

Wageningen University

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Communication and Innovation Chair Group

**HIV/AIDS IN THE RWANDAN PRESS:
an analysis of frames and objective reporting**



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Abstract

Media are one of the key stakeholders in addressing HIV/AIDS. Media organize their stories about diseases in metaphors and frames and by this; they contribute to the creation and reproduction of meaning and social reality. There is a gap in Rwandan media analysis especially for HIV/AIDS reports as it is the disease that claims more lives. In this study, I looked at the frames and metaphors used by newspapers to make HIV/AIDS related stories in the period of 11 years (2000-2010). I also used the objectivity concept to see differences in objectivity for different newspapers analyzed. Results show that four main metaphors are used: the military, the plague, the development and the victory metaphors. Within these metaphors, several actors have been identified as playing different roles: victims, cause, stakeholders in finding the solution, etc. Private newspapers emerged as more objective than private newspapers. Collaboration is needed among different newspapers to achieve better results in addressing HIV/AIDS.

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1. Introduction

It is now 30 years that HIV/AIDS has been discovered. It is now a pandemic with a total of 33.4 million [31.1 million–35.8 million] people living with HIV; 2.7 million [2.4 million–3.0 million] incident cases occurred in 2008 worldwide and with 2.0 million [1.7 million–2.4 million] deaths the same year (UNAIDS 2009). Media have been one of the key stakeholders in addressing HIV/AIDS and different media have relayed HIV/AIDS information in different ways and settings. For example, Rogers and colleagues found that four different eras can be found in HIV reporting: initial, science, human, and political (Rogers et al. 1991). These can be thought of different steps during which media coverage focused on a given aspect. These steps range from spates of media coverage and of a lack of security against fatal infection (no medicine and vaccination available) to attention grabbing events (Someone very much known announced she/he is positive) and episodic framing promoting responsibility (Swain 2005).

Another aspect of media reporting has been related to the evolution of the science on HIV/AIDS. Initially, the use of media was irreversible as information was thought to be useful in preventing further transmission and the use of the media - newspapers included - was used in information-prevention campaigns through awareness rising. Later on, when it became evident that information is not enough to change behavior but was considered a necessary but not sufficient condition for behavior change (Helweg-Larsen and Collins 1997; Mann et al. 1992), then new models on behavior change posited that information, motivation and behavioral skills are to be combined to become efficient (Fisher and Fisher 1992). Therefore, the use of media in HIV reporting had another perspective. In all these steps, media coverage has played different roles mainly through social construction of the reality.

The importance of the mass media as a dominant source of the creation and reproduction of meaning has been recognized for some decades and for many lay people, the mass media constitute one of the most important sources of information about health and medicine (Lupton 1999). Mass media portrayals contribute to the creation or reproduction of

knowledge about illness and disease, doctors and other medical workers and medical treatments (idem). As far as HIV/AIDS is concerned, there is a bunch of literature on media construction of AIDS. Initially, media reports defined AIDS as a gay issue and subsequently were understood as such. However, newspapers reports have been characterized as presenting AIDS and gay identity in such excessive ways that marginalization and surveillance strategies are made to seem like a rational response to AIDS and gay desire (Myrick 1998). The role of the media in reinforcing stereotypes and stigma against certain groups is well documented (Kothari et al. 2010; Wu 2006). Media portrayal of ill people in certain lights, for example, as 'innocent victims' or 'deserving of their fate' (Lupton 1999) and this is directly linked to stigma. In fact, stigma communication includes specific content: marks, labels, responsibility, and peril, in order to induce affective and cognitive responses to create stigma attitudes, to generate protective action tendencies, and to encourage the sharing of these messages with others. Stigma messages bear the following attributes: they provide cues (a) to distinguish people, (b) to categorize distinguished people as a separate social entity, (c) to imply a responsibility for receiving placement within this distinguished group and their associated peril, and (d) to link this distinguished group to physical and social peril (Smith 2007). This has been also echoed by Link who defined stigma as the co-occurrence of its components-labeling, stereotyping, separation, status loss, and discrimination (Link and Phelan 2001). Gamson concluded that media generally operate in ways that promote apathy, cynicism, and quiescence (Gamson et al. 1992).

First cases of HIV/AIDS were identified in Rwanda in the year 1983 and the first study on HIV prevalence carried out in 1986 among the general population revealed the prevalence rate of 17.8% and the last survey showed a change in the prevalence as it was 3% (UNGASS, 2008). HIV/AIDS is the first cause of death as it claims 18% of all deaths and 15% of all lost years (WHO, 2006). In 2003, the prevalent cases reached the climax of over 170,000 cases (MOH 2008). Like other African countries, the disease is surrounded with taboo and moral judgment because it is transmitted mainly through sex (Airhihenbuwa and DeWitt Webster 2004). The disease is mainly addressed by the National AIDS Control Commission (NACC), which is government funded with the mission to set up strategies,

policies and other HIV interventions. It also has responsibility to coordinate the monitoring and evaluation of various organs aimed at AIDS control. The TRAC (Treatment and Research AIDS Center) unit of HIV, AIDS and STI is involved in epidemiological surveillance and is also government funded. These two institutions are the ones involved in AIDS control at the national level.

Apart from these government institutions, there are other important stakeholders who address the disease in different ways. One of them is media. Since the first cases have been identified, the involvement of media has been very decisive in reporting AIDS related issues. They have been involved in reporting HIV related events, policies, measures to control it, the progress made by science in finding the drugs or vaccine, etc. Even the media have known very important changes since AIDS was discovered since today. It is important to note that the role of media in addressing the disease has been recognized and they are now used by several stakeholders on different occasions. The creation of the Rwanda Health Communication Center (in 2004) is a proof that the role media in addressing HIV/AIDS is recognized. Recently, AIDS has been defined as a cross cutting issue and other government funded department can as well address HIV/AIDS at their own level. This means that several stakeholders who can call upon the media to reports on their own HIV related issues, thus increasing different perspectives on HIV reporting.

1.1. Problem statement

These last 10 years, the newspaper industry in Rwanda has been growing. During this period, the first daily newspaper appeared and other newspapers have increased their issues from monthly to weekly and to twice a week. These newspapers cover several issues on politics, economy, society, sports, economy, education, science, nutrition, health and business. Even though the Rwanda media industry is not very much developed, it offers opportunity to a wide range of users to stay informed. They are very useful in reaching educated people who are particularly hit by HIV/AIDS and most of the time do not have enough time to follow radio adverts and news (Lear 1989). One of the most interesting characteristics of the Rwandan press is that anyone can ask journalists to cover the event

and subsequently articles will be published. That's why written newspapers are also used to address HIV/AIDS. Since there are several stakeholders in addressing HIV/AIDS, they all of them make use of these newspapers and newspapers articles contains diversified information from different sources. Although the general tendency to reporting can seem to be dedicated to addressing and reducing HIV and other related consequences, this use of the media may turn out to be a very strategic one. Actually, government departments and some NGO's use the media in order to make their programs known. Therefore, it is not about merely informing the public; rather they are strategically using the media to achieve their own objectives. These stories constitute an interesting bunch of information that this study wanted to focus on.

There is a gap as far as media analysis is concerned. Several studies done on HIV/AIDS focused on medical and behavior aspects, but no study on HIV media reports. Normally, media reports are spread so quickly by word of mouth and it is not known the consequences this can have on the population, especially on those people living with HIV. These last few years, newspapers have increased considerably (in number and in issues per week). Coupled with the increase of people who can read, this has made newspaper stories both interesting and their consequences can reach many people. In this study, I analyzed deeply newspaper content concerning HIV/AIDS longitudinally.

In this study, three main aspects of HIV/AIDS reporting seemed very interesting. The first is about how newspapers have reported HIV issues in Rwanda. Newspaper articles on HIV/AIDS have various commissioners whose interests and objectives may be different in some regards. Therefore, I analyzed how HIV/AIDS is framed in general. The second aspect that I studied is how HIV/AIDS reporting has been changing overtime. The change in frames used can be a sign of deep changes in the way HIV/AIDS is addressed in other settings. The third aspect that I looked at is about the consequences that frames can have. Understanding these three aspects can be useful in proposing improvement in HIV/AIDS reporting and by the same token contribute to better addressing and reducing HIV/AIDS incident cases and stigma as well as other negative consequences of inappropriate reporting.

1.2. General research question, objective and aim

The general research question that this study addressed is how HIV/AIDS framed in rwandan written newspapers, the evolution of these frames and what are the consequences of this. The main objective of this study is to contribute to understanding how newspapers report HIV issues with the aim of contributing to the improvement of HIV reporting in the newspapers and by the same time contributing to addressing HIV in Rwanda.

2. Theoretical framework

2.1. Metaphors

HIV/AIDS provides an occasion for metaphorizing illness (Weiss 1997). Metaphorizing is defined as '*giving the thing a name that belongs to something else*' (Sontag 1989) and its essence is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). The choice of using a given metaphor highlights an aspect that the metaphor focuses on while the other aspects may remain unknown. Metaphors are used for different diseases and their use can have consequences especially on attitude toward the disease and by doing so contribute to the social construction of the disease. For example Sontag wrote that she is sure that metaphors kills (Sontag 1989), in reference to their power in shaping the disease in a preferred way whose consequences can be fatal to some groups.

Several metaphors have been used toward the disease itself, people leaving with HIV or any other situation created by it. Sontag identified three of the most used AIDS metaphors. These are the military, plague and pollution metaphors (Sontag 1989). Military metaphors are popular images used to describe confrontations between biomedicine and disease agents. They can be spotted through the use of military related concepts such as the 'battle', 'immunological defense', 'to fight', etc. Sontag believes that "plague is the principal metaphor by which the AIDS epidemic is understood (Sontag 1989). When a disease is understood as a plague, then it is understood as inflicted, not just endured. Sontag argues that considering an illness as a punishment is the oldest idea of what causes illness and this is the most important point for a plague (Sontag 1989). In this regard, AIDS is believed to have come from the "dark countries", and spread to the West. Because AIDS is sexually transmitted, the connection from plague to punishment is easily made (idem).

The pollution metaphor is invoked when the focus is transmission of the disease: one gets it from the blood or sexual fluids of infected people or from contaminated blood products (Sontag 1989) and an infected person may be called a polluted or polluting person. In other

stances, sexually transmitted diseases are referred to signs of pollution and contamination, a lateralization of the decaying social order (Douglas 1984).

2.2. The framing theory

Although we use frames almost every day, Goffman was among the first scholar to develop the concept of framing. His idea was that in order to efficiently process new information, individuals apply frames. He defined frames as '*interpretive schemas*', a framework that helps in making an otherwise meaningless succession of events into something (Goffman 1974). The major premise of framing theory is that an issue can be viewed from a variety of perspectives and be construed as having implications for multiple values or considerations. In such perspective, framing refers to the process by which people develop a particular conceptualization of an issue or reorient their thinking about an issue (Chong and Druckman 2007). Gitlin sees frames as "*persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion*,". His definition of frames states that they are devices that facilitate how journalists organize enormous amounts of information and package them effectively for their audiences. (Gitlin 2003). According to Entman, framing involves selection and salience

"to frame is to select some aspects of perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (Entman 1993).

