

**A CONTENT ANALYSIS ON ETHIOPIAN
NEWSPAPERS' FRAMING OF THE 2002-
2003 ETHIOPIAN DROUGHT AND
FAMINE**

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Abstract

Drought and famine have remained the recurrent problems in Ethiopia. The 2002-2003 drought and famine were one of the most serious ones in recent history. This study primarily intended to examine how the Ethiopian newspapers framed these problems in terms of themes dealt with and sources quoted. Further, it also proposed to study what functions the media played during the 2002-2003 drought and famine. Framing theory was used as a conceptual frame work for the current research.

The research was carried out through a combination of quantitative and qualitative methods. The four sample newspapers (*The Ethiopian Herald, Reporter, Fortune and Addis Admass*) were purposefully selected in order to ensure diversity in content and ownership. A content analysis was used as major research method. Two trained coders coded 178 articles, which met the criteria set by the researcher. Further, in-depth interviews were conducted with key informants who worked for these four newspapers.

The result of the study indicated the newspapers' focus on the relief and recovery stages of the drought and famine. The newspapers employed a number of different frames in covering the 2002-2003 drought and famine. There was a much higher use of the event and appeal frame compared to the diagnostic and prognostic frames, and the newspapers framed the problem as natural phenomena that require urgent short term solutions. The newspapers largely attributed the responsibility of solving the problem to the international communities and the Ethiopian government respectively.

Acronyms

DPPC	Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Commission
NGO	Non-Government Origination

Chapter one

1. Introduction

Two decades have passed since the greatest famine of the 1980s. Unable to prevent famine, Ethiopia still suffers from recurrent drought and famine. Unlike in most other countries, drought in Ethiopia implies food shortage. In the recent years the frequency rate has changed as drought now has occurred once in a period of three years instead of once in a decade as was common earlier. Each time, millions of people have been affected and a significant number of them have died (Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Commission, 2005).

In this thesis drought is defined as any unusual, prolonged dry period that reduce soil moisture and water supplies below the minimum necessary for sustaining plant, animal and human life (Cuny and Hill, 1999:5). Famine is understood as a set of conditions that occur when a large number of people in a region cannot obtain sufficient food and wide spread, acute malnutrition result (Cuny and Hill, 1999:1).

The 2002-2003 drought and famine resulted in a most serious emergency situation, not only because they were widely distributed but because they affected about 14.5 million people, even more than the number of people touched by the 1984-85 Ethiopian famine (Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Commission, 2005).

The drought and famine affected a large number of people because they came before the farmers fully recovered from the 1999-2000 drought and acute food shortage. The previous drought left the farmers with weak purchasing power, increasing cereal prices and falling livestock price (Ayele, 2003 and Lautze et al., 2003).

Contrary to their magnitude, the 2002-2003 drought and famine in Ethiopia received slow and limited response from donors, relief agencies, and international communities, particularly at the early stage of problem (Lautze, et al., 2003). The belief that major drought and famine only hit the nation once in a decade contributed for the reluctant response among the international communities. Further, donors and international

communities were preoccupied with developments in other parts of the world, for instance in Afghanistan (Ibid).

Government, non-government organizations, donors, and local as well as international communities usually involve in addressing and preventing famine. Media remain one of the core components of drought and famine controlling and prevention (Moeller, 1999).

Like in the past, the 2002-2003 drought and famine largely affected the rural communities. The local and international communities react to famine or other disasters when they are aware of what is happening, what are the measures being taken and what still needs to be done. The societies outside the affected areas are informed about the drought and famine through either personal communication (from migrants and their relatives in rural areas) or through the media. The public gets information about social problems mostly through the media (Kensicki, 2004:54). Media therefore have a core responsibility of informing the public about drought and famine. Further, even though most of the relief work is carried out by governments and non-government organizations, the media spur the global communities and push the national government to properly address the problem (Philo, 1993: 105).

It should be noted, however, that media attention to social problems does not grant an automatic response from the public. Even two identical problems, which attract equal media attention, will not enjoy equal public responses (Robinson, 2000). Among other factors, the way the media frame these humanitarian crises contributes to difference in level of response. Thus media studies should also pay attention to the way the media frame a given problem (Bullock et al., 2001). Media framing explains the media's treatment of an issue. Specifically, media frames "are principles of selection, emphasis and presentation composed of little tacit theories about what exists, what happens, and what matters" (Schudson, 1989: 35). This concept explains whether the media states causes, the broader context, nature, and magnitude of an issue or problem.

1.1 Statement of the problem

Whenever a large scale drought and famine occur in Ethiopia, the government and non-government organizations issue appeal to the local and international communities. As a result, it is both the local and international media which remain prominent in controlling and preventing drought and famine. Media coverage of the repeated Ethiopian famines, particularly in the 1980s, resulted in a large amount of studies by media researchers.

Fair and Chakravartty (1999) studied how the American network televisions constructed the 1984-85 famine through discourse analysis. The result revealed that these media provided nature and the Ethiopian political ideology, which was socialism, as causes of the famine.

Similarly, Sorenson (1991) examined the narrative techniques that the US popular magazines used in covering the 1984-85 Ethiopian famine. His findings indicated that the magazines used a narrative technique that underlined racist themes. In another study, Philo (1993) attempted to determine factors that prevented on time coverage of the same famine among the British television stations. He concluded that the British television stations covered only the catastrophic stage of the famine both because of lack of interest among the media and unwillingness of the Ethiopian government.

Though these studies are significant, they deal with only one side of the problem since the local media also have significant shares in controlling and preventing the recurrent drought and famine.

An international entity against censorship, Article 19 (1990) conducted a case study on the Ethiopian media coverage of the same famine. In the study the government owned media (*The Ethiopian Herald* and *the Ethiopian Radio*) were involved. The result of the study indicated that *The Ethiopian Herald*, the daily English newspaper, had engaged in partial reporting without using the word 'famine' at all. On the other hand, the radio started reporting the famine only after the government established the so called 'disaster committee'. The radio primarily focused on this committee's success stories and higher

government officials' visits to the affected areas. However, this research did not show the theme of the articles and whose voices were covered in the media.

Still lacking in the literature on this issue is an examination of how the local media (both the government and private owned) frame the recurring drought and famine, particularly the 2002-2003 drought and famine. Media framing of the drought and famine remain important because through frames media define the problems, suggest solutions and attributes responsibilities for solving the problem (Entman, 1993).

Further, drought and famine are result of cumulative factors and preventing and addressing famine success when they rest on good understanding of chains of events which lead to the famine. When events or problems (such as drought and famine) have multiple aspects, the media select and cover some of them due to resource and other constrains (Andsager and Powers, 1999). Thus, media framing provides the necessary conditions for studying which aspects of drought and famine are selected and emphasized through the media.

However, there exists no research, at least to the researcher's knowledge, that addresses how the Ethiopian media frame the recurrent drought and famine. In terms of research it seems that there is a need to focus more extensively on the national media as they are expected to inform the public, and pressure the government and other responsible agents (Philo, 1993). This research intended to study how the Ethiopian newspapers framed the 2002-2003 drought and famine.

1.2 Objectives

The research was conducted with the general purpose of investigating how the Ethiopian newspapers framed the 2002-2003 drought and famine. This general objective is accompanied by more specific objectives of studying the role the media played during the crises as well as identifying the dominant frames, quoted sources and dominating themes in the articles.

1.3 Research questions

The research questions are:

- a. What was the nature of the newspapers coverage of the 2002-2003 Ethiopian drought and famine in terms of number of articles and topics?
- b. Which were the sources identified and quoted in the articles?
- c. How were the 2002-2003 drought and famine framed by the newspapers?
- d. What were the functions the newspapers performed during the period of the 2002- 2003 drought and famine?

1.4 Significance of the study

Addressing and preventing famine and other disasters is an exercise that is not limited to national media. Most research within media and development studies in fact focus on how the international media portray the problems of developing nations. This project is founded on the belief that to examine national media coverage of such issues might throw light on important, but often ignored, aspects of the national media's role in addressing problems in the developing nations themselves.

Besides, it is the aspiration that this research will be significant for the four analyzed newspapers as well as for Ethiopian media in general. The study aims to assist the newspapers in question to improve their coverage of famine since it will address their good sides and indicate their limitations. Similarly, the study might be of interest to the Ethiopian media scene as a whole since the research has been conducted within the national context.

Finally, in providing an analysis of how the national newspapers address the questions of famine and drought this research project might serve as stepping stone for future studies.

Chapter Two

2. Review of literature

The aim of this chapter is to provide a literature review which may function as a relevant framework for the current research project. The chapter is organized into three sections: (1) a brief discussion of selected literature on drought and famine; (2) media's role in relation to drought and famine; and (3) media framing theory. In each of these sections, the relation between the current research and the review literature is discussed.

2.1 An overview of selected literature on drought and famine

Drought is an element of the weather system. As a result it occurs in all nations regardless of they are wet, cold or dry. However, it brings different impact on different societies. It is only in poor and vulnerable societies that drought is associated with food insecurity and famine (Lautze et al., 2003). For authors such as Borton and Nicholds (1994:11), ecological, socio-economic and cultural conditions of the nation determine the effect of the drought on that nation rather than the seriousness of the drought. In other words, equally sever droughts which occur in two different societies will have different results. In addition, these authors further underline that even in poor nations drought is a significant, but not the only, contributing cause of famine. The view that drought alone cannot result in famine is supported by several authors (for instance, Moeller, 1999 and Crow, 2000). These authors agree that complex factors in addition to drought result in famine.

