. Frames

The notion that selective information presentation can influence attitudes, beliefs, decisions, and behaviours is central to framing theory (Chong &Druckman, 2007). In contrast to agenda setting theory, framing is more concerned with the ability of the media to tell audiences how to think about an issue by presenting selective and limited accounts of issues and events. Cacciatore and colleagues (2016).

As the body of research on news grows, so does researchers' interest in the approach to understanding news discourse (Nzuma, 2015). After coding the data, all of the generic frames in the articles were discovered. The results are presented in graphs with a brief discussion.

4.2.1 The Generic Frames

This study used the generic frames identified by Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) in its analysis of newspaper article data, which are: consequence, morality, responsibility, conflict, and human interest.

As illustrated in Figure 2. Morality frame -10%, Responsibility frame -24%, Consequence frame -7%, Human interest frame -28%, and Conflict frame -31% were all used in both newspapers.

Figure 2. Generic frames of each newspaper
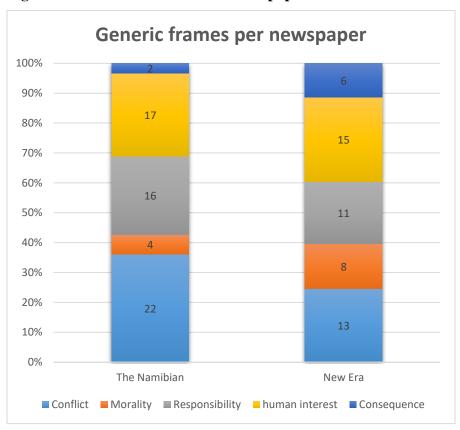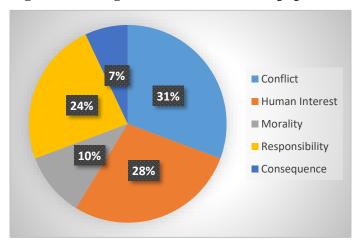

Generic frames per newspaper

Figure 3. average frames for both newspapers

The pie chart above (figure 2) illustrates the frequency of each frame in The Namibian and New Era newspapers covering the period of 1 January – 31 December 2019. The conflict frame has the highest percentage in both newspapers, New Era had 35% and The Namibian had 59%.

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4.3. **Consequence Frame**

This frame essentially discussed the potential negative and positive consequences of voting SWAPO and what they have done for the economy. The consequences frame was present in 7% of the articles examined in both publications. With six articles, the New Era newspaper covered this frame more than The Namibian. This frame describes an event, problem, or issue in terms of its economic impact on an individual, group, institution, region, or country. Neuman et al. (1992) identify it as a common news frame as well. The broad impact of an event is an important news value, and the economic consequences are frequently significant (Graber, 1993).

The economic impact of an event has high news value (Graber, 1993), and it has been suggested that news producers frequently use the consequence frame to make an issue more relevant to their audience (Gamson, 1992). This statement is supported by the following example:

The Namibian

Venaani accuses Swapo of misusing govt resources

Popular Democratic Movement (PDM) president Mchenry Venaani has lashed out at the ruling party for allegedly abusing government resources, saying those resources are for the people and not for Swapo to use during campaigns. (lugeretzia kooper, 2019).

New Era

 Swapo has ensured macro-economic stability-Calle

Finance minister Calle Schlettwein said Swapo is the only party with a capacity to maintain macro-economic stability and fiscal sovereignty needed to take Namibia on a positive growth trajectory. (Kuzeeko Tjitemisa, 2019)

4.3.1 Conflict Frame

The conflict frame focuses on the conflict between two opposing parties, ideologies, or groups (Neuman et al., 1992). It has been observed that political discourse among the elite during election campaigns reduces complex substantive political debate to overly simplistic conflict, as

evidenced by the fact that the conflict frame receives the most attention in both publications (31% in total), and it is widely used during news routine periods (Patterson,1993).

The conflict framing is linked to what is known as strategy coverage (Jamieson,1992; Patterson1993). The conflict frame received the most coverage in both publications, with The Namibian receiving 63% and New Era receiving 37%.

This type of coverage focused on the winning and losing of the SWAPO presidential election, infighting among members, accusations, and so on. According to Jameison (1992), the language of competition, games, and wars is prominent in these types of reports. In the case of the Namibian and New Era, the performance and style of SWAPO as a party and or individual members' has played a significant role.