The adoption and use of framing theory has resulted in different perspectives and sometimes controversial definition of framing. I can even say that discussions are still going on what frames are and what they are not. Some studies employ the concept only in a metaphoric sense, describing frames as broad definition of an issue or event whereas others reduce frames to story topics (Carragee and Roefs 2004). Therefore, several traditions of the framing theory can be observed. The first framing tradition is the psychology based one. In this tradition, frames are considered to be cognitive representations in our memory that help us organize and interpret new experiences. In this

view, frames are retrieved from memory to guide interpretation of new experience. Thus, framing starts with a conventional expectancy value model of an individual's attitude (Chong and Druckman 2007). In fact, an attitude toward an object, in his view, is the weighted sum of a series of evaluative beliefs about that object. Specifically, $\text{Attitude} = \sum v_i * w_i$, where v_i is the evaluation of the object on attribute i , and w_i is the salience weight ($\sum w_i = 1$) associated with that attribute. Chong gives an example of one's overall attitude, A , toward a new housing development. Such attitude might consist of a combination of negative and positive evaluations, v_i , of the project on different dimensions i . An individual may believe that the project will favor the economy ($i=1$) but harm the environment ($i=2$). Assuming this individual places a positive value on both the economy and the environment, then v_1 is positive and v_2 is negative, and his attitude toward the project will depend on the relative magnitudes of v_1 and v_2 discounted by the relative weights (w_1 and w_2) assigned to each attribute (Chong and Druckman 2007). Put simpler, the choice of which frame to adopt in a given situation depends on the cues that others in an interaction send as well as on one's own repertoire of memories (Carragee and Roefs 2004).

The second framing tradition is the sociolinguistic one. In this tradition, it is claimed that frames are created when people engage in conversation and that disputants use conversations to find out whether or not they share frames. This approach is often used in analyzing interactive communication in the context of negotiation. In such context, reframing refers to the way frame categories shift throughout the negotiation and to the way ambiguity contributes to these shifts and to subsequent changes in interpreting the conflict (Putnam and Holmer 1992).

The third tradition is the sociological perspective. In this tradition, frames are regarded to be social constructions and represent agreed upon ways of making sense of a situation. This tradition is called sociological because frames are communicative devices that individuals and groups use to negotiate their interactions (Dewulf et al. 2009). Within this approach, the term framing may be more appropriate, since it captures the dynamic processes of negotiators' or disputants' interactions (idem). Under this sociological

perspective on framing, Entman said that frames are used to fulfill different actions (Entman 1993):

- *Defining problems: determine what causal agent is doing with what costs and benefits, usually measured in terms of common cultural values;*
- *Diagnose causes: identify the forces creating the problem;*
- *Make moral judgments: evaluate causal agents and their effects and*
- *Suggest remedies: offer and justify treatments for the problems and predict the likely effects (Entman 1993).*

According to Van Gorp, the four elements above mentioned constitute the frame package (Van Gorp 2007) which normally suggests a definition, an explanation, a problematization, and an evaluation of the event and ultimately results in a number of logical conclusions. As such, frames provide not only with information on the event itself but also on how it should be interpreted. As far as media are concerned, a distinction between media and individual frames can be made. Media frames are central organizing idea or story lines that provide meaning to an unfolding strip of events. These frames therefore help organizing everyday reality and news frames are part of everyday reality (Gamson and Modigliani 1987) as they affects systematically how recipients come to understand events presented in the media. (Scheufele 1999). The individual frames are therefore those mentally clusters of ideas that guide individuals processing information (Entman 1993).

In this study, I used the sociological approach to framing. As the main objective of this study is to contribute to the improvement of HIV media reporting, the sociological approach is the best suited to perform such an analysis. I focused mainly on the identification of three aspects of the frame: how the problem is defined, identifying who/what is labeled as the cause and then identifying the solution to the problem proposed.

2.3. Journalistic objective reporting

Objective reporting has always been one of the main issues concerning journalistic reporting. As has been noted, no one would use newspapers if the journalists themselves asserted that the dissemination of news consisted of false pictures of unreality (Wien 2005). In the study made on objective reporting, Wien reported that the vast majority of the journalism practiced today is basically positivist in its approach. The problem however, is that a great deal of journalists apparently are not aware of where the concept of objectivity comes from and of the problems connected to its traditional use (Wien 2005). There have been several approaches to objective reporting with some attempts to make a theory out of it. Some notable efforts have been made. Westerståhl developed a theory about objective reporting based on a number of elements. The arguments are summarized in the figure below.

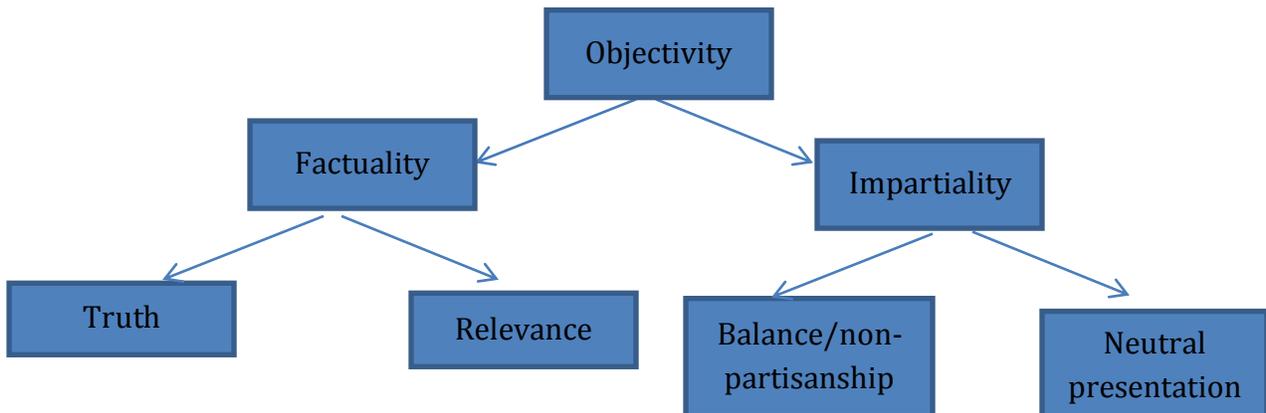


Figure 1: Westerståhl objectivity concept. Source: (Westerståhl 1983)

This figure shows that objective reporting is related to the concepts of truth, relevance, balance, and neutral presentation. This view has also been supported by Andrén, Hermánus et al., who also attempted to develop an operational concept of objectivity. According to them, a program is objective if the following conditions are fulfilled:

- It contains true assertions;
- It is not misleading;

- It contains essential assertions;
- It is thorough.

These authors said that the definition of objectivity which they build upon says that a program is objective to the extent that it contains assertions which enter into a realistic view of the world (Wien 2005). The main drawback of these elements defining objectivity is related to who is to determine whether the assertions are true, whether the journalistic product is misleading and contains essential assertions, and whether it is thorough? Notable efforts have been made in this regard by Shawn who wrote that journalists often balance the opposing sides of an issue they want to be objective, or if that seems impossible, to be fair and balanced (Shaw et al. 1997). As can be seen in the quotation, objectivity can be measured by fairness and balance. Shaw focused on fairness as a way to pinpoint objectivity and defined it as balanced and accurate. And the next step is thus to define what is 'balanced and accurate'. Balance is defined primarily on the basis of its opposite: a story is unbalanced when it has a preferred side, is one-sided or partisan. One exercises accuracy when one is careful about attributing to sources and when one as a journalist is content only to reiterate the facts (Shaw et al. 1997). As both elements can be operationalized, we will also use them in the analysis.

From the framing theory perspective, the presence and the evolution of different frames in different newspapers can also be a sign of objectivity. In fact, the analysis of change and evolution of frames can reveal if a given newspaper is unbalanced by identifying its preferred side. This fits in the theory of media ownership and news content which points out that the owners of a media organization have the ultimate power over the news content of the newspapers (Shoemaker and Reese 1996) and by the same make their newspapers biased. To analyze this, I used two concepts from Entman: the frame dominance and frame parity. He wrote that

“the framing of a given matter over a defined time period can be arrayed along a continuum from complete dominance by one frame to a complete standoff between competing frames The framing of a given matter - over a defined time

- can therefore be arrayed along a continuum from complete dominance by one frame to a complete standoff between competing frames" (Entman 2004).



Figure 2: continuum of a frame contest. Source: (Entman 2004)

As Entman explains, frame parity describes the condition that the free press prefers: two or more interpretations receiving something like equal play. However, frame parity is the exception, not the rule. In this study, I looked at the preferred frame of each newspaper and how this changed over time.

2.4. Research sub questions and specific objectives

The following are research sub questions of this study:

- What are the most frequent metaphors that the Rwandan written media uses to make HIV stories?
- For each metaphor, this study also investigated three main issues:
 - How is HIV/AIDS problem defined?
 - What are the labeled people as the cause of the problem?
 - And what are the solutions proposed?
- What changes can be observed in HIV media reporting between the year 2000 and 2010?

From the above questions, the specific objectives of our study are:

- To identify the most frequent HIV/AIDS metaphors that can be found in written newspapers;
- To identify the problem definition, the cause of the problem and solutions proposed for each metaphor;
- *To analyze differences that can be found in written media stories over the period of 2000 and 2010.*

3. Methods

3.1. Data sources

There are several newspapers and they are the main sources for spreading any news or providing important information in different languages. I have identified three main newspapers: the New Times (English language-daily), 'Imvaho Nshya' (Kinyarwanda language-twice a week) and 'La Nouvelle Releve' (French language- twice a week). The first newspaper is private while the last two are government funded. These three newspapers are the source of my data. Of course there are other minor newspapers, but these three are the most important ones considering issues per week. The analysis of these three allowed me to have a general clear picture of how newspapers cover HIV issues.

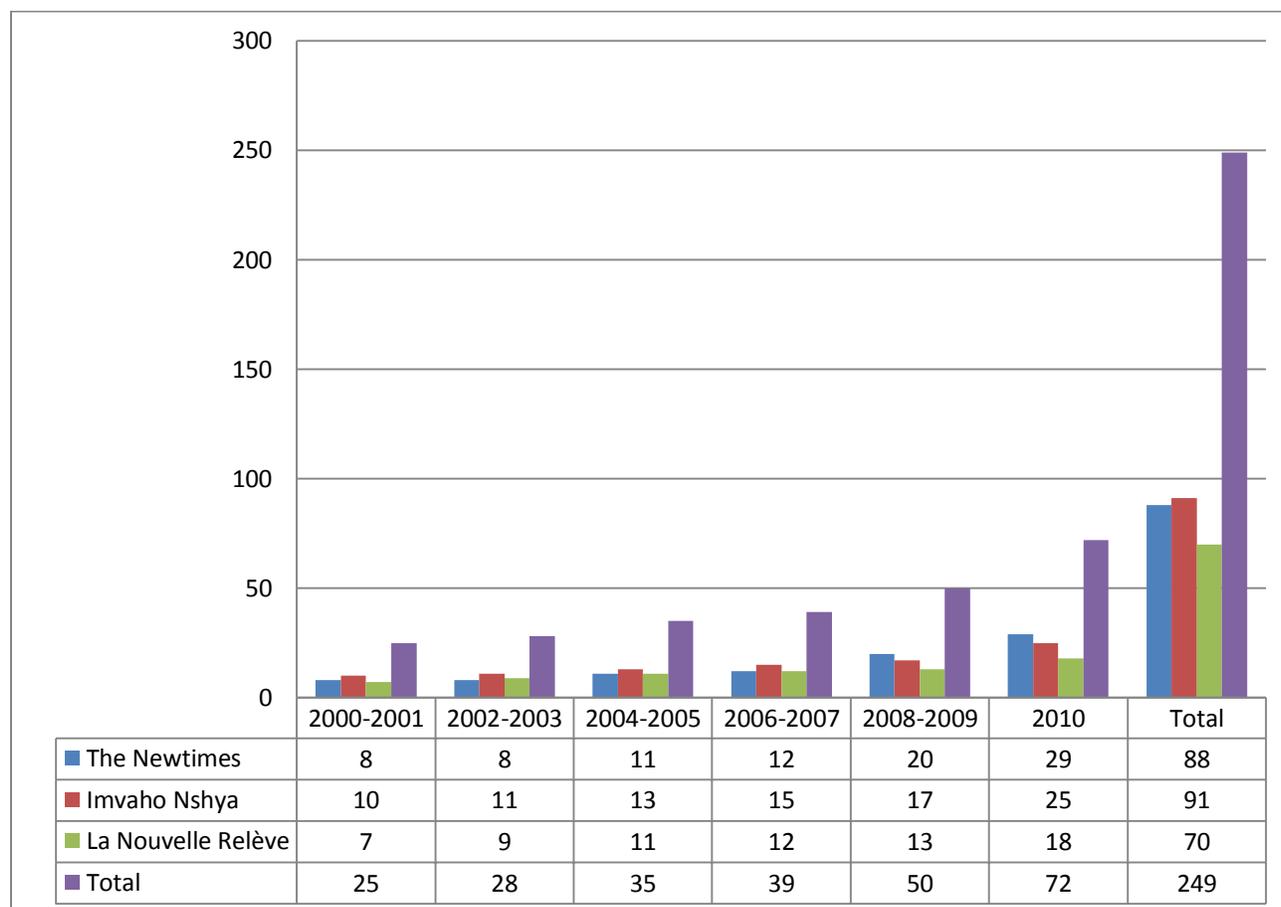
To analyze the data that I collected, I used a qualitative media analysis. Qualitative content analysis is used to analyze text data. Research using qualitative content analysis focuses on the characteristics of language as communication with attention to the content or contextual meaning of the text (Hsieh and Shannon 2005). Qualitative content analysis goes beyond merely counting words to examining language intensely for the purpose of classifying large amounts of text into an efficient number of categories that represent similar meanings (Weber 1990). This method is best suited in situations where the researcher is interested in providing knowledge and understanding the phenomenon under study (Downe-Wamboldt 1992) which match in this situation with retrieving exactly how different frames have been used in different sources. In the case of my research questions which aim at getting insight in which frames are used in newspapers, this method helped me to understand the rationale behind the frames used. As part of the qualitative method, I also used simple frequency counts.