Generally speaking there are two approaches that explain how famine occurs – a decline in food availability, and a reduction in people's access to or their ability to acquire food (Crow, 2000 and Borton and Nicholds, 1994). According to the first approach, famine results due to a reduction in food production. In contrast, the second approach states that famine occurs even when there are ample food products as a result of loss of acquiring power among the population (Borton and Nicholds, 1994:26).

These two approaches are similar in the manner they both acknowledge the contribution of natural and human made factors (ibid). Natural factors include drought, flood, crop disease, high wind and so forth. Whereas, human made factors refer to conflict, market mechanisms, political and economic policies of a country.

There is a general assertion among scholars that these two factors usually work together in bringing along famine. Conflict over political power and over resources, ecological decline and changes in market conditions interact with drought in order to create famine (Crow, 2000:53).

In the reviewed literature, there are two views concerning media coverage of these two types of factors. For authors such as Moeller (1999) and Crow (2000), western media simplify famine by focusing exclusively on natural causes rather than on the socio-political factors. This type of coverage has two limitations. First, political, social and cultural factors which work towards famine are given scant media attention, and usually they are systematically omitted (Sorenson, 1991). Second, it results in viewing famine as an event that follows rain failure instead of as a process that develops over time (Moeller, 1999).

On the other hand, authors such Sorenson (1991) argue that the western media provide both natural and socio-political realities of the nation as causes of the problem. Such authors argue that the media, however neglect the contribution made by the relationship between rich and poor nations, particularly the unfair trade as a reason for the famine.

Borton and Nicholds (1994) provide an important distinction between underlying and proximate causes of famine. Underlying causes refer to long term factors such as agricultural policies or loss of soil fertility, while proximate causes refer to immediate causes of famine – usually drought.

According to Ayele (2003:6), the long serious drought alone did not result in the 2002-2003 Ethiopian famine. Both immediate and long term factors were involved in

developing the drought into famine. Ethiopia's acute poverty contributed largely to the famine. An accumulated poor governance, dependency on rain fed agriculture, low agricultural outcomes, inadequate marketing system and external shocks provided the necessary conditions for the drought to translate in to famine (ibid).

The distinction between long and short term factors relates with viewing famine as process rather than as event. According to Lautze et al. (2003), famine is precisely a process rather than an event since it develops over a period of months and at certain times a year. Thus it is possible to detect development of famine and "...give warning so that interventions can be made to limit their progress and avoid the destruction of livelihoods and increased mortality" (Borton and Nicholds, 1994:35).

However, identifying famine when it occurs remained difficult. Misunderstanding of famine results from taking famine as event rather than as process (Lautze et al., 2003; and Moeller, 1999). During, the 2002-2003 Ethiopian drought and famine, there were disagreement among the different shareholders. Their disagreements ranged from crises' magnitude to their solutions (Lautze et al., 2003).

Since the 1980s, an 'Early Warning System' has been proposed as a solution to famine. However authors such as Borton and Nicholds (1994:35) argue this system is not always effective since in most cases it is not met with any response from the local and international communities.

2.2 The role of media in drought and famine managing and prevention

The role of media in famine prevention and management is generally accepted among scholars, donors and non-government organizations. However, to what extent the media contribute to such prevention and management remains a field of debate among scholars.

For Sen (1999:185) free media as a part of democracy has a large impact on famine prevention policies. Democratic nations with a relatively free press such as India and Botswana have prevented famine even in times of sharp food production decline and

large population pressure. In such nations, the governments have properly responded to famine prevention and management, fearing criticism of opposition parties and the well informed public through the media (ibid).

Such a view linking the risk of famine to the type of political regime in the nation has however been contested among different scholars. For De Waal (1997), democratic principles and free press are necessary but not sufficient for preventing famine. These two conditions are ‘triggering mechanisms’ which will not work unless there is a ‘political contact’ between the government and the famine-vulnerable people (cited by Crow, 2000). Famine is rare in nations which made famine a national or public issue and which have some form of popular representation of the vulnerable communities (Ibid).

Phases of media coverage

Based on the nature of the disaster, media focus on one or other aspects of the problem. Li and Izard (2003) provide six media functions related to the time before, during and after a disaster happens. Media may warn about a predicted disaster; convey information to officials, relief agencies and public; figure the progress of relief and recovery; indicate lessons learned for purpose of the future preparedness; take part in long term public education program and define slow onset problems as crises of disasters. Since drought and famine are part and parcel of disaster, these media functions can be applicable in drought and famine controlling and prevention.

De Waal (2000:16) identifies four media functions in managing and preventing famine. First, the media contribute in creating a political trigger, which push for a timely response to famine. Second, they may participate in an effective anti-famine mechanism by providing thorough information. This information enables “to educate the public and politically acting as an early-warning system and evaluating performance” (De Waal, 2000, 16). Finally, through a well-informed public debate at all levels, the media may contribute to democratic accountability.

Li and Izard's media functions are implied in De Waal's discussion of the roles of media in famine prevention. De Waal (2000) goes a step further and suggests that media should create a forum for social debt. This role, which is closely tied to democratic media ideals is core if the media are to play an effective part in famine controlling and prevention. In fact Sen's (1999) arguments of Indian media contribution in preventing famine rely on this concept of a broad public sphere. The Indian media created a well informed public debate by providing straight announcement of government officials, human interest stories and regular famine analysis (D'Souza, 1994 and Article 19, 1990).

The extent of media coverage remains one of the important factors that determine the level of emergency assistance for any humanitarian crisis (Shiras, 1996). However, similar crises which enjoy equal media coverage may receive very different levels of response. The media framing of the problem is considered one important factor that results in very different responses (Robinson, 1999 and 2000).

2.3 Framing theory

All events consist of multiple perspectives, but all sides rarely get equal media attention. Some aspects of an issue or event become more dominant. As stated earlier, famine by its nature has multiple sides and implications. It has no clear-cut causes or solutions. Several factors are involved in creating and addressing famine. Addressing the root causes of famine first involves understanding what constitutes famine (Moeller, 1999).

Media framing refers to the selection process whereby pieces of information are selected and placed together in news stories (Andsager and Powers, 1999). Two newspapers may present the same story differently by selecting and focusing on different aspects or angles of the same story (Gibbs and Warhaver, 2002:159). Media framing deals with how a given media outlet shapes an event. Media do not merely provide facts, they add some context and take out other in order to engage their readers, viewers and audiences. For instance, a tabloid newspaper might draw on the human implications of a drought while a more serious newspaper would focus on its political and economical consequences. Framing theory is useful in addressing these differences.

Over the last twenty years the literature on framing theory has grown extensively. However, authors such as Entman (1993) and Scheufele (1999) agree that there is no precise definition of framing. Still, the different definitions that have been utilized suggest a range of similar characteristics (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000:94).

Tankard et al (1991:11) define media frames as “a central organizing idea for news content that supplies a context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration” (cited by Johnson-Cartee, 2005:24). Using similar principles, Entman (1993) provides a generally accepted framing definition, where framing refers to “select(ing) some aspects of a 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” (1993:52).

Based on Entman’s definition, frames have four main functions in relation to the news. First, they define the problem by determining the causal agents’ activity in terms of cost and benefits. Second, they diagnose causes by pointing out the factors behind the problem. Third, they provide moral judgments through evaluating causal agents and their effects. Finally, they suggest remedies and forecast the effect of this treatment (Entman, 1993:52).

Framing tells more than what is significant and newsworthy. The chosen frames indicate which opinions, interpretations and definitions are more valid particularly in controversial issues (Pan and Kosicki, 1993). Framing has important significance in relation to poverty related problems as well. Frames remain significant because of the embedded message within them that suggest the extent of poverty, causes and results of antipoverty measures (Bullock et al., 2001:235). If we replace the word ‘famine’ with ‘poverty’ Bullock and his colleagues’ argument supports the importance of framing on famine coverage. First, poverty and famine are related. Second, in covering famine, the media need to consider the extent, cause and solution to the famine (Moeller, 1999 and Harper, 2003).

Framing consists of three important activities: selection, silence and omission (Entman, 1993: 53 and 54). A frame is defined by what it includes and excludes because omission of the problem definition, explanation, evaluation and recommendations is as important as inclusion in guiding the audience (Ibid). By focusing on one aspect and omitting the other, the media draw and direct attention away from the other side which might lead readers to a different reaction (Kensicki, 2004 and Entman, 1993 and 1995). In other words, through omission and emphasis the media make some considerations or measures seem more important (Nelson et al, 1997 cited by Johnson- Cartee, 2005:26).

Fair and Chakravartty (1999) discuss the American media coverage of famine on the Horn of Africa. Their arguments support Entman's claims. According to them, the American media placed the 1984-88 Ethiopian famine within the 'Cold War frame' where the debate span around western nations providing humanitarian aid to a Marxist government. Similarly, the 1992 Somali famine was framed in terms of "Americans' bravery and benevolence in the face of risks and costs of a humanitarian operation" (ibid: 156). In both cases, the media failed to cover the political, socio-economic factors that created, sustained and ended the famine. This surface level coverage galvanized the Americans into giving money rather than into calling end of famine (Moeller, 1999:98).

