

Uganda: Online News and Twitter Coverage of the 2016 Election

2016

This report is a product of a partnership between ARTICLE 19 Eastern Africa and the Centre for the Study of Media, Communication and Power, King's College London.

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Executive Summary

Online news coverage

- Incumbent president Yoweri Museveni was mentioned in by far the most online articles – 1,597 – published by the sampled news outlets. The next most covered candidate – Kizza Besigye – featured in 1,029 articles, while Amama Mbabazi featured in 558 articles. The five other candidates each appeared in fewer than 200 articles across the month of February.
- This advantage in coverage for Museveni was more pronounced before polling day than after. He featured in 59 articles on average per day before polling day and 48 afterwards. Besigye rose from 32 articles per day to 37 per day after the election.
- The NRM also had an advantage over rivals in terms of volume of coverage – it appeared in 1,303 articles, versus the Forum for Democratic Change (FDC)'s 998. The TDA-Go Forward movement was in a distant third place with 256 articles.
- Museveni was the most featured candidate in all five outlets selected for in-depth analysis of candidate coverage. These included newspaper websites (*New Vision*, *Daily Monitor* and *The Observer*) and online-only sites (*The Insider* and *ChimpReports*).

Policy issue agendas in online news

- The campaign coverage tended to focus on issues of democratic legitimacy, fairness, and security. The most frequently covered policy issues during the campaign were: Corruption (1,326 articles mentioned this issue); Security (1,123); Justice (1,008) and Democracy (915).
- Concerns about corruption and democracy rose significantly after the election. Prior to polling day, Security was the most prevalent policy issue, measured by the number of articles in which it was referenced at least once. After polling day, however, there was a substantial decrease in the number of articles mentioning security-related issues.
- Corruption was the most common issue across all outlets, but security, justice and democracy always featured prominently.

Sources in online news coverage

- NRM spokespeople featured most often in coverage of the campaign, being mentioned or quoted in 211 articles. FDC spokespeople were featured in 51 articles.
- In all eight sampled publications, spokespeople affiliated with the NRM were most common.

The campaign on Twitter

- Most candidates' Twitter profiles were relatively restrained during the campaign, with the exception of Abed Bwanika's, which published 928 tweets in the month of February. Though many of these were retweets, there was still a contrast in how candidates communicated on the platform.
- The candidates tended not to mention their opponents. Criticism was rare. This also extended to party-affiliated profiles.
- Across all sampled Twitter profiles, many of the features of online news coverage were present: Museveni gathered the most mentions, with Besigye in second place; the NMA was by far the most mentioned party; corruption, security, justice and democracy were the most common policy issues mentioned (though corruption significantly less so, in relative terms).
- The government's attempted election day shut-down of social media platforms was not as successful on Twitter – polling day saw the second-highest number of tweets (5,534) by sampled profiles, second only to the day of the presidential debate on 13 February.

Case studies

- The day of the second presidential debate was dominated by speculation about whether or not Museveni would appear. This was the key issue on the majority of online news coverage and on Twitter. On the day after the debate, very little coverage focused on the debate itself.
- Twitter coverage of the debate was dominated by the #UGDebate16 hashtag – most profiles, especially those of media outlets, used this as part of live coverage and updates of the debate as it happened. Criticism by official party or candidate profiles of opponents was rare, though party-affiliated accounts did occasionally criticise opponents directly, and more often republished critical tweets from other users outside the sample.
- On the day before polling day (17 February), the conversation on Twitter among parties and candidates was respectful and usually congenial. Some candidates published messages of goodwill to others. Party-affiliated accounts made extensive use of hashtags to rally support, and retweeted many messages of support.
- The Twitter profiles of media outlets generally refrained from covering candidates and parties on 17 February. Of 1,045 tweets in total, Museveni was mentioned in 40, and Besigye in 42. The FDC appeared in 25 tweets by media outlets, and the NRM in 16. The majority of media twitter activity was information-oriented, and made extensive use of the #UgandaDecides hashtag.
- Online news coverage on 17 February gave almost equal prominence to Museveni and Besigye (mentioned in 67 articles and 63 articles respectively), and the NRM and FDC also received almost equal coverage (45 and 46 articles).
- The policy agenda across all sampled outlets on 17 February was little different from that of the campaign as a whole. Corruption was the top issue, mentioned in 88 articles.
- An in-depth comparison of *New Vision* and *Daily Monitor* shows the difference in both publications' coverage on 17 February. *New Vision* published several comment pieces that were broadly or explicitly supportive of Museveni. Two of these comment articles also contained direct criticism of Besigye. *Daily Monitor* published more articles that were factual news reports, and had a closer balance of articles focusing on Museveni, Besigye, and to a lesser extent Mbabazi. Though the *Monitor* contained two comment pieces showing some degree of support for Besigye, it published articles that contained criticism of all major candidates.
- Other publications (*The Observer*, *Red Pepper*, *The Independent*, *The Investigator*, *The Insider* and *ChimpReports*) published little in the way of commentary on the day before polling day. Criticism and support for Museveni and Besigye tended to come in the form of partisan quotes from officials or supporters of their respective parties. None of these publications was uniformly partisan in their coverage of presidential candidates; each featured criticism or support for both of the main candidates, though to varying degrees.
- In the immediate aftermath of polling day – 19 and 20 February – coverage continued to focus on Museveni and Besigye and their respective parties, and was largely preoccupied with issues

of the validity of the election process, and public order and security (including the arrest of Besigye and affiliated party officials. There was a lack of clarity and consensus about these issues.

- Coverage post-election was almost entirely absent of quotes from presidential candidates, and featured very little commentary. Partisan support or criticism of the different candidates and their parties was relatively rare.

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Introduction

On 18 February 2016, Ugandans went to the polls to elect a new President and Members of Parliament. Presidential candidates included incumbent Yoweri Museveni, in power since 1986, Kizza Besigye, who had run against Museveni in 2001, 2006 and 2011, former Prime Minister Amama Mbabazi, Abed Bwanika, who has also challenged Museveni in 2001, 2006 and 2011, former Makerere University Vice Chancellor Venansius Baryamureeba, retired Army General Benon Biraaro, Joseph Mabirizi, and former presidential advisor Faith Kyalya.

During elections, independent media plays an even more critical role than in the daily life of a democratic society. A free and fair election is not only about the freedom to vote and the knowledge of how to cast a vote, but also about a participatory process where voters engage in public debate and have adequate information about parties, policies, candidates and the election process itself, in order to make informed choices. The media works as mediator between the state, political parties and their candidates, and the public, facilitating debate and informing people about their leaders, while acting as a crucial watchdog for safeguarding the transparency of the process.

The 2016 polls were conducted at a time when the media and civil society were facing severe repression from the government. Media practitioners, journalists, cartoonists, and activists face grave and pervasive systemic and legal challenges and are forced (especially those in rural areas) to carry out their work in an environment of widespread impunity and under constant pressure from the authorities. The Ugandan Penal Code contains a number of offences that disproportionately restrict the freedom of expression, such as the offences related to the promotion of sectarianism, criminal defamation, and terrorism, drafted in such broad language that they have been used to prosecute and jail journalists.

Despite the passage of regulations to aid the operationalisation of the Access to Information Act, the government and most of its agencies and departments are still in the habit of concealing public information. The law on secrecy still exists on the statutes and has proved a big hindrance to full implementation of Access to Information law. It thus cannot be gainsaid that reforms are needed in order to ensure that the media sector plays its role of disseminating information and holding the powerful to account. ARTICLE 19 also expressed concern at the decision of the Uganda Communications Commission to block access to social media on the day of the elections.

As the Ugandan media are currently operating in an adverse environment, it begs the question of whether they manage to work with sufficient independence as to produce a fair and balanced pluralistic coverage of the electoral campaign. Among the factors that may generally undermine media freedom and independence, the use of public money to exercise financial pressure over media houses is of particular concern.

The fact that the government holds a controlling share in the daily New Vision in itself raises doubts as to the capacity of that newspaper to distance itself from official positions during elections or political protests. Anyone familiar with the media landscape in Uganda will generally admit that the government is the biggest advertiser in the media. Although the lack of access to public information makes it difficult to obtain up-to-date and accurate information on public spending in the media (reinforcing the need for strong and effective RTI legislation), it can be said that significant amounts of public money are spent on advertising in the media.

In this situation, advertising boycotts by the government, or the mere threat thereof, can be a very effective instrument to silence dissident voices and limit diversity in the media. As the independence of a newspaper relies on its capacity to finance the work of investigative journalists and the costs of printing, the largest buyers of advertising space (the government as well as corporations) can find themselves in a position where they can easily restrict the independence of media outlets and orient their reporting of news. Smaller media organisations could be particularly sensitive to such threats.

In order to bridge the gap from an impression – even if largely shared – that there may be a bias in the coverage of news to actual evidence that the media do not meet the expectations of a democratic society, ARTICLE 19 has partnered with the Centre for the Study of Media, Communication and Power, part of the Policy Institute at King's College London, to analyse the media coverage of specific human rights issues in the run-up to the 2016 Ugandan elections. This focus and timeframe provided an adequate framework to verify whether the media produced a fair and complete coverage of all the diverse viewpoints that were at play during the electoral campaign.

The research demonstrates that the incumbent candidate Yoweri Museveni and his party the National Resistance Movement (NRM) largely dominated the media space. In a detailed case-study of the day before the polling day, the research also shows that the government-controlled *New Vision* has been supportive of President Museveni, while another newspaper, *Daily Monitor*, covered all major candidates in a more critical perspective.

This work is part of ARTICLE 19's evidence-based advocacy in order to promote and protect media freedom, independence and the public interest in an increasingly globalised, digitised and converged media landscape worldwide. While this is a contribution to other empirical research that relate the monitoring of media content with an analysis of public advertising and other means of public funding of the media, it is also hoped that the findings and conclusions of this report will serve to inform media reforms in Uganda, especially on the need for fairness in coverage of important political issues.

Online News Coverage – Candidates and Parties

This section contains aggregate results for the non-broadcast news sites featured in the analysis: *New Vision*, *Daily Monitor*, *The Observer*, *Red Pepper*, *Independent*, *Investigator*, *Insider*, and *ChimpReports*.

Aggregate Coverage – All Online Newspaper and Website Titles

Presidential Candidates

Figure 1 shows the number of online news articles in which each presidential candidate was mentioned. Incumbent candidate Yoweri Museveni was, by some distance, the most commonly-featured candidate across the sampled news outlets, appearing in 1,597 articles, over 500 more than the next most commonly-featured candidate, Kizza Besigye, who came second place in the election on 18 February. This may be partly due to an incumbency advantage, although the difference in articles mentioning the two candidates is substantial. The next placed candidate, Amama Mbabazi was mentioned in 558 articles.

The remaining five candidates – Abed Bwanika of the People's Development Party and independent candidates Benon Biraaro, Maureen Kyalya, Joseph Mabirizi and Venansius Baryamureeba each received far less coverage than the other three candidates, appearing in less than 200 articles each over the course of the month.

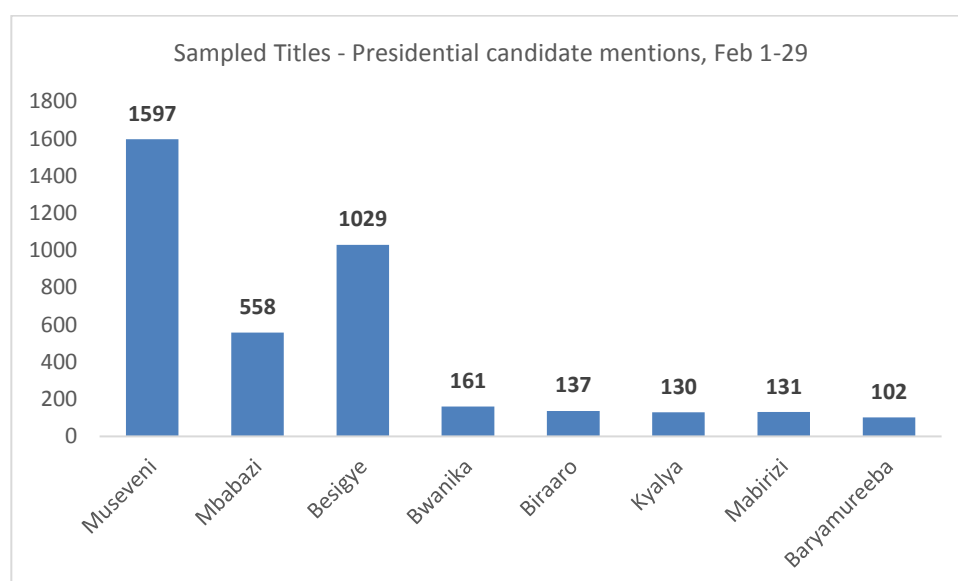


Figure 1: Articles mentioning presidential candidates, Feb 1-29 (All non-broadcast titles)

Table 1 shows the difference in aggregate coverage of the candidates before and after the election. It does not include coverage on the day of the election, 18 February. The data shows that Yoweri Museveni was covered significantly more often in the period before the election than in the period after. In the 17 days prior to the election, Museveni was mentioned in over 59 articles each day on average, while Besigye featured in just under 33 articles on average. After the election, there was a substantial relative drop of around 19% for Museveni, from 59.2 articles to 48 articles per day on average. In contrast, the number of articles mentioning Besigye increased after polling had taken place – a 15% rise from 32.7 articles on average before 18 February, to 37.5 afterwards. All other candidates, excluding Mbabazi, saw an increase in coverage.

	Pre/Post Election		Rate of Articles Per Day		
Presidential Candidate	1-17 Feb	19-29 Feb	Pre Rate	Post Rate	+/- Diff
Yoweri Museveni	1006	528	59.2	48.0	-19%
Amama Mbabazi	363	160	21.4	14.5	-32%
Kizza Besigye	556	413	32.7	37.5	+15%
Abed Bwanika	74	71	4.4	6.5	+48%
Benon Biraaro	61	61	3.6	5.5	+55%
Maureen Kyalya	51	58	3.0	5.3	+76%

Joseph Mabirizi	54	61	3.2	5.5	+75%
Venansius Baryamureeba	45	44	2.6	4.0	+51%

Table 1: Aggregate online news coverage of Presidential candidates, pre- and post- election

Political Parties

Figure 2 also shows that there were substantial imbalances in the volume of coverage of political parties. The information presented here reflects the number of articles in which each party was mentioned. It does not represent the correlation between mentions of presidential candidates and their affiliated parties. The National Resistance Movement (NRM), affiliated to Museveni, was the most commonly mentioned party, featuring in 1,303 articles. This was closely followed by the Forum for Democratic Change (FDC), affiliated to Kizza Besigye, which was mentioned in 998 articles. With the exception of the TDA-Go Forward movement, which was in distant third place with 256 articles containing a mention, the remaining parties were rarely covered, if at all.

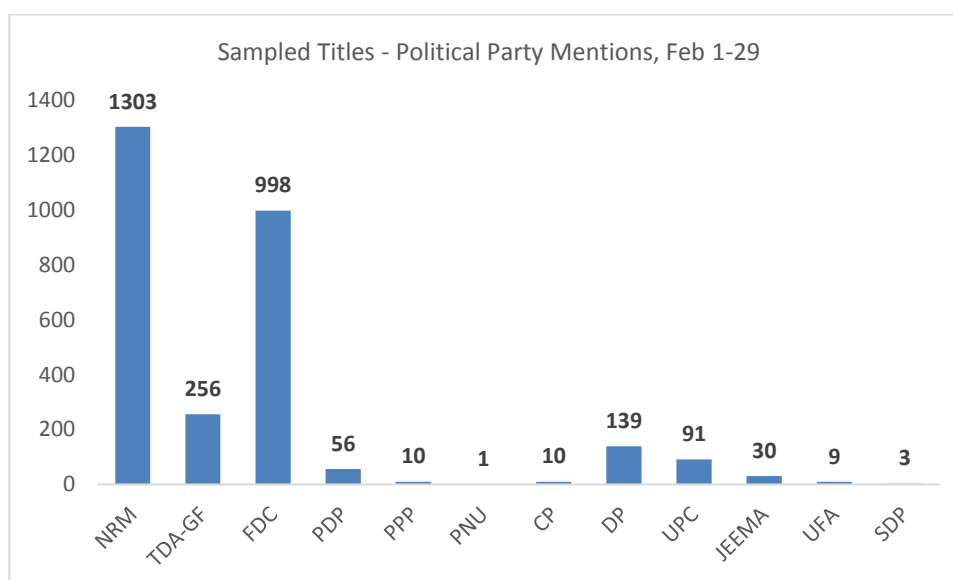


Figure 2: Articles mentioning political parties, Feb 1-29 (All non-broadcast titles)

Table 2 shows how the prevalence of party coverage was different in the periods before and after the election. Due to the low amounts of coverage of many of the political parties contesting the election, there are in most cases relatively small absolute changes in the average number of articles devoted to each party. However, it is clear that mentions of the FDC increased substantially after the election, from around 28 articles per day to 41.7, an increase of 13.7, or almost 50%. This may in part be due to an increase in coverage of Besigye following the election. In addition, TDA Go-Forward, already subject to relatively little coverage, dropped from being mentioned in 10.4 articles on average before the election to 6.5 after – a drop of over one-third.

	Pre/Post Election			
Political Party	1-17 Feb	19-29 Feb	Pre Rate	Post Rate
NRM (National Resistance Movement)	788	462	46.4	42.0
TDA-Go Forward	176	72	10.4	6.5
FDC (Forum for Democratic Change)	476	459	28.0	41.7
PDP (People's Development Party)	23	29	1.4	2.6
PPP (People's Progressive Party)	7	3	0.4	0.3
PNU (Pressure for National Unity)	0	1	0.0	0.1
CP (Conservative Party)	3	6	0.2	0.5
DP (Democratic Party)	77	59	4.5	5.4
UPC (Uganda People's Congress)	49	36	2.9	3.3
JEEMA (Justice Forum)	15	14	0.9	1.3
UFA (Uganda Federal Alliance)	6	3	0.4	0.3
SDP (Social Democratic Party)	0	3	0.0	0.3

Table 2: Aggregate online news coverage of political parties, pre- and post- election

Coverage in Selected Publications

In this section, selected publications from the sample are analysed separately to show the differences in volume of candidate, party and issue coverage between different titles, and especially different types of news sites. The newspapers *New Vision*, *Daily Monitor*, *The Observer* are explored, as are the online news sites *The Insider* and *ChimpReports*.

Presidential Candidates

Figures 3-5 (below) show the balance of candidate coverage in the online components of three newspapers, respectively, *New Vision*, *Daily Monitor*, and *The Observer*. As these graphs show, Yoweri Museveni was mentioned in substantially more articles than his rivals in these publications. The greatest disparity in coverage can be found in *New Vision*, where the incumbent featured in 425 articles, compared with 166 articles for Kizza Besigye – or just 39% of the number of articles in which Museveni was mentioned.

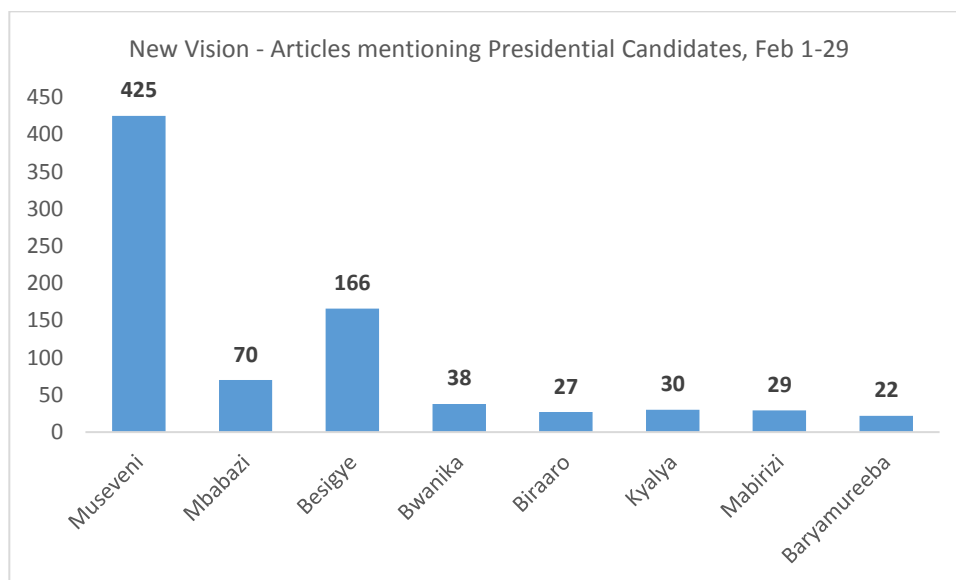


Figure 3: *New Vision* candidate coverage, Feb 1-29

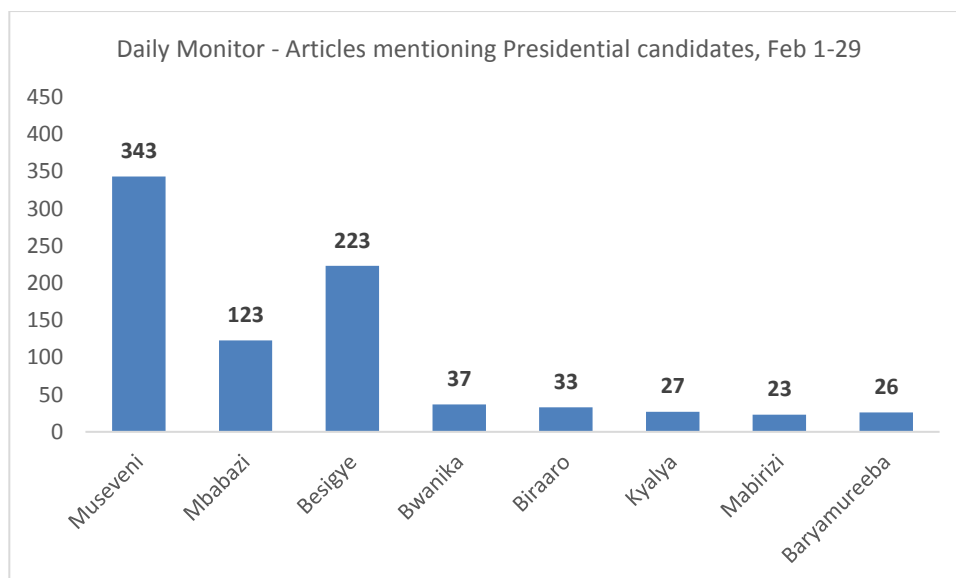


Figure 4: *Daily Monitor* candidate coverage, Feb 1-29

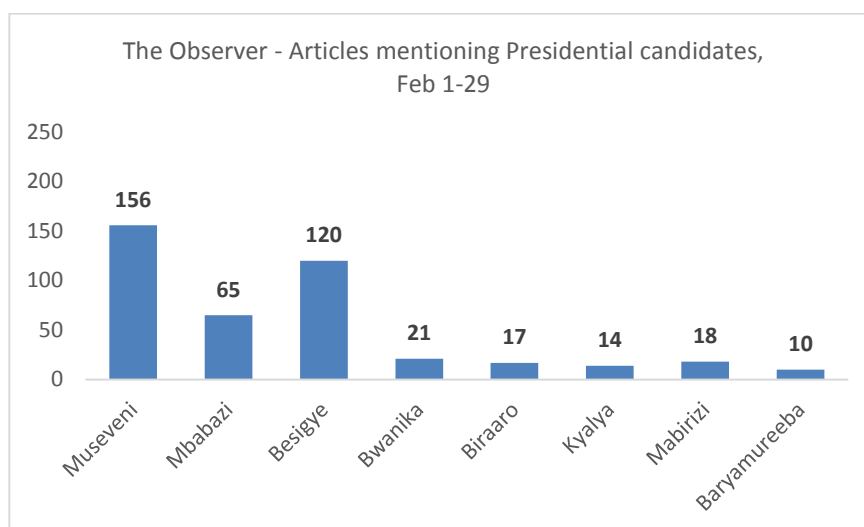


Figure 5: The Observer - Presidential Candidate Coverage, Feb 1-29

The advantage in coverage for Museveni was present in all three newspapers in the run-up to the election (Table 3). *New Vision* featured Museveni in nearly three times as many articles as his closest rival. In *Daily Monitor* Museveni was mentioned in one hundred more articles than Besigye – slightly under twice as often. In *The Observer*, Museveni remained the most-covered candidate, although the gap between him and other candidates was smaller.

	Mentions in Articles, Pre-Election (Feb 1-17)			
Candidate	Total	New Vision	Daily Monitor	The Observer
Yoweri Museveni	1006	272	225	95
Amama Mbabazi	363	46	78	44
Kizza Besigye	556	96	125	59
Abed Bwanika	74	14	23	8
Benon Biraaro	61	10	18	8
Maureen Kyalya	51	7	15	6
Joseph Mbirizi	54	9	10	9
Venansius Baryamureeba	45	8	15	6

Table 3: Presidential candidate mentions, Feb 1-17 (selected titles)

In online-only publications, the balance of coverage varied, as Figures 6 and 7 show. While both *The Insider* and *ChimpReports* again covered Museveni most often, in *ChimpReports* the incumbent appeared in only slightly more articles than Besigye – 193 articles versus 166. In *The Insider* the contrast was greater, with Museveni being featured in 298 articles to Besigye's 214.

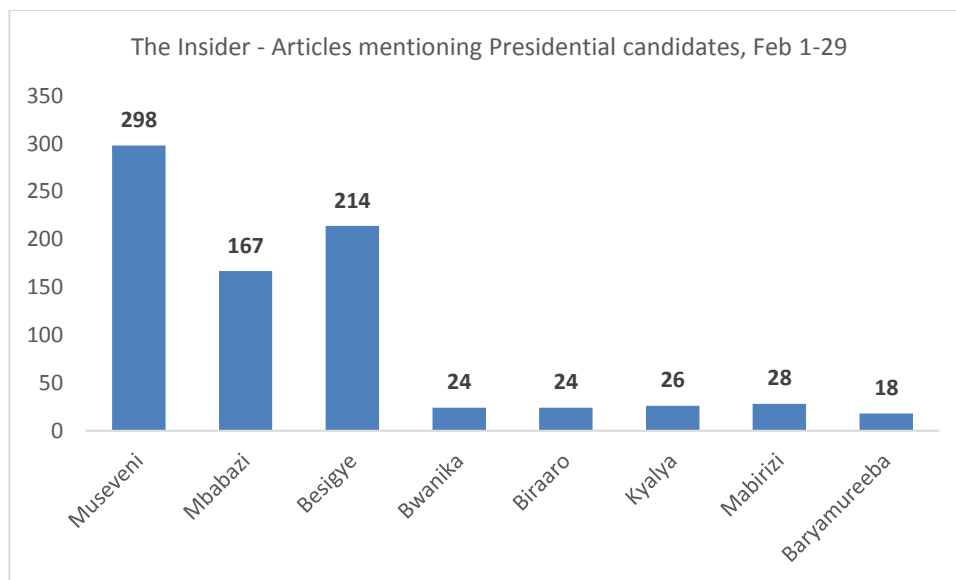


Figure 6: *The Insider* - Presidential candidate coverage, Feb 1-29

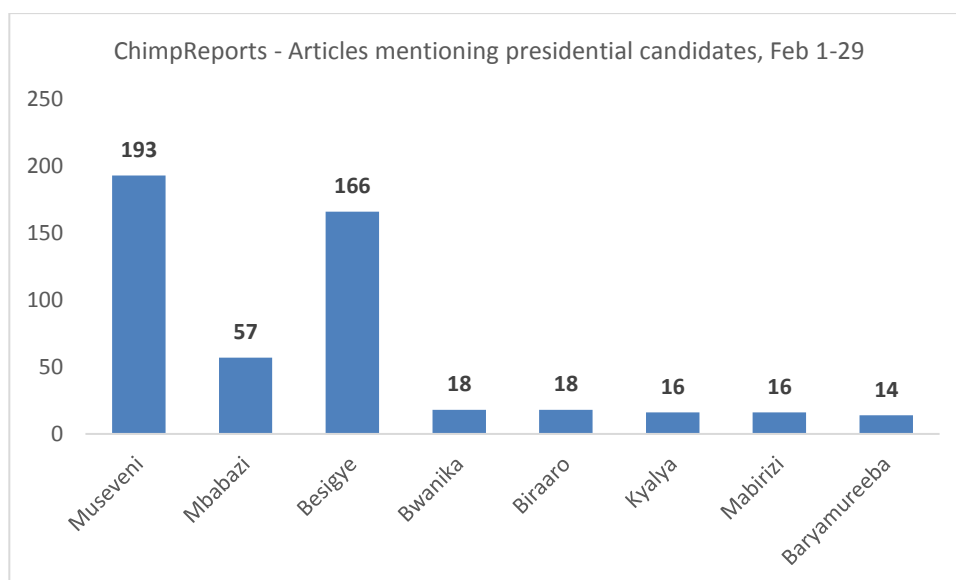


Figure 7: *ChimpReports* - Presidential candidate coverage, Feb 1-29

As Table 4 shows, the imbalance was also a feature of pre-election coverage in these titles – Museveni appeared in 186 articles published in *The Insider* in the 17 days prior to polling day, 69 more than Besigye, who was only marginally ahead of Mbabazi. *ChimpReports* also published more articles containing mentions of Museveni, though the difference was not as pronounced. On both online-only publications, marginal candidates found it difficult to obtain coverage. The remaining candidates each appeared in only a handful of articles in the run-up to polling day.

	Mentions in Articles, Pre-Election (Feb 1-17)		
Candidate	Total	The Insider	ChimpReports
Yoweri Museveni	1006	186	117
Amama Mbabazi	363	110	34
Kizza Besigye	556	117	86
Abed Bwanika	74	13	5
Benon Biraaro	61	13	5
Maureen Kyalya	51	12	6
Joseph Mabirizi	54	16	5
Venansius Baryamureeba	45	9	4

Table 4: Presidential candidate mentions, Feb 1-17 (selected titles)

Political Parties

As with presidential candidate coverage, in the three newspapers selected here, the National Resistance Movement (NRM) received more coverage than the other political parties (Figures 8-10). This was especially pronounced in *New Vision*, where the NRM was mentioned in more articles than all other parties combined, including more than double the next most-featured party, the Forum for Democratic Change (FDC). Although the NRM featured more often in both *Daily Monitor* and *The Observer*, the difference was less extreme – in both titles the FDC was mentioned in about four-fifths as many articles as the NRM. Smaller parties received very little or no coverage.