3.2. Data collection and research instrument

The three newspapers that constitute the source of my data are not available on any online database. However, they have their own archives which are available online. The online archives are not complete though. The most recent issues are available online from 2007-

2008 until today. Therefore, data of the most recent issues were collected by consulting the online archives. Since the previous issues are not yet available online, other methods of collecting them were used. Therefore, a contact person was used to collect these data and used physical archives. For the online archives, I used the search option available on respective websites. The search strategy that I used was “HIV AND AIDS”. In total I collected more than 600 articles for the whole period of 11 years (2000-2010) for the three newspapers. I could not analyze all articles due to time constraints. Therefore, I performed a selection of most HIV related articles. To select these articles, I scanned all articles by reading the title and the introduction. Then, I selected those articles whose content is more related to HIV/AIDS issues. The table below provides an overview of the number of articles that I selected per newspaper and per each year.

Table 1: classification of articles collected by newspaper



After collecting the data, I analyzed them using a coding protocol. This protocol helped me to track all frames and metaphors contained in the articles. A copy of this protocol can be found in the appendix.

3.3. Time span

In order to have a broader picture of newspapers reporting on HIV, I have chosen a period of eleven years from 2000 to 2010. As I was interested also in the evolution of frames, I aimed at collecting enough articles that would allow me to find if there has been an evolution in terms of HIV framing and if possible to reveal the direction of this evolution.

4. Context

The study timeline of this study is one of the richest period during which several HIV/AIDS related events occurred. It is in the first year (2000) that the Prevention Mother to Child Transmission (PMTCT) program was initiated. The following year (2001), a number of important events took place. The first most important event is the creation of the NACC in the year 2001. The NACC is the first governmental department to be created whose main objective is addressing HIV/AIDS. As the most important government organ, the NACC is to set up strategies to address HIV/AIDS, to implement HIV/AIDS control policy, to monitor AIDS control activities at the national level, to prepare strategic plans of AIDS control, to coordinate the monitoring and evaluation of various organs aimed at AIDS control and to cooperate and collaborate with other regional or international agencies carrying out similar responsibilities¹. Every year, the NACC organizes national campaign with a special theme for every year. These themes are very important as they define major aspects of addressing AIDS that other stakeholders would focus on for the whole year. These themes are presented below in a chronological order:

- Year 2003: Fight against stigmatization and discrimination against children and youth infected and affected by HIV/AIDS. This theme is probably inspired by the world AIDS day theme which is observed the 1st December and whose theme in 2003 was “stigma and discrimination”. For the world AIDS day, the theme is chosen by the UNAIDS in consultation with other global health organizations²;
- Year 2004: Let’s have a Voluntary HIV Test since antiretroviral drugs are now available;
- Year 2005: The responsibility of the population in the fight against AIDS;
- Year 2006: The responsibility of the family in the fight against AIDS;
- Year 2007: The responsibility of the family vis à vis to children in the fight against HIV and AIDS;

¹ <http://www.cnls.gov.rw/spip.php?article60>, accessed on the 28th September 2011

² http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World_AIDS_Day, accessed on 24th October 2011

- Year 2008: Promotion of HIV Voluntary counseling and testing among couples in particular and general population, as a measure to reduce new HIV infections;
- Year 2009 and 2010: Condom as a means of dual protection. Let's talk about it, let's access it, let's use it: a fundamental right for all! Again, this theme is inspired by the World AIDS day whose theme in 2009 was Universal access and human rights for both years (2009 and 2010).

The access to the antiretroviral therapy is another major issue whose related events took place in this time frame. Although the first AIDS treatment went on sale in 1997, they were introduced in Rwanda in 1999. However, they were not affordable for the big part of PLWH. Thus the important local event regarding the introduction of ARV is the agreement that the Rwanda government signed with pharmaceuticals (Glaxo-Smithkline, Merck Sharp & Dohme, Bristol-Myers Squibb, Boehringer-Ingelheim) that produce these drugs. This agreement was signed in January 2001. The aim of this agreement was to reduce the price of ARV so that they can become affordable. Since then, the ARV became almost free.

The year 2002 was characterized by the introduction of the world AIDS orphan day which is celebrated on the 7th May each year. This day has been established by the 'Association Francois Xavier Bagnoud' (AFXB) in 2002 and it an annual campaign and day of recognition to persuade governments around the world to devote 10% of the money they spend on the disease to help the children left vulnerable in the wake of the epidemic. The AFXB is an international organization aimed at providing support for children affected by AIDS. It was founded in 1989 with the objective of addressing poverty and AIDS and support the world's orphans and vulnerable children left in the wake of the pandemic by advocating for their needs and basic rights and providing direct support to families and communities that care for them³. The AFXB is active in several countries among them Rwanda where it started in 1995.

³ <http://www.fxb.org/mission/>, accessed on September 28th 2011

The year 2003 is the year rich in policy related events. Three policies related to AIDS were developed. The first is the Gender policy developed in 2003 by the Ministry of Gender and family promotion (MIGEPROF). Although this policy was developed by this Ministry, it bears marks of other government institutions and even international ones. There are three main axes on which this policy lays upon: the human right aspect, the development aspect and the HIV/AIDS aspect (which may even be included in the development aspect). The first two domains are probably the ones that has several stakeholders whether national or internationals. The development domains is the field where powerful international institutions exerts an influence such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank (WB), United States Agency for International Development, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), just to cite few. All these stakeholders are so powerful that they influence the development related programs. On the side of human right, there are also several pressure groups (like the human right watch, local human rights associations) whose influence may be obvious in the human right arena of this policy. Of course there are influences of other MIGEPROF partners such as the United National Population Fund. It is the interaction of all of these stakeholders that mold this policy as well as other policies developed by the same Ministry. This is the case of the Orphan and Other Vulnerable Children (OVC) policy and the National integrated child rights policy, both developed in 2003 by the MIGEPROF. All of these policies have been developed in a specific context which bring together several stakeholders with their own targets and interests.

Following the agreement signed between the Government and pharmaceuticals on availability and price reduction on AIDS therapy; in 2003, Generic antiretroviral drugs started to be provided free of charge to patients who met WHO and national guidelines as part of an ART programme. This programme were also supported by the Global Fund for AIDS (Au et al. 2006). In the same year, the Rwanda Health Communication Center was created (RHCC).

In the year 2005, there is another policy that was developed: the National condom policy developed in 2005. Condom issue is one of the most interesting in Rwanda. Indeed some studies have highlighted that condoms are not accepted by different groups and that strong

prejudices against condom exist and therefore urgent to institute educational programs to reduce the stigma about condoms (Rahlenbeck 2004). Even the Demographic and Health Survey 2005 found out that there is a big percentage of the population that do not know access and use condoms. Therefore, this policy triggered discussion and of course had an impact on condom distribution, perception and use. This policy was developed with the aims of:

- Improving the common understanding of sex, sexuality, sexual health and reproductive health among policy leaders and key constituents;
- Assuring planning, funding and coordination for condom programs at national and international level;
- Reducing motivation gaps (personal attitudes, beliefs, and threat or risk perception) as personal barriers to correct and consistent use of condoms;
- Eliminating opportunity gaps (perceived and actual availability, quality, appeal, access, and social norms) as social and institutional barriers to correct and consistent use of condoms;
- Reducing ability gaps (knowledge, social support and self-efficacy) as personal knowledge and skill barriers to correct and consistent use of condoms;
- Monitoring and evaluating progress of measures that aim to increase correct and consistent use of condoms.

In the same year, the demographic and health survey was done. One of the most interesting finding of this survey is that the prevalence of HI was found to be 3% (INS 2005) while other previous studies had shown that the prevalence was 11% (PNLS 1998).

In the year 2008, the National Guideline for Male Circumcision was developed. This is another important event that took place. This guideline has been developed as a result of the scientific evidence that male circumcision can reduce infection of HIV (Auvert et al. 2005) and to other STD (Tobian et al. 2009). Consequently, a national campaign on circumcision with the aim of 2,000,000 male circumcisions was launched in 2010. In the

same year (2010), newspaper reported that condom vending machines were introduced in November 2010. From this story about HIV related events that took place within the time frame this study focused on, the figure below provides a simplified overview.

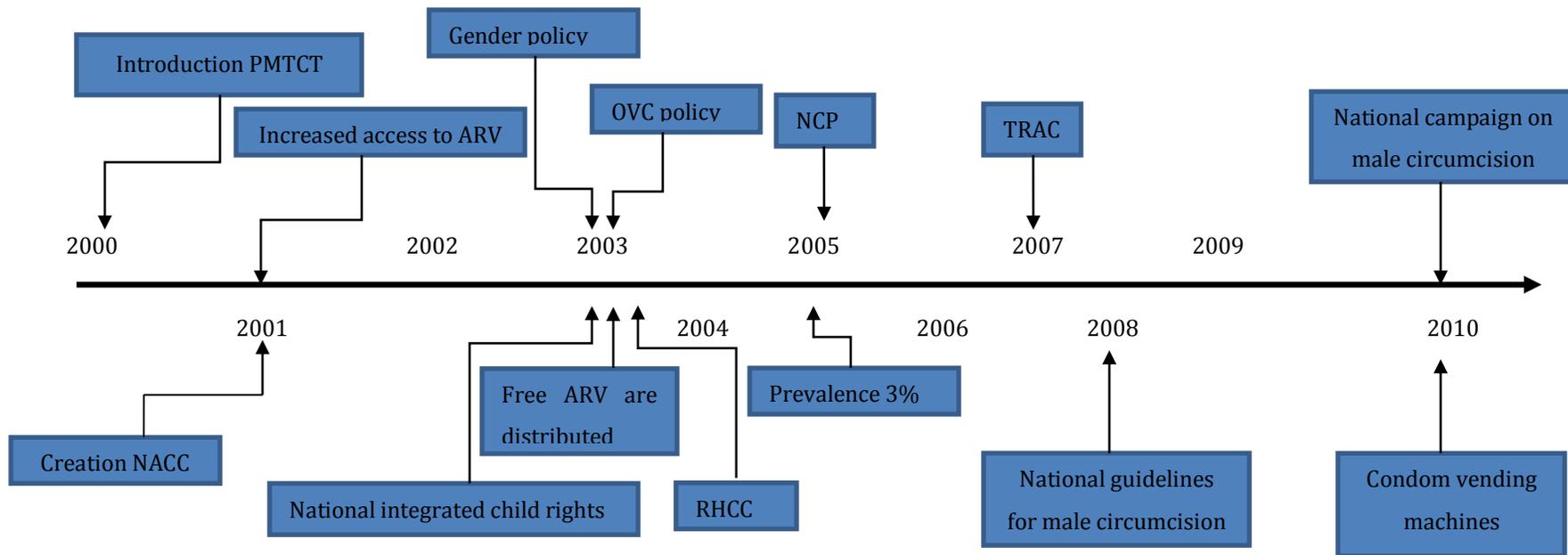


Figure 3: major HIV/AIDS related events that took place between 2000 and 2010

Notes:

- PMTCT: Prevention Mother to Child Transmission
- ARV: Anti-Retroviral drugs
- OVC: Orphans and other Vulnerable Children
- NCP: National Condom Policy
- TRAC: Treatment and Research Center
- NACC: National Aids Control Commission
- RCHH: Rwanda Health Communication Center.