The lack of a clear concept of framing has resulted in confusion of this theory with other concepts (Scheufele, 1999:103). Primarily framing has been associated with agenda setting. McCombs et al. (1997) cited by Scheufele (1999:103) argue framing is an extension of agenda setting called second level agenda setting. According to these authors, agenda setting deals with salience of issues while second level agenda setting concerns with salience of attributes. Based on these principles and Entman's (1993) definition of framing, McCombs defines framing as "the selection of – and emphasis upon – particular attributes for the media agenda when talking about object" (2004:87).

According to McCombs, placing framing in agenda setting context has two advantages. First, it unifies the scattered concepts of framing by differentiating it from other attributes. Second, it transfers media research beyond accuracy and balance. The agenda

setting based framing addresses emphasis and tone of media content and their effect on audiences.

However, this optimistic view has been met with strong criticism. For Semetko and Valkenburg (2000: 94), framing goes beyond agenda setting since it assigns significance to the public. In other words, framing concerns with what people think and talk through their articulating in the news (Pan and Kosicki, 1993).

Scheufele (1999:107) provides a more useful distinction between agenda setting and framing. His distinction is based on the two important elements of Entman's definition: selection and salience. Agenda setting is concerned with selection and salience of issues while framing examines selection and salience of elements of a single issue. This distinction has direct implications for the current study since the current research project to a large degree draws on Entman's definition of framing.

Frames are found in at least four elements of communication. The communicator, the text, the receiver and the culture hold frames (Entman, 1993:2). Frames guide the communicator messages while in texts frames emphasis facts or opinions. On the other hand, the receiver might have frames that are different from the communicators and the text. Finally, culture provides common frames shared among the majority in a social group. Frames in all the four parts have similar functions. They select and emphasis elements of a problem, its cause, evaluation and solution (ibid). The current research is concerned mainly with frames in selected texts and how they are used by communicators. Thus, these components of the frames do deserve further discussion.

2.3.1 Frame components

News frames are often unnoticed, but nevertheless powerful mechanisms (Bullock et al., 2001:235). It is important to recognize what frames constitute, particularly in analyzing real world news accounts (Johnson- Cartee, 2005:164). So the question what differentiate frames from other components of the news text become important.

Based on different orientations of framing theory, authors suggest different components of frames. In the realm of agenda setting, frames are either the central ideas or aspects of the issue. The distinction between these two types of frames depends on how we analyze the media. If we identify the major theme of the story, frames become the central theme. Aspects become frames when we analyze the ‘various attributes’ that exist in sentences and paragraphs of stories (McCombs, 2004: 89).

Pan and Kosicki (1993:59) underline the story themes as frames. According to them the theme refers to the central idea that connects the different ‘semantic elements’ into a meaningful whole. The theme becomes those little parts of the message that the audience will remember after they read or watch the news (Johnson-Cartee, 2005:164).

Other researchers consider this view as a result of an incomplete framing definition for at least four reasons. First, this view ignores the context and power in which frames are produced. Second, this view simply categories frames by subjects. Thus it ignores how frames create meanings through selection, emphasis and interpretation. Third, it ignores how issues are defined and how they reinforce certain ways of seeing issues. Finally, it neglects how a single frame can be used to several issues, as well as how a single issue can include more than one frame (Carragee and Roefs, 2004:217-218).

One of the important conjectures of framing theory relates to what frames are made of. They consist of both the theme and framing devices that carries the theme (D’Angelo, 2002: 873). In another words, frames are amalgamates of textual items (such as words and images) with contextual treatment of framing devices.

News frames incorporate examples, catch phrases, depictions and visual images (Gamson and Lasch, 1983: 399 cited in Johnson-Cartee, 2005:169). Furthermore, frames are constructed and embodied through keywords, concepts and symbols which are emphasized in the news story (Entman, 1991:7). Entman’s account takes a step further since he stresses not only the presence but also the emphasis of these components.

In a famine story, the newspaper article might present drought, farming method and unfair international trade as reasons for the crisis. Based on Entman's argument, we might see one or more of the reasons as causes of the famine. So, how do we know which one(s) that is/are emphasized?

A news text emphasizes a piece of information through repetition, placement and by associating them with culturally familiar symbols (Entman, 1991: 7 and 1993: 6). Through these activities a "frame renders one basic interpretation more readily discernible, comprehensive, and memorable than other "(Entman, 1991:7).

There are two exceptional situations regarding texts' emphasis of frames. First, even an un-illustrated point that is put in an unimportant part of the text can be highly salient if it relates with existing frames in the receiver's belief system. Similarly, it can be difficult for the audience to recognize, interpret and remember specific information in a text if they have different orientation regarding the issue (Entman, 1993:53). Second, as much as frames are recognized by presence, they are manifested by absence of key words, important phrases, stereotype images, sources and sentences, which they reinforce through clustering of facts and opinions (ibid).

Taking the famine example, we can assume that a person who sees famine as God given will see nature as the cause of the famine even if the news story emphasizes farming methods or unfair international trade. One trend among different authors is to believe that frames become successful when they support the existing beliefs or status quo in the society. The American media may for instance show a tendency to cover famine in a way that reinforces the existing stereotypes among Americans (Moeller, 1999). Durham (1998:100) differentiates between successful and unsuccessful frames and only successful frames make the world knowledgeable and understandable. Frames are neither good nor bad by their nature. Their success depends on whether they are being appropriate for a certain story (Gibbs and Warhover, 2002:166).

According to Bullock et al. (2001:233), framing researchers need to consider both rhetorical devices (catch phrases and images) as well as news handlers. The latter frames stories through 'reasoning devices', which lead to causal attributions, consequences and appeals to principles (Thornton and Shan, 1996 cited by Bullock et al., 2001:233). Further, they directly or indirectly indicate the significance of the issue (Eko, 1999:280). In short, frames are different from other text elements since they include only critical messages which have presumed impact on information analysis. Usually framing researchers are determined to differentiate frame from text or to identify which components are frames and which are not. Researchers need to have a theoretical basis for making these distinctions (Entman, 1999: 38).

In his study on how US media framed the Soviet Fighter plane's shooting down of Korean Air Lines and US Navy ship shooting down of Iran Air Flight, Entman (1991:8) used the political debates and disputes as guide. Though the two incidents were similar they were open to different interpretations or explanations surrounding them. The former was associated with misfortune while the latter was explained through the difficulty of operating high military technology. Entman used these two versions as theoretical guide for his research.

Although Entman talks specifically about political issues, we can transfer these elements to drought and famine coverage. In other words, the research into media framing of drought and famine can use political and public debates as well as concerns as guides. The debate regarding drought and famine usually relates to their causes, magnitude, effects, agents and solution.

2.3.2 Position of news frames in media texts

From the literature on framing, one can conclude that framing exists in certain parts of the news text. A single sentence can hold more than one framing function (i.e. defines problems, diagnoses causes, makes moral judgments or suggests remedies). Still many sentences in a text contain none of these framing functions (Entman, 1993: 52 and 54).

On the other hand, Neuman et al. (1992: 55), restrict framing to the first moments for television news and to the early sentences for articles in newspapers and magazines. In other words, newspapers frame stories in their headlines and leads. Headlines and subheads are therefore very important frame indicators. They provide not only a glimpse of journalists' treatment of the story but the whole frame of the story (Johnson-Cartee, 2005:165). This might explain the extra measure media practitioners take to insure that the headline captures the sense of the story.

However, this does not mean that journalists are always conscious of how they frame stories. In fact, there is a strong assertion from scholars that journalists are not usually conscious about their framing of issues (Hackett, 1984 and Parenti, 1993 cited by Hallahan 1999:222 and Ansager and Powers, 1999). Frames are results of the journalists' unconscious assumptions about the social world (Hallahan, 1999:222). Further, the intimidating deadlines do not allow journalists to stop and think how they frame the story even though they frame each and every story (Gibbs and Warhover, 2002:160).

Tankard (2001:101) cited by Johnson-Cartee (2005:173) provides a more complete list of frames' focal points in news texts:

1. Headlines and kickers (small headlines over the main headlines)
2. Subheads
3. Photographs
4. Photo captions
5. Leads (the beginning of news stories)
6. Selection of sources or affiliations
7. Selection of quotes
8. Pull quotes (quotes that are blown up in size for emphasis)
9. Logos (graphic identification the particular series an article belongs to)
10. Statistics, figures, and graphs
11. Concluding statements or paragraphs of articles

2.3.3 Dominant frames

Media framing of an issue relates not only to the content of the articles but also to physical characteristics, particularly frequency and the location of the story. Sizing of stories remains one way of salienting a story (Entman, 1991:9). By adding and subtracting the number of articles, media salience or downplay the issue in the general flow of information (ibid). Similarly, a story's location within the newspaper indicates how much the event or issue is important (Norris and Carroll, 1997).

Frames identified by researchers can be classified in two groups. The first type of frames is applicable only to specific issues. For instance, Lawrence (2001) identified 18 frames in American print media coverage of the 1999 Columbine high school shooting (cited in Graber, 2002:178). Gun control, media violence and parenting were the recurrent frames (Graber, 2002:174). These frames are most applicable for similar issues. On the other hand, researchers identified frames that are applicable to a broader range of issues. For instance, Neuman et al. (1992) identified five frames (economic, conflict, powerlessness, human impact and morality frames) which are applicable to politics, economic, health, drug and foreign news. Some central dominant frames are discussed below.