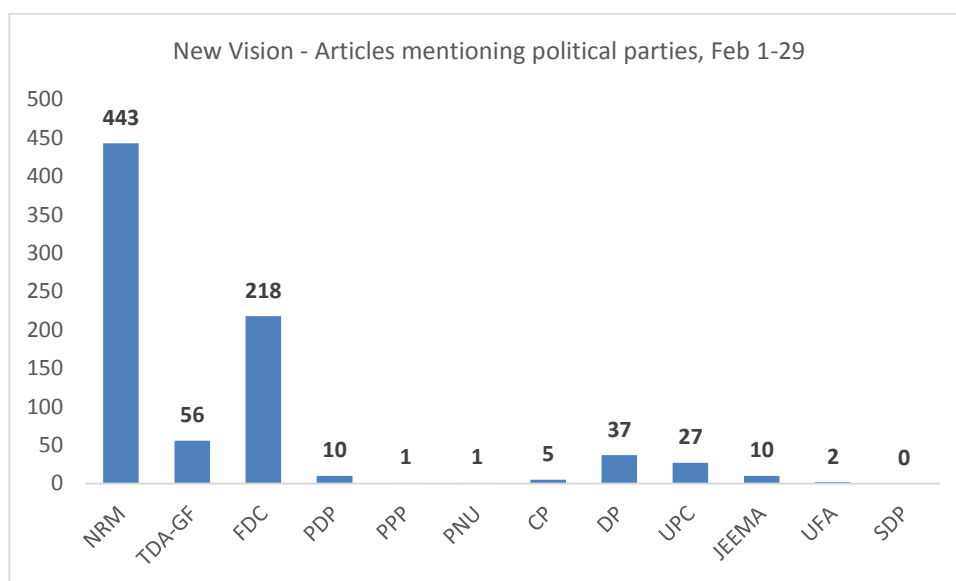


Figure 8: New Vision – Articles mentioning political parties, Feb 1-29

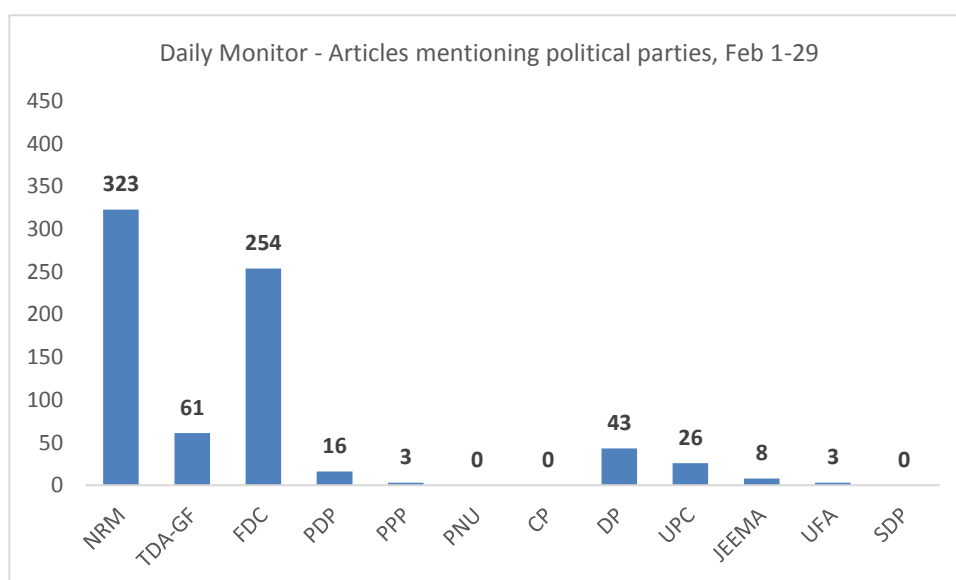


Figure 9: Daily Monitor - Articles mentioning political parties, Feb 1-29

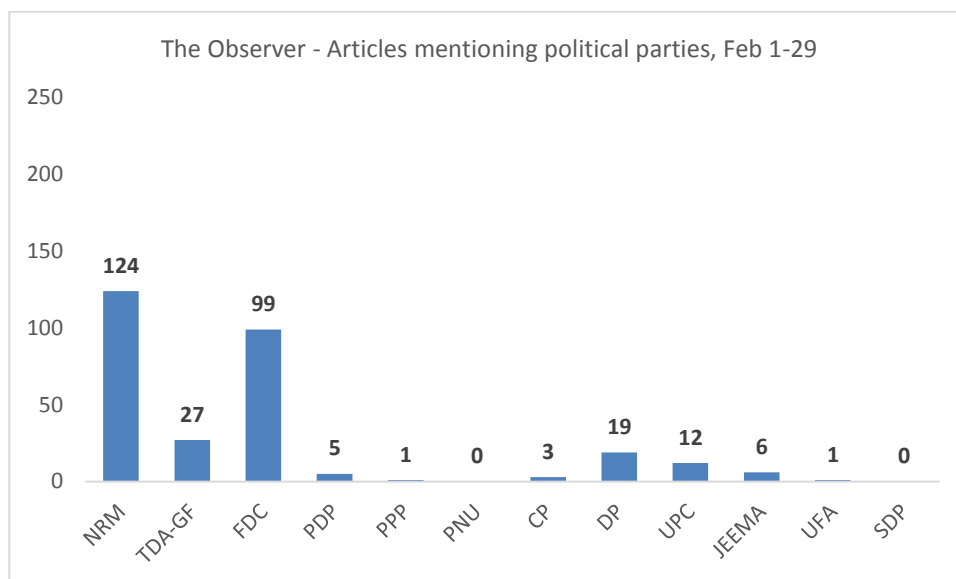


Figure 10: The Observer - Articles mentioning political parties, Feb 1-29

As Table 5 demonstrates, increased coverage for the NRM was evident in the run-up to the election, between 1 February and 17 February.

	Mentions in Articles, Pre-Election (Feb 1-17)			
Party	Total	New Vision	Daily Monitor	The Observer
NRM	788	268	198	71
TDA-Go Forward	176	37	45	21
FDC	476	96	127	43
PDP	23	4	8	2
PPP	7	1	3	1
PNU	0	0	0	0
CP	3	2	0	0

DP	77	18	26	10
UPC	49	17	12	4
JEEMA	15	7	4	1
UFA	6	1	2	1
SDP	0	0	0	0

Table 5: Articles mentioning political parties, Feb 1-17 (selected titles)

In contrast, in both selected online-only news websites, there was no substantial disparity in coverage between the two largest parties (Figures 11 and 12). Indeed, on both sites the FDC was mentioned in marginally more articles than the NRM. Again however, the remaining parties received very little coverage in comparison.

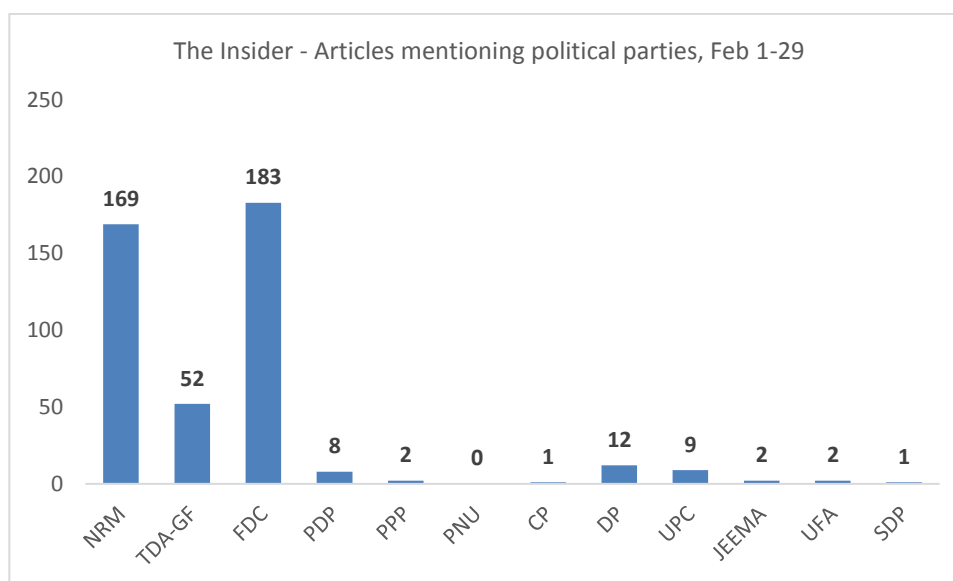


Figure 11: The Insider - Articles mentioning political parties, Feb 1-29

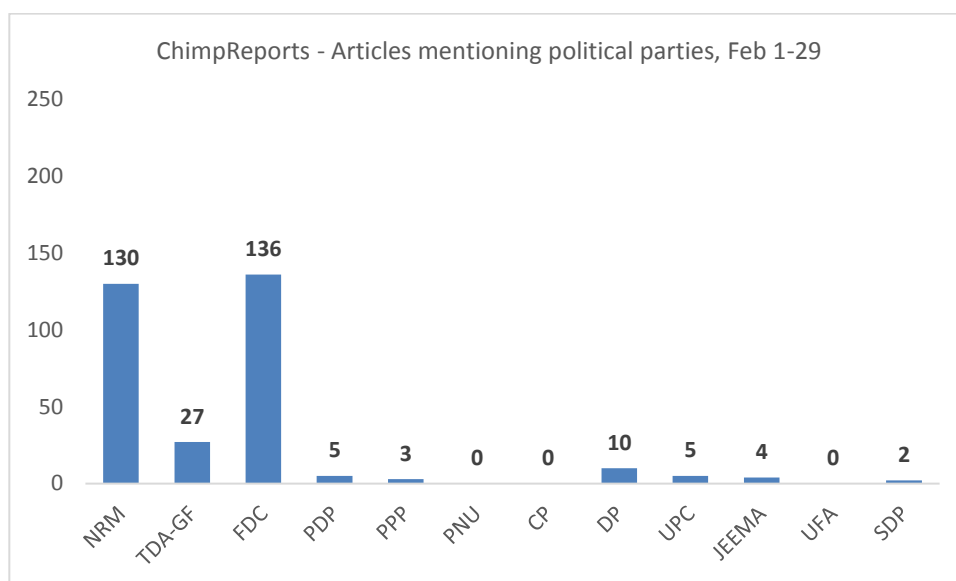


Figure 12: ChimpReports - Articles mentioning political parties, Feb 1-29

However, as Table 6 shows, both focused more on the NRM before the election. In the case of *The Insider* this difference was marginal – 5 articles over 17 days. On *ChimpReports*, there was a more substantial difference, more comparable to the traditional newspaper sites covered above.

	Mentions in Articles, Pre-Election (Feb 1-17)		
Party	Total	The Insider	ChimpReports
NRM	788	98	83
TDA-Go Forward	176	34	16
FDC	476	93	67
PDP	23	3	1
PPP	7	1	1
PNU	0	0	0
CP	3	0	0

DP	77	6	5
UPC	49	5	2
JEEMA	15	1	2
UFA	6	1	0
SDP	0	0	0

Table 6: Articles mentioning political parties, Feb 1-17 (selected titles)

Online News Coverage – Issue Agendas

This section outlines the media's issue agenda surrounding the election. The results summarised below show the number of articles in which each policy issue was mentioned. A short description of each issue area is included in the methodology section above, and the full dictionary of terms that were used to identify the presence of an issue within an article is included in Appendix 2.

Aggregate Coverage – All Online Newspaper and Website Titles

As Figure 13 shows, the most common issues during the month of February were process-related issues, as well as those relating to justice, democracy and individual rights. Specific policy areas such as security, education and the environment were also relatively prominent.

The most common issue was corruption, which featured in 1,326 articles across the eight publications. As the script in Appendix 2 demonstrates, corruption as an issue related to mentions of potential corrupt behaviour by political candidates or within political institutions, and concerns about electoral fraud. Security – relating to internal security and terrorism – was also a common theme of campaign coverage, appearing in over 1,000 articles, as did justice, relating to specific aspects of justice policy, but also general issues of justice, individual and civil rights, and human rights.

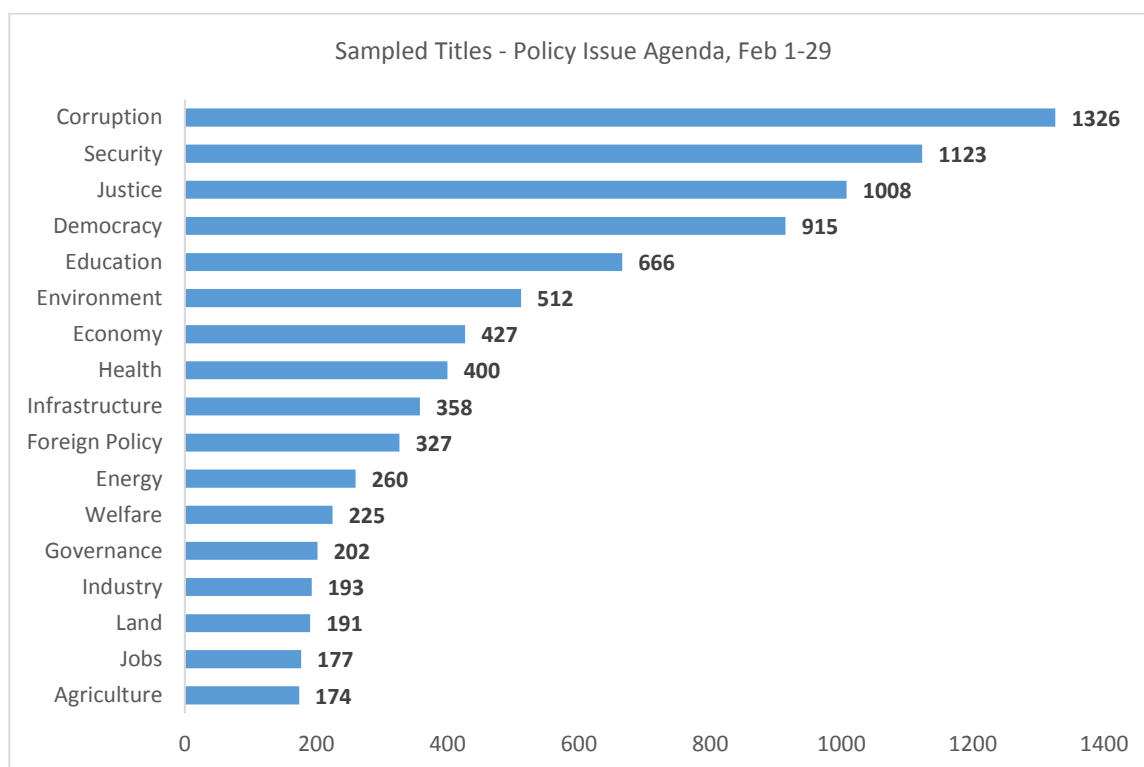


Figure 13: Number of articles in which each policy issue is mentioned, all titles

However, as Table 7 shows, there was a substantial difference in the media's issue agenda before and after the election. Prior to the election, security was the most prominent issue, featuring in over 41 articles each day on average. After the election, there was a reduction in articles referencing that policy area, which was also true for many of the other issues.

The exceptions to this trend of reduced issue coverage were corruption and democracy, both of which saw very substantial increases. For corruption, the daily article rate rose from 37.4 articles pre-election to 51.5 afterwards – an increase of around 38%. For democracy, which denotes issues relating to free speech, the role and maintenance of democracy, etc., the increase in article rates was even more pronounced – a 65% increase from 23.4 articles per day on average, to 38.7 articles per day.

	Pre/Post Election		Rate of Articles Per Day		
Issue	1-17 Feb	19-29 Feb	Pre Rate	Post Rate	+/- Diff
Corruption	636	567	37.4	51.5	14.1
Security	706	363	41.5	33.0	-8.5
Justice	605	368	35.6	33.5	-2.1
Democracy	397	426	23.4	38.7	15.4
Education	434	203	25.5	18.5	-7.1
Environment	306	190	18.0	17.3	-0.7
Economy	255	165	15.0	15.0	0.0
Health	286	110	16.8	10.0	-6.8
Infrastructure	227	124	13.4	11.3	-2.1
Foreign Policy	208	105	12.2	9.5	-2.7
Energy	179	76	10.5	6.9	-3.6
Welfare	131	84	7.7	7.6	-0.1
Industry	129	61	7.6	5.5	-2.0
Governance	131	64	7.7	5.8	-1.9
Land	123	59	7.2	5.4	-1.9
Agriculture	122	50	7.2	4.5	-2.6
Jobs	116	56	6.8	5.1	-1.7

Table 7: Policy Issue Agenda, Pre- and Post-Election (All Titles)

Issue Coverage in Selected Publications

Figures 14-18 contain the policy agenda breakdowns for each of the five selected newspaper and online-only news sites. For each of the publications, corruption is the most frequently featured issue. Security remains in second place for all but one publication – *Daily Monitor* – and justice and democracy also remain amongst the five most covered issues in each publication.

Certain publications contained comparatively more coverage of particular policy areas. Education was commonly featured in *New Vision*, appearing in 207 articles between 1 and 29 February, and health was also featured more than average in that title.

Both online-only publications (*The Insider* and *ChimpReports*) contained more foreign policy coverage relative to other issues than the traditional news sites, while *The Insider* contained more focus on the environment as a policy issue.

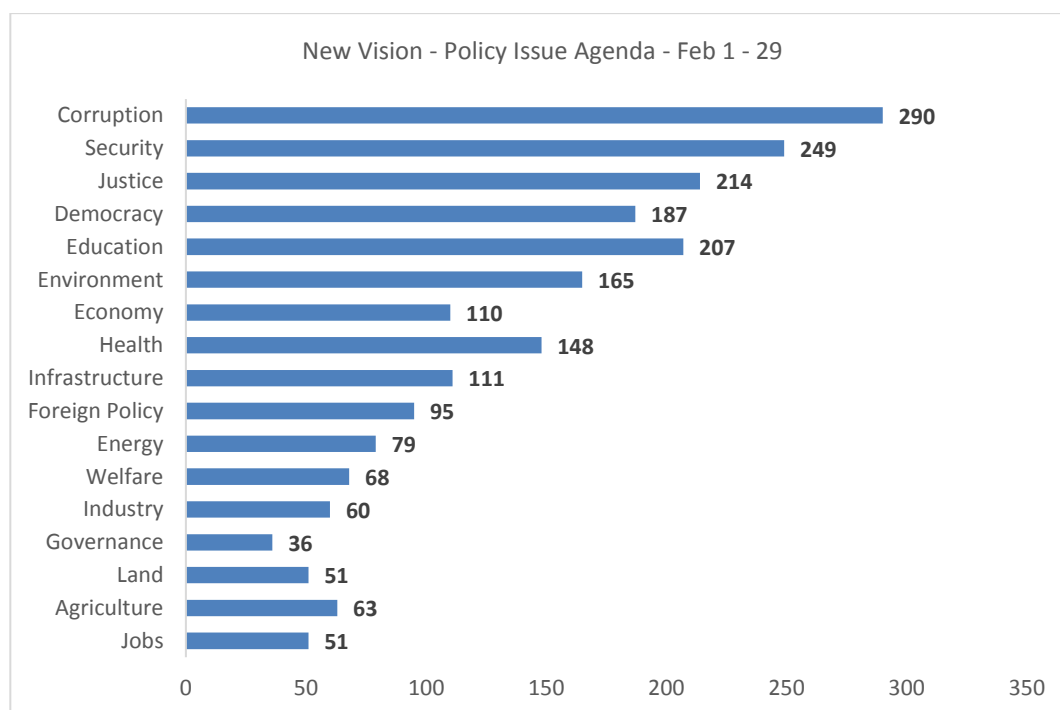


Figure 14: New Vision - Policy Issue Agenda, Feb 1-29

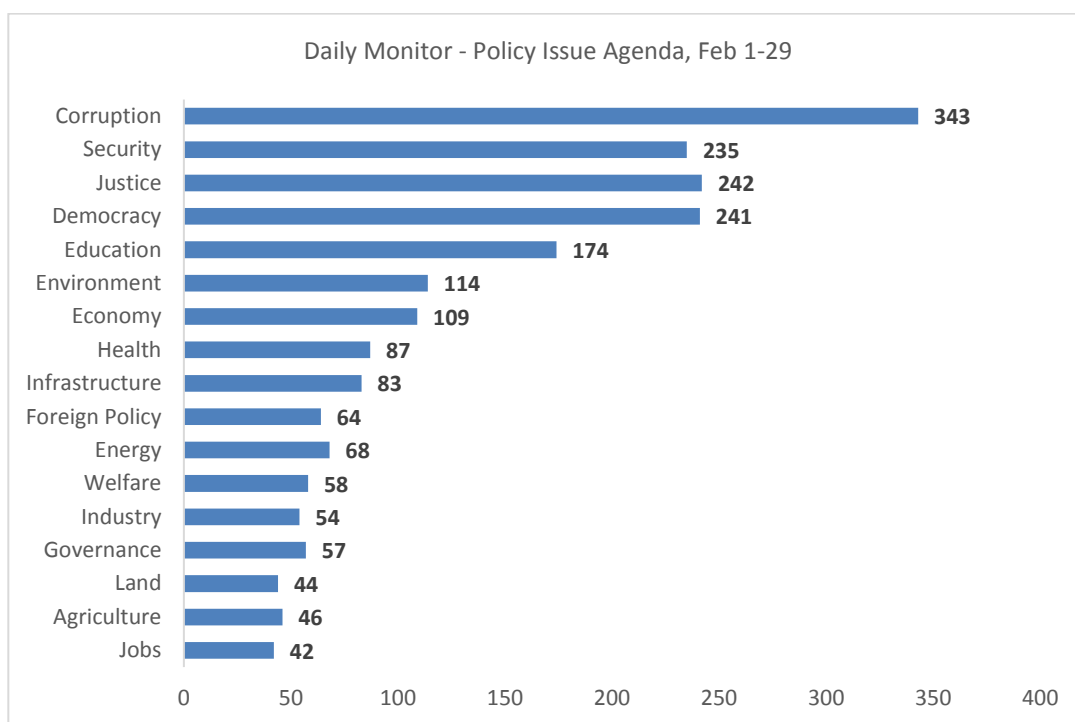


Figure 15: Daily Monitor - Policy Issue Agenda, Feb 1-29

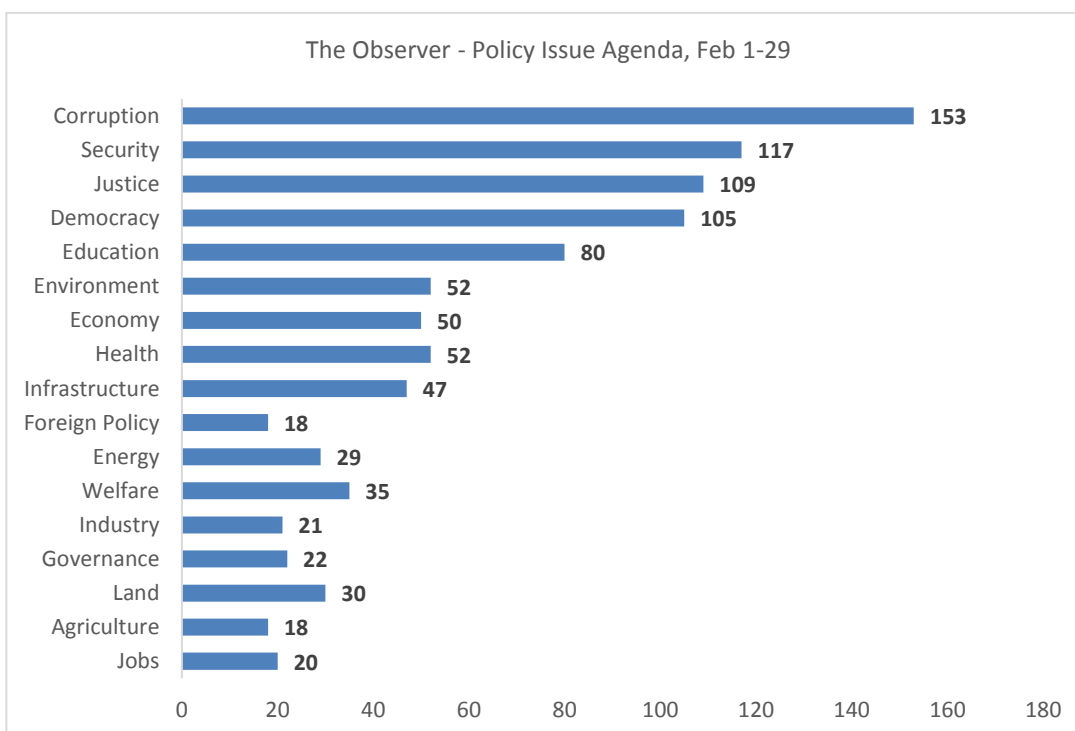


Figure 16: The Observer - Policy Issue Agenda, Feb 1-29

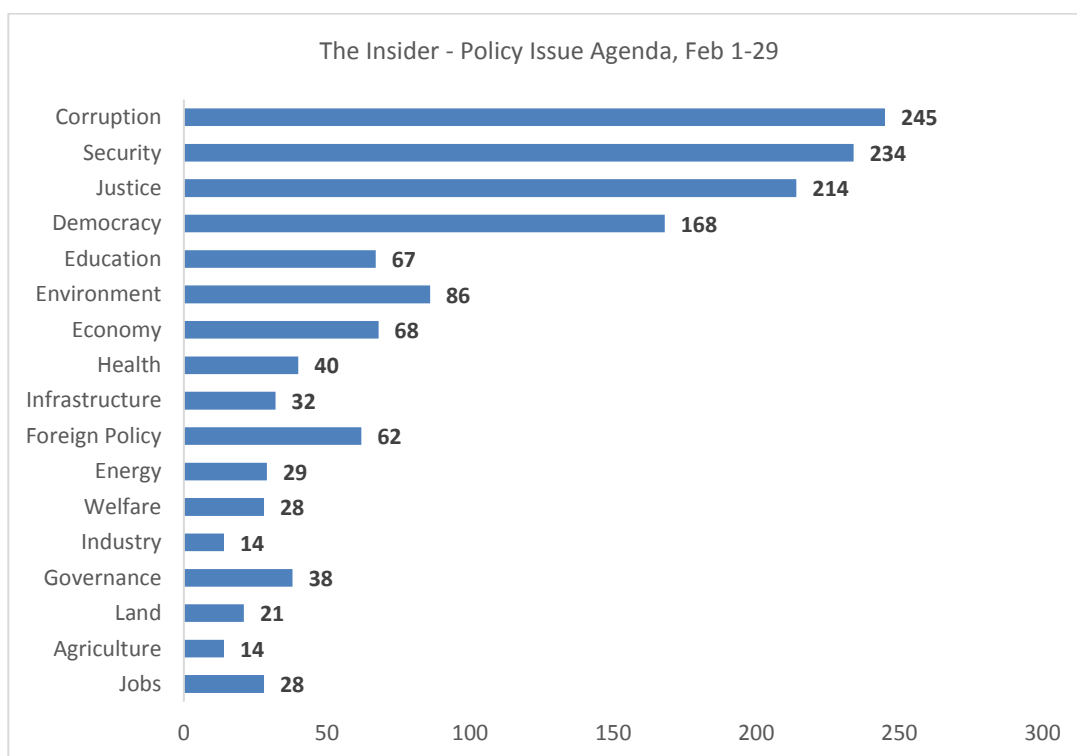


Figure 17: The Insider - Policy Issue Agenda, Feb 1-29

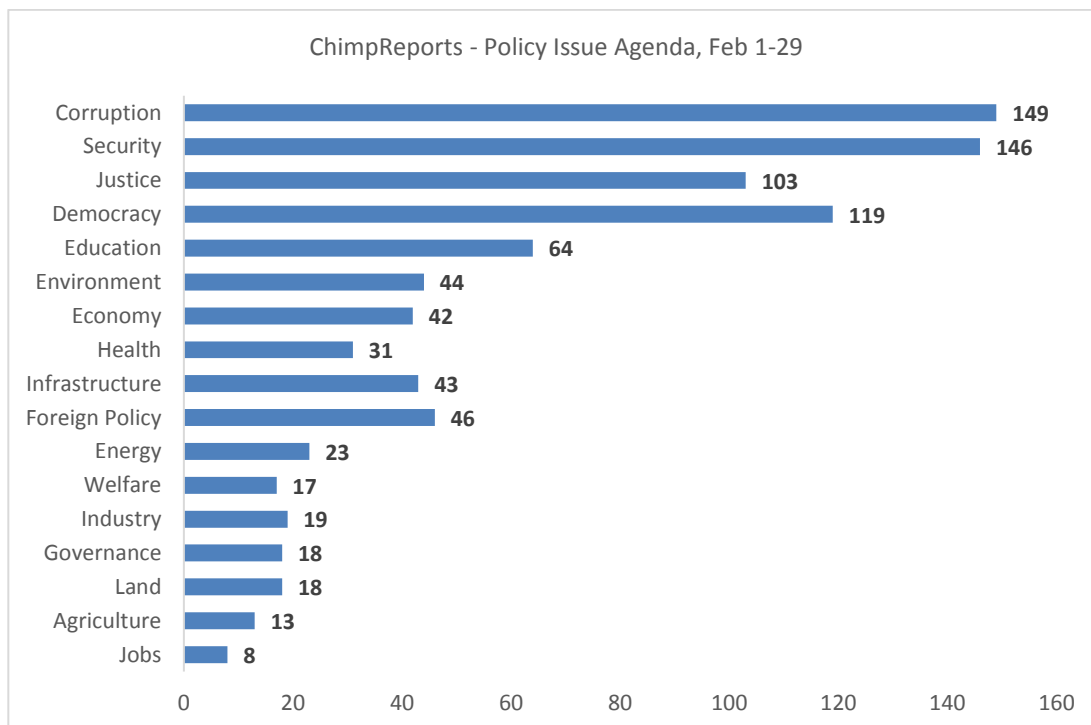


Figure 18: ChimpReports - Policy Issue Agenda, Feb 1-29

Issue Coverage in Detail

Each of the issues included in the policy issue agenda consists of a number of complex and overlapping factors. As the script dictionaries in Appendix 2 show, in order to determine whether or not a policy area is covered in a news article, it is necessary to determine which factors are relevant. For example, an article will be considered as referring to health policy where it covers some aspect of: specific health policy initiatives; mentions of relevant government departments, ministers or spokespeople; other connected issues (e.g. disease, chronic illness, hospital waiting times), and so on.

By compiling issue lists in this way, it is possible to work out which sub-issues within policy categories were most frequently featured. In this section, the five most commonly-referenced policy areas are analysed to show which supplementary issues were focused on in media coverage.

1. Corruption

Corruption was the most frequently-mentioned policy area in the sampled media during the month of February. As shown above, it was particularly common after the results were announced on polling day.

Within corruption coverage, the most frequent references were to accusations of vote rigging (the phrase “vote rigging” featured in 89 articles; general references to “rigging” were found in 343 articles), to general references to “corruption” (248 articles), and to missing ballot papers/stuffed ballot boxes (149 articles). References to “fraud” or “fraudulent” behaviour were common, as was the need for “free and fair election[s]” (99 articles). The Electoral Commission was also frequently referenced in many articles in conjunction with other terms related to corruption (e.g. bribe/bribes/bribery, rigged/rigging, corrupt/corruption – these combinations accounted for 286 articles).