More complaints about SWAPO's campaigns and administration could be seen from external political bodies, such as opposition parties. There has been infighting among SWAPO members, both men and women, independent candidates, and community opposition to SWAPO. Threats have been made to take the party to court over the administration of the party, EVMS. SWAPO had filed complaints against the print media, alleging that it published false reports and that television did not fairly cover the party's campaign.

4.3.2 Human Interest Frame

The human interest frame incorporates a person's story or an emotional angle into the presentation of an event, issue, or problem. Personalizing an issue adds to the narrative quality of news. As the market for news becomes more competitive around the world, journalists and editors are working hard to create a product that captures and retains audience interest (Bennett, 1995). Framing news in terms of human interest helps to personalize, dramatize, and emotionalize it. It was most frequently used to identify problems and solutions (Bennett, 2003). The human interest frame was slightly more likely to be positive in tone in both publications.

This news frame could be seen more in SWAPO campaigns that highlight community issues like food security, poverty, unemployment and the promises to provide solutions to their challenges. What SWAPO can do to solve the problems if they win elections was the main message.

In both Publication this frame carried 28% of the total articles, it was the second highest news frame.

4.3.3. Responsibility Frame

The responsibility frame frames an issue or problem in such a way that the government, an individual, or a group bears responsibility for causing or solving the problem (Semetko & Valkenburg, 1998). The framework contained 24% of the articles examined in both publications.

Externally and internally, the SWAPO party has been blamed for causing or resolving key social problems in Namibia. In the case of poverty, for example, the print media portrayed the SWAPO government as more responsible for meeting people's needs. The party has advised the public to vote for SWAPO in order to preserve national peace. The party also demonstrated the members' responsibility to solve in-house housing fighting, preaching unity, so that it wins the elections, divergent perspectives exist, ranging from a plan to promote the country's economic development. The messages were presented in the ways stated below:

The Namibian

- ➢ Swapo most qualified to govern Namibia-Calle
- ➢ Swapo party to lead to country prosperity-Nangoloh
- ➢ Geingob addresses divided SWAPO leaders

New Era

- ➢ Swapo to concentrate on jobs
- ➢ Swapo candidates to prioritise youth development
- ➢ Voter card a gun to win elections war-Shaningwa

4.3.4. Morality Frame

With only 10% of the stories examined, the morality frame was the second least used frame in both publications. There was little evidence of this frame in any of the newspapers examined. This frame situates the event, problem, or issue within the context of religious or moral

principles. Because of the professional norm of objectivity, journalists frequently refer to moral frames indirectly—for example, through quotation or inference—by having someone else raise the question (Neuman et al., 1992).

The findings appear to contradict Neuman et al's (cited in Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000) claim that the morality frame is not one of the most commonly used frames. This specific frame is thought to exist in the minds of the audience rather than in the stories' content. Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) cite Neuman et al. The morality frame did not appear to play a role in Namibian newspaper news at all, with only four articles recorded, whereas New Era had at least eight articles.

5.Sources

Table 1. sources of news and frequency per newspaper

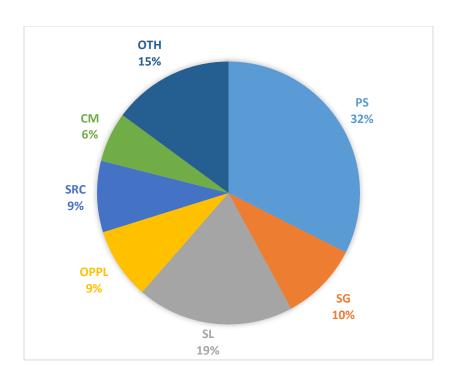| Source of news	The Namibian	New Era
Presidential speech	17	20
Secretary general	7	4
SWAPO Leaders	11	11
Opposition Leaders	7	3
SWAPO Regional councillors	2	8
Community	4	3
Other	13	4

Figure 4. shows the total percentage of the use of sources for both papers

The researcher investigated the sources used in the publications. Both publications rely heavily on presidential speeches (PS), which account for 32% of total sources, followed by SWAPO leaders (SL) at 19%, Other sources (OTH) at 15%, Secretary general (SG) at 10%, SWAPO regional councillors (SRC) and Opposition Leaders (OPPL) at 9%, and community members (CM) at 6%. The table above shows how two newspapers used sources in very different ways. The state newspaper (New Era) relied on SWAPO Presidential speeches more frequently (17%) than the Namibian newspaper (15%). Opinion articles were excluded from this analysis because they are more of the (external) writers' opinions. not of the publications. Other sources include, (retired Politian's, ex-SWAPO members and political experts).