2.3.3.1 Economic frame

As its name indicates, this frame focuses on financial consequences of issue, event or problem, on groups, institutions, nations or individuals (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000: 96). Government programs which deal with health or other problems are particularly expressed within this frame (Neuman et al., 1992). According to Neuman et al., this frame is usually an outcome of covering issues from authorities' standpoints. This frame also indicates "the economical consequences of pursuing or not pursuing various politics objectives" (1992: 63).

2.3.3.2 Conflict frame

This frame refers to disagreement or competition among different groups or individuals (Gibbs and Warhover, 2002:166). Different authors such as Neuman et al. (1992:64) and Semetko and Valkenburg, (2000:95) agree that media use conflict as a means of

capturing audiences' attention. However, focusing on conflict as a major aspect of a problem, issue or event may result in negative consequences. First, such a frame encourages media to exaggerate conflicts even when the issue has a limited controversy element (Gibbs and Warhover, 2002:166). Second, media provide issues as having only two sides in order to emphasis conflict, (Neuman et al., 1992:64). In other words, the media will provide only extreme views. As a result, middle view, where the majority of opinions belong will be over-looked (Gibbs and Warhover, 2002:167).

2.3.3.3 Human interest frame

This frame is the second most popular frame next to the conflict frame. Like the conflict frame, media use human interest frames to capture audience attention and to show the significance of the problem (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000:96). This frame emphasizes the situation of an individual or a group, who is affected by the problem, as a human example. The media bound by objectivity do not directly express events in 'empathic or compassionate terms', they will rather employ adjectives, personal vignettes, and visuals that might generate feeling of outrage, empathy, sympathy or compassion from the audience (Neuman et al., 1992:69). At other times, the media quote sources and victims with full emotional force.

However, in humanitarian crises media often do not report the crisis objectively instead they cover the issue in very different ways (Robinson, 1999:6). If an emergency situation contains no news, the message has to be framed in the right way in order to create a public opinion for action (ibid).

Moeller (1999:108) divides American media coverage of famine into four steps. First, the media cover predictions about looming famine. The second step follows when the famine progresses. The next stage comes when the story relates to Americans (mainly through Americans visits of affected areas). Finally, the media will return to the famine when there are no other prominent events around the world.

Moeller associates the human-interest frame with the third and four stages of famine coverage. According to her, during these two stages, human faces and their stories will replace figures and numbers about donations, people suffering etc. During the 1980s famines, American televisions relayed largely on human stories to tell and indicate the extent of the famine. Newspapers and magazines started employing human interests stories relatively later. Currently, the print media utilize human stories as much as possible in order to capture their readers' attention. Through this type of coverage, American televisions galvanized the Americans (ibid).

2.3.3.4 Morality frame

As much as the media try to be objective, the cultural values within which the media operate will find their way into the media content (Neuman et al., 1992:12). The media place the issue or problem in the background of 'religious tenets' or moral prescriptions. This does not mean the media directly include moral values instead they may quote sources who raise this issue (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000:96). For instance, in discussing AIDS, the media might quote a catholic priest who advocates AIDS as punishment for sinners (Neuman et al., 1992:72). In addition to moral messages, the media offer social prescription about how to behave (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000:96).

2.3.3.5 Attribution of responsibility frame

Social problems and issues usually involve a question of causes and responsibility such as who is blamed or credited for events (Hallahan, 1999:219). The attribution of responsibility frame suggests what measure should be taken (Kensicki, 2004:56).

When media report famine, they often provide the causes and solutions of the famine. According to Moeller (1999:105), particularly American media simplify the causes and solutions of the famine. The media reduce the causes of famine in order to single out either drought or war. A simple cause suggests and pursues simple solution such as donating food. Besides, it advocates the power and efficiency of western aid while it minimizes the efficiency of local efforts (Moeller 1999:105 and Fair and Chakravartty, 1999).

In a study of the American newspapers' attribution of responsibility for poverty, pollution and incarceration, Kensicki (2004) found that the media failed to attribute causes, effects or solution to citizens. When the media fail to cover causes and solutions of social problems, they create "discontent between the problem and actual ramifications" (Kensicki, 2004:65).

Iyengar (1989 and 1990) classifies attribution of responsibility into two types of framing: episodic and thematic. The episodic frame refers to social problems as events rather than processes within the socio-economic context. For instance, it may portray the poor as responsible for their fate. On the other hand, the thematic frame would put social issues or problems into a historical social context. In a content analysis of American television news, Iyengar found that episodic frames were more common in the coverage of problems (1990). Through studies of people who watched crises covered in episodic frames, Iyengar found that these people held the poor responsible for their situation. Viewers who watched the events covered in thematic frames, however held the government responsible for the social problem (Iyengar, 1990).

The media may also present famine in episodic or thematic frames. The western media often cover famine as an event that 'just happens' and connect it only to food and famine itself (Harper, 2003: 192 and 193). In covering the 1980s Ethiopian famine, the western media discuss neither the conflict provide a political analysis of the famine (Ibid). In other words, the media 'naturalize' the famine. "Naturalization ignores the conditions of poverty, repression and conflict which allow drought to be translated into famine" (Sorenson 1991:226).

2.3.3.6 Empathy frame

This frame shows the power relationship among different agents involved in a crisis. It empathizes with suffering people by identifying them as victims (Robinson, 2000). The media often portray aid workers as perfect heroes without faults and western aid as an appropriate solution (Moeller, 1999).

Moeller (1999:108) stresses how media often portray victims, usually women and children, as sympathetic. In order to create empathy the media can use adjectives or put labels on the people when describing them. In the study of media coverage of the US intervention in Bosnia in 1995, Robinson identifies utilization of words such as hunger, refugee, scared, little food etc in describing of the people.

Generally, the media encourage readers, viewers and audiences to identify with the affected by “(1) Emphasizing their status as victims, (2) remembering the readers of their essential similarity with the victims and (3) representing connotations of innocence and vulnerability” (Robinson, 2000:620).

2.3.4 Factors that affects media framing

The existing literature on news frames presents factors that affect such news frames generally as the media themselves or as external influence. Nevertheless, there are no facts that show how internal and external factor impact on media framing. The external and internal factors include “social norm and values, organizational pressure and constraint, pressures of interest groups, journalist routine and ideological or political orientations of journalists” (Scheufele, 1999:109). The main factors that affect news frames are discussed below.

2.3.4.1 Ownership

The ownership of the media and their interest, whether it is profit making or not, affects what and how the media cover events, issues or problems (Graber, 2002 and Johnson-Cartee, 2005). In other nations, particularly in the west, the concern of ownership influence on media content is concerned with merging of different media into single entity (Johnson-Cartee, 2005:75). Since in Ethiopia media conglomerates do not yet exist, ownership of media refers to whether the media are government or privately owned. In Ethiopia, both media have been criticized for not engaging the public particularly concerning development issues (Panos, 2002).

In addition to ownership, resource constraints determine how a given media frame an issue or event (Andsager and Powers, 1999 and Scheufele, 1999). According to these authors financial, time, space and human constraints largely determine how the media frame an issue, problem or event. The Ethiopian print media suffer from lack of trained journalists, illiteracy, limited readership and advertisement income (Mekasha, 2005:16).

2.3.4.2 Journalistic routines

Organizational pressures and resource constraints do not alone determine how issues are framed. Journalistic routines and journalists' ideological and political orientations also contribute to the framing of issues (Scheufele, 1999; Shoemaker and Reese, 1996; and Tuchman 1998 cited by Scheufele, 1999).

The view that journalists' routines affect the news framing is composed of two components. First, as much as the frames provide cue for readers, they provide similar functions for journalists. Journalists rely on frames "to make sense of facts, to focus the headline and to structure the story-line" (Norris and Carroll, 1997:1). Further, frames are used as 'working routines' for journalists. In this way, they enable them to immediately identify and group information and make news suitable for their audiences (Giltin, 1980 cited by Scheufele, 1999:106). Journalists observe and cover new issues or events based on frames which were used to cover similar issues or events in the past (Bird and Darden, 1997 cited in Norris and Carroll, 1997:1). The way journalists go about gathering information, selecting sources combined with their purpose in writing the news and the recurrent deadlines determine how the event is framed.

2.3.4.3 Interest groups and sources

Journalists depend on eye witness and other sources to write a story. These sources might have their own agendas that they want to share with the audience. Powerful communication agents such as elected officials and interest groups advocate and encourage frames with purpose of planting them in news contents (Nelson and Oxley, 1996:1041). The first encounter between journalists and sources particularly for breaking news put the framing process in motion (Entman, 1991:7). Thus, 'frame sponsorship'

needs to be considered in framing research. Otherwise, a study risks exaggerating the extent of journalists' autonomy during news framing. This does not mean journalists have no place in new framing. Graber (2002:173) summarize the role of journalists in framing as follows:

“The degree of control that journalists exercise over framing varies widely, from merely reporting the frames chosen by regular beat sources or special pleader to choosing source who share the frame preferences of journalists, to expressing their own frame choices in editorials and editorialized news.”