2. Security

Security was a common theme in election coverage, particularly prior to polling day, and was the second most common issue in all sampled coverage. In practice, the coverage of security centred on the phenomena of terrorism (and associated organisations and regional instability), and official and unofficial domestic groups. These included the police, the Ugandan People’s Defence Force (UPDF), the militias and volunteer “Crime Preventers”.

Specific references to the UPDF (232 articles) and generally to “security agencies” (83 articles) and “security forces” (117) were the most common theme, although the person and/or office of the Inspector General of Police (151 articles) and the “police force” (109 articles) were also common. “Crime Preventers” – including references to the Crime Preventers programme – were mentioned in 143 articles, and references to “militias” (101 articles) were also prominent.

The issue of terrorism and regional instability was also raised in different ways. General references to “terrorists”/“terrorism” were located in 110 articles, though there were some references to the groups Al-Shabaab (40 articles, including multiple variations of the name) and Boko Haram (14 articles). There were also a significant number of references to regional conflicts and civil wars in a security context.

3. Justice

Related to the issue of justice, the most common themes concerned intimidation (316 articles) and human rights (224 articles). Concern with concepts such as the “rule of law” – which appeared in 59 articles – and “law and order” (69 articles) was also articulated regularly.

There were a number of articles about judicial institutions (e.g. the Attorney General – 65 articles; the Supreme Court – 70 articles; the Director of Public Prosecutions – 26 articles) and the judicial system in general (45 articles). The case of former General and Coordinator of Intelligence David Sejusa was also referenced frequently, appearing in 164 articles.

4. Democracy

Democracy – the fourth most commonly referenced issue in aggregate coverage – was often referred to in abstract terms (“democracy” – 157 articles; “democratic” – 342 articles; “freedom”/“freedoms” – 93 articles), and references to democracy-oriented NGOs (the Citizens’ Coalition for Electoral Democracy in Uganda – 24 articles; the Citizens’ Election Observer Network – 30 articles; the EU election observation mission – 44 articles).

The Electoral Commission was often referenced alongside democratic terms – combined references to the Commission alongside “democracy”/“democratic” or “freedom”/“freedoms” yielded 466 articles.

5. Education

Education – in fifth place – was the highest-ranked issue in terms of discrete areas of social policy. References to education and education policy most often revolved around types of educational institution and relevant government ministers.

Primary schools (173 articles) and “primary education” generally (23) were commonly referenced, as were secondary schools (79) and technical institutes (21). These references tended to focus on the need for investment/spending rather than on specific policy initiatives, although references to universal primary education (15 articles) and primary leaving examinations (12 articles) did feature. The Minister of Education and Sports, Jessica Alupo, was also commonly referenced (53 articles).

Online News Coverage – Sources

This section contains a breakdown of how often different party spokespeople (not including affiliated presidential candidates) were featured in articles in the sampled publications. The full list of party spokespeople and their affiliations is included in Appendix 3 below. The analysis here does not contain the content or prominence of their mention, nor whether they were quoted directly. Instead, it is a list of how frequently spokespeople or prominent figures connected to the different political parties appeared in news coverage.

The list of party spokespeople was populated by recording which individuals were mentioned in articles. Once individuals were recorded as being affiliated to a party, they were then added to the list, which was continually refined and updated over the course of the analysis. It is therefore not necessarily a comprehensive list of all spokespeople for each party – it is a list of those who featured in the sampled articles in this analysis.

Where instances of different spelling of names was recorded, these spellings were also added to the list. Where spokespeople were also affiliated to the TDA-Go Forward (TDA-GF) movement they were recoded twice, as a spokesperson for their original party and for TDA-GF.

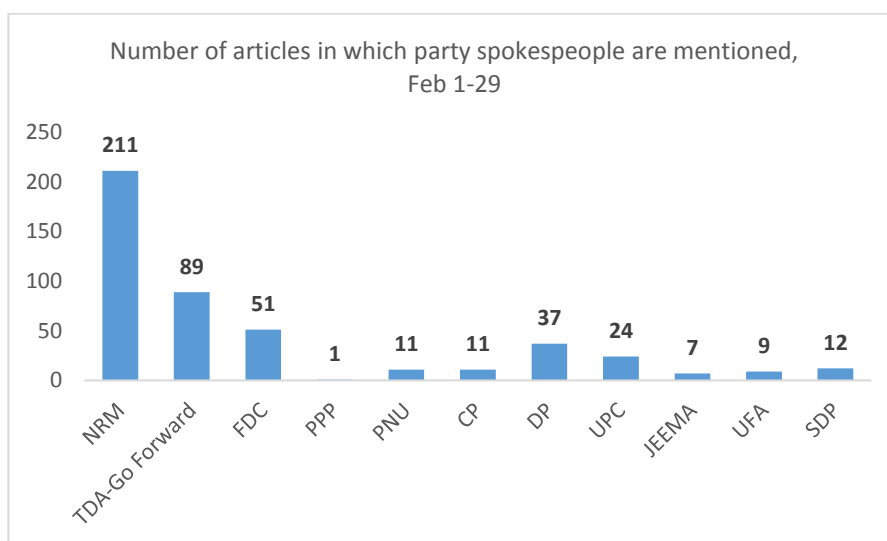


Figure 19: Articles mentioning party spokespeople, all online publications (Feb 1-29)

Party	Total	New Vision	D. Monitor	Observer	Red Pepper	Indepen.	Invest.	Insider	ChimpRep.
NRM	211	33	46	36	11	8	8	40	29
TDA-GF	89	12	25	19	2	5	7	9	10
FDC	51	7	6	27	1	1	1	8	0
PPP	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
PNU	11	4	2	2	1	0	0	2	0
CP	11	3	2	2	1	0	2	1	0
DP	37	4	12	10	1	2	3	3	2
UPC	24	9	5	3	0	0	0	5	2
JEEMA	7	0	2	2	0	0	0	1	2
UFA	9	3	2	1	0	1	0	1	1
SDP	12	0	2	2	0	3	3	0	2

Table 8: Articles mentioning party spokespeople, by publication (Feb 1-29)

As Figure 19 shows, National Resistance Movement (NRM) spokespeople were considerably more visible than their counterparts in other parties. Spokespeople for NRM were mentioned in 211 articles, considerably more than the other parties. This is in part explained by the benefits of incumbency – Prime Minister Dr. Ruhakana Rugunda was present in approximately a quarter of all articles in which a NRM spokesperson was mentioned. However, it is clear that the party enjoyed a considerably more prominent voice during the period of study. As Table 8 demonstrates, this advantage was present across all publications, although this does not take into account the tone of coverage.

Twitter Content During the Campaign

In addition to online news coverage during February, this project also analysed the output of a preselected list of Twitter profiles affiliated with the parties, candidates, NGOs, media outlets and politically-active individuals during the campaign. The full list of profiles is included in Appendix 1 below. In summary, it consisted of:

- 66 Candidate or Party-affiliated profiles
- 30 Government-affiliated profiles
- 18 Official profiles of NGOs/similar organisations
- 26 News publishing organisations
- 109 Profiles of individual journalists (not included below for reasons of privacy)

The Twitter analysis used a slightly adapted script, taking account of abbreviations and other shortcuts necessitated by the platform's 140-character limit. Generally, however, care was taken to retain all content from the online news analysis script (listed in Appendix 2), to maximise the accuracy of the Twitter script. As far as possible, the list of policy issues covered remains identical.

Party and Candidate Communication on Twitter

Presidential Candidate Profiles

Figure 20 shows what appears to be a considerable disparity between how active the profiles affiliated to the presidential candidates were during the sampled time period. Certainly, the output of the @AbedBwanika profile was far higher than the rest of the profiles combined. However, of the 928 tweets published by the account between 1 and 29 February, 769 were retweets, often of supportive messages. Even so, the profile published more tweets than each of the other candidates. In general, however, the profiles were relatively quiet during the campaign, publishing fewer than four tweets per day on average (@AbedBwanika excluded).

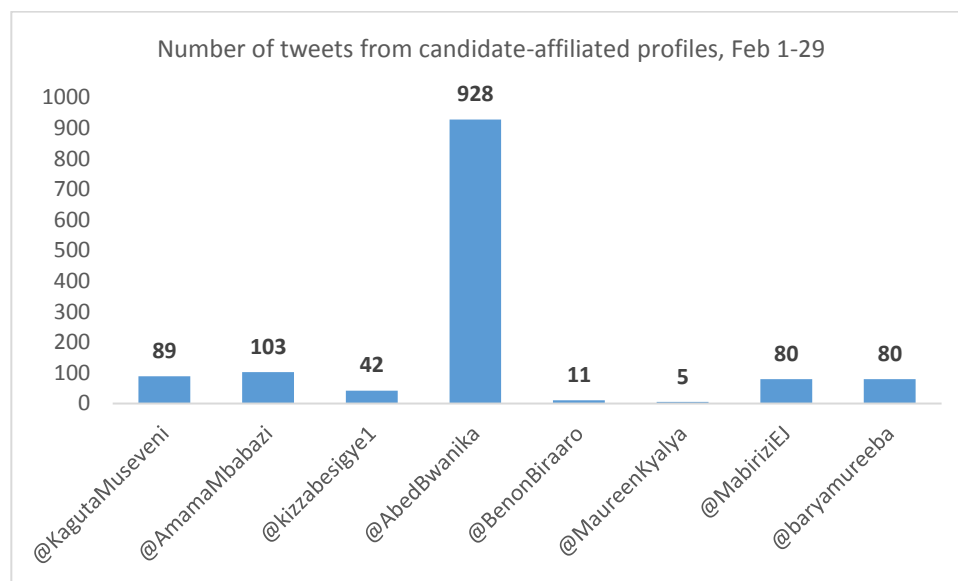


Figure 20: Number of tweets, candidates' profiles, Feb 1-29

Official Party Profiles

The volume of output from the @AbedBwanika profile can also partly be explained by the fact that it doubled as the main Twitter account of the People's Development Party (PDP). While some of the other parties did not have an active profile during the period of analysis, most of the other main parties had a separate party profile (JEEMA did appear to have a functioning Twitter profile - @JEEMAUganda – although it did not publish during the month of February). These party profiles were as follows:

- @NRMOnline (NRM)
- @goforward2016 (TDA-GF)
- @FDCOfficial1 (FDC)
- @AbedBwanika (PDP)
- @DPSecretariat1 (DP)

Figure 21 shows the number of tweets published on each account (including the figures for the @AbedBwanika profile). For the Forum for Democratic Change (FDC) profile, the contrast between the @FDCOfficial1 profile (1,339 tweets) and the @kizzabesigye1 profile (42 tweets), the contrast is substantial, with the party profile tweeting on average 46 times per day during the month of February. Slightly over half of these (741) were retweets, but a large proportion was original content.

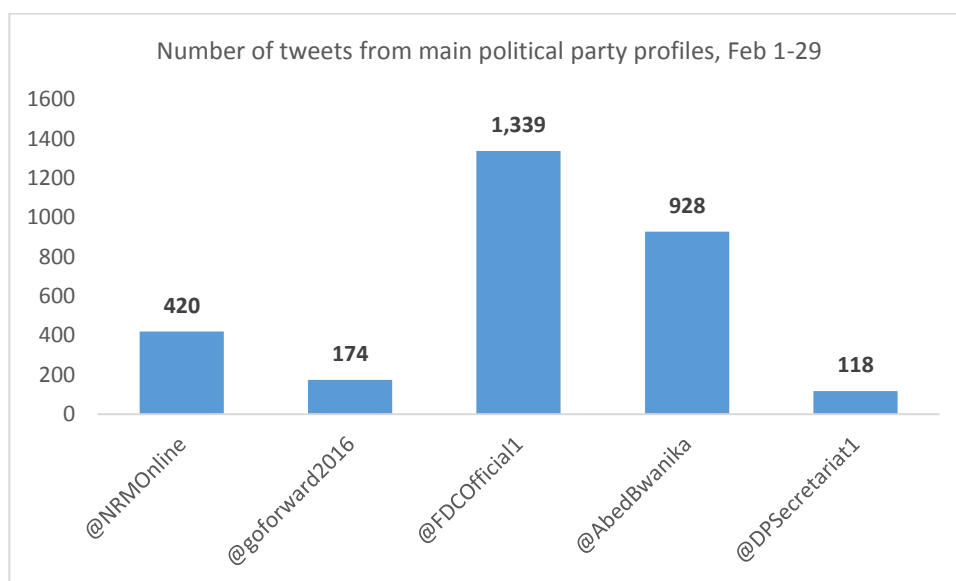


Figure 21: Number of tweets - main party profiles, Feb 1-29

Generally, those parties with both a party profile and a candidate profile did publish more on the party profiles. The NRM profile, @NRMOnline published over four times as many tweets as those published on the profile in the name of Yoweri Museveni. Overall, there was a substantial difference in how some parties chose to use Twitter as a communication medium during the campaign.

Candidate and Party Mentions on Twitter

In addition to the output from their own profiles, the project also recorded the number of times each candidate and party was mentioned by the preselected sample of Twitter accounts. As Figures 22 and 23 show, the balance of coverage of candidates and parties was in some ways similar to that observed in online news coverage of the campaign. Museveni and Besigye both received considerably more coverage than other candidates, with Museveni receiving the most. Most other candidates received relatively little coverage in comparison.

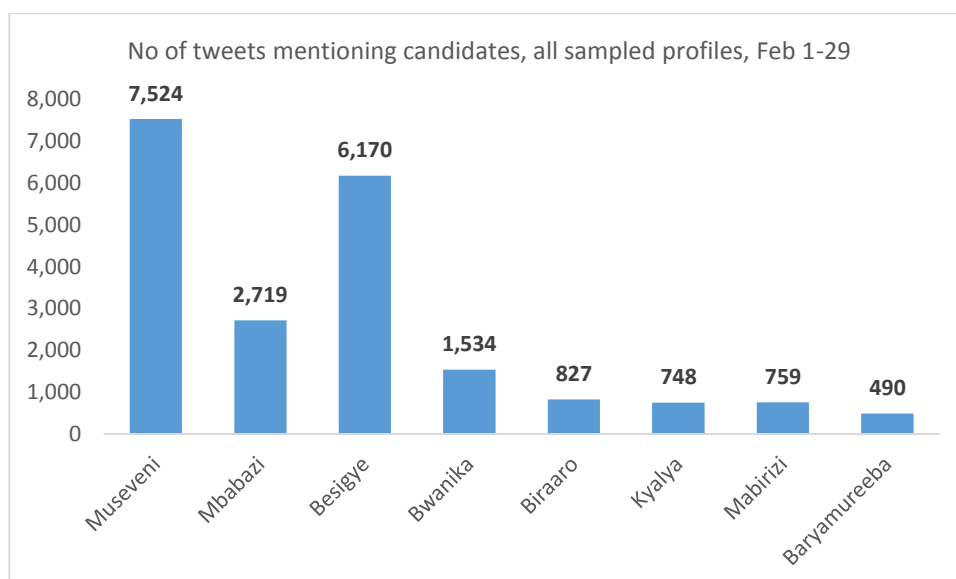


Figure 22: No of tweets mentioning candidates (all profiles), Feb 1-29

The NRM received considerably more mentions on Twitter than any other party – almost exactly double the number of mentions than the FDC. The remainder of the parties were seldom, if at all, mentioned.

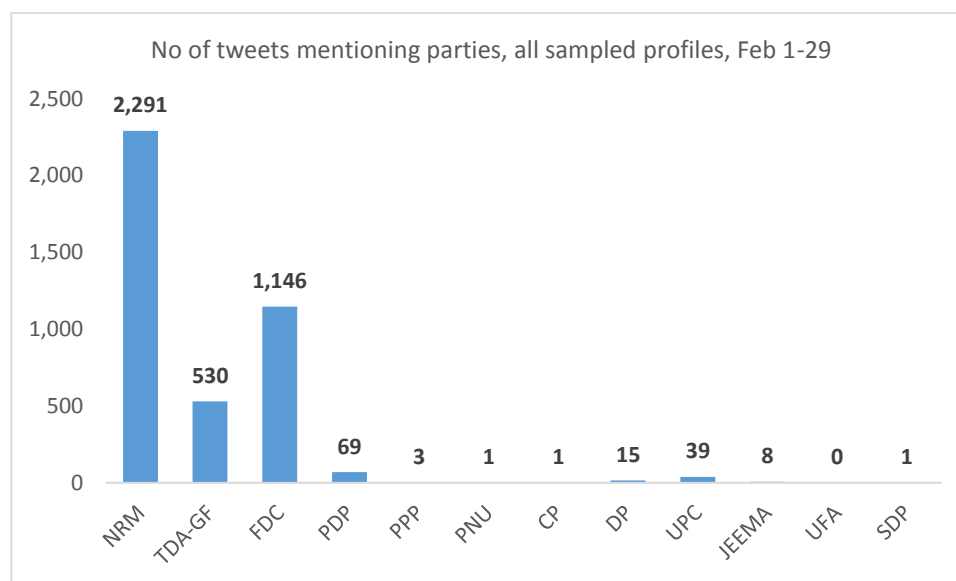


Figure 23: No of tweets mentioning parties (all profiles), Feb 1-29

Use of Hashtags

The use of hashtags on Twitter was relatively widespread, with generic hashtags related to the election itself and the presidential debates used extensively. Party-political hashtags were used, with limited effect – especially negative hashtags designed to criticise or ridicule opponents.¹

By far the most popular hashtag used by the selected profiles during February was #UgandaDecides. This was published in 15,251 tweets, almost a quarter of the approximately 66,000 tweets gathered for this analysis. The next most commonly used hashtag was #UGDebate16 – attached to the presidential debate in the run-up to polling day. This hashtag was used in 5,421 published tweets.

Parties and their supporters did use hashtags to generate and register support. The @NRMOnline Twitter profile frequently used the hashtag #SteadyProgress, which featured in 191 tweets from the profile. The hashtag itself was used over 630 times during the campaign. The hashtag #VoteNRM was less common, yet still appeared in 143 tweets.

The FDC's most popular hashtag by far was #WesigeBesigye, which featured in 689 tweets in total, 368 of which were published by the @FDCOfficial1 profile. Interestingly, 223 of these were retweets, suggesting that one aspect of the FDC Twitter strategy was to increase the circulation of hashtags and supportive messages via interaction with supporters. In contrast, the 191 tweets by @NRMOnline mentioning the #SteadyProgress hashtag contained just 13 retweets.

¹ The software used to identify and analyse hashtags for this project does not have the capacity to distinguish between single words preceded by a hashtag and the word itself (i.e. '#Museveni' vs 'Museveni'). Therefore these hashtags are not included in this analysis, due to the time and resources required to manually distinguish between hashtags and non-hashtags in this context.

The TDA-Go Forward movement had a number of relatively popular hashtags: #IStandWithAmama was used 206 times, while #AmamaTrail and #Amama2016 were used 186 times and 161 times, respectively. The general slogan #GoForward2016 was also used 153 times.

Negative hashtags were considerably less evident. The hashtag #WhenSevoLeavesPower, speculating about the possibility of a loss for Museveni, gained some prominence on 1 February, featuring in 40 tweets. However, this popularity did not last, and the hashtag featured only once more throughout the following month.

The Election Day Twitter Shutdown

On Election Day, 18 February, the Ugandan government temporarily blocked access to certain social media and mobile money sites, including Twitter, citing security and bribery concerns. This was reportedly done at the request of the Ugandan Communication Commission.²

In practice, this did not reduce the amount of activity on Twitter during the day of the campaign. In fact, as Figure 24 shows, polling day actually saw the second-highest number of tweets posted on any day during the month of February. In total, the preselected sample of Twitter profiles published 5,534 tweets, second only to the number of tweets published on the day of the presidential debate, on 13 February (6,873 tweets). Both amounts were considerably higher than the average daily rate (typically between 1,500 and 2,000 tweets per day).

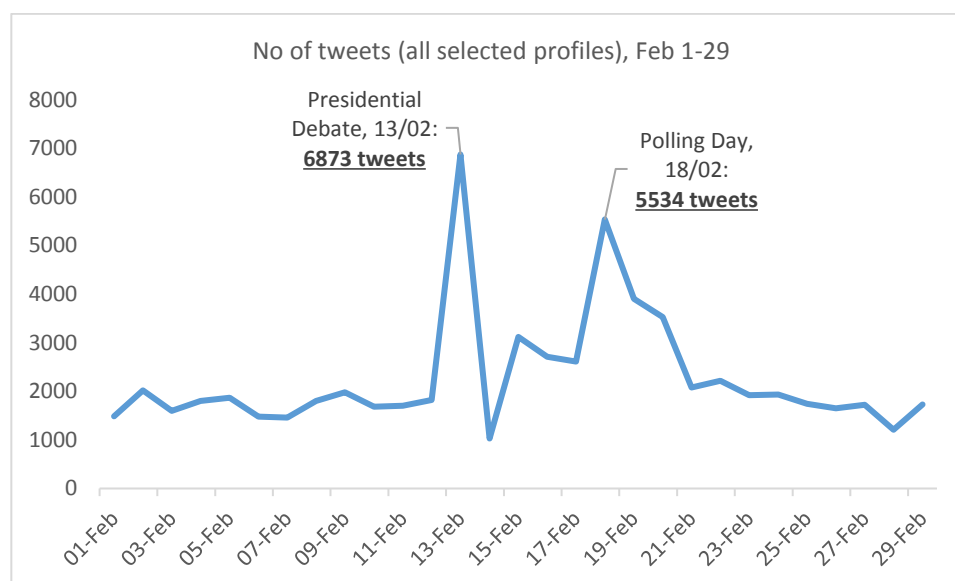


Figure 24: Total tweets per day (all selected profiles), Feb 1-29

Many of the tweets published on 18 February were retweets, and around half contained links to other sites, often involving information-sharing to access the blocked platforms. Many of these links directed users to Virtual Private Network (VPN) software, and on the day 102 tweets referred to VPNs, or linked to VPN sites. Information and complaints about the blocking of platforms was also quite common, featuring in 127 tweets.

² <http://www.ibtimes.com/uganda-elections-2016-social-media-facebook-twitter-instagram-whatsapp-blocked-during-2312671>.

Policy Issue Agendas on Twitter

Comparing the policy issues that were most commonly referenced in tweets, it is clear that, while there are some significant differences between the Twitter sample and the online news sample, there are also some broad similarities.

Figure 25 presents the list of policy areas in the same order as for online news sites as discussed earlier in this report. This allows for a rough comparison of the issue agendas of each group. As the graph shows, the top four most common policy areas in online news sources remain the four most popular policy areas on Twitter, though in a very different order.

Corruption, the most common theme in online news, was only the fourth most popular issue among the group of Twitter profiles sampled here. Democracy was the most commonly-referenced issue. Many tweets refer to the need for, or importance of “democracy” (301 tweets); “free and fair” elections (225 tweets); freedom (155 tweets); and fear of election violence (76 tweets).

Security was also a very common theme within tweets. The UPDF were frequently referenced (431 tweets), as were general references to the Ugandan Army (390 tweets). The Inspector General of Police, Kale Kayihura, was also mentioned frequently (253 tweets) as were Crime Preventers (177 tweets).

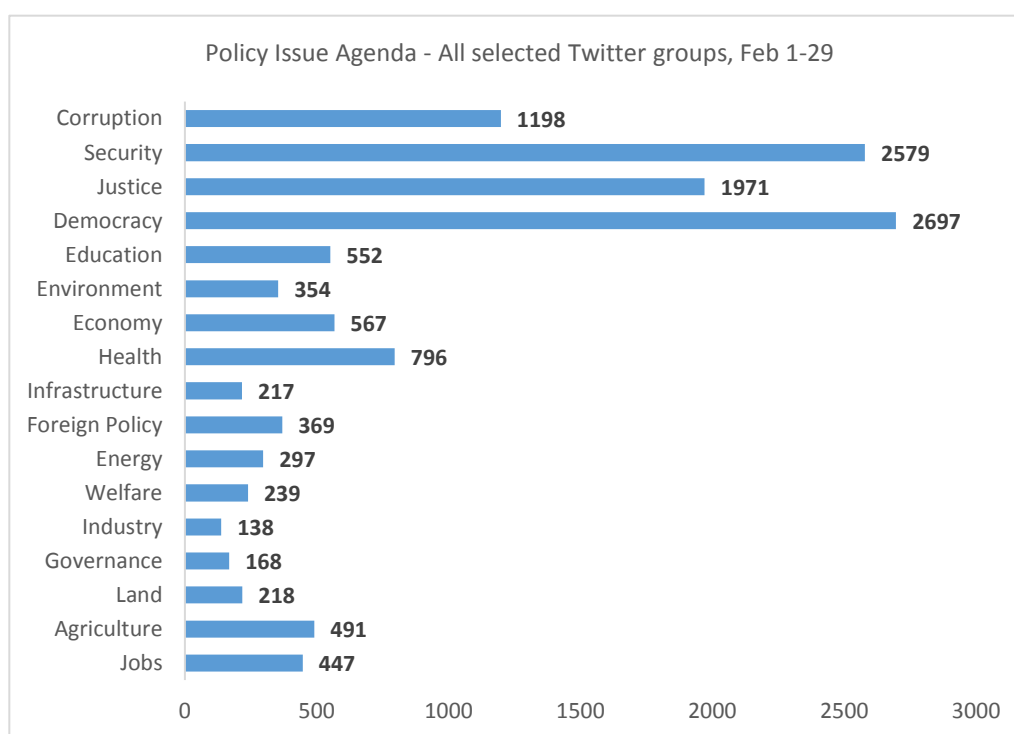


Figure 25: Policy Issue Agenda, All selected Twitter groups, Feb 1-29

	Twitter Groups							
Policy	Total	Cands	PartyHQ	Parties	Govt	NGOs	Media	Influencers
Jobs	447	12	13	119	30	22	104	147
Agriculture	491	15	33	144	14	9	187	89
Land	218	4	6	58	7	12	87	44
Governance	168	2	17	71	1	18	29	30
Industry	138	2	7	30	7	9	53	30
Welfare	239	5	4	58	9	9	90	64
Energy	297	9	11	71	32	12	80	82
Foreign Policy	369	9	10	65	30	22	126	107
Infrastructure	217	3	13	46	11	12	79	53
Health	796	7	32	193	38	40	251	235
Economy	567	8	13	100	103	82	132	129
Environment	354	6	12	109	14	31	118	64
Education	552	13	46	176	20	38	157	102
Democracy	2697	66	133	670	309	486	578	455
Justice	1971	12	41	336	32	396	790	364
Security	2579	54	103	890	154	168	698	512
Corruption	1198	18	68	431	69	94	280	238

Table 9: Policy Issue Agendas, All Twitter Groups, Feb 1-29

As Table 9 shows, there was general agreement among the different sampled groups on Twitter over the most important issues during the campaign. Candidates, official party Twitter profiles (PartyHQ), government-affiliated profiles and NGOs referred to democracy most often. Party-affiliated profiles and influencers (mostly journalists) focused on security (which was for most other groups the second most commonly referenced issue). Interestingly, profiles in the media group (Twitter profiles of news media - TV/Radio/Online/Newspaper) focused most often on issues of justice, and were less likely to tweet about democracy issues (although these were still far more prevalent than almost all other issues).

Case Studies

In addition to the quantitative analysis of Ugandan online news output and Twitter activity set out above, the data gathered for this project also allows for some more in-depth analysis of media content at certain points of the election period. Three case studies were chosen for this deeper analysis, which also includes some closer analysis of how certain news titles covered individual candidates. These are:

- The presidential debate on 13 February (including the following day)
- The day before polling day, 17 February
- The two days after polling day, 19 and 20 February

Case study 1: Coverage of the Presidential Debate (13 and 14 February)

The second presidential debate for the 2016 Ugandan election took place on 13 February. The incumbent, President Museveni, had declined to attend the first debate in January, so the second debate was the first occasion on which all candidates had been assembled to debate key issues prior to polling day. The January and February events were the first televised presidential debates in Uganda.

The Debate in Online News

Coverage of the debate was relatively restrained in the sample of publications. There were around 30 articles published on the topic on 13 and 14 February. A relatively low number of articles on 14 February is at least partly explained by the fact that, as it was a Sunday, several of the publications had reduced publication, or had no Sunday edition.

On the day of the debate itself, the majority of coverage was about whether or not Museveni would attend, and some speculation about conditions agreed with the debate organisers over the format of the debate. Articles such as *Daily Monitor's* 'Aide explains Museveni u-turn on debate,' the *Insider's* 'Museveni confirmed for Presidential debate,' and 'Second Presidential debate takes shape' in *New Vision* were indicative of this descriptive speculation.

NRM spokespeople were quoted in several stories in multiple outlets (*Daily Monitor*, *The Independent*, *ChimpReports*), but spokespeople for TDA-Go Forward were featured in *Daily Monitor* ('Museveni team to vet audience') and *New Vision* ('Mbabazi suspends campaigns in Teso to attend debate'). A *Daily Monitor* article ('Dr. Besigye ready for debate with Museveni') contained a number of quotes from candidate Kizza Besigye, although the candidate and his affiliated party, the FDC, did not feature extensively elsewhere.

Two relevant comment pieces were published before the debate – one in *Daily Monitor* and one in *The Insider*. The *Daily Monitor* article, 'Candidates must address the East African federation issue', by Kavuma Kaggwa, focused on a specific area of policy: regional stability and cooperation in East Africa. The *Insider* article, 'Is Uganda's foreign policy being prioritised at the expense of domestic policy', by Walter Ochanda, called for more discussion and debate on aspects of domestic policy. Neither article made explicit criticisms of parties or candidates.

After the debate, there was very little coverage of the debate itself. One *New Vision* article ‘ICC is not serious’ was based on a quote by Museveni during the debate, criticising the International Criminal Court (ICC). This was, however, the only *New Vision* article in the sample that made mention of the aftermath of the debate. Another article, in *The Independent* ‘Uganda’s Museveni slams “partisan” ICC’ consisted of an Agence France Presse (AFP) newswire report. An *Insider* article, ‘Uganda’s president attends first election debate,’ was a word-for-word reproduction of a BBC article with the same title. The *Insider* article did, however, credit the BBC at the end of the text.

Red Pepper published two articles based on quotes by candidates during the debates – one by Museveni ‘Oil was discovered by the NRM under my direct command – M7’, and one by Mbabazi, ‘Mbabazi regrets failure to fight dictatorship’. *ChimpReports* published an article based on quotes from Mbabazi in support of Museveni: ‘Mbabazi defends Museveni on Congo’.

There were some factual summaries of the debate, with quotes from multiple candidates. *The Observer* article, ‘Presidential candidates dare EC [Electoral Commission] on free and fair elections’, contained a number of quotes on concerns about potential violence on polling day. The *ChimpReports* article, ‘Museveni surprises rivals in historic Presidential debate’, consisted of a straight summary of the debate, including analyses of exchanges on particular policy areas.

Daily Monitor published three comment pieces on Sunday 14 February. None was explicitly about the debate, and one of which, ‘Here’s what I would do in my first 100 days as Mr. President’, was an instalment of a feature in which guest commentators outline their prospective policy platforms for Uganda. In this case, the column was by Bernard Tabaire, co-founder of the African Centre for Media Excellence (ACME).