5.1. Who Tells the Story of SWAPO in Print Media?

As previously stated, information cited and/or quoted in the articles was divided into seven categories of sources for the purposes of this study. These are the people who the journalists consulted for comment and quoted in their news reports on the SWAPO 2019 presidential elections, and opinion articles were not included in this section. According to the study, the majority of people who spoke to the print media about the SWAPO presidential election are men

in both publications. This makes women invisible in the media; women are not given the same opportunity to speak as men. Only 26% of the articles examined used women as sources in their news stories, with the remainder featuring men speaking. The Namibian newspaper has the most female sources quoted in their articles, with at least 16 articles featuring female voices, while New Era only has 9 female sources.
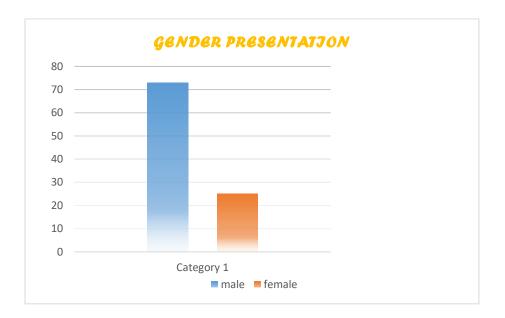

Figure 5. Shows the total percentage of female and male sources in the both newspapers.

6.PRESENTATION OF ARTICLES

TABLE 2: THE NAMIBIAN ARTICLES (*n=61*)

Highlighted-Feature Stories

Number of article	Page number	Headline of article	Location	Article type	Date
1	1	Reduced victory…Swapo, Geingob drop votes	National news	Hard news	Dec 2
2	1	Elections in Namibian expose rift in Swapo	National	Hard news	Nov 25
3	2	Geingob prematurely celebrates win	National news	Hard news	Nov 30
4	1	Geingob loses urban support	National news	Hard news	Nov 29
5	5	Elections at a glance presidential candidates	News	Hard news	Nov 28
6	6	Tsumeb voters weigh up options	News	Hard news	Nov 20
7	10	An interesting election in Namibia	Opinion	opinion	Nov 26
8	1	A thorn in Geingob's flesh	National news	Hard news	Nov 19
9	5	Geingob claims media coverage sabotage	National news	Hard news	Nov 18

10	1	We are winning…Geingob	National news	Hard news	Nov 17
11	1	Amukwiyu calls for unity in Swapo	National news	Hard news	Nov 16
12	6	Play the ball, not the man	National news	Hard news	Oct 29
13	1	Swapo manifesto half baked	News national	Hard news	Oct 09
14	5	Geingob urges Namibians to stick with Swapo	National news	Hard news	Oct 07
15	1	Swapo defends glamorous parade	National news	Hard news	Sep 30
16	12	Swapo's pot cook up a stinker	Last word	Opinion	Sep 13
17	1	Geingob's loyalists win big	National news	Feature news	Sep 09
18	3	Shaningwa tight-lipped on Swapo's electorate college	National news	Hard news	Aug 29
19	1	Geingob upbeat on winning elections	National news	Hard news	May 04
20	6	Swapo dissalows independent candidates	National news	Hard news	Mar 28
21	11	Way to Go Mr president	Editorials	Opinions	Mar 22
22	1	Swapo yet to unravel Itula puzzle	National news	Hard news	Oct 21

23	5	Swapo will deliver on promises	National news	Hard news	Oct 14
24	1	Swapo's elections begging bowl	National news	Hard News	Oct 11
25	1	Party manifestos still under construction	National news	Hard news	Aug 06
26	14	The swapo government should resign	Letters	Letters	Nov 29
27	5	Swapo will deliver on promises	National news	Hard news	Oct 14
28	1	Swapo's sealed EVMS create drama	National news	Hard news	Nov 27
29	10	Slate in the monster in room Swapo	Opinions	Opinions	Nov 22
30	1	Shaningwa insect remarks draw ire	National news	News	Nov 22
31	5	Muyongo misled the people…Geingob	National	Hard news	Nov 19
32	1	Parties aim to break Swapo's dominance	National news	Hard news	Nov 11
33	7	Shangala reminds Nujoma to endorse Geingob	National news	Hard news	Nov 11
34	3	LPM condems bullying behaviour against party	National news	Hard news	Jan 09
35	6	Geingob on prayers for his downfall, firing	National news	Hard news	Jan 09