Yet, external factors in part shape journalists interpretation of these issues (Carragee and Roefs, 2004:219). All sources do not equally have success in framing the issue or problems (Andsager, 2000 and Kensicki, 2004). Carragee and Roefs (2004:216) provide factors that determine sources' success in framing issues: “its (frame) sponsor's economic and cultural resources, its sponsor's knowledge of journalist practices, these practices themselves and a frame's resonance with broader political values.” Based on this principle, agents such as governments have the power and instrument (public relations) to frame news. Further, it is possible to argue that governments can easily affect news frames when they directly or indirectly own or control the media.

This may have important implications for framing drought and famine. The media relay largely on official sources during crisis whether it is terrorism or famine (Kern et al., 2003:294 and Philo, 1993). News frames that relay on governments' frames do not serve the public. In fact, Kern et al. (2003:298) argue the media cannot exercise their watchdog role when they merely relay on the government's frames. This is because, when media adopt a government's frame, they legitimize the government's actions (Johnson-Cartee, 2005: 139 and 189).

Still there is a view that journalists regard government official sources as indication of completeness of the news. During disaster, citizens and the affected people usually are

quoted in human-interest and feature stories (soft news) instead of hard news (fact based) (Ploughman, 1997:122 and Moeller, 1999). During the pre- and post- disaster phases the media rely on official or governmental sources (ibid). The use of victims as a human face has been criticized by different authors. For instance Philo (1993) and Moeller (1999) argue that victims are quoted only in relation to their personal history rather than through political or social commentaries.

2.3.4.4 Freedom of the press and censorship

The extent of freedom of the press in a given society can affect media framing. According to Kern et al. (2003:239) news frames on terrorism are shaped by censorship from government or self censorship on the part of the journalists. In developing nations, where the governments are not well established economically and politically, they remain intolerant of media criticism regarding the government's policy and development (Graber, 2002:19).

In Ethiopia different laws, among them the Constitution, grant freedom of expression and access to information. Particularly the 1992 Freedom Bill, opened for the private media (restricted to print media) to flourish. Although the media became relatively free from direct censorship, the government continued to own and control all broadcasting and some of the print media (Mekasha, 2005:13).

2.3.5 Criticism of framing theory

Although framing theory clearly provides good insight into how events are covered by the media, it has been criticized. According to Scheufele (1999: 103), many of the limitations of media framing theory relates to its lack of a clear conceptual definition and generally applicable operation.

Media framing theory is found within the theoretical context of media effects, more specifically within media manipulation theories. Thus it shares the limitations which are associated with media effect theories. Framing theory is criticized for exaggerating the media texts' power. Framing theory sees the audiences as powerless to oppose the "the

persistent, pervasive, and emotions sophisticated persuasions of an interlocking media political-economic establishment” (Neuman et al., 1992:9). Further, even when researchers undertake experimental studies, they do not exactly show how and why news frames influence audiences’ or readers’ behavior, attitude and cognitive (Scheufele, 1999: 117 and 118).

Researches that do not focus on framing effect on audience may focus on dominant frames in news texts. According to Durham (1998), researches’ focus on dominate frame results neglect of oppositional frames that might exist in single texts. The other limitation of framing research relates to the framing process. According to Scheufele (1999:115), framing studies neglect the important factors that determine frame production (this part is discussed in more detail in section 2.3.5).

Further, the disagreement on what frames constitute results in difficulties in measuring frames (Hallin, 1994:81). According to him, the ”the cues that analysts typically look for to identify the framing of a story can be varied and subtle, and judgments about whether a particular frame is present or absent often are quite subjective”(1994:81).

The selections of different topics do not necessarily require certain frames (Neuman et al., 1992:62 and 74). In other words, the frames discussed above can be employed for issues such as drought and famine. Framing theory has been intensively utilized in political communication. It has also been employed in media coverage studies of poverty (Iyengar, 1989 and 1990; and Bullock et al., 2001), abortion (Andsager and Powers, 1999) and other humanitarian crises (Li and Izard, 2003; and Robinson, 2000).

Although, the use of framing theory can provide a better explanation on how the media treat famine, researchers use elements of framing theory to a very limited degree. The current research will use this concept to study the Ethiopian newspapers coverage and treatment of the 2002-2003 Ethiopian drought and famine. Unlike most of the previous framing research, this study is concerned with the processes behind the production of news frames.

Chapter three

3. The study design

3.1 Research method

This study employs a quantitative approach as a major research method accompanied by a qualitative one. The quantitative approach was used as the major research method because it is a frequently used and a suitable approach for framing research. Further, it is assumed that supporting quantitative method with a qualitative approach will provide deeper understanding of the problem since the two approaches address different aspects (breadth and depth respectively) of the problem (Orcher, 2005). Thus a quantitative approach was used to collect data from the newspapers (about sources, theme and frames etc), whereas, qualitative method was used to collect information that complements the quantitative content analysis.

3.2 The sample

This study involved two types of subject. First, a selection of newspapers that cover political, economic and social matters was identified as subject. Second, journalists and editors of the four sample newspapers were further included as subjects of the study.

Newspapers were selected for both logistic and conceptual reasons. It would have been difficult to get recorded news of the Ethiopian television for the sample time frame (August, 2002 - March 2003) as the researcher learned that the Ethiopian television does not keep recorded material for a longer period of time. It should be mentioned that newspapers only reach a certain level of the population, as illiteracy is rather high in Ethiopia¹. Nevertheless, the newspapers are considered important in reaching the ruling powers and decision makers on a national level. In addition, Ethiopian newspapers have the potential to show a broader picture since they are both government and private owned unlike the Ethiopian television and radio, which are totally government owned.

¹ According to an UNESCO estimate adult illiteracy in Ethiopia was 57.3 percent in 2003. www.globalis.gvu.unu.edu/indicator.

According to the Ministry of Information (2005), there are 63 newspapers in Ethiopia that deal with political, economic and social matters. This population includes both government and private owned newspapers.

The common limitation of framing research relates to the neglect of frame building process and factors that affect this process (Scheufele, 1999). Thus, it is assumed that to include the journalists and editors who were the major players in producing the articles, might address or at least minimize this limitation.

From the total amount of 63 Ethiopian newspapers, four samples (*The Ethiopian Herald, Reporter, Fortune* and *Addis Admass*) were included in this study. Further, five key informants who work for these media were interviewed.

3.3 Sampling technique

This paper intended to study how the Ethiopian newspapers framed the 2002-2003 Ethiopian drought and famine. Thus, the researcher purposefully selected the population of newspapers that covers social, economic and political matters. This technique was used to insure diversity in ownership and content. Ownership refers to whether the newspaper is government or private owned. Content refers to the topics on which the newspapers focus. Circulation was a central criterion when making the selection of the sample newspapers. Unable to get the circulation figure of the newspapers for the specific period of time from the Ministry of Information, the researcher used the 2004-2005 lists from the same Ministry. This list might not totally reflect the reality of the 2002-2003. Nevertheless, it was used because it is believed that the situation had not changed tremendously and because it was difficult to get reliable data from other sources.

Among the four sample newspapers one is a government owned, while the other three are private owned. This is because 77 percent of the total population of Ethiopian newspapers is private owned and the rest, 33 percent are government owned (Mekasha, 2005).

The Ethiopian Herald was established in 1942. Ever since, it has remained under the ownership and control of the government. It is a daily English newspaper which focuses on political, social and economic matters. It has a circulation of 8911.

Reporter is a private owned English language newspaper that was established in 1995. *Reporter* is published both in Amharic and English languages. This research considered the Amharic version. It used to be a weekly newspaper with a circulation of 16500. Currently it is a biweekly newspaper. It deals with political, social and economic matters.

Fortune is a private owned newspaper that focuses on economic and business matters. It was established in 2000. It is an English language newspaper with a circulation of 5500. *Fortune* is a weekly newspaper

Addis Admass is a private newspaper. It is an Amharic language newspaper that covers social and entertainment issues. It is a weekly newspaper with 30, 500 circulation.

Time frame

There were no specific points in time that indicated when the drought and famine started or ended. The effects of the drought and famine extended to the end of 2003 and even to the beginning of the following year. This study used the Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Commission's appeal of August 2002 as its starting point. Thus, the time frame of this study is between August, 2002 – April, 2003. This time period corresponds with the high time of the drought and famine. The number of affected people increased from 5.2 million in August 2002 to 14 million in December the same year. Further it was during the period from August 2002 to April 2003 that the four newspapers in question picked up the drought and famine as a central theme.

Within the selected time frame (August, 2002 – April, 2003), there were 216 editions of *The Ethiopian Herald* while there were 36 editions of each of the weekly newspapers. Due to the time and other resource constraints, it was difficult to examine a total of 324 newspapers. Thus, the study selected 36 editions of both the weekly and daily

newspapers. In other words, a total of 144 issues were included in the study. From the daily newspaper (*The Ethiopian Herald*), one edition from each week during the specific period of time was analyzed. In order to represent each day of the week's edition (except Monday on which the newspaper does not come out), the study selected newspapers from a number of constructed weeks made of one day from each week. For instance, Tuesday was included from the first week, Wednesday from the second week, Thursday from next week and so forth.