One of the remaining columns, by a senior political adviser to Yoweri Museveni, ‘February 18 is sure win for Museveni’, was wholly in favour of the incumbent president. The other, by commentator Alan Tacca, was more critical. The article, ‘Can President Museveni still inspire his country?’ was not unsympathetic to the incumbent, but did contain some direct criticism, including the claim “...he can no longer inspire his people to build a great nation.” This appears to be the only manifestation of direct journalistic criticism of Museveni over these two days.

The Debate on Twitter

Communication on Twitter surrounding the debate was relatively reserved. The official candidate profiles did not publish a large number of original tweets, while those profiles affiliated to the different parties were considerably busier. Some outright criticism of opposing candidates was published, but this was almost always in the form of retweets, and not by the official party HQ accounts. Profiles administered by media outlets published a large number of tweets about the debate over 13 and 14 February, but almost all of the tweets mentioning individual candidates consisted of direct quotes by those candidates during the debate.

Presidential candidate accounts

Two of the candidate profiles, @BenonBiraaro and @MaureenKyalya, did not publish during either day. Of the remaining profiles, @AbedBwanika was – in line with the general activity of that profile noted above – the most prolific, publishing 46 tweets, of which 28 were retweets. This profile was the most creative, publishing information about the upcoming topics of the debate:

- Today’s theme

Foreign Policy

Foreign Investment

Peace & Security

#UGDebate16

(@AbedBwanika)³

This was also accompanied by links to media appearances, and a number of tweets published during the debate. The profile of Venansius Baryamureeba (@baryamureeba) published 18 retweets and three original tweets, all of which were published during the debate, including specific criticism of opposing candidate Joseph Mabirizi, due to his late attendance to the debate – the only evidence of outright criticism of another candidate by an official candidate Twitter profile:

- And the 8th candidate is still disorganized. Not ready to debate and surely not ready to govern the country. #UGDebate16

(@baryamureeba)⁴

The official profile of Amama Mbabazi (@AmamaMbabazi) published 15 tweets on 13 February, of which 11 were retweets of supportive messages. The remaining tweets clarified aspects of policy covered in the debate. The profile of Joseph Mabirizi (@MabiriziEJ) also played this communicative role – explaining to followers the reasons for his late attendance to the debate.

The official profile of Yoweri Museveni published just one tweet on the day of the debate, confirming his attendance at the debate:

- I will take part in the presidential debate this evening on foreign policy, security & regional integration at the Serena Conference Centre

(@KagutaMuseveni)⁵

Similarly, the profile @KizzaBesigye1 published a single tweet following the debate:

- Thank you for being part of this #UGDebate16 wherever you watched from. Here is my closing statement. #VoteBesigye [contains image link to closing statement]

(@KizzaBesigye1)

On the day following the debate, 14 February, candidates barely referenced the previous night's debate. Museveni's profile published three tweets referring to his enjoyment of the debate. @AmamaMbabazi published one tweet referring to the debate, but the remainder of the candidate tweets concerned that day's campaigning or advice to followers to attend church. The volume of tweets overall was also considerably reduced. The most prolific profile on the day following the debate was @KagutaMuseveni, which published seven tweets.

³ <https://twitter.com/AbedBwanika/status/698555767025229824>

⁴ <https://twitter.com/baryamureeba/status/698557092748206080>

⁵ <https://twitter.com/KagutaMuseveni/status/698537021657239553>

Party-affiliated profiles and party members

Profiles affiliated to the main parties (See 'Party Accounts' list in Appendix 1) were generally more prolific. Profiles affiliated to the National Resistance Movement published 334 tweets on 13 February. These contained:

- 227 using the #UGDebate16 hashtag
- 46 retweets
- 74 tweets based on quotes from Museveni
- Tweets mentioning "Besigye" or "@KizzaBesigye1" / "Mbabazi" or "@AmamaMbabazi" (almost all paraphrased quotes, and not original statements about those candidates)
- One profile, @Tuongee207, an NRM information profile, did publish direct criticism of Besigye:
 - @kizzabesigye1 is finally totally disarmed. @AmamaMbabazi is the ally #UGDebate16 #Tuongee207 [links to image of Mbabazi quote]

(Tuongee207)⁶

On 14 February, activity by these profiles was greatly reduced, with just 70 tweets published (32 of which were published by @Tuongee207). Just six of these referenced the debate.

FDC-affiliated profiles published 363 tweets on 13 February, and a further 128 on 14 February. Of those published on the day of the debate, a large proportion (216) were retweets. There was more outright criticism of other candidates on these profiles, particularly of Museveni. The @FDCOfficial1 profile published some direct criticism of Museveni:

- Under @KagutaMuseveni Uganda has not been prudent on the deployment of UPDF abroad. #UGDebate16

(@FDCOfficial1)⁷

On 14 February, again output was reduced. Just 10 tweets by these profiles mentioned the debate. This was also a feature of output by TDA-affiliated profiles, which published 13 tweets about the debate the following day, of which ten were retweets.

TDA-Go Forward affiliated profiles also published a large number of retweets relevant to the debate on 13 February: 215 out of 298 tweets in total. Original tweets published by these profiles contained little mention of other candidates, although retweets often did contain criticism, particularly of Museveni.

Official media profiles

Unsurprisingly, the Twitter profiles associated with media outlets (contains broadcast, print and online news organisations - see 'News Organization Accounts' in Appendix 1) published a large amount of information concerning the debate on 13 February. Of all 2,284 tweets published on the day of the debate, 1,817 used the #UGDebate16 hashtag. A further 43 referenced the debate without using the hashtag.

⁶ <https://twitter.com/Tuongee207/status/698593734859059201>

⁷ <https://twitter.com/FDCOfficial1/status/698575082428461056>

Of all the candidates, measured by those tweets containing either their surname or their official Twitter profile (e.g. Museveni OR @KagutaMuseveni – ‘Barya’ was also used in the case of Baryamureeba), Yoweri Museveni received considerably more coverage than other candidates:

- Museveni: 443 Tweets
- Besigye: 263
- Mbabazi: 181
- Bwanika: 166
- Biraaro: 150
- Kyalya: 147
- Mbirizi: 141
- Baryamureeba: 91

Though this may be partly due to the propensity of some media profiles to publish retweets about the debate, more of which may have been about Museveni, Upon analysing the content, it is clear that the Twitter outputs of these organisations were skewed in favour of the incumbent.

In practice, many tweets were based on quotes by the candidates. Tweets about the debate published by *Daily Monitor*'s Twitter profile (@DailyMonitor) included 42 mentioning Museveni, of which 37 were direct quotes from the candidate. Of 26 tweets mentioning Besigye, all but one were quotes. For Mbabazi, 23 out of 24 mentions were quotes.

This was noted in other publications: @newvisionwire and @RedPepperUG also generally published quotes from candidates. In both, Museveni had an advantage over rivals in terms of the number of mentions (38 by @newvisionwire, versus 16 for Besigye and ten for Mbabazi; 24 by @RedPepperUG, versus 15 for Besigye and 13 for Mbabazi).

On 14 February, there were very few mentions of the debate. Just 36 tweets by all profiles on the day after the election referenced the debate. 15 of these were retweets and several consisted of links to online articles about the debate.

Summary

Coverage of the debate across online news media and on Twitter was relatively subdued. Online news articles, barring a small number of comment pieces, tended not to make outright critical or supportive comments about particular candidates. Speculation about whether or not Yoweri Museveni would appear dominated the day's reporting about the debate.

On Twitter, candidates refrained from direct criticism of each other, except for one occasion – criticism of Joseph Mbirizi on the @Baryamureeba profile. Party-affiliated profiles also rarely indulged in outright criticism of opponents, although some profiles did retweet a significant amount of such comments published elsewhere. A very large amount of tweets by affiliated accounts were retweets of supportive messages by the public, or direct quotes from their associated candidates during the debate.

Media profiles on Twitter tended to focus the majority of their attention on Museveni. The incumbent appeared in 443 tweets about the debate by these profiles – 180 more than the next most-referenced candidate. Other candidates, including the independent candidates often overlooked in online news coverage were, however, mentioned relatively often by media outlets on Twitter during the debate, suggesting that it did allow for greater circulation of their views and comments than traditional media.

Interestingly, there were not many references on sampled Twitter accounts to the debate on the following day. This was true of all of the groups looked at here – candidates, parties and media.

Case Study 2: The Day Before Polling Day (17 February)

Online News Coverage

Candidate Coverage

As Figure 26 shows, in keeping with the data on candidate coverage elsewhere in this report, Museveni received more coverage than his rivals, with 68 articles. However, the gap between Museveni and his closest rival (according to polls published during the campaign), Besigye, was just four articles. The nature of some of the coverage of these candidates on the day of 17 February will be explored below. Although Mbabazi did receive significant coverage on the day before polling day, appearing in 40 articles, the remaining candidates were rarely mentioned, and in many titles not at all.

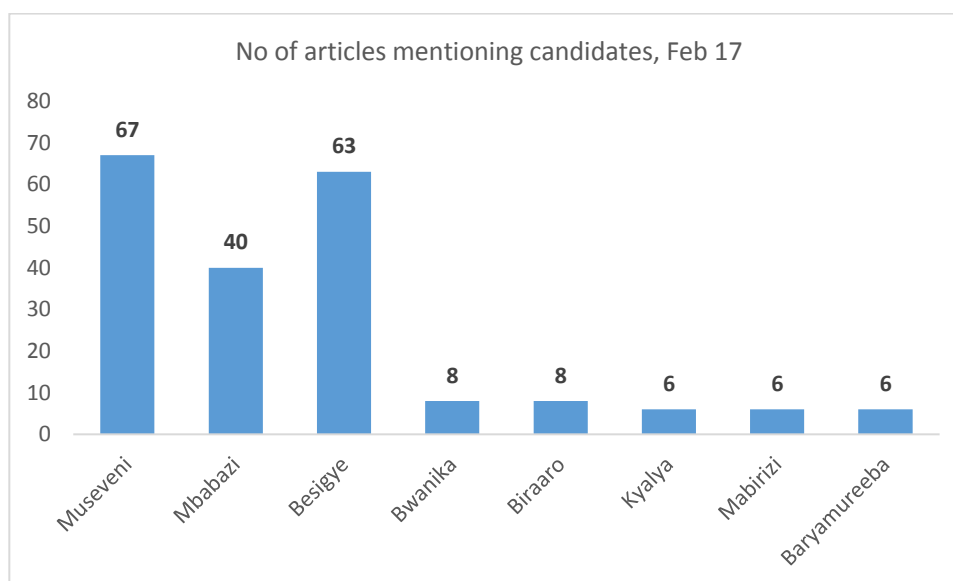


Figure 26: Articles mentioning candidates, Feb 17

Party Coverage

In line with the coverage of party leaders shown above, Figure 27 demonstrates that the NRM and FDC received far more mentions than any of the other parties. In contrast to the data for the month of February, however, there was considerably less of a difference between the number of mentions of both parties – indeed, the FDC appeared in more articles than the NRM (though the margin is of a single story).

As Table 10 shows, the FDC was the most-mentioned party in just two of the sampled titles – *Daily Monitor* and *The Insider* – but it enjoyed a substantial lead in those publications. Elsewhere, the NRM received the most coverage. The largest discrepancies were observed in *New Vision*, where the NRM appeared in eleven articles to the FDC's four, and *The Insider*, where the FDC was mentioned in eleven articles and the NRM just one.

Party	Total	NVis	DMon	Obs	RedP	Ind	Inv	Ins	Chim
NRM	45	11	11	9	4	1	3	1	5
TDA-GF	19	2	6	4	0	0	2	2	3
FDC	46	4	16	6	3	0	2	11	4
PDP	3	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0
PPP	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
DP	10	1	6	0	0	0	0	2	1
UPC	6	2	4	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 10: Mentions of parties, by title - Feb 17

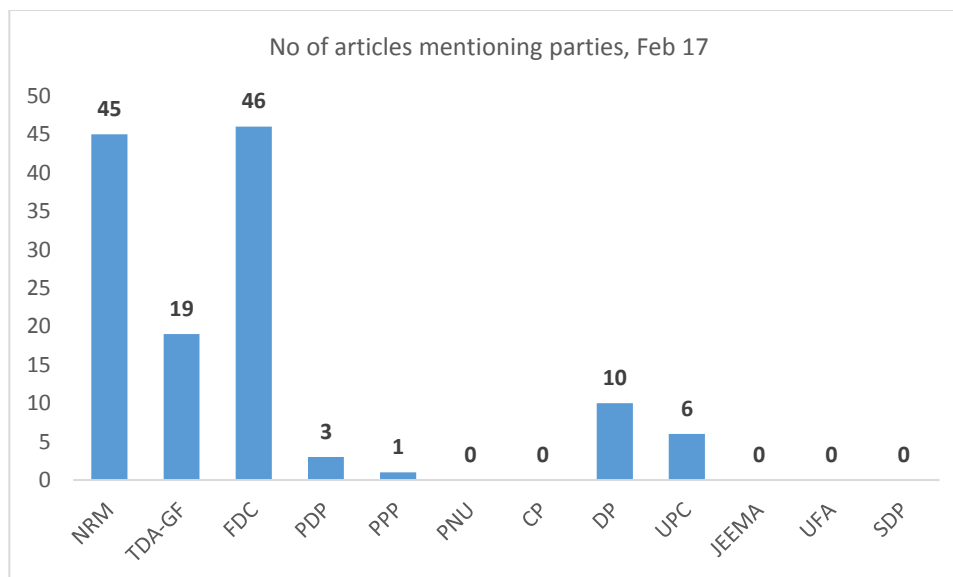


Figure 27: Articles containing mentions of parties (all titles) - Feb 17

Policy Issue Agenda

As Figure 28 shows, corruption and democracy were the most commonly referenced issues on the day before polling day. Corruption was the most common issue in *New Vision* (18 articles), *Daily Monitor* (27 articles), *The Observer* (15 articles), *Red Pepper* (four articles) and *The Independent* (two articles). Elsewhere, security was the most common issue in *The Insider* (16 articles), *ChimpReports* (9 articles) and *The Investigator* (five articles).

In practice, many of the articles concerning corruption were about fears of ballot stuffing and fake ballot papers (28 articles) or vote rigging (23 articles). The Electoral Commission was a key actor in the day's coverage, with 66 articles featuring the organisation ('EC cautions on damaged poll material' – *Daily Monitor*) or focusing on Chair Badru Kiggundu's opinion of Kizza Besigye ('Kiggundu wanted Kizza Besigye name removed from Ballot Paper' – *Red Pepper*; 'Kiggundu regrets nominating Besigye, to declare new president Saturday' – *The Insider*).

Articles containing references to the issue of democracy tended to focus on individual rights and participation (such as, 'Women urged to participate in the coming elections' – *Daily Monitor*) and five articles raised the issue of human rights. The most common issue was that of violence surrounding the election, which appeared in 24 articles.

Articles mentioning security tended to focus on the need for the police and security services to handle potential violence ('Elections: Guidelines Issued for Security Agencies' – *ChimpReports*), or to act with impartiality ('Besigye appeals to EC, UPDF ahead of polls' – *Daily Monitor*).

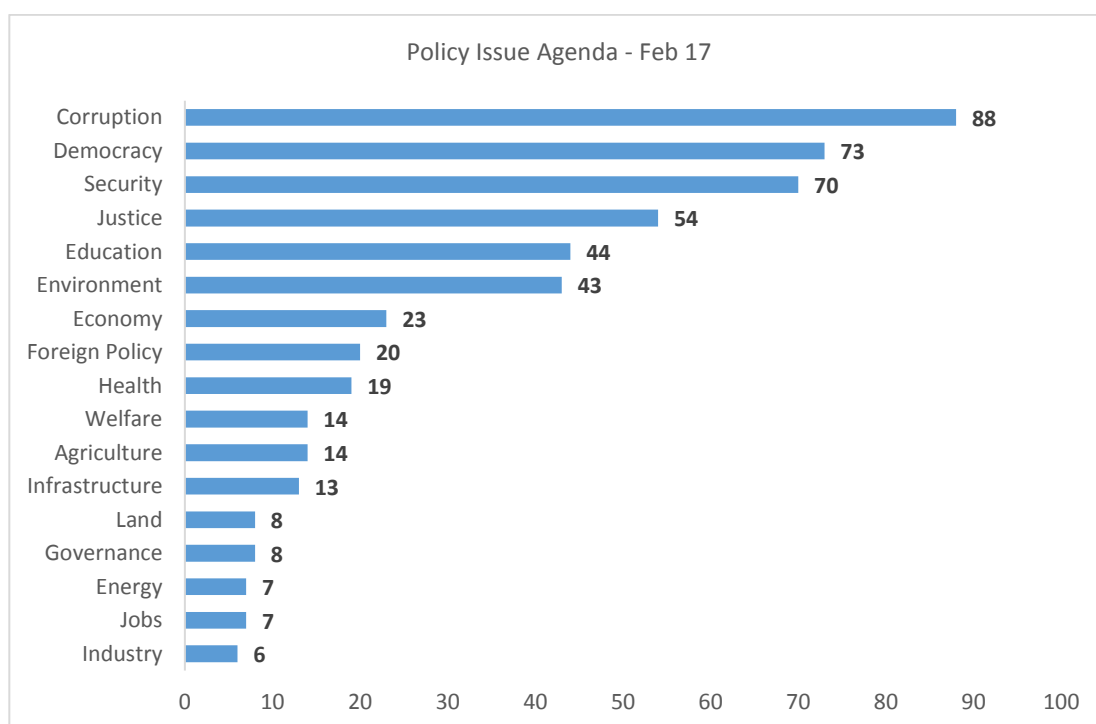


Figure 28: Policy Issue Agenda - Sampled Publications, Feb 17

Detailed Candidate Coverage – *New Vision* and *Daily Monitor*

Here, two publications – *New Vision* and *Daily Monitor* are analysed in depth to identify the main characteristics of their coverage of the presidential candidates on the day before polling day.

New Vision

Ten articles published on *New Vision*'s website (including its elections microsite) mentioned one or more of the candidates. In all ten articles, Yoweri Museveni was featured somewhere in the text. Kizza Besigye and Amama Mbabazi each were mentioned in five articles (always alongside Museveni), and Abed Bwanika featured in one article – a report following his campaigning day. Three such “campaigning” articles appeared – ‘Bwanika wraps up campaign in Masaka,’ ‘Mbabazi courts Wakiso,’ and ‘Museveni reveals eight-point model’. Each was based on quotes and observations of the campaign, and while the editorial tone was neutral and objective, there was no counterbalancing opinions or views from supporters of other candidates or parties.

Table 11 shows the list of articles published on 17 February in *New Vision* in which candidates were mentioned. One article took the form of a discussion between different commentators discussing the campaign, including an appraisal of Amama Mbabazi, which was critical in points. The remaining six articles were comment pieces, of which three made only passing reference to Museveni and contained no opinions about any of the candidates. These three, however, were strongly pro-Museveni and in places critical of Besigye.

The article ‘Mirror cracked from side to side’⁸, published on 17 February by the *New Vision* election microsite ‘Uganda Election 2016’ summarised the second presidential debate and was strongly critical of Besigye:

Which Besigye would be there? In a fateful three minutes he concluded his full exposure of himself. He seemed to leak acid from every pore, with cataclysmic consequences to none other than his own future; consuming himself. The Curse was upon him. His mirror it cracked from side to side.

Later in the article, the author, an advisor of Museveni, stated, “As luck would have it (hopefully it was no more than luck) by midday Monday an incident in mid-Kampala had led to the arrest of Dr. Besigye.”

Another article, ‘Why Museveni victory on 18 February is a sure deal’⁹, by another Museveni supporter (Mary Karooro Okurut) was both supportive of Museveni and critical of Besigye and Mbabazi:

He was in full control of the situation. He was composed and very calm; he showed leadership amidst the pressure of countrywide and indeed global expectation. He responded to the questions in a way that none of the opponents could muster or match up to. He had so much information at his fingertips, he simply reeled it off like an encyclopaedia, with eloquent and assured delivery that was fascinating to behold.

[...]

He showed the gulf of class between him and the others. FDC's Dr. Besigye was several times at his usual abrasive self. Former Premier, Amama Mbabazi, was as usual, being bogged down

⁸ <http://www.elections.co.ug/new-vision/election/1417368/mirror-cracked>

⁹ http://www.newvision.co.ug/new_vision/news/1417245/museveni-victory-february-deal

by that credibility crisis that has always hung around him – he has been an integral part of the system for 30 years before walking out of it. It is difficult for him to criticise a government he had been a key part of.

Finally, the article ‘Why Museveni will remain president’¹⁰ contained, as the title suggests, a list of reasons why Museveni was, in the author’s view, the best candidate for president.

Article	Format	Mentions	Tone
Bwanika wraps up campaign in Masaka	Report	Museveni, Besigye, Bwanika	Based on quotes from Bwanika
Mbabazi courts Wakiso	Report	Museveni, Mbabazi	Based on quotes from Mbabazi
Mirror cracked from side to side	Comment	Museveni, Besigye, Mbabazi	Anti-Besigye
Museveni reveals eight-point model	Report	Museveni	Based on quotes from Museveni
The Conversation: How has Amama Mbabazi candidature impacted on the campaign?	Discussion	Museveni, Besigye, Mbabazi	Contains criticism of Mbabazi
UPDF has transformed from a rag army to a modern army	Comment	Museveni	None/neutral
We are all NRM now; UPC and DP have gone into voluntary liquidation	Comment	Museveni, Besigye, Mbabazi	None/neutral
Why Museveni victory on February 18 is a sure deal	Comment	Museveni, Besigye, Mbabazi	Pro-Museveni, Anti-Besigye, Anti-Mbabazi
Why Museveni will remain President	Comment	Museveni	Pro-Museveni
Why Uganda declared February 16 Archbishop Janani Luwum Public Holiday	Comment	Museveni	None/neutral

Table 11: *New Vision* articles mentioning candidates, Feb 17

In summary, the coverage of *New Vision* was, on balance, pro-Museveni. Ever-present in all articles mentioning candidates, he was more visible than his opponents. Of all comment pieces in which one or

¹⁰ http://www.newvision.co.ug/new_vision/news/1417351/museveni-remain-president

more candidates were a main focus, Museveni was praised and his opponents criticised. Notably, his main opponent, Besigye, was not featured in any campaigning news reports published online that day (it is not clear whether the print edition's content differed), though all other mentioned candidates were. Finally, four candidates (Mabirizi, Kyalya, Baryamureeba and Biraaro) were not mentioned in any online *New Vision* articles on the day before the polling day.

Daily Monitor

In contrast to *New Vision*, *Daily Monitor* published a larger number of reports in which a wider range of candidates were represented. Table 12 outlines all 24 of the relevant articles that *Daily Monitor* published online that day.

Although more candidates were mentioned, Benon Biraaro, Venansius Baryamureeba, Abed Bwanika and Maureen Kyalya (whose sole appearance involved being criticised as 'hapless' in a comment article) appeared in only one online article each, and only Abed Bwanika was the main subject of the article in which he appeared. Joseph Mabirizi was not mentioned in any online *Daily Monitor* article published on 17 February.

Again, Museveni was the candidate who appeared in most articles (16 in total) – however, Besigye appeared in 15. Amama Mbabazi featured in six. In comparison with *New Vision*, a far higher proportion of the coverage was in the form of factual news reports – 18 out of 24 total articles. As noted elsewhere, those reports that focused on campaign events by candidates tended not to contain views from other parties or candidates, but in contrast with *New Vision*, a range of candidates were covered in this way, so balance could be seen across the publication.

Two stories were largely based on quotes from Besigye, or followed his campaign ('Besigye ends campaign with massive city rallies';¹¹ 'Besigye appeals to EC, UPDF ahead of polls'¹²). Museveni's statements were covered exclusively in one article ('Museveni warns on poll violence'¹³). Abed Bwanika and Amama Mbabazi's campaigns were also covered in this way (see Table 12), and in Mbabazi's article criticism from one citizen was included.

Generally, criticism for candidates was muted. Museveni was criticised in the article 'DC, Go Forward form joint election monitoring task force', which stated that "Mr. Birigwa [FDC Chairman] said the move by the Electoral Commission boss to ban mobile phones at polling stations is a plot by the electoral body and President Museveni to rig the election."¹⁴ Criticism of Besigye by the Chair of the Electoral Commission ('Besigye not Presidential material – Kiggundu'¹⁵) was also covered.

Two comment pieces contained support and/or criticism of candidates. The article 'Here are some things you missed about this Ugandan election race'¹⁶, by a former managing editor of *Daily Monitor*

¹¹ <http://www.monitor.co.ug/News/National/Besigye-ends-campaign-with-massive-city-rallies/-/688334/3080128/-/81fimez/-/index.html>

¹² <http://www.monitor.co.ug/SpecialReports/Elections/Besigye-appeals-to-EC--UPDF-ahead-of-polls/-/859108/3079770/-/w6ybgzt/-/index.html>

¹³ <http://www.monitor.co.ug/News/National/Museveni-warns-on-poll-violence/-/688334/3080156/-/151hk0mz/-/index.html>

¹⁴ <http://www.monitor.co.ug/News/National/DC--Go-Forward-form-joint-election-monitoring-task-force/-/688334/3080102/-/3p17pmz/-/index.html>

¹⁵ <http://www.monitor.co.ug/SpecialReports/Elections/Besigye-not-presidential-material---Kiggundu/-/859108/3079772/-/p3troy/-/index.html>

¹⁶ <http://www.monitor.co.ug/OpEd/OpEdColumnists/CharlesOnyangoObbo/Here-are-some-things-you-missed-about-this-Ugandan->

contained criticism of Maureen Kyalya (“often hapless”) and of Museveni’s electoral success (“Museveni has been victorious in all the last four elections, although he probably only won one of them”). It was also sympathetic to Besigye’s treatment following the 2006 election, though stopped short of declaring outright support for the candidate in 2016.

In the second comment piece, ‘Why Besigye has earned my vote in tomorrow’s polls’¹⁷, the author (Hashim Wasswa Mulunga) outlined a set of aspirations for the country, declaring:

Looking at his rallies across the country, the passion and commitment from people offering all kinds of gifts to support his campaign, Dr Besigye seems to be the kind of leader that has already engendered that level of trust and confidence among Ugandans.

The article ends with some criticism of how Amama Mbabazi fails to live up to the author’s aspirations.

Article	Format	Mentions	Tone
An open letter in memory of Archbishop Luwum	Letter	Museveni	None/Neutral
Besigye appeals to EC, UPDF ahead of polls	Report	Museveni, Besigye	Based on quotes from Besigye
Besigye ends campaign with massive city rallies	Report	Museveni, Besigye	Based on quotes from Besigye
DC, Go Forward form joint election monitoring task force	Report	Museveni	Contains critical quote about Museveni
Election monitors list 10 violence hotspots	Report	Museveni, Mbabazi	None/Neutral
Government to solve Kinyara sugar wrangle	Report	Museveni	None/Neutral
Here are some things you missed about this Ugandan election race	Comment	Museveni, Besigye, Mbabazi, Kyalya	Sympathetic to Besigye, Anti-Museveni and Kyalya

election-race/-/878504/3080038/-/vih3guz/-/index.html

¹⁷ <http://www.monitor.co.ug/OpEd/Commentary/Why-Besigye-has-earned-my-vote-in-tomorrow-s-polls/-/689364/3079974/-/55vtj2z/-/index.html>

I have obligation to liberate my country - Bwanika	Report	Museveni, Besigye, Bwanika	Based on quotes from Bwanika
IGAD observers deploy today	Report	Museveni	None/Neutral
Looking back at election day in 1980	Comment	Museveni	None/Neutral
Museveni warns on poll violence	Report	Museveni, Besigye	Based on quotes from Museveni
NRM plans to stuff ballots, says Mbabazi	Report	Museveni, Besigye, Mbabazi	Based on quotes from Mbabazi, including criticism of Museveni
Nakankya has been voting since 1980	Interview	Museveni	None/Neutral
Nantaba rejects Museveni reconciliation proposal	Report	Museveni	None/Neutral
Shaka Ssali breaks silence on role in Presidential debate	Report	Museveni, Besigye, Biraaro, Baryamureeba	None/Neutral
This is my last term as EC Chairman, says Eng Kiggundu	Report	Museveni, Besigye	None/Neutral
Anxiety, tension grip Kampala residents on eve of voting day	Report	Besigye	None/Neutral
Besigye not Presidential material - Kiggunda	Report	Besigye	Contains critical quote (and headline) about Besigye
Clarify law on voters using mobile phones	Comment	Besigye, Mbabazi	None/Neutral
DP condemns opposition leader's arrest	Report	Besigye	Contains supportive quote about Besigye

Mulago denies media access to injured after Besigye fracas	Report	Besigye	None/Neutral
Poll observers condemn Besigye arrest, caution police	Report	Besigye	Mention
Why Besigye has earned my vote in tomorrow's polls	Comment	Besigye, Mbabazi	Pro-Besigye, Anti-Mbabazi
Mbabazi in last-minute dash for votes	Report	Mbabazi	Based on quotes from Mbabazi (contains criticism from one citizen)

Table 12: *Daily Monitor* articles mentioning candidates, Feb 17

Overall, there is a contrast between how both titles covered candidates on the day before the election. While it would be too simplistic to state on the basis of these articles that *New Vision* was pro-Museveni and *Daily Monitor* pro-Besigye, it is evident that *Daily Monitor* contained both support and criticism of both candidates (in news reports and comment articles) – with one comment article declaring outright support for Besigye – *New Vision* contained less variation in its coverage.

In *New Vision*, Museveni was present in all articles in which any candidate was mentioned. Where evaluative statements about candidates were included, all those about Museveni were supportive, and all those about his opponents were critical. With a relatively small number of articles, it is difficult to extrapolate any wider claims about balance or bias beyond those articles published on the day before polling day.

A general lack of coverage of other candidates, Amama Mbabazi aside, was a feature of both publications.

Coverage in other publications

The Observer

Coverage in *The Observer*, in contrast to *Daily Monitor* and *New Vision*, featured a range of comment pieces from sources with different political affiliations on the day before polling day. These articles included: extensive comments by presidential candidate Amama Mbabazi – in the form of excerpts from a previous press conference Q&A session; a spokesperson from TDA-Go Forward (Sadam Gayira); the Secretary General of the NRM, and a parliamentary candidate for the FDC (Ssemujju Nganda).

Certain news articles also featured the perspectives of more than one candidate or political parties. One article ('Candidates reveal election day plans') featured direct quotes, or quotes from spokespeople of seven of the eight presidential candidates (only Benon Biraaro was omitted), although for most candidates outside of Museveni, Besigye and Mbabazi, this was the limit of their coverage. An article consisting of an analytical feature on aspects of the campaign ('Kampala, Wakiso give Museveni sleepless nights') weighed up "good" and "bad" moments in the Museveni campaign, while mentioning areas where his rival Besigye was registering support. The article itself did not take an explicit stance on either candidate.