5. Results

After analyzing the data I collected, I am presenting in this chapter the results I came up with.

5.1. HIV metaphors

Several metaphors have been identified and I am presenting here the metaphors I identified. Each has its own section and in the section there are two main parts: the first part is an introduction and includes articles excerpts; and the second part is about the evolution of the metaphor and the four functions of the frame.

5.1.1. The plague metaphors

The plague metaphor is the principal metaphor by which the AIDS epidemic is understood and it associates AIDS to punishment for moral laxity and bankruptcy (Sontag 1989). In the Rwandan media reporting, the plague metaphor emerged also as an important one. It manifested mainly in two different ways. The first is the association made between the AIDS and morals and de facto by religious life. In this regards, I found a number of articles that report on religious aspect of the disease. Religious institutions are usually NACC stakeholders in addressing HIV. As NACC mission is to coordinate and monitor AIDS control activities at the national level, religious institutions seem to have adopted a different perspective in addressing HIV. Thus I could read that religious institutions defined their own way of addressing HIV and have chosen the 'SAVE' approach (SAVE meaning Safer practices; Access to treatment and nutrition; Voluntary, routine and stigma free counseling and testing; Empowerment) instead of the NACC approach which is the 'KUBA' approach (KUBA being an abbreviation of: abstinence, one partner and condom). Different approaches could be sign of different problem definitions and since it is about religious institutions, this definition is surely associated with morals as religious institutions have much to do with them.

It is still in the same vein of morals and religion that the curse metaphor is also used:

*“.. ubusanzwe abanyarwanda bafata abanduye virus itera SIDA nk’ abantu bavumwe...” – “... normally, most of the time people consider people infected with AIDS as **cursed** people...”*

The second aspect of the plague frame was identified through the use of the ‘insect’ metaphor and the HIV is referred to as an insect. Usually, there is no exact translation of the ‘virus’ in the local language. However, when there is no term to express an idea from another language, the local language can use other languages terms and make them more local. That’s why the ‘virus’ can be referred to as the ‘virus’. However, in some article, the virus is framed as “agakoko” translated as an “insect”. Below are few examples:

*“... Kaminuza y’iButare, 2% banduye **agakoko** gatera SIDA...” “... in the University of Butare, 2% are infected with the **‘insect’** that causes AIDS...”*

*“... Uyu mushinga. ... watekereje kwegera abanya Rubengera kuko uyu murenge ugaragaza umubare uri hejuru ku bwandu bw’**agakoko** gatera SIDA ugereraniye n’indi mirenge mu gihugu...” – “... the target group of this project is the population of Rubengera locality whose HIV **infection** rate is higher compared to other localities’ rates...”*

Evolution and functions of the plague frame

The first important aspect of the ‘insect’ metaphor is that journalists tried to make an association between ongoing infection and daily activities of the population. Thus, articles show that the ‘insect’ has been infecting more and more people while regular daily activities are being performed. This means that more and more people have been infected in secret without other people noticing that. This can be understood as the definition of the problem. The cause identified is also contained in the problem definition. Indeed, people

don't know that there is something going on and that's why they need to know that. The only way to know is by training which is seen as the solution to the problem.

Although the plague metaphor is used throughout the time frame of this study, there has been a change in the use of the 'insect' metaphor. Between 2000 and 2001, this metaphor was not as pervasive as it is reported in more recent articles. I would say that the year 2005 is the cut point for this metaphor. Indeed, between 2000 and 2005, this metaphor was used in combination with the word 'ubwandu' which means 'infection' or by 'virus'. However, after the year 2005, I noticed that the use of the 'insect' metaphor became more pervasive and almost all journalists used this metaphor while other words used to identify it were totally abandoned.

*"...hatewe intambwe mu kugabanya **agakoko** ka SIDA bitewe n'ikwirakwiza ry'imiti ihabwa abanduye **agakoko** gatera sida mu bihugu byinshi by'Afurika aho abantu bakuru n'abana banduraga **agakoko** gatera sida bagabanutseho 17.4 hagati ya 2001 na 2008..."*- *"... it has been possible to reduce the 'insect' that causes AIDS by the introduction of the antiretroviral therapy given to people infected with the 'insect' that causes AIDS. In Africa, the incident cases of adult and children infected with the 'insect' have been reduced by 17.4% between 2001 and 2008..."*

This metaphor identified two main groups of people as most concerned with the disease. These are men and women. In several occasions, women are said to be able to stop further transmission. Thus it is written:

"... Women ultimately say 'yes' to men, and by doing so say 'yes' to further transmission".

This refers to the fact that in the Rwandan context, men are the ones who take the first step in a sexual relationship. By alluding to women as able to stop further transmission, they are generally identified as the cause of incident rates. More specifically, female sex workers are indicated as the cause of the plague and this perfectly fits in the 'secret' infection that AIDS has done as they also work in secrecy since it is illegal.

The 'moral' aspect of the plague frame has a preferred quote that is used to indicate the link between the moral aspect and staying health. This quote says: "*roho nzima mu mubiri muzima*" which means "*a healthy soul in a healthy body*". Although it is applied to HIV/AIDS, it also applies to other disease and is a motto very much used by religious institutions. Even though religious institutions defines themselves as stakeholders in addressing the disease, their actions could be understood as almost independent. This motto is a linkage between both actors whose mission may be different in some cases but which are ultimately the same in terms of helping the population overcome a situation.

Within this frame, prostitutes are most the most blamed for their contribution in the spread of the disease. A number of articles have highlighted that they should stop live in secrecy and as recompense, they can have a normal live.

5.1.2. The military metaphors

The military metaphors are the second group of metaphors that I identified. Two main aspects of the military metaphors were identified. The first aspect is about the enemy/opponent. Although enemy and opponent are different in some regards, the verbs used to deal with the enemy/opponent are the same in the local language (Kinyarwanda). In the article newspapers that I analyzed, both (enemy and opponent) are portrayed as an issue that needs to be addressed not in a friendly way. To deal with them, a number of verbs were identified. In the first position, there is the use of the verb "*kurwanya*" translated as "*to fight*".

*"abanyamakuru basabwe kugira urugare rugaragara mu **kurwanya** icyorezo ya SIDA"... "... journalists have been asked to commit themselves to **fighting** HIV and AIDS..."*

*“... yanabajije niba hari aho waba utaniye n’indi mishinga inyuranye ifite mu nshingano zayo **kurwanya** SIDA ...” - “... she also asked if there are other projects whose aim is **fighting** HIV/AIDS ...”*

The enemy metaphor becomes more stressed with the use of more harsh verbs like the word “*guhangana*.” Which means to resist.

*“ ... Kaminuza nkuru y’u Rwanda ku bufatanye n’ishyirahamwe rya za Kaminuza zo muri Afurika yo hagati zikoresha ururimi rw’igifaransa, yasoje inama y’iminsi 3 igamije kwihugura mu byerekeye ubushakashatsi ku cyorezo cya SIDA no guhuza imikorere mu **guhangana** n’icyo cyorezo.” - “... the National University of Rwanda in collaboration with the association of French speaking Universities in Central Africa have closed a three day consultative meeting which aimed at updating them about the AIDS epidemic and to make a synergy out of their respective efforts to **resist** the epidemic”*

*“...habera inama mpuzamaganga iziga uburyo abikorera bafasha Global Fund mu guhangana n’izo ndwara z’ibyorezo...”. - “... an international conference on how the private sector can help the Global Fund to **resist** these epidemics...”*

There are several other examples which testify the presence of the enemy/opponent metaphor. For example the use of the expression “*guhashya*” translated as “*to win out over*” is one of these situations.

“...mu rwego rwo gushakira hamwe gahunda ihamye yo guhashya burundu icyorezo cya sida izashyirwa mu bikorwa mu gihe cy’imyaka 4 ...”- “... in order to find measures to win out over HIV and AIDS...”

It should however be noted that the enemy/opponent metaphor applies for two related situations. First, the disease itself and secondly, the chaotic situation created by the epidemic.

The second aspect of the military metaphor is related to the use of typical military metaphors. The ‘fight’ metaphor is the first and has been used for the enemy/opponent aspect. The ‘war’ metaphor is the second one.

*“... Gukangurira no guha ingufu abikorera mu **ntambara** yo kurwanya icyorezo cya SIDA...” - “ ... call on the private sector to be involved in the **war** against HIV ...”*

In some articles, this metaphor is not straightforward. This is the case of the use of the word “*ingamba*” which means “*tactics*” in a military sense.

*“...Inyito yahawe iyi nama ni ‘icyorezo kireba bose, **ingamba** zifatwe na bose” – this meeting was held under the theme of ‘we are all concerned with the epidemic, **tactics** should also be concerted”.*

The more straightforward way of framing AIDS as military issue could also be identified through the use of the term ‘*ingabo*’ translated as ‘shield’.

*“...bagize icyo bavuga ku gakingirizo nk’**ingabo** yo kwirinda kuko gafasha ... no mu kudakwirakwiza agakoko gatera Sida ...” - “... they all said something about condom as a strong **shield** against AIDS ... able to stop further infections...”*

*“...uyu muni turatangiza gahunda yo gukangurira ikoresha ry’ agakingirizo nk’ imwe mu **ngabo** zizewe zo kurwanya ikwirakwiza rya SIDA ...” - “... today, we are launching the program of promoting the use of condom as a strong **shield** to resist new infections...”*

The use of the battle metaphor is also another way to portray AIDS as a military issue. This was identified by the use of the term “*urugamba*” which can be translated as “*battle*”:

*“ ... abikorera mu **rugamba** rwo kurwanya SIDA...” – “the private sector are involved in the **battle** against AIDS...”*

Evolution and functions of the military frame

From the enemy/opponent metaphor, the military metaphor emerged as a logical ending of it. Basically, the military metaphors would be understood as a result and/or a continuation of the enemy/opponent one. The military metaphor is pervasive throughout the media and no single article cannot contain the military term. The analysis of newspaper articles revealed that the two aspects of the military frame were used in a somehow chronological order. First, HIV/AIDS has been framed as an opponent, later as an enemy. When it became known that HIV was spreading so quickly without the medicine and that HIV infection is considered as a death sentence (Edgar et al. 2007), then the opponent/enemy aspect was ‘considered’ ineffective and thus evolved into a typical military frame with the use of military metaphors.