Articles

Each newspaper article was considered a unit of analysis. All factual articles (news, features and interviews) which related to drought and famine were analyzed. The articles were identified as relevant if their headlines contained words such as 'drought', 'famine', 'food shortage', 'relief', 'displacement', 'emergency', 'humanitarian crisis or disaster', 'donors' 'donation' and 'loss of livestock'. Articles which contained one or more of the above words in their headline, but turned out to cover other issues in the article itself, were excluded. In sum, 178 articles were coded, 114 articles from *The Ethiopian Herald*, 37 from *Reporter*, 15 from *Fortune* and 12 from *Addis Admass*. It was the articles' written text rather than visual elements (pictures etc) that was coded.

Journalists and editors

The three interviewed journalists were selected purposefully. This selection technique was used in order to involve the journalists who had written most of the analysed stories. Thus, the researcher counted the number of stories a reporter wrote by looking the by-lines and contacted those who had written most of the articles. Two of the journalists and one of the editors had visited the affected areas.

Convenience sampling was used in selecting the two editors. The researcher used this method because the editor-in-chiefs of the newspapers have either left the country or have no current address. As a result the deputy editor-in-chiefs of the newspapers were included in the study.

3.4 Data collection instruments

In order to collect the necessary data, a quantitative content analysis and in-depth interviews were used. Content analysis was employed because it is a widely used research method in framing research. Further, a content analysis guided by framing theory yield data which most readers pick up (Entman, 1993:57). Except in one case, all interviewees were provided copies of the articles they wrote during the interview.

Categories and definitions

As mentioned above, this research intended to study how the Ethiopian newspapers framed the 2002-2003 drought and famine and to analyse dominant themes and sources in the articles. The project also proposed to examine the media's role during the period of crisis. Each article was accordingly coded in relation to a number of variables including genre, location, themes, sources, frames and functions.

The coding sheet was composed of four parts. The first dealt with article description (genre, location, and theme) while the second dealt with sources. Genre refers to whether the story was news, feature or interview. Location refers to whether the story was placed on front or inside pages of the newspaper. Theme was identified as the central focus of the story. Its categories include appeal, relief, migration etc (for the full list of categories and their definitions, see Appendix D). Sources were defined as the name of person, group or organization directly or indirectly quoted in the story, as government, experts etc (for the full list, see Appendix D). The other two parts dealt with frames and media functions.

Frame analysis

To measure frames, Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) developed a series of questions to which the coder has to answer 'yes' or 'no'. The current research project adopted these questions with some minor changes to measure the existence of frames of conflict, human interest, economic, moral and attribution. Further, following Semetko and Valkenburg's model and based on the review of literature, the researcher developed a range of similar

questions to measure frames of appeal, diagnostic, prognostic, solution, empathy, event and process.

Similarly, the researcher developed a series of 'yes' or 'no' questions to examine what types of function the media performed during the 2002-2003 drought and famine. Media function was coded for three variables; warning, providing information and indicating progress of relief and other measures (see Appendix D).

Coding process

The researcher developed a coding sheet and a coding book. Two graduate students were trained to code the articles. Percentage method was used to check in-coder reliability. This method was used because it is one of the common measures of reliability (Kassarjian, 1977). In-coder reliability across all categories ranges from 100% to 93% using percentage method for the 15% of the stories the two coders coded, (for each variable's reliability, see Appendix D).

Frame prevalence

The existence of a frame was decided based on the following calculation: The number of 'yes' was divided by the total number of questions under that frame. The coefficient of frame existence varies from 0.00 to 1.00. It was assumed that a specific frame existed if the coefficient was more than half (more than 0.5)

3.5 Limitation of the study

This research suffers from some limitations largely related to the time constraint. First, only 36 editions of *The Ethiopian Herald* were coded for the study instead of the 216 editions. Given that 100 percent of the copies of the other three newspapers during the time of research were coded, there is a need to be aware of the fact that studying only 36 out of 216 editions (about 17 percent of the total amount of editions during the research period) might have affected the results of the study.

Second, the research did not include the view of the readers. It was assumed since the drought and famine occurred about four years ago, it might be difficult for reader to recount the newspapers' coverage. A reception analysis would also have asked for more time and resources than the current study could provide.

More over, it was intended to interview a journalist and an editor from *Addis Admass*. Nevertheless, it was impossible to locate the current address of the concerned journalist and editor. It is assumed the absence of staffs from *Addis Admass* might not affect the result of the research, since three out of the four newspapers are included in the interviews.

Chapter four

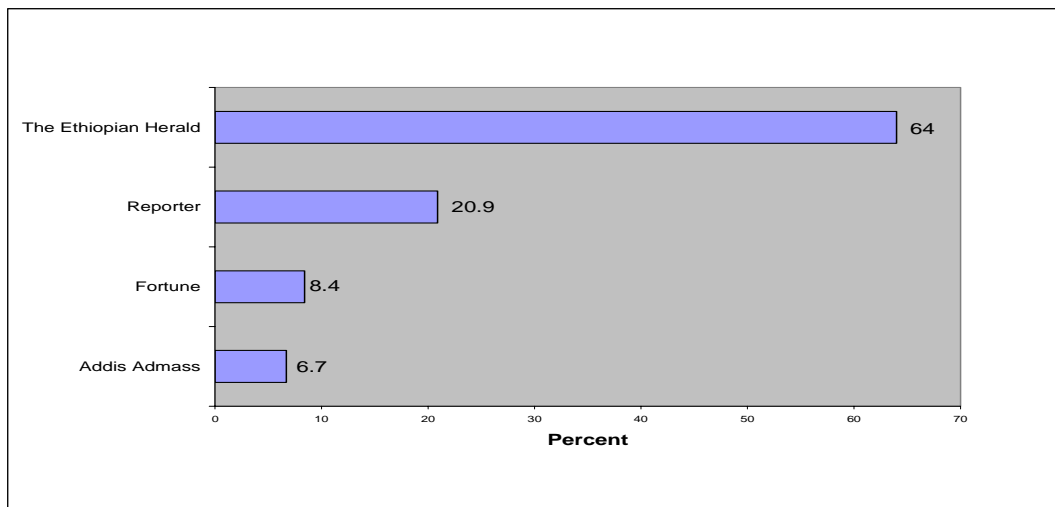
4. Presentation of findings and data analysis

This chapter deals with data presentation, analysis and discussion. As stated earlier, the main objectives of the study were to examine how the Ethiopian newspapers framed the 2002-2003 drought and famine and to identify sources quoted and dominant themes dealt with. To these ends, four sample newspapers were coded during the time period from August 2002 to April 2003. Further, additional data were gathered through in-depth interviews with journalists and editors. The results of the content analysis and the in-depth interviews are presented together because the interviews were conducted to get answers that the quantitative content analysis alone was unable to provide.

4.1 The nature of the newspapers coverage of the 2002-2003 Ethiopian drought and famine

There were 178 articles that were concerned with the drought and famine within the selected material. As figure 4.1 shows the government owned newspaper, *The Ethiopian Herald* published 64 percent of the totality of analysed articles. The private owned *Reporter*, which focuses on political and social issues, provided 21 percent of the articles. The economic and business newspaper, *Fortune*, and the entrainment newspaper *Addis Admass*, accounted for 8 and 7 percent respectively of the analysed articles.

Figure 4.1. Percentage of articles published by the newspapers



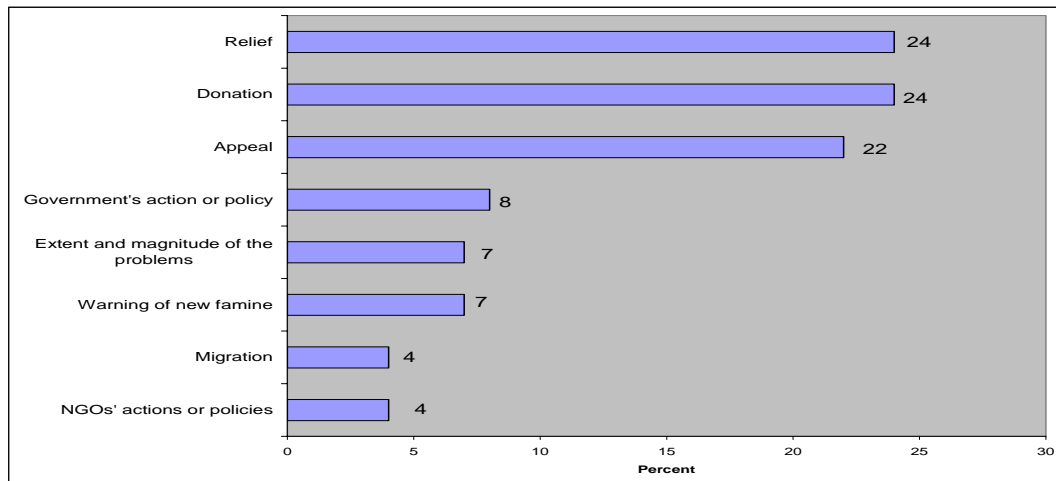
During the interviews, all key informants underscored that the drought and famine were considered as ‘national agendas’ and as a result as newsworthy. The informants from *The Ethiopian Herald* and *Reporter* stated that their organizations sent groups of journalists to visit and cover the affected areas. *The Ethiopian Herald* established a new column ‘*The Drought in Focus*’ on its first page, which was dedicated to the drought and famine on its first page during the period of analysis.