36	14	President Geingob, what is Swapo;s track record?	Letters	Letters	Oct 25
37	3	Swapo manifesto rushed	National news	Hard news	Oct 03
38	3	Venaani warns voters of swapo's greed	National news	Hard news	Sep 30
39	9	Venaani accuses swapo of misusing govt resources	National news	Hard news	Nov 11
40	3	Critics blasts Geingo's regional visits	National news	Hard news	Jul 08
41	3	EVMS or not, we are ready-Geingob	National news	Hard news	Nov 04
42	1	Geingob thanks well-wishers after re-elections	National News	Hard news	Dec 16
43	1	Geingob long shot at swapo unity	National news	Hard news	Sep 11
44	1	Swapo hands tied on Itula	National news	Hard news	Oct 31
45	1	Swapo old men face onslaught	National news	Hard news	Sep 06
46	5	60 members appointed to swapo think tank	National News	Hard news	Jan 25

47	5	Swapo has not paid for rented campaign vehicles	National news	Hard news	Dec 18
48	2	Swapo most qualified to govern Namibia-Nangoloh	News	News	Oct 12
49	3	Swapo's NBC complaints draw criticisms	National news	Hard news	Oct 15
50	1	Election court challenge to be heard in January	News	News	Dec 30
51	3	Geingob addresses divided swapo leaders	National news	Hard news	Jul 24
52	6	The old meet the youth at ondangwa	National news	Hard news	May 13
53	6	Swapo only party to lead country to prosperity..Nangoloh	National news	Hard news	Oct 12
54	5	Swapo retains Oshikuku	National news	Hard news	Dec 9
55	2	Swapo two third's majority broken	National news	Hard news	Dec 1
56	1	Swapo criminals predicament	National news	Hard news	Jul 22
57	10	An interesting election in Namibia at last	Opinions	opinion	Nov 26

58	1	Swapo wants NBC to show large crowds for party rally	National News	Hard news	Oct 14
59	3	Itula's lawyers allegedly harassed at Swapo HQ	National news	Hard news	Nov 15
60	1	I was never a swapo member…Immanuel challenges ruling party	National news	Hard news	May 15
61	1	I will not campaign for swapo-Itula	National news	Hard news	Oct 08

TABLE 3: NEW ERA ARTICLES (*n=53*)

Number of article	Page	Headline of article	Location of article	Article type	Date
1	1	Inside Swapo's manifesto	Hard news	News	Oct 07
2	2	Swapo's soul searches	Hard news	News	Dec 17
3	1	Shaningwa disowns Itula	Hard news	News	Nov 4
4	1	Ya Nangoloh return raises Swapo hackles	Hard news	News	Nov 1
5	1	Swapo popularity remains intact	Hard news	News	Nov19

6	1	Swapo confident of poll victory	Hard news	News	Nov 25
7	1	Give us five more years ...Geingob appeals to voters	Hard news	News	Oct 15
8	1	Geingob praises Swapo's track record	Hard news	News	Oct 21
9	2	Swapo not only for Aawambo..Geingob preaches unity at Katima rally	Hard news	News	Oct 28
10	1	Swapo to concentrate on jobs	Hard news	News	Nov 07
11	1	Swapo candidate to prioritise youth development	Hard news	News	Dec18
12	1	Swapo SG showers geigob with praise	Hard News	News	Oct 30
13	2	Swapo members urged to obey party rules	Hard news	News	Jul 15
14	1	Moment of truth as Swapo braces tense vote	News	Feature news story	Nov 25
15	2	Scholtz urges electorate to vote for swapo	Hard news	News	Nov 21
16	2	Voter card a gun to win election war-Nikanor	Hard news	News	Nov 20

17	2	Kharas united behind Swapo bed says governor	Hard news	News	Mar 07
18	1	Nuujoma calls for peaceful elections	Hard News	News	Nov 11
19	2	Oshikoto remains Swapo's strong hold	Hard news	News	Dec 03
20	2	Otjozondjupa Swapo leaders threaten to drag party to court	Hard news	News	Aug 22
21	1	Vote Swapo to maintain peace-Nujoma	Hard news	News	Oct 30
22	3	Respect poll Verdict, Swapo urges	Hard News	News	Feb 10
23	2	Social media dominate campaign trail	News	Feature	Oct 29
24	2	Swapo, NDP sign pledge to behave	Hard news	News	Oct 30
25	1	Geingob lifts bans on timber exports at Swapo rally	Hard news	News	Nov 04
26	2	Venaani blasts Swapo over EVMs	Hard news	News	Oct 28
27	1	Presidency thrashes newspaper report	Hard news	News	Nov 26