Since several of the parties were given the opportunity to present their views, either through interviews/press conferences or through comment pieces, there was some criticism of the different

candidates. Amama Mbabazi's criticism of Museveni in a previous press conference was presented in full:

The opinion polls which some of you have been publishing are obviously interesting because someone was talking of fiction... President Museveni was talking about fiction. I think this is what we call mirror-imaging because you speak as if you are talking about others when you are actually talking about yourself.¹⁸

Elsewhere, Kizza Besigye was criticised in a comment article by a spokesperson for TDA-Go Forward: "Just like Col. Kizza Besigye, the Congolese opposition leader has a big following, but he has now become very easy to beat and has turned out to be a perennial loser."¹⁹

The majority of criticism of candidates was therefore along partisan lines, and reflected the representation of a number of political views in comment articles in *The Observer*. One factual article was based around quotes from Besigye ('NRM scared it is losing – Besigye'), and one contained a series of quotes from Besigye supporters, including criticism of Museveni and support for Besigye: "We are tired of President Museveni... We are trying to liberate ourselves. We want Museveni to leave so that we can have another President like Besigye who can change the country."²⁰

Aggressive criticism of candidates was limited to published letters from supporters, which included personalised criticism of Joseph Mubirizi ('Your Mail: Opposition failed during debate').²¹

Article	Format	Mentions	Tone
Amama Mbabazi to EC: what are you hiding?	Interview Excerpts	Museveni, Besigye, Mbabazi	Criticises Museveni
Candidates reveal election day plans	Report	Museveni, Besigye, Mbabazi, Mubirizi, Bwanika, Kyalya, Baryamureeba	Direct quotes from all candidates mentioned, except Museveni, Besigye and Baryamureeba
How the opposition yielded to Museveni, again!	Comment	Museveni, Besigye, Mbabazi	Criticises Museveni and Besigye
Igad observers arrive	Report	Museveni, Besigye, Mbabazi	None/Neutral

¹⁸ <http://observer.ug/news-headlines/42646-amama-mbabazi-to-ec-what-are-you-hiding>

¹⁹ <http://observer.ug/viewpoint/42628-how-the-opposition-yielded-to-museveni-again>

²⁰ <http://observer.ug/news-headlines/42643-when-col-besigye-fans-defied-police>

²¹ <http://observer.ug/viewpoint/letters/42625-your-mail-opposition-failed-during-debate>

Issues that may shape tomorrow's election results	Analysis	Museveni, Besigye, Mbabazi	Contains Kiggundu's criticism of Besigye
Kampala, Wakiso give Museveni sleepless nights	Analysis	Museveni, Besigye	Lists "good" and "bad" moments of Museveni's campaign; mentions support for Besigye/FDC in certain areas
NRM scared it is losing - Besigye	Report	Museveni, Besigye	Based on quotes by Besigye
Phone printouts reveal more on Aine	Report	Museveni, Besigye, Mbabazi	None/Neutral
Todwong to EC: Don't fail Ugandans	Interview Excerpts	Museveni, Besigye, Mbabazi, Biraaro	Supports Museveni, critical of Besigye, Mbabazi and Biraaro
Uganda, victory without legitimacy is no victory - Annan	Report	Museveni, Besigye, Mbabazi	None/Neutral
What will Kiggundu tell unemployed youths?	Comment	Museveni, Besigye, Mbabazi	Criticism of Museveni; supportive of Besigye
When Col. Besigye, fans defied police	Report	Museveni, Besigye	Contains quotes critical of Museveni and supportive of Besigye
Why private lawyers must stay in their chambers	Comment	Besigye	None/Neutral
Your mail: Opposition failed during debate	Letters	Museveni, Besigye, Mbabazi, Mabirizi	Critical of Museveni and Mabirizi, supportive of Besigye

Table 13: Observer articles mentioning candidates, Feb 17

Red Pepper

There were relatively few articles mentioning candidates published in *Red Pepper* compared to other newspaper websites. Just six articles mentioned one or more of the presidential candidates on the day before polling day, and only three candidates – Yoweri Museveni, Kizza Besigye and Amama Mbabazi – were mentioned at all. Only Museveni and Besigye were quoted.

Coverage of Museveni, where any tone was included, tended not to contain criticism. One report ('Stay at polling stations – Museveni tells his supporters')²² was based on factual reporting of a public statement by Museveni, while the only comment piece published on the site that day mentioning any presidential candidates ('The Museveni I know')²³ was wholly supportive. This article, written by a former colleague of Museveni's, consisted of a long endorsement of the incumbent President: "In whatever he does, President Museveni puts his people first." He also criticised Kizza Besigye, saying "Besigye had told his usual lies."

Coverage of Besigye was more mixed. While there were no comment pieces endorsing the candidate, the paper did include a report on his endorsement by Shaka Ssali alongside one on Kiggundu's criticism of the candidate ('Kiggundu wanted Kizza Besigye name removed from ballot paper').²⁴ Another news article ('Defiance campaign may be Besigye's biggest undoing – analysts') contained a series of quotes from Kizza Besigye, but also contained quotes from sources critical of his campaign strategy.²⁵

Article	Format	Mentions	Tone
Besigye arrest: USA deeply concerned	Report	Museveni, Besigye	None/Neutral
Defiance campaign may be Besigye's biggest undoing - analysts	Report	Museveni, Besigye	Contains quotes from Besigye, but is based on criticism by sources
Kiggundu wanted Kizza Besigye name removed from ballot paper	Report	Besigye	Article based on critical comments about Besigye
Speaking in tongues: Shaka Ssali endorses Kizza Besigye	Report	Museveni, Besigye	Based on endorsement of Besigye

²² <http://www.redpepper.co.ug/stay-at-polling-stations-museveni-tells-his-supporters/>

²³ <http://www.redpepper.co.ug/the-museveni-i-know/>

²⁴ <http://www.redpepper.co.ug/kiggundu-wanted-kizza-besigye-name-removed-from-ballot-paper/>

²⁵ <http://www.redpepper.co.ug/defiance-campaign-may-be-besigyes-biggest-undoing-analysts/>

Stay at polling stations – Museveni tells his supporters	Report	Museveni, Besigye, Mbabazi	Based on quotes from Museveni; describes Museveni's policies
The Museveni I know	Comment	Museveni, Besigye, Mbabazi	Supportive of Museveni; critical of Besigye

Table 14: Red Pepper articles mentioning candidates, Feb 17

The Independent

The website of *The Independent* featured just one article featuring candidates on 17 February. The article, 'Demography vs Economy as Uganda heads to the polls' is no longer available on the newspaper's website. It consists of a long feature describing the effects of poverty in Uganda, including some implicit criticism of Museveni:

Labyrinthine and cacophonous, Kampala's sprawling Owino Market is private enterprise unchained, a place where Ugandans struggle daily to survive and thrive. And after three decades of President Yoweri Museveni's rule, his election promise of jobs and wealth rings hollow to many here.

The article contains a range of viewpoints from Ugandan citizens, including those supportive and critical of the government. A source identified as a supporter of Kizza Besigye is quoted, although not in relation to either candidate

The Investigator

More informal in its tone and language, *The Investigator* published five online articles on 17 February. Only three candidates were mentioned in total: Museveni, Besigye and Mbabazi. One comment piece was published, criticising Ugandan "elites" for their lack of political participation but with no criticism or support for the presidential candidates it mentioned, while the remaining four articles were news reports. Of these, one contained quotes from supporters of Museveni in the Ugandan People's Defence Force, while another, from a Ugandan Diaspora group, was based on criticism of the arrest of Kizza Besigye. This latter article contained a series of quotes from a representative of the diaspora group that were extremely critical of Museveni:

No doubt we are at a historic moment in our lives where the people of Uganda have decided to liberate themselves from 30 years of bondage and dictatorship characterized by threats of war, bribery, corruption and sectarianism. We urge all Ugandans to remain steady, peaceful, vigilant, optimistic and resolute, that the only guaranteed way out of the NRM's bondage and weakened grip of the tyrant, by the ballot.²⁶

Other quotes from the same source criticised the President by name, and constituted some of the most overt and strongest criticism of the President in the sampled news coverage.

²⁶ <http://theinvestigatornews.com/2016/02/ugandans-in-diaspora-react-to-besigye-humiliation-call-for-peaceful-election-ahead-of-thursdays-presidential-and-parliamentary-elections/>

Article	Format	Mentions	Tone
Defiant UPDF organizes a Prayer Service for President Museveni's Victory [...]	Report	Museveni, Besigye	Contains quotes from supporters of Museveni in the UPDF
Exclusive: Former Spy Chief On The Spot for "Child Neglect" [...]	Report	Museveni, Besigye, Mbabazi	None/Neutral
Electoral Commission Back Tracks On Phone Ban in Polling Stations [...]	Report	Museveni, Besigye, Mbabazi	None/Neutral
The Wrong Elites Attitude to Uganda's General Elections [...]	Comment	Museveni, Besigye, Mbabazi	None/Neutral
Ugandans in Diaspora React to Besigye Humiliation [...]	Report	Museveni, Besigye	Strong criticism of Museveni

Table 15: Investigator articles mentioning candidates, Feb 17

The Insider

The online-only news site *The Insider* published 13 articles on the day of before the election, although one of these ('Uganda election: Old guard tries new tricks') was a reproduction of a BBC News article from the previous day.²⁷ None of the articles were comment pieces. Of the 12 original articles, six were neutral reports on events that mentioned one or more of the candidates.

Of the remaining six articles, one ('Besigye: Police planted hooligans in my team'²⁸) was based on quotes by Kizza Besigye, and one ('Audio: Museveni feared to be asked by me – Shaka Ssali'²⁹) contained quotes that could be construed as both critical of Museveni, citing his being "uncomfortable" at being in the presence of the source, who acted as moderator at the second Presidential debate, as well as supportive, saying "I would like to share a cup of tea with Museveni and listen to his interesting stories. What is important is not to massage someone but to go for the truth."

²⁷ Insider article: <http://www.theinsider.ug/uganda-election-old-guard-tries-new-tactics/>;

BBC article: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-35586416>

²⁸ <http://www.theinsider.ug/besigye-police-planted-hooligans-in-my-team/>

²⁹ <http://www.theinsider.ug/audio-museveni-feared-to-be-asked-by-me-shaka-ssali/>

The remaining articles contained either criticism of Besigye or his supporters, or were based on support for Museveni, including an article based on quotes from the President's media advisor, Tamale Murundi, who also criticised Besigye and Mbabazi.³⁰

Article	Format	Mentions	Tone
Audio: Museveni feared to be asked by me – Shaka Ssali	Report	Museveni	Contains quotes both (mildly) supportive of, and critical of, Museveni
Backgrounder: Key political events in Uganda after Independence	Feature	Museveni, Besigye, Mbabazi	None/Neutral
Besigye: Police planted hooligans in my team	Report	Besigye	Based on quotes by Besigye
EC lifts ban on phones & cameras, outlaws pens	Report	Besigye, Mbabazi	None/Neutral
India issues advisory note over national beaten by FDC supporters	Report	Besigye	Contains quote critical of Besigye's supporters
Kiggunda regrets nominating Besigye, to declare new president Saturday	Report	Besigye	Contains critical quote about Besigye
Matsanga to vie for Uganda President in 2021, praises Museveni's legacy	Report	Museveni	Based on supportive quotes about Museveni
Mirundi – If Museveni hands over to Besigye, he'll be on bus to Luzira	Report	Museveni, Besigye, Mbabazi, Baryamureeba, Biraaro	Quotes from Museveni advisor, supportive of Museveni, critical of Besigye and Mbabazi
Mulago blocks media, hides victims of military onslaught	Report	Besigye	None/Neutral
Namboze fan shot for blocking Museveni convoy	Report	Museveni	None/Neutral
Obasanjo slams arrests, voter bribery, election violence	Report	Besigye	None/Neutral
SFC soldiers arrest, beat up opposition youth	Report	Besigye, Mbabazi	None/Neutral

³⁰ <http://www.theinsider.ug/mirundi-if-museveni-hands-over-to-besigye-hell-be-on-bus-to-luzira/>

Uganda election: Old guard tries new tactics	Report	Museveni, Besigye, Mbabazi, Biraaro, Kyalya, Bwanika, Baryamureeba, Mibirizi	Re-published from BBC website
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Table 16: Insider articles mentioning candidates, Feb 17

ChimpReports

Another online-only news site, *ChimpReports*, published zero comment pieces on the day before the election; all seven articles published on the site consisted of factual news reports. The coverage on the site was generally balanced. One article ('Mbabazi dismisses claims of stepping down for Besigye'³¹) was based on a series of quotes by Mbabazi, while another ('Besigye collects Shs. 100 million from rallies'³²) contained a series of quotes from a supporter of Besigye and a description of the successes of Besigye's campaign.

Two other articles contained subject matter or sources that could have been interpreted as being favourable to one or more candidates. First, one article was based on a report that 500 supporters and organisers from the FDC and DP had defected to President Museveni's party, the NRM.³³ The second was based on a series of statements from the Kenyan opposition leader, Raila Odinga – who is identified in the article as having supported the Ugandan opposition.³⁴ However, neither of these articles contained any quotes, or any contextualising text, that favoured or criticised any of the presidential candidates.

Article	Format	Mentions	Tone
Besigye collects Shs. 100 million from rallies	Report	Besigye	Contains quotes from Besigye supporter
ELECTION EVE: 500 FDC, DP mobilisers defect to NRM	Report	Museveni	None/Neutral
Kiggundu: I will declare elected President in 48 hours	Report	Museveni, Besigye, Mbabazi, Bwanika, Baryamureeba,	None/Neutral

³¹ <http://www.chimpreports.com/mbabazi-dismisses-claims-of-stepping-down-for-besigye/>

³² <http://www.chimpreports.com/besigye-collects-shs-100-million-from-rallies/>

³³ <http://www.chimpreports.com/election-eve-500-fdc-dp-mobilisers-defect-to-nrm/>

³⁴ <http://www.chimpreports.com/odinga-to-ugandan-youth-dont-be-dragged-into-acts-of-violence/>

		Kyalka, Biraaro, Mbirizi	
Kofi Annan roots for peaceful elections in Uganda	Report	Museveni, Besigye, Mbabazi	None/Neutral
Mbabazi dismisses claims of stepping down for Besigye	Report	Museveni, Besigye, Mbabazi	Based on quotes by Mbabazi
Odinga to Ugandan youth; Don't be dragged into acts of violence	Report	Museveni, Besigye, Mbabazi	None/Neutral
Presidential debate organizers dismiss Shaka's gag claims	Report	Museveni, Besigye	None/Neutral

Table 17: ChimpReports articles mentioning candidates, Feb 17

Twitter Coverage

The last day before polling day was a surprisingly muted one on Twitter. Overall, presidential candidates' profiles barely published any tweets (@AbedBwanika aside). Official party Twitter accounts did generally tweet throughout the day, but not usually to make substantive points. The groups of party-affiliated accounts were also quiet in comparison with the day of the presidential debate. Finally, media-affiliated accounts did not publish many references to either candidates or parties.

Presidential candidate accounts

The profiles of both Yoweri Museveni (@KagutaMuseveni) and Kizza Besigye (@KizzaBesigye1) did not publish any tweets at all on 17 February. Amama Mbabazi's Twitter account published three tweets during the day – two of which were thanks to campaigners and supporters, and one announced a press conference later that day. Other profiles that did not tweet at all during the day were @BenonBiraaro and @MaureenKyalya.

The profile of Abed Bwanika (@AbedBwanika) published 69 tweets throughout the day, though 65 of these were retweets. In a sign of solidarity with other candidates, Bwanika published the following tweet:

- To @AmamaMbabazi @baryamureeba @BenonBiraaro @FDCOfficial1 @MbiriziEJ @MaureenKyalya @NRMOnline May the best man/woman win #UgandaDecides

(@AbedBwanika)³⁵

His Twitter account also responded to a supportive message from the previous day from Joseph Mbirizi's profile. Mbirizi's profile on 17 February published seven tweets in total, many of which were personalised requests for followers to vote for him. @Baryamureeba published four tweets, of which the

³⁵ <https://twitter.com/AbedBwanika/status/699870883297497088>

two non-retweets were a statement that he would be voting, and an announcement of his #AskBarya information service.

Party-affiliated profiles and party members

Compared with the volume of tweets during the presidential debate, party-affiliated accounts were comparatively quiet. The non-partisan hashtag #UgandaDecides was prevalent, appearing in 905 tweets published by these profiles. Partisan hashtags, in contrast, were relatively rare, although the #VoteSevo hashtag used by NRM supporters and affiliates did appear 55 times.

The group of profiles linked to the NRM published 106 tweets between them over the course of the day, including 39 published by @NRMOnline. Many of these were retweets, however, and the @NRMOnline profile apparently retweeted all tweets in which it was mentioned – including those that mentioned it in a critical context:

- Besigye believes that ruling NRM (@NRMOnline) camp is panicking ahead of Thursday voting. Fb.me/47Q5MTE8V

(@UgoUganda)³⁶

Museveni was mentioned in 60 of the 106 tweets. His opponents were not mentioned by name, and opposing parties were also rarely mentioned. Three of the 65 tweets by the prolific @Tuongee207 profile specifically criticised FDC policy on salaries, but that was the only evidence of outright criticism of opponents.

The FDC-affiliated group published 114 tweets – though these all came from four profiles: 26 by the @FDCOfficial profile; 36 by @BrianAtuheire; 26 by @Winnie_Byanmina – the wife of Kizza Besigye and Director of Oxfam International – and 26 by @tomddumba.

#WesigeBesigye hashtag was the most commonly used partisan hashtag, all of which were used in positive messages outlining reasons to vote FDC/Besigye. Mentions of Besigye himself (including his Twitter profile) were not especially common, appearing in 16 tweets. Museveni was mentioned in nine tweets – some of which, published by @BrianAtuheire, contained strong criticism:

- Museveni can't guarantee peace. The people of Uganda can guarantee. Vote him out if he tries to be violent we capture him #UgandaDecides

(@BrianAtuheire)³⁷

The tweets by this group only contained two mentions of the FDC (not including mentions of Besigye).

The group of profiles affiliated to the TDA-Go Forward movement published 353 tweets on the day before polling day, though 205 of these were retweets, largely of supportive messages. The group was actively promoting a number of hashtags: #VoteAmama featured 46 times, and #IStandWithAmama was used in 34 tweets.

Several tweets called for “change”, while a number of retweets repeated fears that Museveni would refuse to hand over power under certain circumstances. Museveni himself was mentioned in 12 tweets;

³⁶ <https://twitter.com/godfreyumugulus2/status/699906527214358529>

³⁷ <https://twitter.com/BrianAtuheire/status/699905110076424192>

Besigye in just 4 (all retweets), although one retweeted message originally from a *Daily Monitor* journalist contained reported criticism of Besigye by the Chair of the Electoral Commission:

- So, what if KB wins! Will Badru [Kiggundu, Chair of Electoral Commission] announce him winner? Besigye not presidential material – Kiggundu monitor.co.ug/SpecialReports... via @dailymonitor

(@TheLoveDre – retweeted by TDA-affiliated member)³⁸

Overall, the TDA-affiliated group was more focused on Mbabazi, publishing 101 tweets in which he was mentioned during the course of the day. 17 of these contained direct quotes.

Official media profiles

Though media profiles published 1,045 tweets over the course of the day (446 of which used the #UgandaDecides hashtag), there were comparatively few mentions of any of the candidates or of the political parties.

In total, the aggregated tweets from these accounts mentioning Presidential candidates (or their Twitter profiles) were as follows:

- Museveni: 40 tweets
- Besigye: 42
- Mbabazi: 26
- Bwanika: 9
- Biraaro: 1
- Kyalya: 1
- Mbirizi: 1
- Baryamureeba: 1

This is not just far fewer mentions for each candidate in comparison with the coverage of the debate four days previously, it is also a surprisingly low amount of coverage prior to a national election. This low amount of candidate-oriented coverage extended to the parties themselves:

- FDC: 25 mentions
- NRM: 16
- UPC: 4
- TDA-GF: 2
- DP: 1
- PDP: 1
- PPP: 0
- CP: 0
- PNU: 0
- JEEMA: 0
- SDP: 0

The Twitter profile linked to *New Vision* (@newvisionwire) was indicative of this approach to coverage. Of 227 tweets published over the course of the day, just four mentioned Museveni; none mentioned the

³⁸ <https://twitter.com/TheLoveDre/status/699840605225148416>

NRM. All of the tweets mentioning Museveni were links to the supportive comment piece published in *New Vision* that day. Besigye and the FDC did not feature; neither did Mbabazi.

There was, of course, coverage of the campaign (as the large number of uses of #UgandaDecides by all media profiles attests) – public statements by Badru Kiggundu (sometimes spelt Kugundu) appeared in 179 tweets. References to his reported criticism of Kizza Besigye featured in only five of these.

Overall, the majority of media coverage on Twitter during the day before polling day was information-oriented – reporting on campaign events, setting out advice for voters, and repeating statements by public officials. Coverage of candidates and parties was remarkably low, and this extended to some recent controversial events – the arrest of Kizza Besigye and police altercations with his supporters the day before was mentioned in just three tweets in total.

Case Study 3: Polling Day Aftermath (19 and 20 February)

Online News Coverage

Online news coverage across the eight sampled news publications on Friday 19 and Saturday 20 February was in many cases similar to coverage across the whole sampled period. Yoweri Museveni and Kizza Besigye were by some distance the most-covered presidential candidates, and their respective parties – the NRM and FDC – received by far the most attention. This was true across almost all publications. While *New Vision* most often mentioned Museveni (of presidential candidates) and the NRM (of parties), all other publications devoted more attention to the FDC and Kizza Besigye (at least partly due to a significant story that spanned both days, outlined below) – though this increased coverage was not indicative of support for Besigye in all cases. Indeed – support for candidates was not highly visible across the various publications.

The policy issue agenda in news coverage was strikingly similar to that of February as a whole: the same policy issues (Corruption, Democracy, Security, Justice and Education) occupied the top five slots, in slightly different order. This would appear to reflect the main story themes that characterised coverage over the two-day period. These themes, broadly, were: the validity of the electoral process; and security and public order.

The first theme was displayed across several stories, ranging from the delay of ballot papers and other voting materials to various districts surrounding Kampala, to internal and external observers' views regarding the transparency of the election process and related institutions, including the Electoral Commission. Statements by participants in the campaigning process, most visibly the FDC, Kizza Besigye and Amama Mbabazi, denouncing various aspects of the process – including in some cases the overall results – were also commonly referenced. In a small number of articles, highly specific descriptions of possible fraud or other irregularities were mentioned. Overall, the coverage suggests that there was little confidence in some quarters that the elections were conducted fairly, and that these views were commonly aired in quotes and statements covered in online news articles. The statement issued by Kizza Besigye denouncing the results was covered by most publications on 20 February – including in some cases publishing the statement in full.

The second theme – order and security – tended to cluster around the single biggest story (in terms of volume of coverage) over the two-day period: the arrest of Besigye and other FDC officials, though it should be noted that this story also encompassed issues of voting irregularities. Isolated incidents of public unrest during and after the election invited a number of reports, often based on statements by the police, or criticism of the incumbent government failing to back up claims of maintaining security.

The arrest of FDC officials was covered extensively by most news outlets, often in subtly different ways. Many publications repeated the official reason for the arrest supplied by the police: that the FDC was preparing to (illegally) publish parallel election results (an allegation in one instance also aimed at Amama Mbabazi). However, in many cases, publications gave space to alternative views on the arrest,

supplied by the FDC. The arrest of Besigye was also further politicised in some articles, which published statements praising the arrest of the candidate from the Chair of the Electoral Commission, and from police spokespeople. External and international concerns about the arrest, including from US Secretary of State John Kerry, were also prominently covered in many publications. Overall, in the two-day period, there was a lack of clarity and consensus about the exact nature of events surrounding the arrest.

Beyond the specific stories that dominated the news agenda immediately after polling day, there were a number of characteristics evident across most or all publications.

Firstly, the candidates themselves were almost invisible as sources. Apart from Kizza Besigye's statement denouncing the result, no interviews or extensive quotes from candidates relating to the election were published. This may be due to logistical problems, both in reaching the candidates or in the capacity of publications to address a large field of candidates as well as the various local parliamentary contests taking place. However, it is clear that extensive communication via newspapers or online-only news sites was not a priority, at least for Yoweri Museveni (given the security situations of both Kizza Besigye and Amama Mbabazi during this period). It may, however, in the case of minor candidates, suggest a lack of media interest – they were, with few exceptions, entirely absent from the conversation.

Secondly, the coverage of candidates across all titles consisted almost entirely of factual news reports, with very little commentary whatsoever. Many publications published no articles that could be considered analytical commentary of the election results, beyond re-publication of statements by candidates, parties or civil society groups. Many of the articles mentioning candidates consisted of periodic summaries of candidates' vote shares at various points of the counting process, or once the final results were published. These "all candidates" list articles accounted for the majority of mentions of candidates beyond Museveni, Besigye and Mbabazi.

This lack of commentary also contributed in part to highly non-partisan coverage. With only a couple of exceptions in the form of guest columns, almost no comment articles contained outright support for, or criticism of, candidates. Criticism was not entirely absent – some criticism of Yoweri Museveni's past record was published, and a particularly strong denunciation of Museveni was published in *The Insider* – an article that also represented the strongest statement of support for Kizza Besigye and the FDC. In general though, expressions of support or criticism that were visible tended to consist of reports based on quotes or official statements from officials or prominent supporters of the FDC or NRM.

Overall Coverage Breakdown – In Numbers

Candidate Coverage

Across all sampled publications the most frequently-mentioned presidential candidate was Kizza Besigye, who featured in 100 articles in the two days after polling day (Figure 29). Museveni was covered almost as often, appearing in 89 articles. The remaining candidates were some way behind, though a number of reports on ongoing vote counts mentioning scores for all candidates did bolster the number of references to the minor candidates.

As the analysis below shows, many of the articles mentioning Kizza Besigye related to his arrest while vote-counting was ongoing.

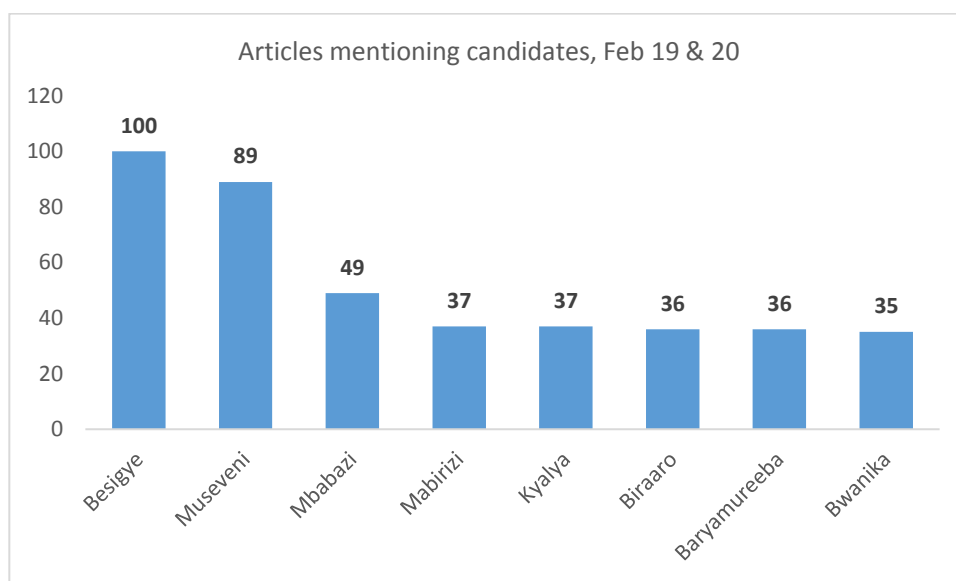


Figure 29: Articles mentioning candidates, Feb 19-20

Table 18 (below) breaks down candidate coverage by publication. Kizza Besigye was the most-commonly mentioned candidate across all titles, excluding *New Vision*. All sampled news sources focused primarily on Besigye and Museveni.

Candidate	Total	NVis	DMon	Obs	RedP	Ind	Inv	Ins	Chim
Besigye	100	11	17	13	4	7	1	23	24
Museveni	89	17	14	10	3	5	1	19	20
Mbabazi	49	9	9	4	1	4	1	9	12
Mabirizi	37	9	5	4	1	4	1	4	9
Kyalya	37	9	5	5	1	4	1	4	8
Biraaro	36	8	5	5	1	4	1	4	8
Baryamureeba	36	9	5	4	1	4	1	4	8
Bwanika	35	7	5	3	1	4	1	4	10

Table 18: Articles mentioning candidates, by publication. Feb 19-20

Party Coverage

Looking separately at party mentions during 19 and 20 February, Figure 30 and Table 19 show the overall distribution and breakdown by publication, respectively. The FDC featured most often out of those parties that were covered, again in part due to the significant number of articles about the arrest of Kizza Besigye and other party officials, and the high-profile allegations by the FDC of voting irregularities and possible fraud. The exception, again, was *New Vision*, which more frequently referenced the National Resistance Movement.

Party	Total	NVis	DMon	Obs	RedP	Ind	Inv	Ins	Chim
NRM	109	38	27	7	0	3	1	17	16
TDA-GF	26	5	6	2	1	0	1	6	5
FDC	131	29	28	11	3	7	1	30	22
PDP	15	0	5	1	1	3	0	2	3
CP	3	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
DP	15	6	5	0	0	0	1	2	1
UPC	7	1	2	2	0	0	0	1	1
UFA	3	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0

Table 19: Articles mentioning parties, by publication, Feb 19-20

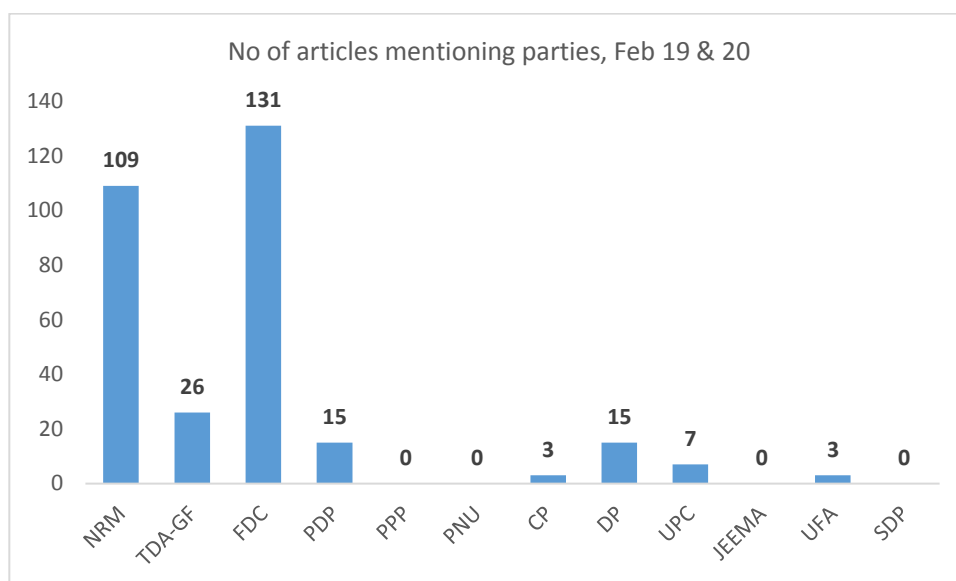


Figure 30: Articles mentioning parties, Feb 19-20

Policy Issue Agenda

Policy coverage across all publications was not dissimilar to the policy issue agenda across the whole period of analysis (Figure 31). The top five topics (Corruption, Democracy, Security, Justice and Education) were the same on 19 and 20 February as they were throughout the entire month of February, with democracy – in second place on 19 and 20 February, appearing in 115 articles – rising in relative prominence.