Although this frame remains pervasive throughout the timeline of this study, the problem definitions associated with this frame has been evolving since the year 2000. Initially, the main problem was mentioned to be the increasing incident and of course prevalent HIV cases and by the same token increasing death caused by the disease. From the year 2003 until 2010, another problem definition was added. Access to antiretroviral therapy and survival of those infected was framed as a problem. For the first problem definition, sex work was mainly identified as the cause of further infection which itself is framed to be driven by poverty. This is closely related to the first aspect of the military metaphor.

Indeed, being illegal, sex work is done secretly and also people who buy such services do so in secret, thus the increasing incident rates without people noticing it. By identifying sex workers as a problem, journalists use another kind of the frame: the characterization frame. Characterizations are generalizations or assumptions that people make about the characteristics of all members of a group, based on an image (often wrong) about what people in that group are like (Burgess 2003). Therefore, in a context of characterization

frames, involved people view others as having particular characteristics. The characterization frames may be either positive or negative and are closely related to stereotyping (Kaufman et al. 2005). By identifying sex workers as the cause of the problem, journalists also identify them as to be blamed.

To the second aspect of the problem definition, several solutions to accessing the therapy were proposed. The first solution proposed is that those multinational pharmaceuticals would allow access to the therapy by reducing the price. However, these pharmaceuticals have been framed as unfair due to the limited availability of the treatment. The journalists proposed that the treatment should be available to everybody for humanitarian reasons. The second solution proposed is training. Proposing training as a solution in a context of military frame would mean that people are behaving as civilians in context of 'war'. Thus, they need to get trained to become soldiers so that they can handle the 'war' situation. The military frame also proposes money as a solution. Although it is framed as a solution, it is also framed as a problem in the sense of -lack- to fund different projects addressing HIV/AIDS issues. Indeed, there are several articles devoted to stories about money needed to address HIV. These articles contend on reporting the amount of money and no further comment is made whether the costs are too high or too low. This is typical to military expenses in a context of war. In such situation, people are aware of the threat and almost anything would be 'acceptable' as long as it is useful in addressing the 'war'.

The fourth solution that the military metaphor proposes is meeting. The meeting solution could be understood as meetings between different 'military' commanders to set up 'tactics' to fight the enemy. The last solution concerns sex workers as the cause of the problem and is 'arresting' and 'jailing'.

Several studies have highlighted the role of military frames can play especially in politics. For example, it played an important role in the practice and the financing of medicine in the United States, and it is used to overmobilize (Annas 1995). Indeed, war creates a state of emergency in which several things that would not be allowed in a normal situation become

then tolerable. Of course, the war situation stresses the importance of focusing on the war itself instead of other minor things. Framing AIDS as a military issue may have triggered the formation of several government funded institutions that address HIV. In fact, there are several government institutions that address HIV: the National AIDS Control Commission, the TRAC (aiming at controlling epidemics-AIDS is the most important), the Ministry of health and a number of other small departments in several ministries. Apart from the government departments, there are more than 500 institutions (mainly funded by NGOs or civil based organization) whose main aim is addressing HIV/AIDS in its different aspects.

The military frame also overmobilized people. For example, this frame is involved in making HIV/AIDS the top priority disease to be addressed while other diseases are not considered as important. Thus, I could read a complaint of a diabetes patient about the fact that diabetes treatment was not available while ARV are free and accessible to all PLWH. The explanations of the person in charge of the procurement of drugs in the Ministry of health invoked priority in making drugs available and stated that diabetes drugs are not a priority. As the military frame invoke military related solutions, its use may require that real war situation may not be far from the reality. Thus, the use of this metaphor can be related to the most recent history of Rwanda: civil war and genocide and war in other neighboring countries. Therefore, the use of this frame might be one of the best way that newspapers have found to be able to attract attention of readers and to insist on the necessity of addressing HIV/AIDS. But it is not only newspapers, but also government officials also use this frame in the official speeches.

5.1.3. The development metaphor

The relation between AIDS and development may be both ways i.e. HIV/AIDS reduces economic growth and economic growth can increase or decrease the spread of the HIV epidemic (Bonnell 2000). The data that I analyzed revealed that HIV/AIDS is a development related issue. There are several aspects of the use of the development metaphor. First, HIV/AIDS is framed as an issue in continuous need of money. Several articles account for the amount of money raised to address HIV related issues.

“... gahunda ihamye yo guhashya burundu icyorezo cya SIDA izashyirwa mu bikorwa mu gihe cy’imyaka 4 ikazatwara akayabo ka miliyoni 300 z’amadolari y’America” – “... the program aiming at addressing HIV/AIDS will cost 300 millions USD in four years...”

“... 220 million francs (379,000 USD) have been donated to the Rwandan government to support its efforts to address HIV...”

A second aspect of this metaphor is related to the economic consequences of the epidemic. These consequences are then related to the individual, the family, the society or the country depending on the situation.

“...Iyo umukozi wacu apfuye kandi twaramutoje akazi, bivuga ko dutakaza amafaranga mu buryo bubiri: mu kumuvuza ndetse na productivite ye ikagabanuka cyane. Uburyo bwa kabiri dutakazamo amafaranga ni uko na none umuntu wese dutakaje ari isoko riba dutakaj...” – “... when our employee dies, we lose money in two ways: first by paying the hospital and care costs, second we lose money because that person is a potential client ...”

“... ingaruka za SIDA ku bukungu zishingiye cyane cyane ku kintu cy’uko umaze kwandura SIDA akenshi atangira kugira intege nkeya maze ntabashe gukora, abamurwaza nabo bagata ibyo bakoraga ngo bamwiteho... imiti igenda ku murwayi nayo ubwayo ikenesha umuryango, akazi yakoraga kagapfa bityo umusaruro w’igihugu ukagabanuka”- “... consequences of AIDS on the economy are mainly based on the fact that the infected person become weak and may not be able to work, people looking after him/her also stop all their income generating activities ... drugs used are also cause of concern economically...”

“... SIDA yasubije inyuma ho imyaka 10 bimwe mu bihugu byibasiwe cyane...”- “...AIDS reversed the economy 10 years backward for some countries...”

"HIV/Aids is one of the factors which hinders any development in the world, so I call upon you to fight it beginning from your respective homes and beyond"
Gakungu said.

By relating HIV consequences to some groups, the development metaphor includes an aspect of the characterization frame. The first group is of children.

"... Ibibazo abana bakunze kwisangamo akenshi ntibaba babigizemo uruhare. Icyorezo nka SIDA..." – *"... children infected with HIV are innocent victims of problems that they did not cause..."*

The second group that is subjected to the consequences of the epidemic is made of women.

"... Nyamara aratabariza igitsina gore kuko muri ibyo bihugu byose harimo n'u Rwanda,ngo igitsina gore nicyo kibasiwe n'ubwandu bwa SIDA kurusha abandi" – *"... women are among the most affected by HIV in those countries, Rwanda included..."*

The last group that is framed as a vulnerable group is that of already infected people. Through the articles that I analyzed, people living with HIV are framed in two different ways. First, they are framed as a vulnerable group that need more attention of both policymakers and health promoters

"... their main target is to focus on the much needed attention on the special challenges facing families, vulnerable groups including women, children, and the youth, and persons infected by HIV/ AIDS"

And they are also framed as sick people.

"... Diabetes patients should be looked after as are AIDS patients..."

Evolution and functions of the development frame

With regards to the timeline of this study, the development frame maybe divided into two aspects. The beginning of the timeline is characterized by concerns about the development of the affected countries and families. The focus is not on the individual rather on the group the individual belong to. This has been prevalent in the two first years (2000-2001) and it seems to coincide with the focus on the availability of antiretroviral virus for infected people. After that the ARV are available, the development frame seems to take another turn and focus on PLWH and not on the group they belong too. Then, after the year 2008, helping PLWH through cooperatives became the dominant aspect of this frame although this aspect was less represented at the beginning of the timeline.

Concerning different groups that are mentioned in the development frame, they are either identified as victims, a cause or as to be blamed. The first identified group is made of children. Initially, children are framed as a vulnerable group and ultimately as victims. Thus, the problem is defined as losing an important labor that would contribute to the development and their infection is a problem as well. This problem definition is given solution as well as part of the development frame. First, training is the solution that would allow these children to be productive. In normal conditions, school fees (from primary until universities – before 2005- and from senior high school to the University) are paid by parents. However, in case they die (in our case of AIDS), children are risking not going to school. Therefore, the solution proposed by journalists is vocational training (which is in much affordable) or even offered free of charge by some NGO's for AIDS orphans. When the issue is defined as children who are getting infected, the solution proposed differs. Thus, advocacy supported by legal document and policies is one of the 'development' oriented solutions. One example of these documents is the policy on Orphans and other Vulnerable Children.

The second group that is mentioned as part of the development frame is women. In fact, women vulnerability to HIV is basically framed as a result of their physical weakness and

the solution proposed fits into this two issues. Advocacy through legal documents is one solution that fits both: gender based violence and HIV/AIDS. As a result of advocacy and legal documents, the constitution states that 30% of all administrative and political leaders should be women and one notable example about this is the Rwandan parliament which is known to have a very high percentage of women (56% women). They are also a special target group for the Ministry of gender and family promotion whose special attention is on women and children. The reading of the national gender policy reveals that the *“attachment to promotion of gender is a prerequisite for sustainable development and women’s empowerment are critical to sustainable socio-economic development”* (MIGEPROF 2003)⁴ Training is the second solution proposed for women. In the development frame, training is referred to as providing women with skills that would allow them to be involved in the economic production cycle but also to make them know their rights.

The third group is of people living with HIV. Although they are not framed as a cause, victims or to be blamed; they are however very important in the development frame. For this group, there are two solutions proposed. The first solution appeared in the first years of the time frame and is accessing therapies. Once they became accessible and free, another solution was proposed and it is about cooperatives. Both solutions testify the influence of the government politics on newspapers reporting. For example cooperatives - framed as a solution - is part of efforts to mitigate HIV/AIDS impact on already infected people and they are mentioned in some of the official documents like National Strategic Plan for HIV and AIDS 2009-2012 (CNLS 2009) and the annual report of the Ministry of health (MOH 2008). Accessibility of the treatment to the infected group is also part of the objectives of the National AIDS Control Commission (CNLS 2009).

The last group is of sex workers. Mentioned as the cause of the problem in the plague frame, they are also mentioned as the cause of the problem in the development frame. They ‘are’ a problem as they don’t pay taxes and are not involved in a professional career that can profit the country in the context of development. Thus, several solutions are proposed.

⁴ MIGEPROF: Ministry of Gender and Family Promotion

The first – and most reported solution – is to stop their business. Newspaper articles are full of stories of women who gave up this business and journalists frame these women who stopped it as having made the most ‘right’ decision. Other articles which report on women still involved in the business, frame them as not knowing exactly what they are doing and as risking their lives for nothing. One typical example is an article about prostitution. In a nutshell, the journalist means this: prostitution endanger the future ... they get involved because of the *economic* survival... and they end up having a lot of troubles... but there are several solutions ... if they stop they will be helped by these projects (training projects, credits to start a business, ...) ... but if they don’t stop, none will help them (La Nouvelle Releve 2010). This solution to sex workers confirm the attitude society have on different risk groups.

On the side of the functions performed by a frame, the problem definition proposed by this frame is also adjusted to the focus of the frame. Thus, I could notice that by the time this frame focused on the economic consequences on the community/family/country of infected people, the problem is defined in three aspects: first the family is not able to afford the care and drug costs while the country/community is losing its work force and thus sinking in underdevelopment. For both problem definitions, the cause is identified as the increased medical care and costs and the inability to work for infected people. It should be noted that for these causes, infected people are framed as sick people and no substantial difference is not made between PLWH and AIDS patients. As the prostitute issue reoccurs again in the development frame, prostitutes are framed as a group that is to be blamed once again as they are not involved in the economic development circle.