28	1	Geingob refuses to shoulder blame, promises to fix economy	Hard news	News	Nov 11
29	1	Presidency fumes at fake media reports	Hard news	News	Nov 22
30	1	Swapo has ensured macro-economic stability-Calle	Hard news	News	Oct 22
31	1	Geingob promises Kavango's continued development	Hard news	News	Nov 06
32	1	Swapo vows to tackle food security	Hard news	News	Oct 17
33	1	Swapo takes early lead, Geingob ahead of Itula presidential race	Hard news	News	Nov 29
34	2	Swapo members urged to sacrifice resources	Hard News	News	Oct 21
35	2	Amukwiyu rallies Oshikoto behind Geingob	Hard news	News	Jul 07
36	1	Swapo rolls out campaign funds	Hard News	News	Oct 25
37	1	Meet me at the ballot if I failed you. Geingob	Hard news	News	Jul 12

38	1	Geingob warns tribalism, calls unity	Hard news	News	Jun 10
39	1	Nekongo accuses journalist of being unethical	Hard news	News	Jul 27
40	1	Itula criticises Geingob administration	Hard news	News	Nov 26
41	3	From town hall, Omaheke Geingob in lively interaction	News	Feature	Jul 15
42	3	Swapo leaders throw weight behind Geingob	Hard news	News	Aug 06
43	7	President Geingob deserves a second and last vote of confidence	Opinions	Opinions	May 21
44	2	Itula and co-head to supreme court	Hard news	News	Dec 13
45	3	Swapo defiant councillors reach compromise	Hard news	News	Feb 21
46	7	Swapo is a world system the atmosphere for and over	Opinions	Opinions	Nov 15
47	7	To remain dominant Swapo must evolve	Opinions	Opinions	Jun 19

48	3	Swapo sees rival in heated Ondangwa contest	Hard news	News	Jun 17
49	1	Geingob salutes world leaders	Hard news	News	Dec 16
50	1	I have head you-Geingob addresses nation	News	Feature	Dec 2
51	7	Let us be honest with our Swapo party leaders..	Opinions	Opinions	Jun 06
52	2	Swapo distances itself from independent candidate	Hard news	News	May 10
53	7	The fallacy of independent candidacy of a Swapo member	Opinions	Opinions	Mar 13

Coding Sheet and Guide Coding Sheet inspired by (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000)

Name of the newspaper: _____

 Date of publication: _____

Article placement (front page, etc.) _____

Headline of the article _____

_____

1. **Article type**

➢ Hard News

➢ Feature story

➢ Letter

➢ Opinion piece

2. Source/ angle of the story (Refers to as name(s) of a person, group or organisation that are quoted directly or indirectly in the news article. This study particular look is at the headline and the lead).

❖ Court trials

❖ Presidential Speeches

❖ campaign event

❖ Press release

❖ Opposition Candidates

❖ Independent candidates

❖ Community engagement

❖ SWAPO Leaders

❖ Regional Councillors

Others, specify_____

2. **Key words (present or absent)**
- Elections 2019_____
- SWAPO _____
- Hage Geingob_____
- Presidential election_____

3. **Frames (YES/NO)**

❖ **Conflict Frame**

✓ Does the story reflect disagreement between parties/individuals/groups/ in the SWAPO party?

✓ Does one party /individual/group/country reproach another in the SWAPO party?

- ✓ Does the story refer to two sides or to more than two sides of the problem or issue?
- ✓ Does the story refer to winners and losers of the elections?

❖ **Morality Frame**

- ✓ Does the story contain any moral message?
- ✓ Does the story make references to morality, God, and other religious tenets?
- ✓ Does the story offer specific social prescriptions about how to behave?

❖ **Responsibility Frame**

- ✓ Does the story suggest that some level of government has the ability to alleviate the problem?
- ✓ Does the story suggest that some level of the government is responsible for the issue/ problem?
- ✓ Does the story suggest solutions to the problem/issue?
- ✓ Does the story suggest that an individual or group of people in the society is responsible for the issue or problem?
- ✓ Does the story suggest the problem requires urgent action?