Through interviews, it was further discovered that financial and human resources had a direct effect on the quantity and quality of the coverage in the analysed newspapers. Informant 5 described for instance how *Fortune* used to reprint features run by BBC or other international media because the organization had limited financial and human resources.

In terms of themes, most of the stories centred around a limited number of recurrent subject matters most of which were concerned with dealing with the drought and famine. As Figure 4.2 shows, relief, donation and appeal accounted for 24, 24 and 22 percents of the articles respectively (or together for 70 percent of the articles). Though a category ‘other’ was included in the theme variable there were no additional themes to this category.

The activities of the two major players (government and non-government organizations including donors) were represented with 8 percent and 4 percent of the articles respectively. Regardless of the successive nature of the problem, only 7 percent of the stories dealt with warning of coming or additional crisis as a major theme.

Figure 4.2. Percentage of themes covered by the newspapers



The distribution of themes across the analysed newspapers showed some diversity. Relief is one of the least covered themes in *Reporter* – only 8 percent of the articles deals with relief while it is the dominant theme in the other three newspapers (Table 4.1). Twenty-nine percent of the analysed articles of *The Ethiopian Herald*, 27 percent of the articles from *Fortune* and 25 percent of *Addis Admass* articles dealt with relief as the major theme.

Although *The Ethiopian Herald* is a government owned publication, only 8 percent of the analysed stories covered the government's actions and policies as the central theme. Table 4.1, further shows that the topic 'warning' was one of the themes with lowest frequency in the two newspapers (*The Ethiopian Herald* and *Addis Admass*) and this topic was totally neglected in the case of *Fortune*.

Table 4.1. Percentage of themes distribution across the newspapers

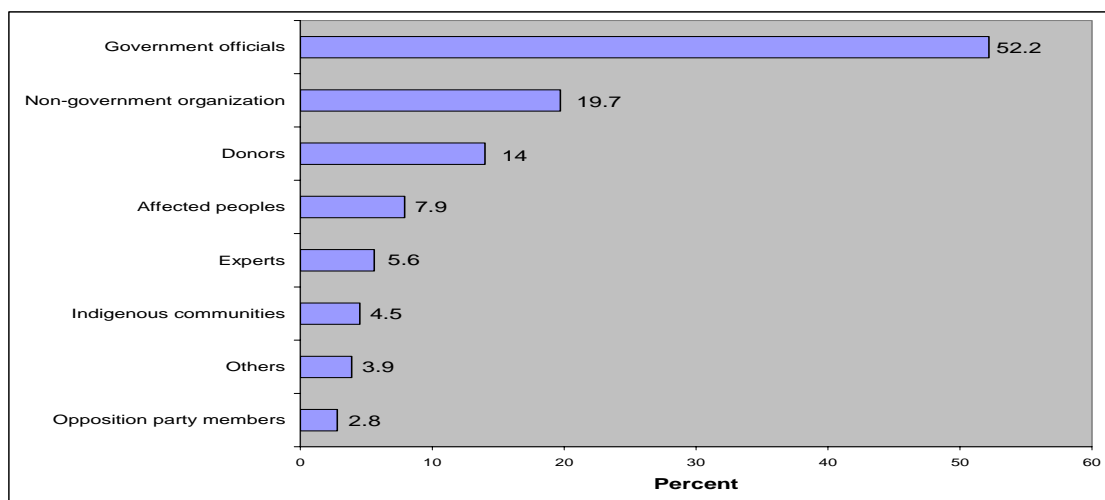
Theme	<i>The Ethiopian Herald</i> (n=114)	<i>Reporter</i> (n=37)	<i>Fortune</i> (n=15)	<i>Addis Admass</i> (n=12)
Relief	28.9	8.1	26.7	25.0
Appeal	21.1	29.7	20.0	8.3
Donation	27.2	8.1	26.7	16.7
Government action/policy	7.9	2.7	13.2	11.0
Migration	1.8	16.2	0.0	16.7
Warning of new famine	3.5	18.9	0.0	8.3
Magnitude of the crisis	7.0	8.2	6.7	14.0
NGOs' action or policy	2.6	8.1	6.7	0.0
Total	100	100	100	100

It was found out that *The Ethiopian Herald* focused on relief and donation because the government intended to show the extent of the problem and acknowledge local donations regardless of their sizes. Informant 2 attributed the high number of appeal theme in *The Ethiopian Herald* to the emergency nature of the drought and famine. Further, the newspapers aimed at mobilizing the local and international communities (Informant 2). In contrast, Informant 3 said “*Fortune* published only enormous donations which could have brought change.” All informants stated that appeals made by non-government organization, donors and DPPC were given priority in the newspapers’ coverage.

4.2 Sources identified and quoted in the articles

The findings indicated an overwhelming use of government officials as sources. Figure 4.3 shows that the majority of the stories, 52 percent, were attributed to government official sources. Non-government organizations and donors accounted for 20 percent and 15 percent of sources used respectively. In totality, the four newspapers quoted a mere 8 percent of the 14 million affected people.

Figure 4.3. Percentage of sources used by the newspapers²



The distribution of sources in the newspapers is reflected in Table 4.2. The number of quoted opposition party members was relatively high in *Addis Admass* – these sources accounted for 32 percent of all sources used in this newspaper. In contrast, *Fortune* attributed none of the stories to sources belonging to the opposition party. Similarly, *Reporter* attributed a mere 7 percent of stories to these sources. The regular members of the community, excluding the affected people, were invisible in the newspapers except for *The Ethiopian Herald* and *Fortune* which attributed 6 and 4 percent of the stories to these particular sources respectively. The category ‘other’ refers to unnamed sources mostly used in the private media.

² Since some stories contained more than one source, the sum exceeds 100 percent.

Table 4.2. Percentage of sources distribution across the newspapers

Sources	<i>The Ethiopian Herald</i> (n=120)	<i>Reporter</i> (n=42)	<i>Fortune</i> (n=22)	<i>Addis Admass</i> (n=13)
Government officials	66.7	15.7	7.0	12.4
Non-government Organizations	10.8	29.9	23.8	15.3
Donors	8.3	21.7	17.7	22.2
Affected people	6.7	11.0	43.0	3.6
Experts	1.6	9.5	3.0	7.1
Indigenous communities	5.9	0.0	3.5	0.0
Opposition part members	0.0	7.1	0.0	31.8
Others	0.0	5.1	2.0	7.6
Total	100	100	100	100

Informants acknowledged the excessive use of government sources. DPPC has several branches in the rural areas and even in the smallest districts of the country. Informant 2 stated that they (the DPPC's branches) were involved in all aspects of the hunger relief program, and accordingly held relevant and complete information. One informant acknowledged that at times these sources did attempt to manipulate the journalists and given *The Ethiopian Herald* is a government owned media it was difficult to resist all manipulations. Further, he stated there was a requirement from the newspaper organization to include what the government was doing as a compliment for all activities or topics discussed in the story.

Next to government officials, donors and non-government organization served as major news sources. An argument brought up by the informants suggested that these sources attempt to get their concerns and efforts across the media. In fact, according to

Informant 5, donors and NGOs had sponsored journalists to visit the affected areas. Further, all informants agreed that different non-government organizations and donors were involved in the relief and early warning system. As a result this made them belong among the major players in the newspaper articles.

The informants argued that language constraints between the journalists and the rural community restricted the use of affected people as sources. Informant 2 considered the language constraint as one reason for turning to official sources. Informant 3 provided the reprinting of BBC’s feature as a factor for the large number of affected people used as sources in *Fortune*.

4.3 Framing of the 2002-2003 drought and famine

In terms of importance, 60 percent of the analysed articles were located on first page while the rest, 40 percent were placed on inside pages of the newspapers (Table 4.3). *Fortune* placed as many as 99 percent of the stories on drought and famine on inside pages. *Addis Admass* on the contrary placed all its analysed drought and famine stories on its front page. This is because the first page is the only place news is located in this newspaper while the inside pages are reserved to features and opinion article.

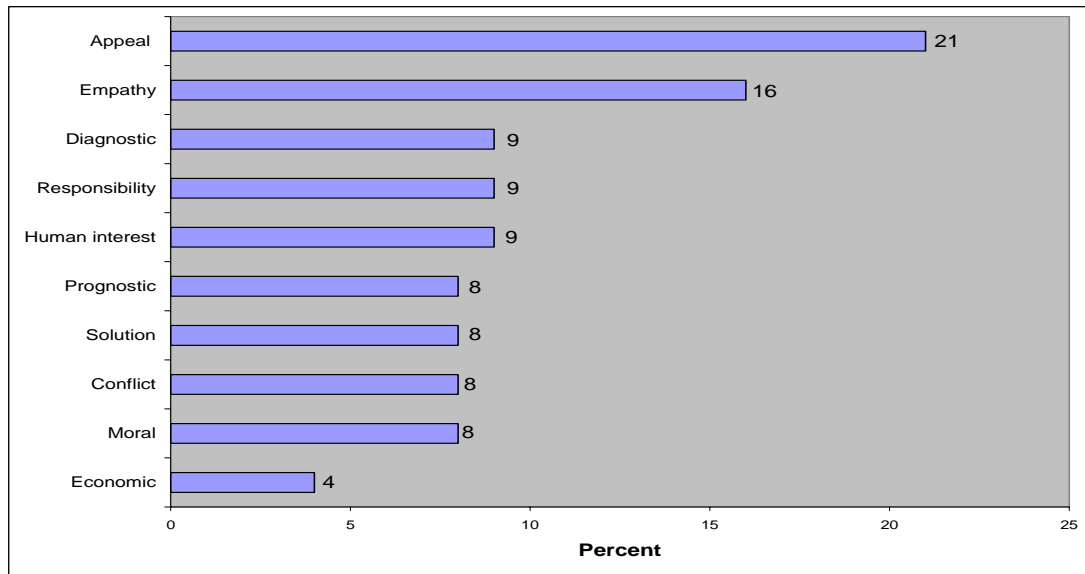
Table 4.3. Percentage of location distribution across the newspapers