While the development frame focused on PLWH’s families, no ‘real’ remedy is proposed as a part of the frame, but journalists seem to advocate for them. However, when the frame focused on the PLWH’s cooperatives, journalists provide the solution namely supporting financially cooperative’s projects.

It is not by chance that the cooperative solution has been proposed. In fact, it relate both to government policy as well as on the creation of a national network of people living with

HIV and AIDS (RRP+), which is a civil based organization. The RRP+ has been funded in 2003 and its members are associations and cooperatives of people living with HIV and AIDS and affected people. Therefore, to have members, the RRP+ promoted the creation of associations and cooperatives. In 2008, the government required all PLWH associations to become cooperatives so that they could have the same ‘financial’ prerogatives as other cooperatives. Therefore, the cooperative solution bears the mark of both the government and the civil society.

5.1.4. The victory metaphor

The fourth metaphor that was identified is the ‘victory’ metaphor. It is about being able to manage the disease and its consequences. The use of the victory metaphors overlaps a bit with the characterization frame by identifying two groups of people (or maybe countries) and then describing them. In the victory metaphors, three main aspects of it have been identified. The first aspect relates to ‘us’ as the model from whom others can be inspired.

“... Kurwanya sida, u Rwanda ruzwi neza...” – “... in terms of addressing HIV/AIDS, Rwanda is a good example...”

“... umuryango UNITAID... wishimiye ibikorwa bimaze kugerwaho n’ ikoresha neza ry’inkunga utanga...” – “... the UNITAID was happy to find out our activities and that the aid is used efficiently...”

This aspect gives a positive note to ‘us’ and by doing so embraces the characterization frame aspect. However, it is not only about it. This aspect went further by showing that our strategies go further than the national boundaries and have achieved an international recognition.

The second aspect of this metaphor is the continuation of the first aspect and relates to the legitimization of the ‘advantages’ that ‘we’ are receiving. This aspect thus insists on the fact

that 'our' strategies are efficient the reason why we should be among the ones that receive more and more funding:

"... ntiyahwemye gukora ubuvugizi n'ubukangurambaga... ibi byatumye u Rwanda ari rwo ruzakira inama..." - "... we have never stopped advocating and mobilizing, that's why we have been chosen to organize this meeting ..."

The third aspect of this metaphor embraces then a comparative approach. Once again, it is a continuation of the previous aspects and compare 'us' against 'them'. In the comparison, 'us' is given a positive note while 'them' is giving a negative one.

"... nk'uko bitangazwa n'uhagarariye UNAIDS ... ikibazo cya sida kidakanganye cyane mu Rwanda nk'uko bimeze mu bindi bihugu bimwe bya Africa nka Suwazilhande, Botswana Marawi, Zambiya, Afurica y'epfo n'ahandi..." - "... the UNAIDS representative said that the HI/AIDS epidemic is not as threatening as it is in some African countries like Swaziland, Botswana, Malawi, Zambia, South Africa and others..."

Evolution and functions of the identity frame

The use of this frame seems to be the result of a very long history. In fact, victory is achieved after confrontation between two or more actors. Logically, the victory frame is the unfolding of the military frame. Therefore, in some instances, the victory frame can resemble the military frame as the victory is achieved at the end of the battle. That's why the victory frame emerged in 2006, at the time the military frame was getting less prominent. The three aspects of the victory metaphors are identified. All of them are linked. While the first aspect (us as the model) relate to the results that our efforts to address the problem have been positive and reached others, the second aspect uses the first aspect to legitimate the advantages 'we' are receiving, and hen the last aspects compares 'our' achievements by 'their' achievement. It is from this confrontation that the victory metaphor

emerged since it insists on the fact that 'we' have been able to get positive achievements – we have won – while 'they' have not been able they got negative achievements.

A closer look at these three different aspects of the victory metaphor allowed to reveal different groups of people that are mentioned in this metaphor. In the first aspect, 'we' as a group meant different people but most importantly political leaders whose efforts to address such an issue allowed to get positive achievements. This group is later used in the third comparative aspects as well. Thus 'our' leaders are the cause of our victory, while their leaders are the 'cause' of not being able to curb AIDS infection rates. 'Theirs are the 'cause' and they are to be blamed for their 'incapacities'; while 'ours' are the solution to the problem. The identification of this group make this metaphor more close to the military metaphors. In fact the situation can resemble the 'war' situation where political authorities are presented as 'commandant' and in the case of a victory they are not the solution rather the cause of the defeat.

The second group mentioned in this frame is the group of sex workers. In this frame however, there are those sex workers still in 'service' and the former ones. It is the former ones that the victory frame focuses on by presenting them as the solution. In fact, several articles account the story of sex workers who have managed to quit their 'job' and then are presented as models. In such account, their stories are explained in details. It is clear that these stories are used to reach women still in 'business' and this shows that this group is therefore still considered as the cause and to be blamed even though changing the 'job' immediately allows them to become the solution. Those stories about those who quitted the job are also sign of the victory and they are always considered as the proof of our victory.

The third group that the victory metaphor alludes to is made of women. It is the comparative aspect of this metaphor that mainly identifies this group as the victims of the disease. Of the comparison insist on 'our' achievement in terms of protecting women and the lack of protective measures in 'their' policies.

There are events that may have triggered the use of the victory frame. The first is mainly about access to antiretroviral therapy. Following the agreement between pharmaceuticals and the government, the price of the ARV treatment had reduced sensibly. These drugs started to be provided free of charge to patients who met WHO and national guidelines as part of an ART programme initiated in 2003 (Au et al. 2006) and the number of PLWH accessing these drugs have been increasing ostensibly since then as the figure below shows it.

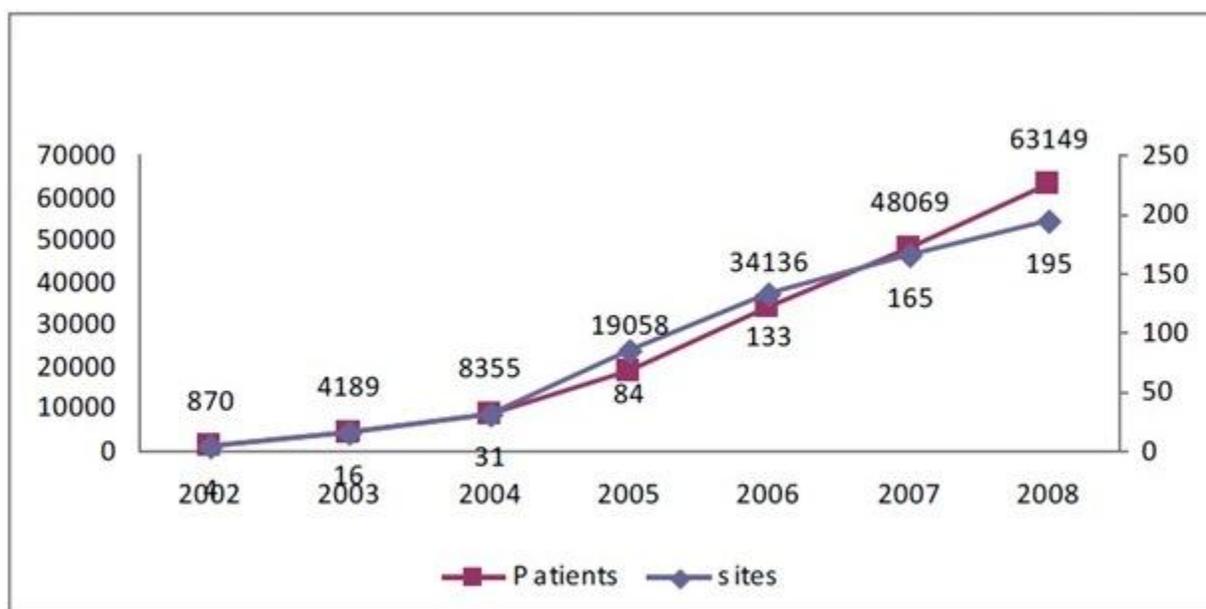


Figure 4: Number of PLWHIV accessing ARV

Source: TRAC+/HAS, annual report 2008

Another element that may be associated with this frame is about the prevalence rate. Previous studies had shown that HIV prevalence was estimated to be between 11% and 13% in the general population and the DHS 2005 said that HIV prevalence was 3%. This was somehow unusual and this was acclaimed as a major achievement. It is a combination of both above mentioned events that reports started to believe in the ability and efficiency of measures used to address the disease. That's why I called this frame the 'victory' frame as it is reported in a way that shows that –although we are still facing the disease, several

positive steps have been achieved and we can believe in a 'future' complete control of HIV/AIDS.

It is from this confidence that this frame uses a comparative approach by relating 'us' to 'them'. By doing so, it conveys a modeling image of one self and gives a positive note to 'us' and a negative one to 'them'. To give power to the victory metaphor, several important actors mainly internally well known actors (like Bill Clinton) or leaders of international organizations (like the UNITAD leader) are used to confirm 'our' positive note. By insisting on the positive quotes of these personalities, this metaphor conveys the idea that 'we' are not giving a positive note to ourselves, neither are giving a negative note to 'them', but that's the way things are.

The 'victory' frame is probably the first step in a long process of framing AIDS, which was viewed as a terminal disease just a decade ago and is getting to be characterized as a chronic yet manageable disease (Hoy-Ellis and Fredriksen-Goldsen 2007). Viewing AIDS as a manageable disease and as a chronic condition is of very far reaching consequences. First, it has to do with disease seriousness which, via fear and pity, influences stigma formation. AIDS frames have been credited to be the genesis of stigma (sources), this victory frame may also be the genesis of a new era about HIV reporting.

5.2. Objective reporting

Our approach to analyzing objective journalistic reporting focused on two main concepts: objectivity and accuracy. Objectivity in journalistic reporting is defined on the basis of its opposite: a story is unbalanced when it has a preferred side, is one-sided or partisan. Accuracy when one is careful about attributing to sources and when one as a journalist is content only to reiterate the facts (Shaw et al. 1997).

5.2.1. Objective reporting in government funded newspapers

Government funded newspapers articles that I analyzed contain a number of indications of their preferred information source. As has been mentioned in the frame section, several articles focus on meeting and training reporting. The meetings that are reported are meeting between different stakeholders and different government officials. Articles related to these are mainly characterized by two main parts: an introduction which contains all the information about the meeting (time, venue, the theme of the meeting, the participants, the organizers). The second part is about the speeches of the main character of the meeting. Most of the time, these official speeches make the main part of the articles and contain most of the time indication about policies, strategies and plans of the institution they represent. Below is an example of an excerpt of a speech delivered by the General Secretary of the AIDS control commission in one meeting reported in a newspaper article:

“... in these coming three years, our objective is to reduce by 50% the incident cases, strengthen training the vulnerable groups – discordant couples, sex workers and pregnant women...”

The same layout also applies for the reporting on training. The main difference between both is that training reporting has a third section which is made of the stories of the participants about their experience in the training, their perspectives/future plans.

On top of meetings/trainings reporting, newspaper articles also focus on other events: a government official visiting a given place, activities of different projects, an overview of a new report, a development in the treatment, testimonies of associations/cooperative, visit of an official personality, events involving government department/NGO's... to summarize this, I made the table below.