❖ **Consequence/economic Frame**

- ✓ Is there a mention of financial losses or gains now or in the future?
- ✓ Is there a mention of the costs /degree of expense involved?
- ✓ Is there a reference to economic consequences of pursuing a course of action?

❖ **Human interest Frame**

- ❖ Does the story provide a human example or human face on the issue?
- ❖ Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrage, empathy caring, sympathy, or compassion?
- ❖ Does the story emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by issue /problem?
- ❖ Does the story go into the private or personal lives of actors?
- ❖ Does the story contain of visual information that might generate feelings of outrage, empathy caring, sympathy, or compassion?

CHAPTER FIVE 5

Discussion of Findings, Summary, Conclusions and Recommendations

5.1. Discussion of Findings

Tone- According Pomper (2004), media campaigns have become more negative in their news coverage, which has had a negative impact on citizens' trust in the government and political participation. The Namibian news media appeared to be more negative in their reporting, in fact, the SWAPO party's vote share fell from 87% in 2014 to 56% in 2019, making it the lowest vote share for a presidential election in history. This was demonstrated more in terms of conflict, with The Namibian receiving the highest conflict rate of 63% and New Era received 37%, but in other frames, both publications employed a positive language, particularly in the human interest frame, and more neutral in the consequence, morality, and responsibility.

The government owns the New Era newspaper, and the reporting is favourable to the government due to its influence. The term "government" refers to the ruling party of the day (SWAPO). This is to ensure that the publication always supports the government's position on issues and never portrays the government or its policies negatively. As a result, as a government-owned newspaper, it is expected to be pro-government in its reporting, as mandated by the New Era Publication Corporation Act of 1992. The Namibian, on the other hand, is privately owned, with individual sponsors seeking to present issues that are ignored by the government media or that the government is attempting to conceal (Salome, 2015).

Emotionalisation- The strategic use of emotions to target specific voters is referred to as emotionalisation (Richards, 2004). These are appeals to negative or positive emotions such as anger, happiness, and pride (Kaid and Johston 1991). Various scholars have demonstrated that using emotional appeal has a significant impact on political attitudes and voter choices (Glaser and Salovey 1998). By having looked at the headlines The Namibian newspaper showed a higher percentage use of negative emotions with the angriest attacks directed at SWAPO, while the state newspaper used emotions of happiness and pride.

Personalisation- When an election campaign revolves around candidates and politicians rather than parties, institutions, or policy issues, it becomes highly personalized (Kreisi 2021). Negative news about a specific political actor can harm their public image. According to the data, New Era

used more personalisation with 28 articles, while The Namibian newspaper presented 21 articles, giving President Geingob more visibility as the presidential candidate in the 2019 elections. However, New Era was more upbeat, whereas The Namibian was more focused on dramatization of specifically on conflicts.

5.2. Summary of findings

In what way did the Namibian print media represent the SWAPO party in the 2019 elections?

In the 2019 presidential election, the Namibian print media had covered the SWAPO party in positive and negative ways.

Content analysis and discourse were conducted on all articles in each newspaper, with a focus on the message's tone, emotionalisation, personalisation, and visibility test.

The SWAPO party had good visibility in each newspaper, with 28 front page articles in New Era , while The Namibian only had 25 front page articles throughout the entire period.

With at least four feature news articles on the SWAPO party, New Era newspaper has recordmore feature stories (the ones highlighted in the Appendix last chapter) than The Namibian which had only one feature news story.

However, the manner in which quotations and attributions were used in various news reports raised serious concerns and is highly questionable in the New Era newspaper; most of the articles were singlesourced stories, whereas The Namibian was multisource, demonstrating the purpose-driven desire to reveal more information to the public.

As a general rule, reporters are expected to use multiple sources, according to Shoemaker (1996 and Mcquail (1994).

The New Era was fuller of anonymous sources, which proves unreliability. This was difficult for a reader to evaluate the reliability of a source they cannot identify, and most of the time a journalist may have fabricated a source, created false details based on what he knows and protected himself from accusations (Macqcuail 1994).