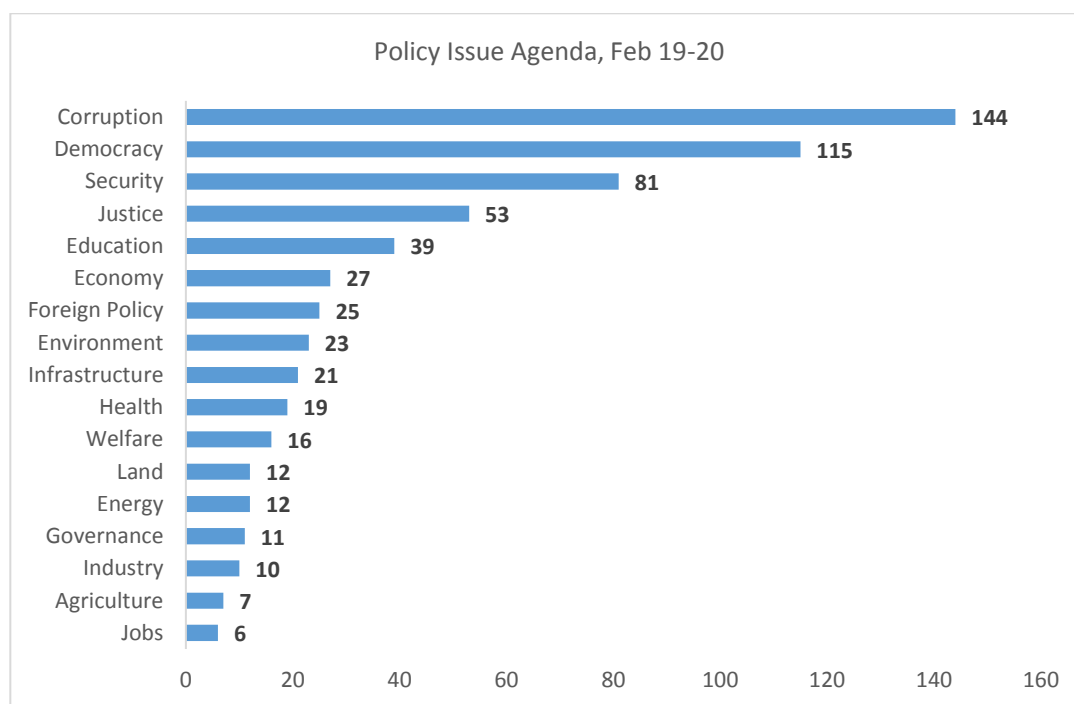


Figure 31: Policy Issue Agenda, Feb 19-20

Detailed Candidate Coverage – *New Vision* and *Daily Monitor*

New Vision

Immediate post-election coverage in *New Vision* was surprisingly light on comment, consisting almost entirely of factual news reports, with a small amount of direct input from candidates in the form of quotes. This may in part be due to a lack of official statements from candidates in the days immediately after polling day, as it was also a feature of coverage in other publications.

In total, 21 articles published on 19 and 20 February in *New Vision* mentioned one or more candidates, three of which consisted of factual reports based on statements by a candidate. On 19 February, Venansius Baryamureeba was quoted in one article praising those electors who turned out, while another article was based on quotes from Yoweri Museveni regarding his discussions with external election observers over the conduct of the election. On the following day, Kizza Besigye's quotes denouncing the election result were the basis for a story.

While several articles contained references to all candidates contesting the election, Yoweri Museveni featured most often in articles where candidates were mentioned. However, many of the references to him consisted solely of references to the fact of his actual or likely victory (due to early projections of the vote). Indeed, this reportage of ongoing or complete presidential and local MP contests formed the bulk of *New Vision's* coverage of the immediate post-election period.

The most common issue mentioned was security, usual in the form of public order – articles on 19 and 20 February referred to Kizza Besigye's arrest by authorities (referred to as a "preventive arrest"), to government and police assurances about safety, and to external observers' praise of "largely peaceful" elections. In comparison with other publications (see below), public unrest was not particularly prominent, and the arrest of Besigye was presented via quotes from authorities downplaying concerns.

Outright criticism or support for candidates was rare, although there were some expressions for support for Museveni ('Taxi drivers in early Museveni celebrations'; 'Gulu celebrates Museveni victory'; 'Lumumba celebrates early presidential win'). Criticism of Besigye was also relatively muted. In one article ('Besigye under preventive arrest') a Kampala Metropolitan Police spokesperson described the candidate's detention as being done "in order to prevent him from causing civil disobedience." In another ('Gulu celebrates Museveni victory'), slogans by Museveni supporters mocking Besigye's defeat are mentioned.

There was almost no commentary published online by *New Vision* mentioning presidential candidates in the two days immediately after the election. Only one article on 20 February ('FDC absent from the national tally centre'), consisting of a descriptive feature by a journalist commenting on candidate representation at the vote-counting centre at the Mandela National Stadium in Kampala.

19 February			
Article	Format	Mentions	Tone
Baryamureeba appreciates the voters turn up	Report	Baryamureeba	Based on quotes from Baryamureeba
Besigye under preventive arrest	Report	Besigye	Contains quote critical of Besigye
Butime bounces back as MP	Report	Museveni	None/Neutral
Election delays 'inexcusable' - Obasanjo	Report	Museveni	None/Neutral
I will get 90% of votes - Muyingo	Report	Museveni	None/Neutral
Museveni meets election observers	Report	Museveni	Based on quotes from Museveni
NRM sweeps Ssembabule clean	Report	All candidates	None/Neutral
Odonga Otto wins Aruu, Anywar leading	Report	All candidates	None/Neutral
Police surrounds FDC offices	Report	Besigye	None/Neutral
Taxi drivers in early Museveni celebrations	Report	Museveni	Pro-Museveni
20 February			
Article	Format	Mentions	Tone
How Museveni won the 2016 votes	Report	All candidates	None/Neutral

Museveni wins polls with 5,617,503 votes	Report	All candidates	None/Neutral
Besigye rejects poll results	Report	All candidates	Based on quotes by Besigye
Gulu celebrates Museveni victory	Report	All candidates	Reports on pro-Museveni celebrations, mentions criticism of Besigye
FDC absent from the national tally centre	Comment	Museveni, Besigye, Kyalya, Mbirizi	None/Neutral
Museveni leading in 43 districts	Report	Museveni, Besigye, Mbabazi, Biraaro, Mbirizi, Kyalya, Baryamureeba	None/Neutral
Social media polls: Govt assures public on security	Report	All candidates	None/Neutral
Elections largely peaceful - Observers	Report	Mbabazi	None/Neutral
You are safe, go and work, army tells Ugandans	Report	Museveni	None/Neutral
Eng. Kiggundu bows out after many years of service	Report	Museveni	None/Neutral
Lumumba celebrates early presidential win	Report	Museveni	Pro-Museveni quotes

Table 20: New Vision articles mentioning candidates, Feb 19-20

Daily Monitor

Daily Monitor's online news coverage of candidates after polling day also consisted largely of factual news reports. Of 23 articles, all but four were reports, with one published letter focusing on the earlier second presidential debate, and three comment articles.

Coverage was less spread across all candidates, with Museveni and Besigye featuring most often, and the remaining candidates seldom being mentioned. Candidates were, again, seldom quoted directly,

with only Museveni and Besigye speaking – again suggesting that news publications as a whole had little access to candidates so soon after the election.

In terms of policy issues, again security and public order appeared most prominently, with Besigye's arrest and security concerns at the home of Amama Mbabazi mentioned. There was also more focus on international concerns about the election and especially the detention of Kizza Besigye. There was also some focus on the implication of the late arrival of ballot papers in certain parts of the country, which had delayed voting in some areas.

Overt criticism and support was again uncommon. Mbabazi was twice subject to direct criticism within articles, once being criticised for his 'pompous' style of travelling by private jet ('I'll accept results if poll is transparent'), and again being criticised on the basis of his electoral performance ('Mbabazi beaten at home in Kanungu'). In this latter article, the campaigns of all other minor candidates were also criticised in passing, while Besigye's "energetic campaign" was described as vindicating his party's decision not to support Mbabazi as a joint opposition leader.

There was little direct criticism of Museveni. One article ('2016 Uganda elections: Museveni declared President') contained a mild critique of his record:

After a tense campaign and a jumbled election, President Museveni rolled to a disputed reelection Saturday, winning a fifth chance to repair the nation's economy and fulfil the promises of hope and a fundamental change he made 30 years ago.³⁹

The comment articles published on 19 and 20 February in *Daily Monitor* tended not to address the candidates directly, and in many cases not the election either. One letter ('Give details on DRC case file') mentioned all of the presidential candidates, but in the context of 13 February presidential debate. Of the remaining three comment articles, one ('EU issues statement on 2016 elections') consisted of a commentary on the European Union Election Observation Mission, listing the perceived shortcomings of the election process. The article is bylined 'EU Press Release', but it is unclear where the text originated.⁴⁰

A second comment article on 20 February ('A tale of elections and presidential monarchs of Africa') presents the election in a wider historical context, while a third ('What have we learnt from these elections?') is a more conventional analysis of the election campaign and the outcome of the vote. None of these articles, however, contain any evaluative references to any of the candidates, including any overtly critical or supportive comments.

19 February			
Article	Format	Mentions	Tone
Army deployed in Kisekka Market	Report	Besigye	None/Neutral

³⁹ <http://www.monitor.co.ug/News/National/2016-Uganda-Elections-Museveni-declared-president/-/688334/3085692/-/kqh1s0z/-/index.html>

⁴⁰ <http://www.monitor.co.ug/News/National/EU-issue-statement-on-2016-elections/-/688334/3085610/-/5dokr/-/index.html>

EC extends poll hours due to delays	Report	Museveni, Besigye	None/Neutral
Give details on DRC case file	Letter	All candidates	None/Neutral
I'll accept results if poll is transparent - Mbabazi	Report	Mbabazi	Critical description of Mbabazi
I'll put any trouble causer in the cooler, says Museveni	Report	Museveni	Based on quotes from Museveni
Mbabazi beaten at home in Kanungu	Report	All candidates	Critical of Mbabazi's performance, and that of minor candidates. Mild support for Besigye
Museveni in early lead as EC releases provisional results	Report	All candidates	None/Neutral
Observers give mixed reactions on election	Report	Mbabazi	None/Neutral
Police surround FDC tally centre, teargas supporters	Report	Besigye	None/Neutral
UCC shut down of social media backfires	Report	Museveni	Contains non-partisan quote from Museveni
Voting shunned after MP poll is cancelled	Report	Museveni, Besigye	None/Neutral
We shall win by defiance - Besigye	Report	Museveni, Besigye	Based on Quotes from Besigye
20 February			

Article	Format	Mentions	Tone
2016 Uganda elections: Museveni declared president	Report	Museveni, Besigye	Contains some criticism of Museveni's past record
A tale of elections and presidential monarchs of Africa	Comment	Museveni	None/Neutral
Besigye leads in the districts as more results trickle in	Report	All candidates	None/Neutral
EU issues statement on 2016 elections	Comment	Besigye	None/Neutral
FDC rejects election results	Report	Museveni, Besigye	Contains quotes from FDC/Besigye supporter
I am not under arrest – Gen. Katumba	Report	Besigye	None/Neutral
Museveni talks to Monitor after Kerry call on polls	Report	Museveni, Besigye	None/Neutral
Security besiege Mbabazi's home	Report	Besigye, Mbabazi	None/Neutral
Tight security as Kiggundu prepares to announce Uganda's next president	Report	All candidates	None/Neutral
What have we learnt from these elections?	Comment	Besigye	None/Neutral
Winners and losers in Kampala, Wakiso MP races	Report	Mbabazi	None/Neutral

Table 21: Daily Monitor articles mentioning candidates, Feb 19-20

Coverage in other publications

The Observer

Though fewer articles were published in *The Observer* online (13 articles over two days) than by *New Vision* and *Daily Monitor*, there were some similarities and some important differences in coverage. Again, there were very few direct quotes from candidates, and there was relatively little commentary. However, there was markedly more direct criticism of certain candidates in those comment pieces that were published.

The Observer's coverage was significantly more focused on issues of electoral irregularities and the delayed arrival of ballot papers in certain districts, and on the behaviour of the police in arresting FDC officials alongside Kizza Besigye. These issues featured in several articles across both days, and were often mentioned as sub-issues in articles about latest polls or candidate performance.

An innovative take on delays to voting was provided in the comment piece 'One voter's futile attempt to vote', a first-person account of the interruptions and delays to the voting process in a single polling station.⁴¹

While only two of the four comment articles contained criticism or support for candidates, the tone was more direct than in *Daily Monitor* and *New Vision*. On 20 February, *The Observer* published, in full, a statement by the FDC president Mugisha Muntu ('Muntu: Museveni only has temporary tactical advantage'). This article was not balanced out by a statement by any other party or candidate spokesperson, and contained allegations that the Museveni regime "illegally" ordered the arrest of FDC officials, as well as describing the election results as fraudulent.⁴²

A previous, guest-authored comment article published on 19 February ('Why the stakes were so high') contained direct criticism of Yoweri Museveni. The article specifically focused on the practice, ascribed to Museveni and the NRM, of offering material incentives to voters in return for support:

For long, the ruling National Resistance Movement and its highest priest, Mr. Museveni, propagated the politics of giving handouts to desperately poor Ugandans during campaign time. This practice greatly distorted electoral politics and undermined the sanctity of voting.⁴³

It continues, criticising Museveni's past record:

Unfortunately for Museveni, he has not just ruled for far too long; his rule has also become utterly inexcusable and indefensible because of the rot and incompetence that pervade much of the Ugandan public sector. Matters have been compounded by an imperial-like president who snoops in every government department and his name features in just about everything gone awry and scandalous.

The article therefore represents direct, specific and personalised criticisms of the incumbent president, something not seen to as great an extent in *New Vision* and *Daily Monitor*.

⁴¹ <http://observer.ug/news-headlines/42676-one-voter-s-futile-attempt-to-vote>

⁴² <http://observer.ug/news-headlines/42709-muntu-museveni-only-has-temporary-tactical-advantage>

⁴³ <http://observer.ug/viewpoint/42683-why-the-stakes-were-so-high>

19 February			
Article	Format	Mentions	Tone
Am not under house arrest – Gen. Katumba Wamala	Report	Museveni, Besigye, Mbabazi, Biraaro, Mbirizi, Kyalya, Baryamureeba	None/Neutral
Developing: Museveni in early 63.6% lead	Report	All candidates	None/Neutral
Kumi, Ngora voting slow but ends well	Report	Museveni, Besigye	None/Neutral
One voter's futile attempt to vote	Comment	Besigye	None/Neutral
Police close FDC offices over poll results	Report	Besigye	None/Neutral
Presidential, Parliamentary elections in embarrassing mess	Analysis	All candidates	None/Neutral
There are many unsung heroes of NRA/NRM revolution	Comment	Museveni, Besigye, Biraaro	None/Neutral
Why the stakes were so high	Comment	Museveni, Besigye	Contains direct criticism of Museveni
Your mail: why we must ensure gender equality in governance	Letters	Museveni, Besigye, Kyalya	None/Neutral
20 February			
Article	Format	Mentions	Tone

City roads blocked ahead of presidential poll results	Report	Museveni, Besigye	None/Neutral
Muntu: Museveni only has temporary tactical advantage	Comment	Museveni, Besigye	Critical of Museveni; supportive of Besigye
Museveni gets 5 more to extend 30-year rule	Report	All candidates	None/Neutral
Police Brutality inciting violence – election observers	Report	Besigye	None/Neutral

Table 22: Observer articles mentioning candidates, Feb 19-20

Red Pepper

Only four articles mentioning candidates – all factual reports, with no comment – were published on the *Red Pepper* website on 19 and 20 February. One article ('M7 leading, but Besigye is pulling him down') consisted of a snapshot report of vote share for all presidential candidates. The remaining three articles focused on the arrest of Besigye and FDC officials.

One of these articles, published on 20 February ('M7 receives a damning call from America, warned on Besigye arrest') reported on a phone call from US Secretary of State John Kerry to Museveni regarding the arrest, while the remaining two, both published on 19 February, focused on the arrest itself. These two articles both contained the allegation that the FDC officials were arrested because they were "planning to declare their own results."⁴⁴ This allegation was repeated in a second article and ascribed to an Assistant Inspector General of Police.⁴⁵

19 February			
Article	Format	Mentions	Tone
In pictures, Besigye, top party officials arrested	Report	Museveni, Besigye	Critical of FDC and Besigye
M7 leading, but Besigye is pulling him down	Report	All candidates	None/Neutral

⁴⁴ <http://www.redpepper.co.ug/besigye-top-party-officials-arrested/>

⁴⁵ <http://www.redpepper.co.ug/tension-kizza-besigye-muntu-and-top-fdc-officials-arrested/>

TENSION: Besigye, Muntu, and top FDC officials arrested	Report	Besigye	Contains quote critical of FDC
20 February			
Article	Format	Mentions	Tone
M7 receives a damning call from America, warned on Besigye arrest	Report	Museveni, Besigye	None/Neutral

Table 23: Red Pepper articles mentioning candidates, Feb 19-20

The Independent

Articles mentioning candidates published on *The Independent* website tended to focus on the ongoing election count, and the final result. Of the seven article published on both days, four consisted of short reports on candidate vote shares at various points of the count. None of the published articles mentioning candidates were comment pieces.

On 19 February, two articles reported on the arrest of Kizza Besigye, while one article on 20 February covered Besigye's statement denouncing the election results, this article quoted the candidate at length, including his advice to supporters to "denounce this electoral theft by withdrawing our recognition of the regime and ceasing to cooperate with it."⁴⁶

No other candidates were quoted by *The Independent* on these dates.

19 February			
Article	Format	Mentions	Tone
Friday 11am: Museveni 62% Besigye 33%	Report	All candidates	None/Neutral
Friday 3pm: Museveni 62% Besigye 32%	Report	All candidates	None/Neutral

⁴⁶ <http://www.independent.co.ug/news/136-the-news-today/11034-ugandan-opposition-chief-besigye-rejects-sham-elections-results>

RESULTS 7am: Museveni 61% Besigye 33%	Report	All candidates	None/Neutral
Police raid FDC headquarters, arrest Besigye	Report	Besigye	None/Neutral
Police explain Besigye “arrest”	Report	Besigye	None/Neutral
20 February			
Article	Format	Mentions	Tone
Ugandan opposition chief Besigye rejects ‘sham elections’ results	Report	Museveni, Besigye	Based on quotes from Besigye
YOWERI MUSEVENI! Uganda decides	Report	All candidates	None/Neutral

Table 24: Independent articles mentioning candidates, Feb 19-20

The Investigator

Only one article published in *The Investigator*, on 19 February, mentioned presidential candidates. The article (see Table 25) consisted of a long analytical comment piece by a journalist, describing events in a number of high-profile constituency contests as well as in the presidential election. The article goes on to mention and describe the arrest of Kizza Besigye, and includes the police allegation that the FDC officials were arrested due to being engaged in an attempt to release “illegal” parallel election results.

19 February			
Article	Format	Mentions	Tone
NRM heavy weights floored, initials put Museveni in lead, Besigye arrested as Mbabazi fights Mabirizi for bottom position	Analysis	All candidates	Contains allegation of illegal activity by FDC/Besigye

Table 25: Investigator articles mentioning candidates, Feb 19-20

The Insider

Coverage of candidates by *The Insider* during 19 and 20 February was characterised by three main themes. First, coverage of the arrest of Besigye and other FDC officials was prominent, and frequently

made reference to the police allegations that candidate and party were preparing to publish parallel election results illegally. This allegation was also levelled at Amama Mbabazi ('Military surrounds Mbabazi home'), though no source was offered for the allegation.⁴⁷ However, FDC members – including the wife of Kizza Besigye, Winnie Byanyima – were given an opportunity to present an alternative view in several articles.

Second, allegations of electoral irregularities and fraud were commonly referenced, including strong criticism of the Electoral Commission and its chair, Dr. Badru Kiggundu, as well as some political parties. These allegations and criticisms came from several sources, including external election observers and appeared in multiple articles, including one ('FDC claims "NRM rigging centres", declaring own results') which republished images of an FDC document alleging fraud by the NRM. Most notably, one article ('Museveni gets 706 votes out of 437 voters') suggests specific allegations of voting irregularities.⁴⁸

Third, in line with the publication of images of the FDC document, *The Insider* published a number of statements from different sources in full. These included two from the FDC, one from Kizza Besigye and one from Amama Mbabazi ('Mbabazi: EC results inaccurate').⁴⁹ One statement from Kenyan President Uhuru Kenyatta in support of Museveni's victory was also published.⁵⁰ This tendency to republish also extended to a *Newsweek* article, initially published on 18 February, republished in its entirety with only slight editing to remove a reference to *Daily Monitor* newspaper.⁵¹

While *The Insider* published a number of articles containing supportive and (some implicit) critical statements about each of the main candidates and their respective parties (where applicable), one comment article by a guest writer contained very strong personalised criticism of Museveni, and of Badru Kiggundu alongside some supportive statements about Besigye ('Dr. Nyanzi: Shame on you Kiggundu & your thieving gang').⁵²

19 February			
Article	Format	Mentions	Tone
Ankunda: Troops on Kampala streets for security	Report	Besigye	Contains allegation of alternative FDC results

⁴⁷ <http://www.theinsider.ug/military-surrounds-mbabazi-home-2/>

⁴⁸ <http://www.theinsider.ug/museveni-gets-706-votes-out-of-437-voters-in-rushere/>

⁴⁹ <http://www.theinsider.ug/mbabazi-ec-results-inaccurate/>

⁵⁰ [Kenyatta toasts to Museveni victory](#)

⁵¹ *Newsweek* article: <http://europe.newsweek.com/uganda-2016-social-media-shutdown-and-seven-hour-delays-jeopardize-elections-428072>

Insider article: <http://www.theinsider.ug/uganda-2016-social-media-block-with-7hr-delay-of-ballots-delivery/>

⁵² <http://www.theinsider.ug/dr-nyanzi-shame-on-you-kiggundu-your-thieving-gang/>

FDC claims 'NRM rigging centres,' declaring own results	Report	Besigye	Publishes full statement by FDC
Gunshots, Besigye, Muntu, Ingrid, Birigwa arrested	Report	Besigye	Contains allegation of alternative FDC results
Military surrounds Mbabazi home	Report	All candidates	Contains allegation of alternative Mbabazi results
Museveni gets 706 votes out of 437 voters	Report	Museveni, Besigye	Alleges fraud in vote counting
Museveni leads 2 nd round with 61%, Besigye 33%	Report	All candidates	None/Neutral
Nantaba defeats 'NRM Mafia' once and for all	Report	Museveni	Criticism of NRM by candidate
Police raids, sieges FDC offices	Report	Museveni, Besigye	Contains allegation of alternative FDC results
US condemns police raid on FDC offices	Report	Museveni, Besigye	Contains allegation of alternative FDC results
US tells Museveni to free Besigye, unblock social media	Report	Museveni, Besigye	None/Neutral
Uganda 2016: social media block with 7hr delay of ballots delivery	Report	Museveni, Besigye, Mbabazi	None/Neutral
Unrest grips Kampala after Besigye arrest	Report	Besigye	Contains quote critical of Besigye
Winnie Byanyima: Besigye still in detention	Report	Besigye	Based on quotes from FDC supporter

20 February			
Article	Format	Mentions	Tone
Besigye: 2016 most fraudulent election in Uganda's history	Comment	Besigye	Full statement by Besigye
Byanyima: Ingrid in prison for challenging 'the leopard'	Report	Besigye	Based on quotes from FDC supporter
Dr. Nyanzi: Shame on you Kiggundu & your thieving gang	Comment	Museveni, Besigye	Strong criticism of Museveni, support for Besigye
EU: Uganda EC not transparent	Report	Museveni, Besigye	Excerpt from statement by EU Election Observation Mission
Elections are history. Build the nation	Comment	Museveni	None/Neutral
Election observers cite arrests, intimidation, harassment, police brutality	Report	Mbabazi	None/Neutral
Kenyatta toasts to Museveni victory	Comment	Museveni	Pro-Museveni statement
Kiggundu: I'll announce new president at 4pm	Report	Museveni, Besigye	None/Neutral
Leave Uganda issues with me, Museveni tells Kerry	Report	Museveni, Besigye, Mbabazi	Based on quotes from Museveni
Mbabazi: EC results inaccurate	Comment	Besigye, Mbabazi	Based on statement by Mbabazi
Muntu: Besigye under house arrest	Comment	Museveni, Besigye	Full statement by FDC spokesperson in support of Besigye

Museveni chills with election observers as EC declares him president	Report	Museveni	None/Neutral
Museveni still leads in 4 th , 5 th , 6 th , 7 th & 8 th rounds	Report	All candidates	None/Neutral
Museveni wins 5 th term, declared president	Report	All candidates	None/Neutral
No hope for free and fair elections in Uganda - Observers	Comment	Museveni, Besigye, Mbabazi	Excerpt from report by The Citizens Election Observers Network - Uganda

Table 26: Insider articles mentioning candidates, Feb 19-20

ChimpReports

Like *The Insider*, *ChimpReports* published a large number of articles regarding the election in the two days after polling day. Again, in keeping with other titles many of the articles consisted of reports on the ongoing vote tally, while security, and Kizza Besigye's arrest figured prominently in coverage.

Candidates were rarely quoted, and almost all coverage consisted of factual reports; *ChimpReports* published no comment pieces about presidential candidates, with the only non-report consisting of a full republication of Kizza Besigye's statement denouncing the results ('FULL STATEMENT: Besigye demands audit of election results').⁵³

Overall, there was very little partisan criticism or support in the coverage by *ChimpReports*. The allegations that Besigye's arrest was due to the imminent illegal publication by FDC officials were included in several articles (e.g. 'Police isolate Besigye at his home').⁵⁴ Critical comments about Besigye did appear, ascribed to Electoral Commission Chair Badru Kiggundu ('Kiggundu praises Besigye arrest as violence erupts').⁵⁵ This was generally balanced out by articles based on quotes by FDC spokespeople, and some mild criticism of the National Resistance Movement ('6 NRM ministers face defeat in MP elections').⁵⁶

19 February			
Article	Format	Mentions	Tone

⁵³ <http://www.chimpreports.com/full-statement-besigye-demands-audit-of-election-results/>

⁵⁴ [Police isolate Besigye at his home](#)

⁵⁵ <http://www.chimpreports.com/kiggundu-praises-besigye-arrest-as-violence-spreads-in-kampala/>

⁵⁶ <http://www.chimpreports.com/6-nrm-ministers-face-defeat-in-mp-elections/>

6 NRM ministers face defeat in MP elections	Report	Museveni	Contains criticism of NRM politicians
Besigye, Muntu, Ingrid held by police	Report	Museveni, Besigye	Contains allegation of alternative FDC results
Candidate Bwanika arrested fleeing the country	Report	Bwanika	None/Neutral
Kiggundu praises Besigye arrest as violence erupts	Report	Besigye	Contains critical quotes about Besigye
Latest: Museveni hits 62% as Besigye rises to 33%	Report	All candidates	None/Neutral
Latest: Museveni maintains steady lead	Report	All candidates	None/Neutral
Live: Presidential election provisional results	Report	All candidates	None/Neutral
Museveni leads Uganda election race by 63%	Report	All candidates	None/Neutral
Museveni in 61% lead as Besigye gains	Report	All candidates	None/Neutral
PHOTOS: Police, military quell city protest after Besigye arrest	Report	Besigye	None/Neutral
Police explain Besigye, Muntu arrest	Report	Museveni, Besigye	Contains allegation of alternative FDC results
Teargas at FDC head offices, Mbabazi Kololo home	Report	Museveni, Mbabazi	None/Neutral
US Secretary of State calls Museveni with election concerns	Report	Museveni, Besigye	None/Neutral

Winnie Byanyima compares Thursday polls to 1980's	Report	Museveni, Besigye	Based on quotes from FDC supporter
20 February			
Article	Format	Mentions	Tone
56 DISTRICTS: Museveni holds 61% against Besigye's 34%	Report	Museveni, Besigye, Mbabazi, Bwanika, Mbirizi	None/Neutral
Dissecting President Museveni's win	Report	All candidates	None/Neutral
EU observers praise Ugandan voters' determination. Slam police	Report	Besigye	None/Neutral
FDC denounces presidential election results	Report	Museveni, Besigye, Mbabazi	Based on quotes from FDC spokesperson
FULL STATEMENT: Besigye demands audit of election results	Comment	Besigye	Full statement by Besigye
Kayihuru shuffles police command, warns on election victory celebrations	Report	Museveni, Besigye	None/Neutral
Muhwezi, Banyenzaki, Bitangaro bounces back	Report	Mbabazi	None/Neutral
Museveni edges to victory, shooting through 5 million votes	Report	All candidates	None/Neutral
NRM celebrations as Museveni meets Banda, Obasanjo	Report	Museveni, Besigye	None/Neutral
PHOTOS: Police search tycoon Garuga Musinguzi residence	Report	Besigye	None/Neutral

Police isolate Besigye at his home	Report	Besigye	Contains allegation of alternative FDC results
Thursday election was free and fair – Regional Observers	Report	Museveni	None/Neutral
UCC: we shut down social media to prevent terrorism	Report	Museveni	Based on quotes from Museveni
We spied on police house in Naguru - FDC	Report	Museveni, Besigye	Based on FDC quotes alleging fraud
Yoweri Museveni wins Uganda presidential election	Report	All candidates	Contains allegation of alternative FDC results

Table 27: ChimpReports articles mentioning candidates, Feb 19-20

Appendix 1: Methodology and Index of Issues

This report is based on a large-scale content analysis of 4,508 articles published by a range of Ugandan online English-language news sources, and 66,222 tweets published by 249 Twitter accounts affiliated to a variety of Ugandan political, government, civil society and media organisations.

It has been conducted using the news content analysis software tool Steno, developed by researchers at the Centre for the Study of Media, Communication and Power, part of the Policy Institute at King's College London. This software tool allows researchers to obtain news content published by selected news sites and tweets published on selected Twitter accounts. Automated scripts can be used to tag articles on the basis of text content, which can then allow for the quick retrieval of quantitative data about the frequency and prevalence of certain information across multiple sources.