Table 2:

Table 2: Frequency of government commissioned articles and private commissioned articles in government funded newspapers

Time span	Government commissioned articles		Private commissioned articles		Total
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	
2000-2001	10	59%	7	41%	17
2002-2003	12	60%	8	40%	20
2004-2005	15	63%	9	38%	24
2006-2007	17	63%	10	37%	27
2008-2009	22	73%	8	27%	30
2010	29	67%	14	33%	43
Total	105	65%	56	35%	161

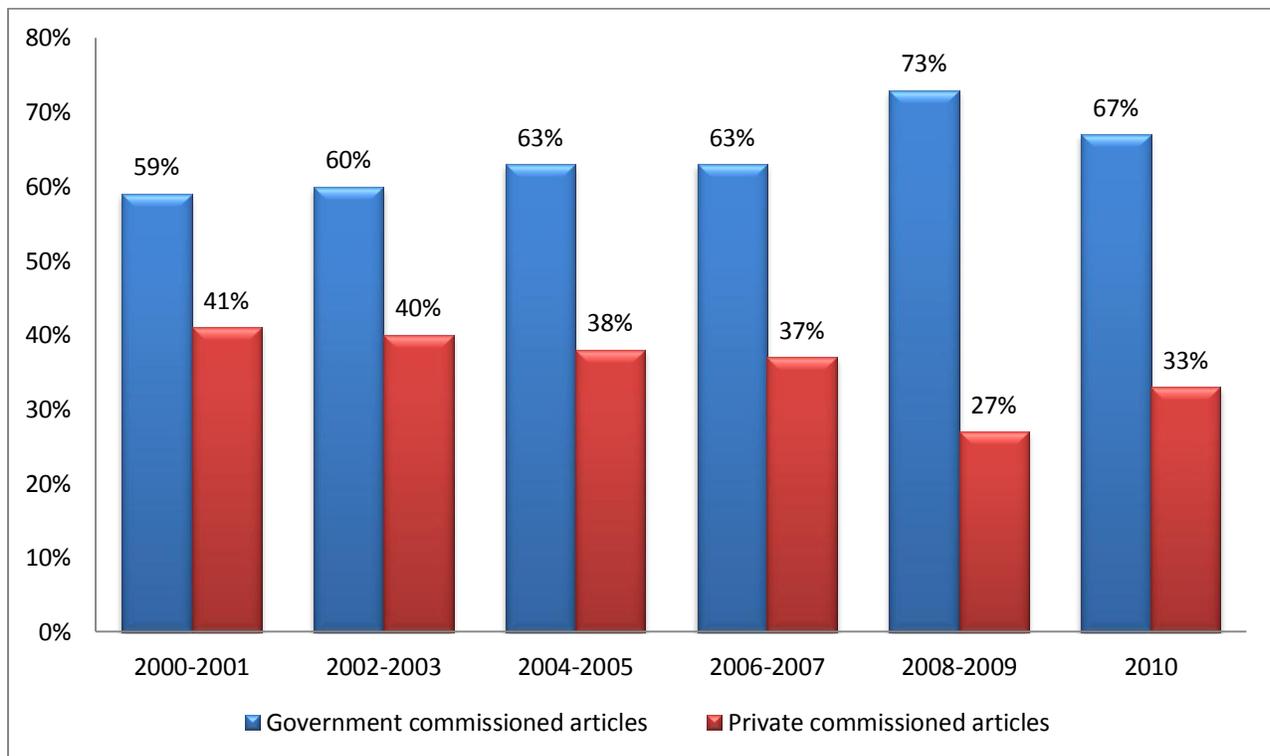


Figure 5: Frequency of government commissioned articles and private commissioned articles in government funded newspapers

As can be read in this table, government commissioned articles represent more than 60% of analyzed newspaper articles, the smallest percentage being 59% (in 2000-2001) and the highest being 73% (in 2010). This is an indication of the fact that government commissioned articles represents the core of government funded newspapers. Other private commissioned articles represent 47% of articles analyzed.

When it comes to articles themselves, meeting related articles do focus mainly on speeches of officials while participants are not given voice during the event. However, it is different from training related articles since it was found that they include both opinions and speeches of officials and participants. However, the participant's perspective is not given such importance in reporting. This can be seen to the space allotted to their stories, the selection of the article's title and where their ideas are placed in the article. Below is an example of one article

- Title of the article: Gender Ministry calls to help girls
- Word count: 292 words;150 words report the speech of the Minister who presided over the event;
- Event: handing the awards to girls pupils who finished the primary school with an excellent mark;
- No participant was asked the opinion about the event.

When participants' opinion are reported in the article, they are placed somewhere after the long and emphasized speech of an official and is summed up in just few sentences. Below is another example:

- Title of the article: the Muslim women on the battle against AIDS
- Word count: 1416 words
- Only one paragraph of 91 words provided opinion of participants other than the official one. Their opinions are placed between the speech of the Muslim Minister and another speech of the Minister in charge of gender and family promotion.

- Event: training of Muslim women on AIDS

5.2.2. Objective reporting in private commissioned newspapers

Articles of the private newspapers can also be divided into two categories: meetings/trainings reporting and other event reporting. The table below shows the frequency of both type of reporting

Table 3: Frequency of government commissioned articles and private commissioned articles in private funded newspapers

	Government commissioned articles		Private commissioned articles		Total
	Frequency	Percentage	Frequency	Percentage	
2000-2001	3	38%	5	63%	8
2002-2003	2	25%	6	75%	8
2004-2005	3	27%	8	73%	11
2006-2007	4	33%	8	67%	12
2008-2009	8	40%	12	60%	20
2010	9	31%	20	69%	29
Total	29	33%	59	67%	88

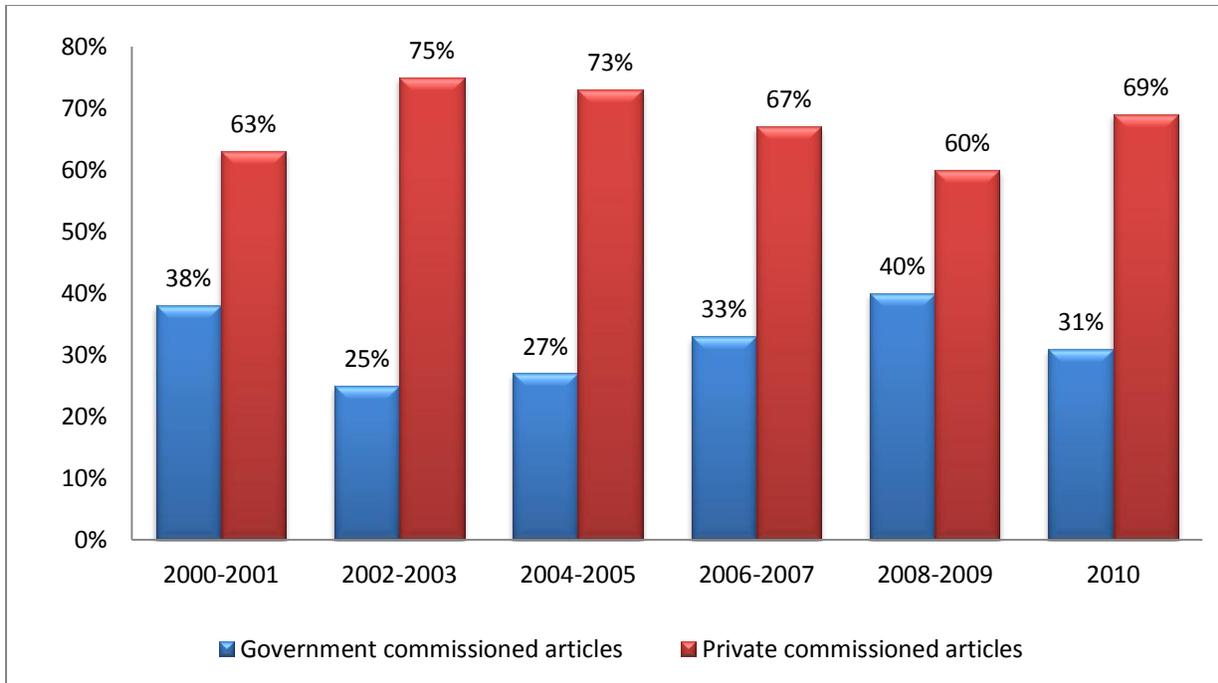


Figure 6: Histogram of the percentage of government commissioned articles and private commissioned articles in private newspapers

From the table above, it can be read that private commissioned articles represent the core part of private newspapers articles. Their share is always above 60% (the lowest being 60% in 2008-2009, the highest being 75% in 2002-2003). The government commissioned articles are less represented in private newspapers. Their lowest share being 25% in 2002-2003 and their highest share being 40% in 2008-2009. Reporting the training/meetings in private newspapers is similar to government funded reporting. However, private newspapers focus more on other events than on meeting and training reporting. Another interesting aspect of articles produced by private newspapers is that they insist on personal testimony and not on official speeches. Below is one example:

- Title of the articles: religious leaders are committed to addressing HIV
- Word count: 361 words and 160 words devoted to a testimony of one of the participant;
- Although the meeting was organized by the local government in collaboration with religious institution, no speech of the local government representative was reported.

Difference between government funded newspapers' articles and private newspapers' articles

The analysis of different articles revealed that Government funded newspaper articles are very different from private funded newspapers articles in terms of objectivity. In this study, the theory of media ownership and news content (Shoemaker and Reese 1996) was supported for government funded newspapers. Articles produced by government funded newspapers focus more on issues which are very interesting for the government. This sound as if these newspapers are the way that the government has chosen to make its agenda and activities known. Thus, little is said about other agenda and activities of non-governmental institutions. This can be understood by comparing table 2 and table 3. These table show that among government funded newspapers' articles represent, 65% are government commissioned while 35% are private commissioned. This percentage is almost the other way around for private funded newspapers: 33% of them are government commissioned and 67% are private commissioned.

It is also necessary to note that the way government funded newspapers and private newspapers report events are very different. Government funded newspaper articles give more space to official speeches pronounced during an event and opinion of the participants are not insisted on which is very different from private funded newspapers. In some circumstances, private newspapers articles can easily ignore the official speech and report opinions of participants in the event. Another most important difference is about those 'non-commissioned articles'. From the content of articles analyzed, it appeared that private newspaper articles can sometimes reports news that have been published in other newspaper mainly from other countries. This is very unusual for government funded newspapers.

Both private and government funded newspapers articles was found to be very accurate according to the accuracy concept as developed in the theoretical framework (Shaw et al. 1997). In fact, sources of information are mentioned for both private and government

funded newspaper articles. For both type of newspapers, their stories were not balanced. In fact, government funded newspaper articles allot importance on official speeches showing that their stories are unbalanced. This is very different from private newspapers whose stories seem to be not influenced by any actors and whose content reflect the willingness of journalist to inform the leaders. The above trend has remained the same over time (between 2000 and 2010) for both types of newspapers.

5.3. Overall evolution of the metaphors

The framing of a given matter can over a defined time can therefore be arrayed along a continuum from complete dominance by one frame to a complete standoff between competing frames (Entman 2004). Having identified the four main metaphors that the press media use to frame HIV/AIDS issues, I am presenting in this section the overall evolution of the frames.

Framing HIV/AIDS has known different steps during the time frame that this study focused on (2000-2010). The comparison of these metaphors and the time they have been prevalent allowed me to identify a frame contest between two main frames: the military and the development frames. In a chronological order, the military frame was much more prevalent at the beginning of the time frame (2000-2004). There are two main things that coincide with this period. First, during this period, training and meetings were reported as a solution to addressing HIV/AIDS. Second, concern was also on increasing incident rates as well as increasing AIDS related deaths without any clear decrease of both in the near future. By this period, the development frame is less represented and mainly focuses on the affordability of ARV. From the year 2005 until the end of the time frame (2010), the development frame is the most used in newspaper reporting. Thus, the aspects of money funded to address AIDS, development training for affected and infected people and issues related to PLWH cooperatives are much more used. The plague frame has remained almost the same although the insect metaphor is also widely reported after 2004.

A comparative analysis by taking into account different newspapers offers a different perspective though. The evolution described below remains the same in all newspapers (whether government funded or private funded). However, different newspapers showed different interests in different frames. Thus, government funded newspapers showed preference for development metaphors and victory frames more than private funded newspapers. The plague and military metaphors are used by both private and government funded newspapers in almost similar proportions.