- ❖ *SWAPO vows to tackle food security* (*https://neweralive.na/en/posts/swapo-vows-to-tackle-food-insecurity)-* Single sourced- (New Era story) Is one of the single stories and not even a Minister's quote or statistics could be found, only one of the president of SWAPO.
- ❖ *Geingob urges Namibia to stick with SWAPO*
  https://www.bing.com/search?q=%EF%81%B6%09Geingob+urges+Namibia+to+stick+with+SWAPO+&qs=n&form=QBRE&sp=-1&pq=&sc=4-0&sk=&cvid=B2A27A0945504F4DBB19AF50F3A3A7CC&ghsh=0&ghacc=0&ghpl=#
  (The Namibian story, multi sourced and well attributed)

What was the frequency with which the two newspapers (The Namibian and New Era) covered the ruling party?

In total, 114 news articles about SWAPO coverage in the 2019 presidential elections were found to be appropriate for analysis. Between January 2019 and December 2019, 61 news stories from The Namibian were used, accounting for 54% of the total, and 53 from New Era, accounting for 46% of the total. The study found a well-balanced frequency of reporting in both publications because news articles could appear from month to month, though coverage became more interesting from September to December when compared to the moths at the start of the year.

What where the frames in the coverage of the 2019 elections by the two newspapers?

The framing of politics and issues in the news can have significant consequences for public understanding and evaluations of issues, institutions, and political actors (Valkenburg, Semetko, & de Vreese, 1999).

The third goal was to compare the use of news frames in New Era and The Namibian. To accomplish this, 20 framing questions were used to empirically assess the five most commonly discussed news frames in the various literatures. The framing items demonstrated satisfactory inter-coder reliability as well as internal consistency.

The researcher studied the prevalence of these frames in the two national newspapers: overall, the most common frames were, responsibility, conflict, economic consequences, human interest, and morality. Results showed, therefore, that Morality frame -10%, Responsibility frame -24%, Consequence frame -7%, Human interest frame -28%, and Conflict frame -31%.

In terms of specific differences between press state New Era and private newspaper The Namibian, New Era news used the human interest frame more frequently than The Namibian. This is to be expected, as previous news discourse demonstrated that the State newspaper is more personalized and human interest oriented (Bennett, 1991).

The consequences frame was present in 7% of the articles examined in both publications. With six articles, the New Era newspaper covered this frame more than The Namibian. This frame describes an event, problem, or issue in terms of its economic impact on an individual, group, institution, region, or country. Neuman et al. (1992) identified it as a common news frame in news coverage.

The conflict frame focused on the conflict between two opposing parties, ideologies, or groups (Neuman et al., 1992). It has been observed that political discourse among the elite during election campaigns reduces complex substantive political debate to overly simplistic conflict, as evidenced by the fact that the conflict frame receives the most attention in both publications (31% in total), and it is widely used during news routine periods (Patterson,1993).

The conflict framing is linked to what is known as strategy coverage (Jamieson,1992; Patterson1993). The conflict frame received the most coverage in both publications, with The Namibian receiving 63% and New Era receiving 37%.

The responsibility frame frames an issue or problem in such a way that the government, an individual, or a group bears responsibility for causing or solving the problem (Semetko & Valkenburg, 1998). The framework contained 24% of the articles examined in both publications.

With only 10% of the stories examined, the morality frame was the second least used frame in both publications. There was little evidence of this frame in any of the newspapers examined. This frame situates the event, problem, or issue within the context of religious or moral principles. Because of the professional norm of objectivity, journalists frequently refer to moral frames indirectly—for example, through quotation or inference—by having someone else raise the question (Neuman et al., 1992).

What variations existed in coverage between the private and state print media houses.

This section addresses research question 4, which is whether there was a difference between state-owned and privately owned media coverage of SWAPO in the 2019 elections, and how ownership influenced news framing.

"The extent of media ownership affects the framing of certain issues such as political news," write Rakow and Kranich (1991). As a result, many research studies have been conducted to determine why this is the case, whether it is due to the political economy of newspapers, editorial policies of newspapers, or the sheer ignorance of male editors and reporters who dominate most newsrooms.

The findings show that both publications did not give as much prominence to SWAPO news stories, as evidenced by the low number of articles placed on the front page. However, New Era newspaper performed better, as evidenced by the fact that despite having fewer articles than The Namibian, the majority of them were placed on page one. They did, however, frequently provided coverage on the SWAPO party from January to December, with the majority of the news articles being event-based.