The software was used to gather, store, and analyse every article and tweet published during the month of February 2016 by the sampled news sites and Twitter accounts. Scripts were created on the basis of a specially adapted version of an Issues Index created by the polling organisation Ipsos-MORI, repurposed for the Ugandan context.

All results produced in this report are based on data collected from the sample of articles and tweets described above.

Sampled News Sites

In order to analyse how the 2016 Ugandan general election was covered by the media, a range of news sites were selected. Due to the resources available to the research team, the list has been restricted to the main English-language news sites.

The sampled news sites are:

- New Vision (www.newvision.co.ug), national daily newspaper published in Kampala. Also includes election microsite (www.elections.co.uk/new-vision/)
- Daily Monitor (www.monitor.co.ug), national daily newspaper, also published in Kampala
- The Observer (www.observer.ug), weekly newspaper
- Red Pepper (www.redpepper.co.ug), daily tabloid newspaper
- The Independent (www.independent.co.ug), newsmagazine
- The Investigator (theinvestigatornews.com), online news site
- The Insider (www.theinsider.ug), online news site
- ChimpReports (www.chimpreports.com), online news site

For the period of analysis (1 –29 February 2016) every URL published on these sites was collected. These URLs were sorted by date based on the local time of publication (UTC+2), so an article published at 23:59 on (for example) 12 February would be dated as published on 12 February, even though it may correspond to the print edition of the story intended for distribution the following morning. This was implemented due to the large number of articles involved in the analysis and the inability of researchers to sort through all articles published shortly before midnight. It also means that date recording is consistent across the sample.

Once URLs were gathered each day, a script was applied to the dataset to identify all articles which are not relevant for the analysis of the election. Generally these were sports news, foreign news or lifestyle articles, or other pages published on news websites not containing news content. Once identified, these articles were deleted.

Two further scripts were then applied to the data, to identify articles in which significant political figures and entities were mentioned in news articles. This included the range of presidential candidates and political parties. Variations of names and acronyms for parties were also included to allow for stylistic differences in news reporting. Once identified, articles were automatically tagged so that they could be retrieved for future analysis.

For example, where an article contained the phrase “PNU” or “Pressure for National Unity”, it was allocated the tag “PNU”. Researchers could then use a search for this tag to retrieve all articles that contained either of those phrases.

In summary, the results published throughout this report, apart from those relating to news content given further analysis in the case studies, denote the number of articles in which certain tags were allocated. A description of how issue tags were allocated is included below and in Appendix 2 at the end of this report.

Leader Columns and Front Pages

Where available, leader columns and front page lead stories were gathered where they related to the election. Not all of the publications covered in this report published leader columns, and not all have related print editions (and therefore an identifiable static front page for a given day). Online versions of front page stories were gathered by finding electronic images of daily front pages of print newspapers, and locating the online version of the lead stories on the newspapers’ websites.

Sampled Twitter Accounts

In addition to the online news analysis, this report also looks at what certain Twitter profiles published during the sampling period of 1 –29 February. The Twitter profiles were pre-selected and a full list of political or organisational profiles is included in Appendix 1 of this report. The profiles conformed to one of five categories:

- 66 Party-affiliated profiles
- 30 Government-affiliated profiles
- 18 Official profiles of NGOs/similar organisations
- 26 News publishing organisations
- 109 Profiles of individual journalists (not included in Appendix 1 for privacy reasons)

The process of analysing Tweets was very similar to the one for articles described above. Tweets from these profiles were gathered each day, and scripts were applied to the dataset, automatically tagging tweets on the basis of their content. Again, the results published below denote the number of tweets in which a given tag was located once the appropriate scripts had been applied.

Issues Index

In addition to identifying the presence of mentions of political parties, organisations and candidates within news articles and tweets, this project is concerned with which political issues were being covered by news outlets and on Twitter during the month of the campaign.

To analyse this, the project took a specially-adapted version of the Ipsos-MORI Issues Index and used it, in conjunction with a pilot study and an analysis of party manifestos and speeches, to create:

1. A list covering the main policy areas, competences of government departments and issues around which political arguments were being conducted and party policy shaped.
2. A dictionary of terms for each of these issues, which strongly denoted that the issue was being covered in a given article or tweet. This also included mentions of responsible ministers, or officials linked to the administration or investigation of particular issues.

The list of policy areas is described here, and the scripts used to tag articles and tweets on the basis of issue content is included in Appendix 2. While each of the issues is a discrete area of public policy, there are often some overlaps and relationships between certain issues (e.g. 'Economy' and 'Infrastructure'). Articles can, and often do, contain references to multiple issues. Therefore, the results presented below relating to issue prevalence denote the number of articles in which each issue is mentioned, rather than the only or main issue in each article.

Policy Issues Index

- **Governance:** (Includes) Issues related to governance, including efficiency, government composition and institutional structures, the constitution, and the role of the president.
- **Corruption:** (Includes) Issues relating to government corruption, corruption of candidates, electoral fraud, etc.
- **Democracy:** Freedom of speech, the role and maintenance of democracy, pro-democracy movements.
- **Justice:** Justice policy, civil and human rights, arbitrary arrest, etc.
- **Economy:** Economic policy, the economy as a whole, national debt, aspects of taxation.
- **Jobs:** Issues relating to employment/unemployment, job creation policies, wages.
- **Industry:** Industrial performance, investment, business and manufacturing sectors. Includes aspects of foreign trade and taxation as they relate to industry.
- **Infrastructure:** Transport infrastructure and transport policy, communications, energy and technology infrastructure, aerospace, road safety.
- **Land:** Urban land use, planning and housing, rural land ownership and rights, land development.
- **Agriculture:** Agricultural finance and credit, farming and food production, productivity, farming practices, fisheries.
- **Environment:** Pollution, recycling, natural environment and resources, water supplies and water safety, waste, environmental policies and initiatives.
- **Energy:** Energy production and use, energy sectors, fuel prices, oil.

- **Security:** Internal security, terrorism, armed services, regional security.
- **Foreign Policy:** Diplomacy, Ugandan participation in supranational organisations, foreign policy initiatives.
- **Education:** Schools, teachers, education policy and delivery, higher and further education.
- **Health:** Public health and health policies, disease.
- **Welfare:** Pensions, welfare, youth inclusion policies, welfare state.

In order to minimise the effect of articles that were erroneously tagged due to ambiguous dictionary terms, the project researchers manually checked tagged articles in the database to ensure that, where found, mis-tagging was eliminated. A pilot study was run to identify weaknesses in the scripts and to refine them to reduce the possibility of mis-tagging and to improve the accuracy of the scripts in correctly identifying where issues were covered.

Appendix 2: Twitter Accounts Sampled

For the analysis, we identified 249 Twitter accounts administered by political parties, candidates, the government and relevant civil society and non-governmental organisations. The sample was broken down as follows:

- 66 Party-affiliated profiles
- 30 Government-affiliated profiles
- 18 Official profiles of NGOs/similar organisations
- 26 News publishing organisations
- 109 Profiles of individual journalists (not included below for reasons of privacy)

All profiles analysed (excluding profiles of individual journalists) are listed in their respective groups below.

Party Accounts

Party	Twitter Profile
DP	@norbertmao
DP	@DPSecretariat1
FDC	@ByamugishaMoses
FDC	@FDCOfficial1
FDC	@kaijaharold
FDC	@kizzabesigye1

FDC	@mugishamuntu
FDC	@NandalaMafabi
FDC	@SsemujjuNganda
FDC	@tomddumba
FDC	@Winnie_Byanyima
FDC	@BrianAtuheire
Independent	@baryamureeba
Independent	@MaureenKyalya
Independent	@MabiriziEJ
Independent	@BenonBiraaro
JEEMA	@JEEMAUganda
NRM	@AKyambadde
NRM	@AsumanKiyangi
NRM	@BaryomunsiChris
NRM	@ChairmanNRM
NRM	@defenceuganda
NRM	@Dr_Elioda
NRM	@dujanga

NRM	@DuncanAbigaba
NRM	@EvelynAnite
NRM	@FredRuhindi
NRM	@hilaryonek
NRM	@IreneMuloni
NRM	@JanetMuseveni
NRM	@JohnMNasasira
NRM	@KagutaMuseveni
NRM	@kahindaotafiire
NRM	@Kibuule_Ronald
NRM	@KiyongaCrispus
NRM	@mkainerugaba
NRM	@Mukulaa
NRM	@NRMOnline
NRM	@NRMOnlineMedia
NRM	@NyombiThembo
NRM	@Odrek_Rwabwogo
NRM	@omachfred

NRM	@RuhakanaR
NRM	@samkutesa
NRM	@SCChebrot
NRM	@SevoApp
NRM	@TeamSEVO
NRM	@Tybisa
NRM	@NRMSevo2016
NRM	@Tuongee207
PDP	@AbedBwanika
TDA-Go Forward	@agnestush
TDA-Go Forward	@AM4Geatness2016
TDA-Go Forward	@Amama2016
TDA-Go Forward	@AmamaMbabazi
TDA-Go Forward	@AshleyDrura
TDA-Go Forward	@DPSecretariat1
TDA-Go Forward	@dzniringiye
TDA-Go Forward	@goforward2016
TDA-Go Forward	@GoForwardUK

TDA-Go Forward	@JMNkangi
TDA-Go Forward	@MaoMbabazi
TDA-Go Forward	@pesh_em
TDA-Go Forward	@TDAOfficial1
TDA-Go Forward	@TeamJPAM2016
TDA-Go Forward	@TJozra

Government Accounts

Name	Twitter Profile
Allen Kagina, executive director of Uganda National Roads Authority	@Allen_Kagina
Inspector General of Police (IGP)	@AskIGP
Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development	@energyministry
Government of Uganda	@GovUganda
Inspector General of Government	@IGGUganda
Hon. Dr. J C Muyingo (State Minister for Primary Education)	@JCMuyingo
Nabusayi L. Wamboka (Press Secretary to President)	@lindahNabusayi
Ministry of East African Community Affairs	@meaca_ug
Ministry of Internal Affairs	@MIA_UG
Ministry of Health	@MinofHealthUG

Ministry of Education and Sports	@moes_ug
Ministry of Finance	@mofpedU
Ministry of ICT	@MoICT_Ug
Ministry of Trade, Industry and Cooperatives	@mtic_uganda
Ministry of Tourism, Wildlife and Antiquities	@MtwuUganda
Ofwono Opono P'Odel (Government Spokesperson)	@OfwonoOpono
Office of the Prime Minister of Uganda	@OPMUganda
Parliament of Uganda	@Parliament_UG
Office of the President of Uganda	@PresidencyUg
Rebecca Kadaga (Speaker of Parliament)	@RebeccaKadaga
Sarah Kagingo (Presidential Assistant)	@SarahKagingo
State House Uganda	@StateHouseUg
Uganda Communications Commission	@UCC_Official
Electoral Commission Uganda	@UgandaEc
Uganda Investment Authority	@ugandainvest
Uganda Media Centre	@UgandaMediaCent
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	@UgandaMFA
UPDF Spokesman	@UPDFSPOKESMAN

Uganda Revenue Authority	@URAuganda
Communications Advisor to the Prime Minister of Uganda	@j_mucunguzi

Organisational Accounts

Name	Twitter Profile
Advocates Coalition for Development and Environment	@ACODE_Uganda
Action for Development (ACFODE)	@acfode
African Centre for Media Excellence	@ACME_Uganda
Citizens Coalition for Electoral Democracy in Uganda (CCEDU)	@cceduganda
EU Election Observation Mission (EOM) Uganda	@eueomuganda
EU-Uganda	@EUinUG
Forward Uganda	@ForwardUganda
Foundation for Human Rights Initiative (FHRI)	@FHRI2
Global Rights Alert	@graUganda
Initiative for Social & Economic Rights	@ISERUganda
Legal Aid Service Providers' Network (LASPNET)	@LaspnetUganda
Transparency International Uganda	@TransparencyUga
Uganda Debt Network (UDN)	@ugandadebnet
Uganda National NGO Forum (UNNGOF)	@ngoforum

Women's Democracy Network (WDN-U)	@WDNUganda
Youth Coalition on Electoral Democracy in Uganda (YCED)	@YCEDemocracy
Human Rights Network for Journalists - Uganda	@HRNJUganda
Citizens' Election Observer Network - Uganda	@ceonuganda

News Organisation Accounts

Name	Twitter
104.1 Power FM	@powerfmuganda
91.3 Capital FM	@913CapitalFM
ChimpReports	@ChimpReports
Daily Monitor	@DailyMonitor
Independent	@UgandaTalks
Investigator	@uginvestigator
Kampala Sun	@The_Kampala_Sun
Minibuzz (TV programme)	@minibuzzuganda
Nation Media Group	@NationMediaGrp
NBS Television	@nbstv
New Vision	@newvisionwire
NTV Uganda	@ntvuganda

Observer	@ObserverUg
Parliament Watch Uganda	@pwatchug
Presidential Debate (NTV Uganda)	@UGPresDebate
Red Pepper	@RedPepperUG
Situation Room Uganda (NTV Uganda)	@TheSitRoomUG
UBC Television	@ubctvuganda
Uganda Radio Network (URN)	@ugandarn
UGO	@UgoUganda
Vision Group Uganda	@VisionGrp
WBS Television	@wbstvug
Radio One FM90	@RadioOneFM90
933 KFM	@933kfm
Uganda Election 2016	@ElectionsUG
The Insider.ug	@TheInsiderUG

Appendix 3: Issues Index and Scripts

This section contains a description of each of the policy issues analysed in the report, followed in each case by the dictionary of terms that were used when automatically allocating issue tags to articles.

Governance: Issues related to governance, including efficiency, government composition and institutional structures, the constitution, and the role of the president.

"Black Monday Movement" => TAG gov

"Constitution of Uganda" => TAG gov

"Fred Omach" => TAG gov

"Gabriel Ajedra" => TAG gov

"Henry Muganwa Kajura" => TAG gov

"Kaginda Mugume" => TAG gov

"Local Government Act" => TAG gov

"Luwero triangle" => TAG gov

"Luwero war veterans" => TAG gov

"Ministry of Public Service" => TAG gov

"Muhoozi project" => TAG gov

"Namboze Betty" => TAG gov

"National Truth and Reconciliation Commission" => TAG gov

"Salaries Commission" => TAG gov

"Sezi Mbaguta" => TAG gov

"arbitrary expenditure" => TAG gov

"bad governance" => TAG gov

"big government" => TAG gov

"bloated parliament" => TAG gov

"budgeting process" => TAG gov

"central government spending" => TAG gov

"concentration of power" => TAG gov

"constitutional reforms" => TAG gov

"delays in releasing money" => TAG gov

"distorted tax regime" => TAG gov
"fear-based regime" => TAG gov
"full disclosure of budgets" => TAG gov
"good governance" => TAG gov
"illegitimate acquisition" => TAG gov
"inefficiencies in public services" => TAG gov
"inefficiencies in public spending" => TAG gov
"institutional reforms" => TAG gov
"local government structure" => TAG gov
"multiple administration units" => TAG gov
"national rehabilitation commission" => TAG gov
"national wastage" => TAG gov
"nomination fees" => TAG gov
"one-man democracy" => TAG gov
"peace and prosperity" => TAG gov
"peaceful transition" => TAG gov
"power grab" => TAG gov
"powers of the president" => TAG gov
"presidential powers" => TAG gov
"presidential term limit" => TAG gov
"public expenditure" => TAG gov
"public investment management" => TAG gov
"public sector institutions" => TAG gov
"public service appointments" => TAG gov
"public service delivery" => TAG gov
"public service efficiency" => TAG gov
"size of parliament" => TAG gov
"state control" => TAG gov
"state repression" => TAG gov
"term limits" => TAG gov
"transfer of power" => TAG gov

"unequal distribution of political power" => TAG gov

"wastage of public resources" => TAG gov

"wasteful expenditure" => TAG gov

Corruption: Issues relating to government corruption, corruption of candidates, electoral fraud, etc.

"anti-corruption" => TAG corr

"bribes" => TAG corr

"corrupt-free" => TAG corr

"corruption" => TAG corr

"embezzlement" => TAG corr

"fraud" => TAG corr

"patronage" => TAG corr

"vote-buying" => TAG corr

"whistleblowers" => TAG corr

"rigging" => TAG corr

"bribery" => TAG corr

"cash handouts" => TAG corr

"corrupt persons" => TAG corr

"corruption cases" => TAG corr

"corruption-free government" => TAG corr

"election theft" => TAG corr

"Electoral Commission" => TAG corr

"electoral laws" => TAG corr

"electoral reforms" => TAG corr

"electoral spending" => TAG corr

"embezzle funds" => TAG corr

"fair elections" => TAG corr

"fraudulent conduct" => TAG corr

"political patronage" => TAG corr

"stolen assets" => TAG corr

"stolen funds" => TAG corr

"stolen money" => TAG corr

"vote rigging" => TAG corr

"whistle blowers" => TAG corr

"whistleblowers" => TAG corr

"corrupt leadership" => TAG corr

"ballot papers" => TAG corr

"ballot stuffing" => TAG corr

"solicit money" => TAG corr

"Anti-Corruption Amendments Act" => TAG corr

"blow the whistle" => TAG corr

"steal public assets" => TAG corr

"steal public funds" => TAG corr

"stolen public assets" => TAG corr

"stolen public funds" => TAG corr

"Whistle Blower's Act" => TAG corr

"rig the polls" => TAG corr

"Corruption Truth Telling Commission" => TAG corr

"free and fair elections" => TAG corr

"stealing of public funds" => TAG corr

"theft of public funds" => TAG corr

"theft of public resources" => TAG corr

"Uganda Whistleblowers Protection Act 2010" => TAG corr

"Citizens Compact on Free and Fair Elections" => TAG corr

Democracy: Freedom of speech, the role and maintenance of democracy, and pro-democracy movements.

"ACME" => TAG dem

"African Centre for Media Excellence" => TAG dem

"ban parliament reporters" => TAG dem

"ban reporters" => TAG dem

"CCEDU" => TAG dem

"Citizens Coalition for Electoral Democracy in Uganda" => TAG dem

"Citizens' Election Observer Network" => TAG dem

"degree-holding journalists" => TAG dem

"degree-holding journos" => TAG dem

"democratic deficit" => TAG dem

"dissidents jailed" => TAG dem

"dissidents killed" => TAG dem

"election violence" => TAG dem

"electoral system" => TAG dem

"electoral commission" (AND "Democracy" OR "Democratic" OR "Rights") => TAG dem

"electoral violence" => TAG dem

"endless promises" => TAG dem

"EU Election Observation Mission" => TAG dem

"free flow of information" => TAG dem

"free press" => TAG dem

"freedom of speech" => TAG dem

"freely elected" => TAG dem

"independent reporting" => TAG dem

"journalists' rights" => TAG dem

"media freedom" => TAG dem

"neither free nor fair" => TAG dem

"non-degree journalists" => TAG dem

"non-degree journos" => TAG dem

"non-graduate journalists" => TAG dem

"non-graduate journos" => TAG dem

"open democracy" => TAG dem

"opposition campaign materials" => TAG dem

"press accreditation" => TAG dem

"Press and Journalist Act" => TAG dem

"press freedom" => TAG dem

"self-censorship" => TAG dem

"stifling political debate" => TAG dem

"stifling the media" => TAG dem

"Transparency International" => TAG dem

"voter intimidation" => TAG dem

"WDN-U" => TAG dem

"WDN-Uganda" => TAG dem

"Women's Democracy Network" => TAG dem

"YCED" => TAG dem

"Youth Coalition on Electoral Democracy in Uganda" => TAG dem

Justice: Justice policy, civil and human rights, arbitrary arrest, etc.

"anti-civil liberties laws" => TAG just

"anti-Female Genital Mutilation Act" => TAG just

"anti-gay laws" => TAG just

"anti-homosexuality law" => TAG just

"arbitrary arrest" => TAG just

"arbitrary detention" => TAG just

"arbitrary killings" => TAG just

"assassination" => TAG just

"assault prevention" => TAG just

"Attorney General" => TAG just

"backlog of cases" => TAG just

"Chief Justice" => TAG just

"child death rate" => TAG just
"child labor" => TAG just
"child labour" => TAG just
"child marriage" => TAG just
"Citizens Compact" => TAG just
"civil rights" => TAG just
"correctional systems" => TAG just
"court cases" => TAG just
"court order" => TAG just
"court processes" => TAG just
"court records" => TAG just
"democratic rights" => TAG just
"detention without trial" => TAG just
"Director of Public Prosecutions" => TAG just
"Domestic Violence Act" => TAG just
"DPP" => TAG just
"FHRI" => TAG just
"file a defence" => TAG just
"Foundation for Human Rights Initiative" => TAG just
"Fred Ruhindi" => TAG just
"Fredrick Ruhindi" => TAG just
"gay rights" => TAG just
"Global Rights Alert" => TAG just
"held in prison" => TAG just
"human rights abuses" => TAG just
"Human Rights Network for Journalists" => TAG just
"human rights" => TAG just
"human traffickers" => TAG just
"human trafficking" => TAG just
"impunity" => TAG just
"independence of the judiciary" => TAG just

"International Criminal Court" => TAG just
"intimate partner violence" => TAG just
"intimidation" => TAG just
"investigative agencies" => TAG just
"Judicial Code of Conduct" => TAG just
"judicial services" => TAG just
"judicial system" => TAG just
"judiciary" => TAG just
"Justice Ogoola" => TAG just
"Kahinda Otafiire" => TAG just
"LASPNET" => TAG just
"law and order" => TAG just
"Legal Aid Service Providers' Network" => TAG just
"Medard Ssegona" => TAG just
"Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs" => TAG just
"Mwesigwa Rukutana" => TAG just
"officer of court" => TAG just
"petty thieves" => TAG just
"physical violence" => TAG just
"political prisoners" => TAG just
"Prevention of Trafficking in Persons Act" => TAG just
"prison system" => TAG just
"prison terms" => TAG just
"qui tam" => TAG just
"restorative justice" => TAG just
"rights violations" => TAG just
"rule of law" => TAG just
"seizure of property" => TAG just
"Sejusa" => TAG just
"sex abuse" => TAG just
"sexual abuse" => TAG just

"Sexual and Gender-Based Violence" => TAG just

"sexual violence" => TAG just

"SGBV" => TAG just

"Supreme Court" => TAG just

"unlawful" => TAG just

"vagrancy laws" => TAG just

"ICJ" => TAG just

Economy: Economic policy, the economy as a whole, national debt, and aspects of taxation.

"ACFODE" => TAG econ

"Action for Development" => TAG econ

"Advocates Coalition for Development and Environment" => TAG econ

"AfDB" => TAG econ

"African Development Bank" => TAG econ

"Bank of Uganda" => TAG econ

"bank operations" => TAG econ

"commercial bank" => TAG econ

"commodity prices" => TAG econ

"contained inflation" => TAG econ

"Diaspora Service Division" => TAG econ

"Diaspora Services Division" => TAG econ

"economic growth" => TAG econ

"economic progress" => TAG econ

"Ekanya Geoffrey" => TAG econ

"equity bank" => TAG econ

"financial deepening" => TAG econ

"fiscal environment" => TAG econ

"fiscal policy" => TAG econ
"fiscal situation" => TAG econ
"food prices" => TAG econ
"foreign exchange" => TAG econ
"FTSE" => TAG econ
"full wage bill" => TAG econ
"fund public services" => TAG econ
"fund reforms" => TAG econ
"GDP" => TAG econ
"global market" => TAG econ
"goods and services" => TAG econ
"government debt" => TAG econ
"government deposits" => TAG econ
"government spending" => TAG econ
"Gross Domestic Product" => TAG econ
"growth rates" => TAG econ
"Henry Banyenzaki" => TAG econ
"inclusive development" => TAG econ
"indebted government" => TAG econ
"indebtedness" => TAG econ
"inflation" => TAG econ
"inflationary pressure" => TAG econ
"Kamanda Bataringaya" => TAG econ
"KCB bank" => TAG econ
"macro-economic stability" => TAG econ
"Matia Kasaija" => TAG econ
"MDGs" => TAG econ
"Millennium Development Goals" => TAG econ
"Ministry of Finance, Planning and Economic Development" => TAG econ
"mobilisation of capital" => TAG econ
"NASDAQ" => TAG econ

"national debt" => TAG econ

"new revenue streams" => TAG econ

"real earnings" => TAG econ

"restricted budget" => TAG econ

"revenue agency" => TAG econ

"revenue base" => TAG econ

"revenue collections" => TAG econ

"reverse interest rate" => TAG econ

"SDGs" => TAG econ

"statutory debt" => TAG econ

"stock exchange" => TAG econ

"stronger currency" => TAG econ

"stronger shilling" => TAG econ

"Sustainable Development Goals" => TAG econ

"tax clearance certificate system" => TAG econ

"tax identification numbers" => TAG econ

"UDB" => TAG econ

"UDN" => TAG econ

"Uganda Debt Network" => TAG econ

"Uganda Development Bank" => TAG econ

"Uganda Poverty Status Report" => TAG econ

"Uganda Revenue Authority" => TAG econ

"Uganda shilling" => TAG econ

"Ugandan economy" => TAG econ

"wealth creation" => TAG econ

Jobs: Issues relating to employment/unemployment, job creation policies, and wages.

"available jobs" => TAG jobs

"creating jobs" => TAG jobs

"decent jobs" => TAG jobs

"foreign labor" => TAG jobs

"formal employment" => TAG jobs

"formal work experience" => TAG jobs

"gratuity arrears" => TAG jobs

"job creation" => TAG jobs

"job market" => TAG jobs

"job vacancies" => TAG jobs

"new jobs" => TAG jobs

"pay increases" => TAG jobs

"positions filled" => TAG jobs

"private sector jobs" => TAG jobs

"public work schemes" => TAG jobs

"regional employment transition training centres" => TAG jobs

"skilled labour" => TAG jobs

"staffing gaps" => TAG jobs

"subsidized jobs" => TAG jobs

"unemployment" => TAG jobs

"unoccupied jobs" => TAG jobs

"vacant positions" => TAG jobs

"Volunteer Graduate program" => TAG jobs

"well paying jobs" => TAG jobs

"Youth Entrepreneurship Scheme" => TAG jobs

"jobless" => TAG jobs

Industry: Industrial performance, investment, business and manufacturing sectors. Includes aspects of foreign trade and taxation as they relate to industry.

"affordable machinery" => TAG ind

"Amelia Kyambadde" => TAG ind

"angel investments" => TAG ind

"Aston Kajara" => TAG ind

"business community" => TAG ind

"business ventures" => TAG ind

"capacity utilisation" => TAG ind

"capital investments" => TAG ind

"Caroline Amali Okao" => TAG ind

"COMESA" => TAG ind

"Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa" => TAG ind

"common market" => TAG ind

"compete in global markets" => TAG ind

"cross-border business" => TAG ind

"crowd-funding" => TAG ind

"David Wakikona" => TAG ind

"Domestic Private Sector Investment" => TAG ind

"economic rates of return" => TAG ind

"economic stimulus programme" => TAG ind

"export basket" => TAG ind

"FDI" => TAG ind

"FDIs" => TAG ind

"foreign currency denomination rates" => TAG ind

"Foreign Direct Investment" => TAG ind

"free flow of goods" => TAG ind

"global partnership agreement" => TAG ind

"harmonization of tariffs" => TAG ind

"high technology industry" => TAG ind
"import duties" => TAG ind
"Industrial Policy Framework" => TAG ind
"industrialisation" => TAG ind
"international trade" => TAG ind
"joint-ventures" => TAG ind
"Kevina Taaka" => TAG ind
"lending facilities" => TAG ind
"long-term credit" => TAG ind
"low capacity utilisation" => TAG ind
"Made in Uganda" => TAG ind
"manufacturing firms" => TAG ind
"manufacturing sector" => TAG ind
"manufacturing sector" => TAG ind
"market penetration" => TAG ind
"mechanisation" => TAG ind
"Micro, Small and Medium Enterprises" => TAG ind
"Ministry of Trade, Industry and Cooperatives" => TAG ind
"MSMEs" => TAG ind
"National Venture and Innovation Fund" => TAG ind
"NAVIF" => TAG ind
"NAVIFUC" => TAG ind
"petty trade" => TAG ind
"processing of forestry products" => TAG ind
"reduced rate" => TAG ind
"remittance" => TAG ind
"retail sector" => TAG ind
"small-scale businesses" => TAG ind
"special economic and export processing zones" => TAG ind
"technology transfer" => TAG ind
"trade barriers" => TAG ind

"Uganda Export Promotion Board" => TAG ind

"Uganda Investment Authority" => TAG ind

"Uganda National Chamber of Commerce and Industry" => TAG ind

"Ugandan-owned businesses" => TAG ind

"unfair competition" => TAG ind

"V.A.T." => TAG ind

"VAT exemption" => TAG ind

"VAT" => TAG ind

"wholesale sector" => TAG ind

Infrastructure: Transport infrastructure and transport policy, communications, energy and technology infrastructure, aerospace, and road safety.

"air transport" => TAG infra

"Asuman Kiyingi" => TAG infra

"Benson Obua" => TAG infra

"cargo service" => TAG infra

"connect villages" => TAG infra

"energy infrastructure" => TAG infra

"FDC Infrastructure plan" => TAG infra

"ferry crossings" => TAG infra

"ICT" => TAG infra

"impassable roads" => TAG infra

"information technology" => TAG infra

"Informational Communication Technology" => TAG infra

"infrastructure investors" => TAG infra

"infrastructure projects" => TAG infra

"infrastructure" => TAG infra

"Jinja Pier" => TAG infra

"John Byabagambi" => TAG infra

"John Nasasira" => TAG infra

"light rail" => TAG infra

"major road construction" => TAG infra

"Ministry of Information and Communications Technology" => TAG infra

"Ministry of Works and Transport" => TAG infra

"national carrier" => TAG infra

"National Infrastructure Plan" => TAG infra

"National Pedestrian, Cyclist and Boda Boda Safety Plan" => TAG infra

"Nyombi Thembo" => TAG infra

"paved (tarmac) roads" => TAG infra

"paved road network" => TAG infra

"paved roads" => TAG infra

"pedestrian fatalities" => TAG infra

"Pedestrian, bicycle and Boda Boda Safety Plan" => TAG infra

"poor motorable state" => TAG infra

"Port Bell" => TAG infra

"railway transport" => TAG infra

"road accidents" => TAG infra

"road carnage" => TAG infra

"road construction" => TAG infra

"road development" => TAG infra

"road infrastructure" => TAG infra

"road safety regulations" => TAG infra

"road traffic accidents" => TAG infra

"Roads Agency" => TAG infra

"roads sector" => TAG infra

"SGR" => TAG infra

"Ssebuliba Mutumba" => TAG infra

"Standard Gauge Rail" => TAG infra

"Standard Gauge Railway" => TAG infra

"Stephen Chebrot" => TAG infra

"super highways" => TAG infra

"tarmac roads" => TAG infra

"tarmacked" => TAG infra

"technology infrastructure" => TAG infra

"Thembo Nyombi" => TAG infra

"traffic management authorities" => TAG infra

"transport infrastructure" => TAG infra

"Uganda Airlines" => TAG infra

"Uganda National Roads Authority" => TAG infra

"Uganda Vision 2040" => TAG infra

"UNRA" => TAG infra

"water transport" => TAG infra

"highway" => TAG infra

Land: Urban land use, planning and housing, rural land ownership and rights, and land development.