6. Discussion

This discussion chapter is divided into three sections: the conclusion, the discussion and recommendations.

6.1. Conclusion

This study analyzed Rwanda newspaper reporting on HIV/AIDS and focused on the period of 2000-2010. The main question that was addressed is how HIV/AIDS framed in rwandan written newspapers, the evolution of these frames and what are the consequences of this. Four main metaphors were identified: the plague metaphor, the development metaphor, the military metaphor and the victory metaphor. Within the military and development metaphor, the characterization frame was identified as part of it and not as an independent frame. The military and development metaphors dominated the frame contest during the timeframe with the military frame being more used from 2000 until 2004, and the development frame was much used from 2005 until 2010. The plague metaphor is less used although pervasive throughout the time frame that this study analyzed. The victory metaphor is more recent is about positive achievements in controlling HIV/AIDS. Several consequences can emerge as a result of the use of these frames depending on each frame.

The use of the plague metaphor especially its link with religion revealed the existence of differences between various institutions addressing the issue and these differences can jeopardize efficacy of efforts used to address the problem. The use of the insect metaphor was also seen as the source of stigma. The use of the military metaphor played a role of over mobilizing people and authorities, justified ignoring other groups of people affected with AIDS (AIDS patients for example) and people suffering from other diseases like diabetes. It played also a role in justifying high expenses used to address the disease and its consequences. The use of development metaphor had mainly the effect of mainstreaming HIV/AIDS and thus the emergence of several AIDS and development related policies focusing on different groups: gender policy, OVC policy, etc. Finally, the use of the victory metaphor had the effect of considering AIDS as a chronic yet manageable disease. This can

reverse positive behavior change and can also reduce stigma through its positive influence on fear and perceived seriousness.

From the sub questions of this study, I looked also at the most frequent frames, changes observed in media reporting as well as three main issues for each frame: the problem definition, the cause and the solution. This study showed that the military and development metaphors are the most important ones. Overtime, the military metaphor has been very prevalent in the first half of the time frame, in the second half it is the development one that prevailed. The plague metaphor has been used throughout the time frame though less used than the two others. The victory metaphors emerged later in 2006 and was still used in 2010.

The military metaphor offers two problem definitions: the first is the increasing incident and of course prevalent HIV cases and by the same token increasing death caused by the disease. The second definition is inaccessibility to antiretroviral therapy and survival of those infected. For the first problem definition, sex work was mainly identified as the cause and sex workers as to be blamed. To the second aspect of the problem definition, several solutions to accessing the therapy were proposed: reduce ARV prices, training, money, meeting, arresting and jailing the cause of the problem (sex workers). From the plague metaphor perspective, the problem is the increasing incident cases without people noticing. The cause is that people don't know what is going on and training is the solution.

The development metaphor uses another different perspective. It defines the problem in relation to a given group and each problem definition relates the group to its role in development. The identified groups are: children, women, people living with HIV/AIDS and sex workers. For the first two groups, two solutions proposed are advocacy and training. For the third group, two solutions proposed are ARV accessibility and advocacy for their cooperatives. For the last group, no solution was provided, rather they were asked to stop their business. The victory metaphor mainly used different groups and referred them to the three functions. Political leaders are identified as the cause of the problem (when they are not able to design interventions able to control the disease) while Sex workers are to be

blamed. The ultimate solution for that the victory metaphor proposes is that 'they' should learn on 'us'.

6.2. Discussion

The analysis of the data I collected revealed that the Rwandan newspapers reports on HIV/AIDS contain four main metaphors: the plague, the military, the development and the victory metaphors. Some studies have also found these metaphors in different media.

The plague metaphor is the first important one that I identified. Several aspects of the plague metaphor that I identified correspond to some aspects that other studies have highlighted as well. While Sontag believes that the plague is the principal metaphor by which the AIDS epidemic is understood and is often seen as affecting a given group (Sontag 1989), this metaphor emerged as one of the most important used in the Rwanda media. It has been identified as referring to a specific target group which in the case of this study was the sex workers. This group is viewed as the cause of the disease and it also shares similarities with 'gays' who have been framed as the main at risk group of getting HIV. By framing AIDS as a gay plague, the disease became synonymous with alternative, permissive sexual behaviour and implied moral judgment (Cullen 2003). Thus, 'gays' behavior was judged as 'immoral' and this group is somehow seen as 'outcast' whose way of living is outside the normal population. This almost equals the way sex workers are viewed within the plague metaphor in this Rwandan media reports: they cause the problem, they are to be blamed and need to be redressed ... maybe punished. The punishment is also very much related to the way the plague metaphor has been viewed in other studies. Through morals, the plague metaphor is associated with punishment (Sontag 1989) and religious and philosophical versions of the thesis that AIDS is a punishment for deviant behaviour are also evoked (Murphy 1988).

The second important metaphor used in the Rwanda press is the military frame. This frame is very pervasive in the Rwandan press despite some changes in most recent years. The military metaphor has also been identified in several studies analyzing newspaper articles

in different countries like Tanzania (Kothari et al. 2010), India (De Souza 2007), south Africa (Connelly and Macleod 2003) etc. The effects of the use of the military metaphors that other studies identified have been also found in this study. While the over mobilizing effect (Annas 1995) was found to relate to the way the disease is addressed in comparison to other diseases, it is clear that this aspect may have affected other aspects as well. The severity of the problem is often indicated by use of the war metaphor (De Souza 2007), this seem to apply also to this study. In fact, when the prevalence rate was still high (11%), the military metaphor were very much used. However, when it was revealed that the prevalence rate was not that's high, its use dropped significantly and was replaced by other metaphors.

The development metaphor is the third one that I identified. This metaphor fits well in the findings that several studies have found about the relation between HIV/AIDS and development (Bonnel 2000; Dixon et al. 2002). Literature on the relation between HIV/AIDS and development revealed that there are several levels that are concerned with this relation: the households, community and country levels; and at each level its own issues. For example, a study on the relation between AIDS and development at the household level revealed that affected households, compared to their neighbors, tended to be poorer, and to have lower employment rates (Bachmann and Booyesen 2003). This was confirmed also. Indeed, at the beginning of the time frame, development metaphor was more geared toward the household level and affordability of ARV. Concerns was more on the consequences that paying ARV would have on the households and this meant for these households that they would face problems of reduced productivity which at the level of the country would mean reduced labor productivity and reduced exports and increased imports Lower domestic productivity reduces exports, while imports of expensive healthcare goods may increase (Dixon et al. 2002). A study carried out in Rwanda revealed that HIV appeared to affect income more than expenditure, presumably because HIV imposes additional costs on households, most important of which are health care and funeral costs(Nandakumar 2000).

The victory metaphor is the last that I identified. This metaphor started to be used in more recent years and is about positive achievement in terms of controlling HIV/AIDS. Other studies have also found the use of it. A frame analysis on HIV press coverage in China found a frame that was called the 'progressive' frame and it essentially deals with the change that the Chinese government and Chinese society as a whole have been experiencing in 'fighting' the epidemic and it casts an optimistic picture of China's fight against the deadly epidemic (Wu 2006). The study on Chinese newspapers insisted on the positive achievement such as the increasing adoption of the behavior intervention of high-risk population to curb the spread of HIV/AIDS: condom promotion among sex workers, needle exchange for drug abusers, and methadone substitute programs for drug addicts were lauded as 'pragmatic efforts' (Wu 2006). Likewise, the Rwanda newspapers lauded efforts made to stop the spread of AIDS, the protection of the most vulnerable, the availability of therapies, the decrease of the prevalent cases, the transparency in using donated funds... and the negative aspects are not revealed. The main difference between the 'victory' and the 'progressive' frame is the comparative aspect and the use of quotes of well-known personalities to give weight to the victory frame.

The victory frame is closely associated to more recent achievements such as the availability and efficacy of drugs to keep healthy infected people. However, this frame can have one negative consequence. Since it is about lauding achievement, it can also instill the erroneous feeling of protection. Thus people may have the feeling that the disease is totally under control and that it is not as severe as before. In brief, the victory frame can reverse positive behavior change and some people can restart unsafe behaviors.

From the frame analysis, it appeared that there are several shortcomings in newspaper reporting. The first shortcoming is about those people who are already patients. About reporting on people infected with HIV, newspapers reporting pass over AIDS patients in silence. This group is totally ignored as no single article, whether in government or private funded newspapers say something about this group. Rather, the focus is on those people, although infected, but are still healthy. Despite the fact that ARV treatment is available, this silence can mean that once a person is already a patient, the death sentence has already

been taken. This can also be the result of the military metaphor as it sacrifices the life of some in the name of saving others. Even all the stories about the money needed to address HIV, patients are not mentioned in the plans and they are the forgotten group. This forgotten group includes also people suffering from other diseases. The story about the availability and accessibility of diabetes drugs is an example (page 59).

This study revealed also that government funded newspapers and private funded ones are different in terms of content. This can be fitted in the theory of media ownership. It contends that "*the content of the press is directly correlated with the interests of those who finance the press*" (Altschull 1984). This has been supported by different authors (Shoemaker and Reese 1996; Wang 2003). On top of that, it was revealed that news organizations funded primarily by commercial sources are far more likely to use objectivity and newsworthiness as their principal standards in making news judgments (Shoemaker and Reese 1996). This was also supported by the results of this study. The chapter on objectivity reporting showed that government funded newspapers contains more government commissioned articles and in general are the one to report more on government related events and issues. This tally the result of a study carried out to analyze media frames in newspapers and which found out that the media give preference to government officials, international stakeholders and NGOs (De Souza 2007).

6.3. Recommendations and limitation

Media reports on HIV/AIDS are very useful in several regards. They play a positive role by shaping attitude and prevention behaviors. They are also useful in creating meaning and are of course source of inspiration for readers. Despite the positive roles that newspapers plays, the existence of different metaphors with several consequences and different focus for different newspapers can turn out to be a weakness if newspapers are not making common efforts to address the issue from the same perspective. For efficacy reasons, it seems reasonable to recommend that journalists collaborate to find out how to make a synergy out of their respective efforts. Absence of this collaboration means that each newspaper works on its own agenda with no consideration and consultation of other

newspaper. However, this collaboration might not be easy as newspapers are in competition and they are themselves businesses.

On top of this competition, journalists themselves might not be aware of the impact that the frames and metaphors can have on social life. It seems that journalists are only doing their job without knowing that their stories are powerful in shaping the reality. This is an interesting point and journalists should know this. To avoid the use of metaphors with strong side effects, useful and efficient metaphors can be chosen together and be used consciously.

The findings of this study should be interpreted and used with caution as this study has got several shortcomings mainly at the level of methods. The first limitation is about newspapers analyzed. In this study, I only analyzed three main newspapers. However, there several other newspapers that I did not analyze especially the private funded ones. The analysis of more private newspapers could provide insight in other metaphor that was absent in the ones I analyzed. The second limitation is the number of article that I analyzed. Due to time constraints, I made a selection of articles. This selection was based on identifying more AIDS relevant articles and dismissing those articles whose content focus on other issues which are associated to HIV/AIDS. Although performed carefully, this selection might have eliminated some useful information concerning HIV/AIDS frames. About the objectivity analysis, two aspects of objectivity were analyzed: objectivity and accuracy. However, there are other aspects that can be included in the analysis of objectivity of newspapers:

- Balance;
- Accuracy and realism of reporting;
- Presentation of all main relevant points;
- Separation of acts from opinion, but treating opinion as relevant;
- Minimizing the influence of the writer's own attitude, opinion or involvement;
- Avoiding slant, rancor or devious purpose (McQuail 1992)

Apart from analyzing newspaper articles, few interviews with journalists and editors would have also been very useful in checking the metaphors used and why they are privileged in one newspaper or another.

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