Despite the fact that both newspapers covered the SWAPO party extensively during the 2019 elections, the framing of the news articles reveals a significant difference between the two publications. The Namibian, SWAPO news articles show that poverty, jobs, infrastructure development, peace, unity, and food security were issues at the heart of the society and community, and that the government (the ruling party, SWAPO) was doing little to prevent or eradicate such issues, which have been escalating in the society, but the big problem is that there were no statistics to support how this was happening every day. The Namibian newspaper interviewed some civil society organizations for their thoughts on job creation.

The Namibian provided a more diverse coverage of SWAPO and provided a forum for discussion and debate for various political actors from the public. New Era, on the other hand, framed its news articles to show how the government is responding to the aforementioned issues and, to a lesser extent, how the issues had affected the economy.

The news articles in both publications also revealed that the ruling party (SWAPO) is more concerned and feared not meeting the UN's target of preventing and eradicating poverty, unity, and employment among young people, as specified in the (Millenium Development Goals of

2015) and other regional targets. According to the New Era Publication Corporation act of 1992, the paper is written to report on issues of national interest and government-related matters.

This is evident in the frequency and space given to government officials, ministers such as former finance minister Calle Schlettwein, to speak on the country's economic situation, as well as how frequently the news angles focused on them. However, there were more drama in both newspapers, as evidenced by the higher conflict rate, and the coverage was gender biased, with men being more visible than women.

6. Conclusions

After analysing the study's data, the researcher discovered some interesting points about the framing of SWAPO in Namibian print media during the study period. The manner in which SWAPO was framed resulted in some noteworthy elements, such as how masculine the nature of news in the print media is, the level and existence of event-based reporting, and finally the reporters' news writing skills, attribution, and quoting. All of these factors influenced how the SWAPO news articles were presented in print.

More importantly, the study revealed that SWAPO election campaign coverage was framed as a masculine narrative, ignoring women who are prominent actors in politics and hold important government offices in areas such as education, safety and security, peace, food security, and employment.

According to research findings, men talk to each other more than women, from the reporters who covered the stories to the sources consulted for information and comment, according to Watson (2008), male reporters and male sources contribute to the framing of answers and the choice of words used in political reporting, and this affects the meaning of the story to which the reader is exposed.

Women are simply barred from any public platform, no matter how minor. Watson (2008) concurs, stating, "Women's issues, and problems are not newsworthy unless they can be labelled according to traditional female roles of wife, mother, daughter (p. 234)". The news discourse continues to ignore women and their issues, and when they do appear, their stories are trivialized and ridiculed (Dijk 1991).

Reporters' continued reliance on male/expert sources gave the story a frame that excludes women's voices, or worse, women come in on a negative angle. It is also worth noting that, as Rakow and Kranich (1991) point out, it is not always true that men conspire to exclude women as sources, but rather that "news media personnel work within a presumptuous meaning system in which it simply makes sense to 'exclude women'" (p.2).

7. Recommendations

➢ **Statistical use**; most of the SWAPO campaign news articles examined in this study lacked statistics on important societal topics such as poverty, infrastructure development, and economic consequences'. Data is critical when reporting on issues that affect society, even if it comes from a promise made by a political actor, particularly a human interest story or responsibility. It is the journalist's responsibility to seek out credible data sources and interpretive methods. Local, national, and international statistics would be useful in political stories to provide a broader picture of the problem and reassure voters about what is being promised (Salome, 2015).

➢ **Keep journalism ethics**; always conduct research to increase transparency.
A lack of adequate and relevant information, or one-sided pieces based on single-sourced stories, or the use of anonymous sources, frequently leads to misinformation and proved untrustworthy (Mirando, 1997). Instead of relying too heavily on political actors' speeches, such as presidential speeches, the study strongly recommends a diverse contact of political experts and community members, who are most affected by government power. It was important to demonstrate what the Namibian public believed about the political game and how their vote of choice affected their future especially young people.

➢ **Show the impact;** of the promises made during campaigns rather than just dramatized news; always provide information about the consequences of the political party's winning or losing as they are so important. Demonstrate the impact on people, health, and the economy of the campaign, the party's reign, and voting for SWAPO.

Conclusion

Overall, the research suggested that future researchers should assess the impact that news frames can have on readers'/voters thoughts about political issues using different or similar techniques and methodologies. Previously, the study reviewed that the news media can not only tell the public what issues to affected them, but also how to think about them. According to Robison (1974), the public relies on newspapers far too often, particularly in developing countries, and claims it as their primary source of news; the impact of news frames on voters, therefore, remains a significant research point about Namibian print media coverage in politics.

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