"21st century cities" => TAG land

"50 year Master Physical Plan" => TAG land

"50-year Master Physical Plan" => TAG land

"affordable housing" => TAG land

"Aidah Nantaba" => TAG land

"Albertine Graben" => TAG land

"building plans" => TAG land

"community lands" => TAG land

"Daudi Migereko" => TAG land

"David Bahati" => TAG land

"decent accommodation" => TAG land

"decent home" => TAG land

"decent housing" => TAG land

"development of property" => TAG land

"grass thatched houses" => TAG land

"home ownership scheme" => TAG land

"Housing Agency" => TAG land

"Housing Finance Bank" => TAG land

"housing projects" => TAG land

"housing shortage" => TAG land

"Ibrahim Nganda" => TAG land

"iron roofed houses" => TAG land

"Land Amendment Act" => TAG land

"land disputes" => TAG land

"land evictions" => TAG land

"Land Fund" => TAG land

"land grabbers" => TAG land

"land laws" => TAG land

"land registration" => TAG land

"land registry" => TAG land

"land rights" => TAG land

"land tenure security" => TAG land

"land tenure system" => TAG land

"land titles" => TAG land

"land-grabbing" => TAG land

"landless" => TAG land

"local authorities" => TAG land

"low cost housing" => TAG land

"mailo land" => TAG land

"Mariam Najjemba" => TAG land

"Ministry of Lands, Housing & Urban Development" => TAG land

"moratorium on land transaction" => TAG land

"National Housing and Construction Corporation" => TAG land

"National Land Policy" => TAG land

"National Planning Authority" => TAG land

"new towns" => TAG land

"ownership of land" => TAG land

"Present and Future Cities Programme" => TAG land

"proper shelter" => TAG land

"public housing developments" => TAG land

"public lands audit" => TAG land

"race-to-city-status" => TAG land

"real estate" => TAG land

"resettlement" => TAG land

"Sam Engola" => TAG land

"secure land ownership" => TAG land

"settlement systems" => TAG land

"spatial planning" => TAG land

"unplanned settlements" => TAG land

"urban development" => TAG land

"urban land policy" => TAG land

"William Nzoghu" => TAG land

Agriculture: Agricultural finance and credit, farming and food production, productivity, farming practices, and fisheries.

"access to credit" => TAG agri

"advanced sub-county model" => TAG agri

"affordable credit" => TAG agri

"agri-business" => TAG agri

"agricultural commercialization" => TAG agri

"Agricultural Commodities Exchange (Public) Company" => TAG agri

"agricultural commodities exchange" => TAG agri

"agricultural extension officers" => TAG agri

"agricultural extension services system" => TAG agri

"agricultural extension system" => TAG agri

"agricultural infrastructure" => TAG agri

"agricultural machinery" => TAG agri

"agricultural performance" => TAG agri

"agricultural production" => TAG agri

"agricultural productivity" => TAG agri

"agriculture finance" => TAG agri

"agro-inputs" => TAG agri

"agro-processing" => TAG agri

"animal breeding" => TAG agri

"animal traction hire scheme" => TAG agri

"ASM" => TAG agri

"Bona bagagawale" => TAG agri

"Bright Rwamirama" => TAG agri

"CMB" => TAG agri

"Coffee Marketing Board" => TAG agri

"coffee workers" => TAG agri

"commercial farming" => TAG agri

"Commodities Exchange" => TAG agri

"commodity transactions" => TAG agri

"Community Information Management System" => TAG agri

"crop pests" => TAG agri

"crop processing" => TAG agri

"district farm institutes" => TAG agri

"drought" => TAG agri

"Entandikwa" => TAG agri

"Epatait Francis" => TAG agri

"famine" => TAG agri

"farm productivity" => TAG agri

"farmer education" => TAG agri

"Farmers' Cooperative Society" => TAG agri

"farming methods" => TAG agri

"fertilisers" => TAG agri

"fertilizers" => TAG agri

"FIEFOC-2" => TAG agri

"fish cage farming" => TAG agri

"fish demonstration farm" => TAG agri

"fish processing" => TAG agri

"fisheries cooperative" => TAG agri

"fishing practices" => TAG agri

"food reserves" => TAG agri

"food security" => TAG agri

"food storage system" => TAG agri

"Four-Acre Model" => TAG agri

"high value crops" => TAG agri

"Maputo Declaration" => TAG agri

"mechanisation of agriculture" => TAG agri

"milk collection centers" => TAG agri

"milking processing equipment" => TAG agri

"Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries" => TAG agri

"National Bank for Agricultural" => TAG agri

"National Land Development Agency" => TAG agri

"national seed company" => TAG agri

"NBA" => TAG agri

"NLDA" => TAG agri

"Operation Wealth Creation" => TAG agri

"OWC" => TAG agri

"planting materials" => TAG agri

"post-harvest" => TAG agri

"production chain" => TAG agri

"production value chain" => TAG agri

"Residential Solar Grid-Tied System" => TAG agri

"slaughter slabs" => TAG agri

"storable harvested products" => TAG agri

"storage silos" => TAG agri

"sub-county advancement model" => TAG agri

"subsistence farming" => TAG agri

"Transporters' Savings and Loans Association" => TAG agri

"Tress Bucyanayandi" => TAG agri

"Uganda Farm Income Enhancement and Forestry Conservation Programme" => TAG agri

"Uganda Seed Company" => TAG agri

"Vincent Ssempijja" => TAG agri

"warehouse receipting" => TAG agri

"warehouse seeding system" => TAG agri

"Women's Savings and Loans Association" => TAG agri

"Zerubabel Nyiira" => TAG agri

"animal diseases" => TAG agri

"breeding stocks" => TAG agri

"cash crops" => TAG agri

"cattle keeping" => TAG agri

"fish stocks" => TAG agri

"hay makers" => TAG agri

"seed production" => TAG agri

"small scale farmers" => TAG agri

Environment: Pollution, recycling, natural environment and resources, water supplies and water safety, waste, environmental policies and initiatives.

"clean energy" => TAG env

"clean environment" => TAG env

"clean water" => TAG env

"climate change" => TAG env

"climate mitigation" => TAG env

"development of land" => TAG env

"disaster preparedness" => TAG env

"EAC Climate Change Policy" => TAG env

"ecosystem" => TAG env

"eco-systems" => TAG env

"Eldoret-Kampala Pipeline" => TAG env

"environmental management" => TAG env

"Ephraim Kamuntu" => TAG env

"Flavia Munaaba" => TAG env

"Forest and Tree Planting Act" => TAG env

"forest conservation" => TAG env

"forest cover" => TAG env

"forest reserves" => TAG env

"Fr Ogwal" => TAG env

"greenhouse gas emissions" => TAG env

"greenhouse gases" => TAG env

"industrial waste" => TAG env

"informal settlements" => TAG env

"Ken Lukyamuzi" => TAG env

"Kyoto Protocol" => TAG env

"land resources" => TAG env

"mineral resources" => TAG env

"mining industry" => TAG env

"mining of" => TAG env

"Ministry of Energy and Mineral Development" => TAG env

"Ministry of Water and Environment" => TAG env

"National Environment Management Authority" => TAG env

"National Water & Sewerage Corporation" => TAG env

"national water harvesting programs" => TAG env

"natural disasters" => TAG env

"natural reserves" => TAG env

"natural resources" => TAG env

"NEMA Act" => TAG env

"NEMA" => TAG env

"on-farm forestry" => TAG env

"on-farm trees" => TAG env
"optimal land use" => TAG env
"our environment" => TAG env
"Peter Lokeris" => TAG env
"piped water systems" => TAG env
"pit latrine" => TAG env
"pollution" => TAG env
"preparation for disaster" => TAG env
"reasonable sanitation" => TAG env
"recycling" => TAG env
"Ronald Kibuule" => TAG env
"Rural and Urban Water Development" => TAG env
"safe drinking water" => TAG env
"safe sources of water" => TAG env
"safe water supplies" => TAG env
"safe water" => TAG env
"sanitation" => TAG env
"soil erosion" => TAG env
"soil fertility" => TAG env
"the environment" => TAG env
"toilet construction" => TAG env
"transmission lines" => TAG env
"tree-planting" => TAG env
"Uganda Wildlife Authority's Rangers" => TAG env
"UNFCCC" => TAG env
"United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change" => TAG env
"urban forestry" => TAG env
"waste disposal" => TAG env
"water sector" => TAG env
"water stations" => TAG env
"water supply" => TAG env

"raw materials" => TAG env

"Nile" => TAG env

"River Nile" => TAG env

Energy: Energy production and use, energy sectors, fuel prices, and oil.

"Anywar Beatrice" => TAG energy

"biogas" => TAG energy

"biomass energy" => TAG energy

"biomass" => TAG energy

"carbon tax credits" => TAG energy

"carbon trade" => TAG energy

"charcoal" => TAG energy

"connections to the grid" => TAG energy

"diesel" => TAG energy

"electricity distribution network" => TAG energy

"electricity grid" => TAG energy

"electricity" => TAG energy

"energy costs" => TAG energy

"energy efficiency" => TAG energy

"energy plan" => TAG energy

"energy poverty" => TAG energy

"energy research" => TAG energy

"energy security" => TAG energy

"energy services" => TAG energy

"energy transformation" => TAG energy

"fuel prices" => TAG energy

"generating electricity" => TAG energy

"geothermal" => TAG energy

"geo-thermal" => TAG energy

"grid-tied solar" => TAG energy

"heavy fuel oil" => TAG energy

"hydroelectric power dams" => TAG energy

"hydro-generation" => TAG energy

"hydropower" => TAG energy

"Irene Muloni" => TAG energy

"jet fuel" => TAG energy

"Kampala-Kigali Pipeline" => TAG energy

"liquid petroleum gas" => TAG energy

"low-cost power" => TAG energy

"LPG" => TAG energy

"off-grid connections" => TAG energy

"oil pipeline" => TAG energy

"oil price" => TAG energy

"oil wealth" => TAG energy

"per capita energy" => TAG energy

"petrol" => TAG energy

"petroleum" => TAG energy

"power dams" => TAG energy

"power generation" => TAG energy

"power grid" => TAG energy

"power sector" => TAG energy

"power supply" => TAG energy

"price of oil" => TAG energy

"renewable energy" => TAG energy

"renewal energy" => TAG energy

"Simon D'Ujanga" => TAG energy

"solar electricity support system" => TAG energy

"solar energy" => TAG energy

"solar generator" => TAG energy

"solar panels" => TAG energy

"solar" => TAG energy

"solar-powered" => TAG energy

"transmit electricity" => TAG energy

"wind energy" => TAG energy

"wood fuel" => TAG energy

Security: Internal security, terrorism, armed services, and regional security.

"ADF" => TAG secu

"airfield" => TAG secu

"airlift troops" => TAG secu

"airstrikes" => TAG secu

"Allied Democratic Forces" => TAG secu

"Al-Shabaab" => TAG secu

"armed forces" => TAG secu

"arms control" => TAG secu

"arms proliferation" => TAG secu

"Benghazi Pressure Group" => TAG secu

"Boko Haram" => TAG secu

"border security" => TAG secu

"civil war" => TAG secu

"combat extremism" => TAG secu

"combatants" => TAG secu

"counter-terrorism" => TAG secu

"crime preventers" => TAG secu

"crime promoters" => TAG secu

"crime-preventers" => TAG secu

"Crispus Kiyonga" => TAG secu

"cyber security" => TAG secu

"defence force" => TAG secu

"destabilizing conflicts" => TAG secu

"DISOs" => TAG secu

"domestic insecurity" => TAG secu

"effective intelligence" => TAG secu

"fringe opposition groups" => TAG secu

"Fungaro Kaps" => TAG secu

"GISOs" => TAG secu

"IGP" => TAG secu

"Independent Security Services Commission" => TAG secu

"informal violence" => TAG secu

"Inspector General of Police" => TAG secu

"intelligence agencies" => TAG secu

"intelligence capabilities" => TAG secu

"international security" => TAG secu

"Islamist militants" => TAG secu

"Jeje Odongo" => TAG secu

"Kale Kayihura" => TAG secu

"live bullets" => TAG secu

"local terrorist groups" => TAG secu

"Lord's Resistance Army" => TAG secu

"LRA" => TAG secu

"Mary Karoro Okurut" => TAG secu

"military service" => TAG secu

"military training" => TAG secu

"militia" => TAG secu

"Ministry of Defence" => TAG secu

"modern arms" => TAG secu

"national security" => TAG secu

"Pan-Africanist responsibility" => TAG secu

"paramilitary training" => TAG secu

"peace efforts" => TAG secu

"peace keeping" => TAG secu

"peace-keeping missions" => TAG secu

"Platform to Rescue Uganda" => TAG secu

"Police Act" => TAG secu

"prison personnel" => TAG secu
"prisons service" => TAG secu
"protection of borders" => TAG secu
"public security" => TAG secu
"regional peace" => TAG secu
"regional security" => TAG secu
"regional threats" => TAG secu
"secure our country" => TAG secu
"security agencies" => TAG secu
"security committees" => TAG secu
"security deployment" => TAG secu
"security forces" => TAG secu
"security guards" => TAG secu
"security officials" => TAG secu
"security organs" => TAG secu
"security services" => TAG secu
"security team" => TAG secu
"security threats" => TAG secu
"SPCs" => TAG secu
"Special Police Constables" => TAG secu
"state of security" => TAG secu
"terrorism" => TAG secu
"tight security" => TAG secu
"Uganda Police Force" => TAG secu
"UPDF Act" => TAG secu
"UPF" => TAG secu
"Veterans Day" => TAG secu
"violent crime" => TAG secu
"walk to work" => TAG secu
"warfare" => TAG secu
"police force" => TAG secu

"NCPF" => TAG secu

"National Crime Preventers Forum" => TAG secu

"UPDF" => TAG secu

"Uganda Peoples Defence Force" => TAG secu

"Uganda People's Defence Force" => TAG secu

"Al Shabaab" => TAG secu

"Al Shabab" => TAG secu

"Al-Shabaab" => TAG secu

"Al-Shabab" => TAG secu

Foreign Policy: Diplomacy, Ugandan participation in supranational organisations, and foreign policy initiatives.

"African Economic Community" => TAG foreign

"African Union" => TAG foreign

"career diplomats" => TAG foreign

"diplomatic opportunities" => TAG foreign

"diplomatic service" => TAG foreign

"EAC" => TAG foreign

"East African Community" => TAG foreign

"East African region" => TAG foreign

"economic competitiveness" => TAG foreign

"economic cooperation" => TAG foreign

"economic integration" => TAG foreign

"economic partnerships" => TAG foreign

"foreign aid" => TAG foreign

"foreign policy" => TAG foreign

"global politics" => TAG foreign

"Henry Oryem Okello" => TAG foreign

"IGAD" => TAG foreign

"Inter-Governmental Authority on Development" => TAG foreign

"international markets" => TAG foreign

"international order" => TAG foreign

"international relations" => TAG foreign

"military allies" => TAG foreign

"Ministry of East African Community Affairs" => TAG foreign

"Ministry of Foreign Affairs" => TAG foreign

"national interest" => TAG foreign

"Philemon Mateke" => TAG foreign

"political integration" => TAG foreign

"political partnerships" => TAG foreign

"preventive diplomacy" => TAG foreign

"regional development" => TAG foreign

"regional economic bodies" => TAG foreign

"regional hegemony" => TAG foreign

"regional integration" => TAG foreign

"regional prosperity" => TAG foreign

"regionally integrated" => TAG foreign

"SADC" => TAG foreign

"Sam Kahamba Kutesa" => TAG foreign

"Shem Bageine" => TAG foreign

"South Africa Development Co-operation" => TAG foreign

"sovereign nations" => TAG foreign

"Ugandan diplomats" => TAG foreign

"United Nations Charter" => TAG foreign

"Wamai Wamanga" => TAG foreign

Education: Schools, teachers, education policy and delivery, higher and further education.

"our nation's children" => TAG edu

"our nation's teachers" => TAG edu

"academic programmes" => TAG edu

"adult literacy" => TAG edu

"BTVET" => TAG edu

"Business, Technical and Vocational Training" => TAG edu

"crowded classroom" => TAG edu
"Dakar World Forum for Education" => TAG edu
"diploma courses" => TAG edu
"diploma programmes" => TAG edu
"District Education Officers" => TAG edu
"Education & Sport Sector Annual Performance Report" => TAG edu
"education budget" => TAG edu
"Education for All" => TAG edu
"education infrastructure" => TAG edu
"education system" => TAG edu
"fewer students" => TAG edu
"government scholarship" => TAG edu
"improve schools" => TAG edu
"industrial training" => TAG edu
"invest in education" => TAG edu
"Jessica Alupo" => TAG edu
"marketable skills" => TAG edu
"Minister for Higher Education" => TAG edu
"Minister for Primary Education" => TAG edu
"Minister of Education" => TAG edu
"Minister of State for Higher Education" => TAG edu
"Minister of State for Primary Education" => TAG edu
"Ministry of Education and Sports" => TAG edu
"Monitor Bus to Excellence" => TAG edu
"Ordinary Level leavers" => TAG edu
"Paya Primary School" => TAG edu
"performance appraisals" => TAG edu
"postgraduate courses" => TAG edu
"postgraduate programmes" => TAG edu
"pre-primary education" => TAG edu
"primary education" => TAG edu

"Primary Leaving Examinations" => TAG edu
"primary school" => TAG edu
"private schools" => TAG edu
"public schools" => TAG edu
"public university" => TAG edu
"scholarship system" => TAG edu
"school completion rate" => TAG edu
"school drop out rate" => TAG edu
"school facilities" => TAG edu
"school feeding programme" => TAG edu
"school inspectors" => TAG edu
"scrap courses" => TAG edu
"secondary education" => TAG edu
"secondary school" => TAG edu
"skills development" => TAG edu
"skills training" => TAG edu
"student loan" => TAG edu
"students loan scheme" => TAG edu
"teacher absenteeism" => TAG edu
"teacher career progression" => TAG edu
"teacher remuneration" => TAG edu
"teacher training colleges" => TAG edu
"teacher work force" => TAG edu
"Teachers' Cooperative and Saving Society" => TAG edu
"teachers' houses" => TAG edu
"teachers' salaries" => TAG edu
"teachers' strikes" => TAG edu
"teacher-student ratio" => TAG edu
"technical education" => TAG edu
"technical institutes" => TAG edu
"tertiary institution" => TAG edu

"Uganda Certificate of Education" => TAG edu

"Uganda National Examination Board" => TAG edu

"undergraduate courses" => TAG edu

"undergraduate programmes" => TAG edu

"universal education" => TAG edu

"Universal Primary Education" => TAG edu

"university finances" => TAG edu

"vocational institute" => TAG edu

"vocational training" => TAG edu

"higher education" => TAG edu

Health: Public health and health policies, and disease.

"Abim Hospital" => TAG health

"Abuja Declaration" => TAG health

"air rescue service" => TAG health

"ante-natal care" => TAG health

"ante-natal" => TAG health

"ARVs" => TAG health

"cancer" => TAG health

"cardiovascular disease" => TAG health

"child mortality" => TAG health

"childhood illnesses" => TAG health

"cholera" => TAG health

"Chris Baryomunsi" => TAG health

"chronic kidney" => TAG health

"clinical care" => TAG health

"communicable diseases" => TAG health

"dengue fever" => TAG health

"diabetes" => TAG health

"diagnostic facilities" => TAG health

"diagnostic equipment" => TAG health

"early detection mechanisms" => TAG health

"Elioda Tumwesigye" => TAG health

"general practitioners" => TAG health

"health care" => TAG health

"Health Centre II" => TAG health

"health education" => TAG health

"health facilities" => TAG health

"Health Information Management System" => TAG health

"health infrastructure" => TAG health

"health insurance" => TAG health

"health research" => TAG health

"health sector" => TAG health

"health services" => TAG health

"health spending" => TAG health

"health units" => TAG health

"health workers" => TAG health

"healthcare insurance scheme" => TAG health

"healthcare workers" => TAG health

"healthcare" => TAG health

"heart disease" => TAG health

"HIV" => TAG health

"HIV/AIDS" => TAG health

"immunisation" => TAG health

"infant mortality" => TAG health

"infectious disease" => TAG health

"insurance schemes" => TAG health

"kidney disease" => TAG health

"life expectancy" => TAG health

"Lulume Bayiga" => TAG health

"malaria" => TAG health

"malnutrition" => TAG health

"maternal death rate" => TAG health
"maternal health" => TAG health
"maternal mortality" => TAG health
"medical insurance" => TAG health
"medical staff" => TAG health
"medical workers" => TAG health
"mental health services" => TAG health
"MHP" => TAG health
"Minimum Healthcare Package" => TAG health
"Minister for Health" => TAG health
"Minister for Primary Healthcare" => TAG health
"Minister of Health" => TAG health
"Minister of State for Health" => TAG health
"Minister of State for Primary Healthcare" => TAG health
"Ministry of Health" => TAG health
"modern hospitals" => TAG health
"mortality rates" => TAG health
"National Drug Authority" => TAG health
"national referral hospital system" => TAG health
"non-communicable diseases" => TAG health
"post-natal" => TAG health
"pre-natal care" => TAG health
"prenatal" => TAG health
"preventive measures" => TAG health
"preventive medicine" => TAG health
"primary health care" => TAG health
"reproductive health programmes" => TAG health
"reproductive health" => TAG health
"Richard Nduhura" => TAG health
"Rural Medical Deployment Programme" => TAG health
"Sarah Opendi Achieng" => TAG health

"sexual health" => TAG health

"ultra modern hospital" => TAG health

"Universal Health Insurance Scheme" => TAG health

"Urban Area Health Units" => TAG health

"Voluntary Health Insurance Scheme" => TAG health

"World Health Organisation" => TAG health

"World Health Organization" => TAG health

"yellow fever" => TAG

"Zika" => TAG health

Welfare: Pensions, welfare, youth inclusion policies, and the welfare state.

"Acire Christopher" => TAG welf

"adequate pension" => TAG welf

"age of retirement" => TAG welf

"child care" => TAG welf

"child development" => TAG welf

"differently abled persons" => TAG welf

"early marriage" => TAG welf

"eliminate poverty" => TAG welf

"Evelyn Anite" => TAG welf

"ex-service men" => TAG welf

"famine" => TAG welf

"Florence Ibi" => TAG welf

"former combatants" => TAG welf

"gender audits" => TAG welf

"gender disparity" => TAG welf

"gender sensitive" => TAG welf

"hunger" => TAG welf

"living standards" => TAG welf

"Lukia Isanga Nakadama" => TAG welf

"malnutrition" => TAG welf

"Minister for Children" => TAG welf
"Minister for Elderly" => TAG welf
"Minister for Gender" => TAG welf
"Minister for the Elderly" => TAG welf
"Minister for Youth" => TAG welf
"Minister of Gender" => TAG welf
"Ministry of Gender Labour and Social Development" => TAG welf
"National Social Security Fund" => TAG welf
"NSSF" => TAG welf
"our Nation's young people" => TAG welf
"PAPSCA" => TAG welf
"Pension Information Management System" => TAG welf
"pension obligations" => TAG welf
"pension payroll" => TAG welf
"pension processing" => TAG welf
"pension wages" => TAG welf
"pensioners" => TAG welf
"pensions" => TAG welf
"people with disabilities" => TAG welf
"physical disabilities" => TAG welf
"PIMS" => TAG welf
"poverty reduction" => TAG welf
"poverty threshold" => TAG welf
"Program for Allevation of Poverty and Social Cost Adjustment" => TAG welf
"PWDS" => TAG welf
"reduce poverty" => TAG welf
"retired civil servants" => TAG welf
"retired officers" => TAG welf
"retired public servants" => TAG welf
"Rukia Isanga Nakadama" => TAG welf
"SAGE" => TAG welf

"senior citizens" => TAG welf

"Social Assistance Grant for the Elderly" => TAG welf

"social security" => TAG welf

"Special Interest Group Category" => TAG welf

"special learning needs" => TAG welf

"special needs" => TAG welf

"starvation" => TAG welf

"starving children" => TAG welf

"starving to death" => TAG welf

"stunted children" => TAG welf

"stunted growth" => TAG welf

"Sulaiman Madada" => TAG welf

"teenage pregnancies" => TAG welf

"unpaid care work" => TAG welf

"VDRTI" => TAG welf

"Veterans Development Research and Training Institute" => TAG welf

"Wilson Muruli Mukasa" => TAG welf

"with disabilities" => TAG welf

"Women's Manifesto 2016-2021" => TAG welf

"youth exclusion" => TAG welf

"youth inclusion" => TAG welf

"youth programmes" => TAG welf

"youth programming" => TAG welf

"welfare state" => TAG welf

Appendix 3: Tagging Script – Parties and Spokespeople

The list below contains all of the names and titles used to denote whether a political party or its spokesperson was mentioned in a given article:

"Conservative Party" => TAG CP

"Democratic Alliance" => TAG TDA

"Democratic Party" => TAG DP
"FDC" => TAG FDC
"Forum for Democratic Change" => TAG FDC
"Go Forward" => TAG TDA
"GoForward" => TAG TDA
"JEEMA" => TAG JEEMA
"Justice Forum" => TAG JEEMA
"National Resistance Army" => TAG NRM
"National Resistance Movement" => TAG NRM
"NRA" => TAG NRM
"NRM" => TAG NRM
"PDP" => TAG PDP
"People's Development Party" => TAG PDP
"People's Progressive Party" => TAG PPP
"PNU" => TAG PNU
"PPP" => TAG PPP
"Pressure for National Unity" => TAG PNU
"SDP" => TAG SDP
"Social Democratic Party" => TAG SDP
"TDA" => TAG TDA
"UFA" => TAG UFA
"Uganda Federal Alliance" => TAG UFA
"Uganda People's Congress" => TAG UPC
"UPC" => TAG UPC
"TDA" => TAG TDA
"TDA-Go Forward" => TAG TDA
"Abdil Chemaswet" => TAG TDAspokes
"Abel Asiimwe" => TAG UPCspokes

"Asuman Basaalirwa" => TAG JEEMAspokes
"Asuman Basalirwa" => TAG JEEMAspokes
"Asuman Basalirwa" => TAG TDAspokes
"Atuheire Brian" => TAG FDCspokes
"Ayub Mwambala" => TAG UPCspokes
"Bala Manyindo" => TAG UPCspokes
"Beatrice Anywar" => TAG FDCspokes
"Beatrice Anywar" => TAG TDAspokes
"Ben Bakabulindi" => TAG UPCspokes
"Beti Kanya" => TAG UFAspokes
"Beti Kanya-Turwomwe" => TAG UFAspokes
"Beti Olive Kanya-Turmomwe" => TAG UFAspokes
"Betty Kanya" => TAG TDAspokes
"Betty Kanya" => TAG UFAspokes
"Brenda Atim Kinyera" => TAG UPCspokes
"Charles Adiaka" => TAG UFAspokes
"Chris Ongom" => TAG UPCspokes
"Christopher Aine" => TAG TDAspokes
"Dan Isimbwa" => TAG UPCspokes
"David Mafabi" => TAG NRMspokes
"Dick Odur" => TAG PPPspokes
"Dick Odur" => TAG TDAspokes
"Edward Segganyi" => TAG UPCspokes
"Evelyn Cheptoris" => TAG UPCspokes
"Fahad Kinyiri" => TAG UPCspokes
"Fred Ebil Ebil" => TAG UPCspokes
"Fred Wako" => TAG UPCspokes
"Gideon Akomo" => TAG UPCspokes

"Gilbert Bukenya" => TAG PNUspokes
"Godfrey Okwi" => TAG UPCspokes
"Hajji Khalid Musisi" => TAG UPCspokes
"Herbert Byoreko" => TAG UPCspokes
"Iddih Kasozi" => TAG TDAspokes
"James Akena" => TAG UPCspokes
"Jim Muhwezi" => TAG NRMspokes
"Jimmy Akena" => TAG UPCspokes
"John Kikonyogo" => TAG FDCspokes
"Joseph Lubowa" => TAG UPCspokes
"Josephine Mayanja Nkangi" => TAG TDAspokes
"Justin Mayanja Nkanji" => TAG TDAspokes
"Justine Kasule Lumumba" => TAG NRMspokes
"Karl Peters Emokon" => TAG UPCspokes
"Kellen Mugizi" => TAG UPCspokes
"Ken Lukyamuzi" => TAG CPspokes
"Kenneth Kakande" => TAG DPspokes
"Kenneth Paul Kakande" => TAG DPspokes
"Lawrence Engirot Okae" => TAG UPCspokes
"Lucy Nachomit" => TAG UPCspokes
"Maxwell Akora" => TAG UPCspokes
"Michael Mabikke" => TAG SDPspokes
"Michael Mabikke" => TAG TDAspokes
"Micheal Osinde Orach" => TAG UPCspokes
"Mike Kasola" => TAG UPCspokes
"Mike Sebalu" => TAG NRMspokes
"Miria Matembe" => TAG TDAspokes
"Moses Bwalatum" => TAG NRMspokes

"Mulwanyamuli Semogerere" => TAG TDAspokes
"Nasser Ntege Ssebagala" => TAG NRMspokes
"Noah Acikule" => TAG UFAspokes
"Norbert Mao" => TAG DPspokes
"Norbert Mao" => TAG TDAspokes
"Nsereko Kaggwa" => TAG JEEMAspokes
"Ofwono Opondo" => TAG NRMspokes
"Olara Otunu" => TAG TDAspokes
"Olara Otunu" => TAG UPCspokes
"Olara Otuunu" => TAG UPCspokes
"Patrick Lwanga" => TAG PNUspokes
"Patrick Mwondha" => TAG UPCspokes
"Polex Kolibi" => TAG UPCspokes
"Ronald Tumwiine Ssekitoleko" => TAG FDCspokes
"Ruhakana Rugunda" => TAG NRMspokes
"Sadam Gayira" => TAG TDAspokes
"Saddam Gayira" => TAG PPPspokes
"Saddam Gayira" => TAG TDAspokes
"Semusu Mugobansonga" => TAG CPspokes
"Semusu Mugobansonga" => TAG TDAspokes
"Ssemujju Ibrahim Nganda" => TAG FDCspokes
"Ssemujju Nganda" => TAG FDCspokes
"Ssenyimba Christopher" => TAG PNUspokes
"Ssenyimba Christopher" => TAG TDAspokes
"Stephen Olebe" => TAG UPCspokes
"Steven Kaliba" => TAG TDAspokes
"Susan Ezatia" => TAG UPCspokes
"Swaib Kaggwa" => TAG JEEMAspokes

"Swaibu Nsereko" => TAG JEEMAspokes

"Tamale Mirundi" => TAG NRMspokes

"Viola Nahabwe" => TAG UPCspokes

"Wafula Oguttu" => TAG TDAspokes

"Walter Odong" => TAG UPCspokes