Location	<i>The Ethiopian Herald</i> (n=114)	<i>Reporter</i> (n=37)	<i>Fortune</i> (n=15)	<i>Addis Admass</i> (n=12)	Total (n=178)
Font page	65.8	51.4	6.7	100	59.6
Inside ages	34.2	48.6	93.3	0.0	40.4

Regarding frames, Figure 4.4 shows the dominance of appeal frame within the analysed articles. Twenty-one percent of the stories contain an appeal frame. This frame states problem or issue as urgent situation or emergency. The empathy frame is the second frequently used frame – 16 percent of the stories contained main elements of this frame. On the other hand, the economic frame which may be considered as highly relevant to

drought and famine was the least employed – only 4 percent of the analysed articles used this frame.

Figure 4.4. Percentage of frames used by the newspapers



In addition to these frames, the articles were coded to identify two additional frames (Table 4.4). The findings indicated the overwhelming use of the event frame – 79 percent of the stories employed this frame. This frame remained dominant in the four newspapers.

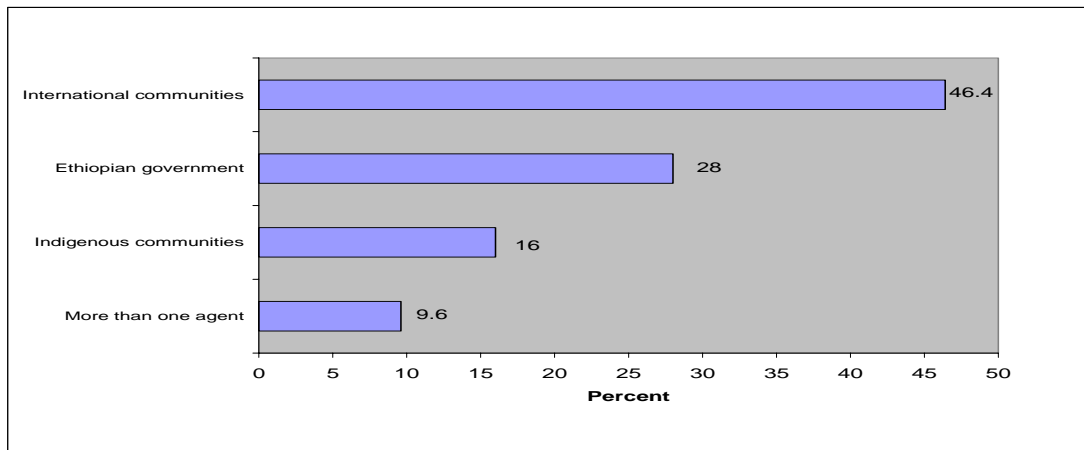
Table 4.4. Percentage of event and process frames distribution across the newspapers

Frames	<i>The Ethiopian Herald</i> (n=114)	<i>Reporter</i> (n=37)	<i>Fortune</i> (n=15)	<i>Addis Admass</i> (n=12)	Total (n=178)
Event	86.0	64.9	80.0	58.3	79
Process	14.0	35.1	20.0	41.7	21
Total	100	100	100	100	100

The way the articles were coded allowed the researcher to examine attribution of responsibility to government, international communities (including donors and non-

government organizations) and the indigenous communities. As Figure 4.5 shows the international communities were highly attributed (46 percent) as responsible while the indigenous community were attributed less responsible (16 percent).

Figure 4.5. Percentage of attribution of responsibility



The distribution of frames across the newspapers interestingly indicated some diversity. *The Ethiopian Herald* and *Reporter* frequently employed appeal and empathy frames (Table 4.5). In contrast, *Addis Admass* significantly used conflict frame – in 20 percent of the analysed stories. Human interest was used dominantly in *Fortune*, where it accounted for 18 percent of the analysed stories on drought and famine.

Table 4. 5. Percentage of frames distribution across the newspapers

Frames	<i>The Ethiopian Herald</i>	<i>Reporter</i>	<i>Fortune</i>	<i>Addis Admass</i>
Appeal	31.3	17.2	13.7	6.0
Empathy	21.4	16.6	12.8	4.0
Diagnostic	4.9	9.9	10.9	18.0
Prognostic	9.5	7.9	5.4	10.0
Solution	6.6	9.4	6.8	14.0
Responsibility	6.4	7.9	10.9	18.0
Conflict	1.9	9.9	9.5	20.0
Human interest	4.9	6.7	17.8	8.0
Morality	9.6	7.9	9.5	0
Economic	3.5	6.6	2.7	2

The relationship between frames and sources is presented in Table 4.6 (see Appendix A). The majority of sources (55 percent) used in event frames were government organizations while non-government organizations (53 percent) were quoted in relation to human interest. Another central finding is how the affected people were intensively quoted in stories that used human interest frames. Furthermore, the table interestingly shows that the opposition party members were significantly quoted in stories where the conflict frame was used.

The result of the interview regarding frame is presented in two sections. The first part deals with frames themselves while the second part deals with factors that affect frames.

4.3.1 Frames

The key informants related the focus on appeals to the emergency nature of the problem. Informant 5 stated that all the relief efforts and the media's attention were directed to control the problem before it reached the catastrophic stage of the 1980s famine that killed millions. By covering appeals made by different groups, the government media and particularly the private media were playing this controlling role.

When asked about the causes of the crisis, the informants placed nature as the major cause. Informant 5 stated that the rain failure had a far reaching effect because Ethiopian farmers practice rain feed agriculture. He further stated that the government policies (the land policy in particular) and the poor market infrastructure equally contributed for aggravation of the situation. Informant 2 provided additional reasons. According to him, the degradation of the land, which largely was a result of the fertilizers' side effects, intensified the problem.

All informants gave priority to coverage of food and none-food (medicine etc) aid in the journalistic processes. Informant 2 and 5 stated during the crises about 14 million people were at stake and that only a timely food and none-food aids could have prevented the legacy of the 1984/85 famine.

All the informants regarded non-government organizations and the international communities as capable agents in addressing the problem of drought and famine. Informant 1 stated that the Ethiopian societies are poor and fed up with the recurrent contribution they made for solving different problems. Besides, the situation was out of the government's control. "Lack of infrastructure was the biggest problem during the relief work, and only the non-government organizations and the international communities had the power and resources necessary" (Informant 5).

Most of the informants considered the disagreement between the different agents as important aspects of the problem of drought and famine since this might disadvantage the affected people. Informant 4 said *Fortune* attempted to cover the sides of the different actors when this issue occurred.

Regarding the economic aspects of the problem, Informant 5 said "we sometimes felt guilty when we focused on other aspects of the issues while million of people were requiring immediate aid". One of the informants from *Fortune* told the researcher that most of their coverage on the 2002-2003 crisis came from the international news agencies and that the foreign news agencies did not relate the drought and famine to economic matters. The other informant from this newspaper attributed these acts to a lack of professional skills and research habits among the media practitioners.

The informants, and particularly those who had visited the affected areas during the period of research, supported the view that drought and famine largely affect women, children and elderly people. Informant 2 said "male members of the community fled to cities in the early stages of the crisis in order to get jobs and support their families. On the other hand, the other three groups would be left behind". The informants said they attempted to avoid adjectives that portray the affected as victims to avoid stigmatisation, but given the affected people's hopeless situation the journalists and editors often found that such adjectives might be appropriate.

4.3.2 Factors that affected the frames

Informants were not very conscious of how the newspaper stories were framed. All agreed that they attempted to achieve objectivity and accuracy. This reflects the professional self-reflection of journalists that often claim to 'simply reflect what really happened' or to provide 'factual accounts of the truth' (Edy 1999). Echoing this self-reflection, Informant 3 said they reported facts "as they were". He said "we did not attempt to fit the facts to our own or others' agendas". According to the interviewee, this activity was restricted to editorials and opinion columns. When asked about their purposes in publishing these stories, all informants stated informing and mobilizing the local and international communities as the major principles. Informant 2 stated that the government's need to show the local efforts was also a major purpose for *The Ethiopian Herald*. Informant 3 and 4 stated that *Fortune* did not intend to put pressure on the government when they were publishing these stories.

Regarding journalistic routines, the informants shared different experiences. Informant 2 told the researcher that his newspaper first visited the affected areas and people and then later contacted the official sources. He acknowledged that the journalists had limited control over the final journalistic product particularly on those articles that criticized the government officials. *The Ethiopian Herald* had a particular regulation on how to write the drought and famine stories. According to Informants 2 and 1, writing about the death of people was very difficult and a professional challenge. It was required from their newspaper organization to take extra measures to ensure that it was the drought and famine crisis that resulted in deaths rather than other factors such as diseases.

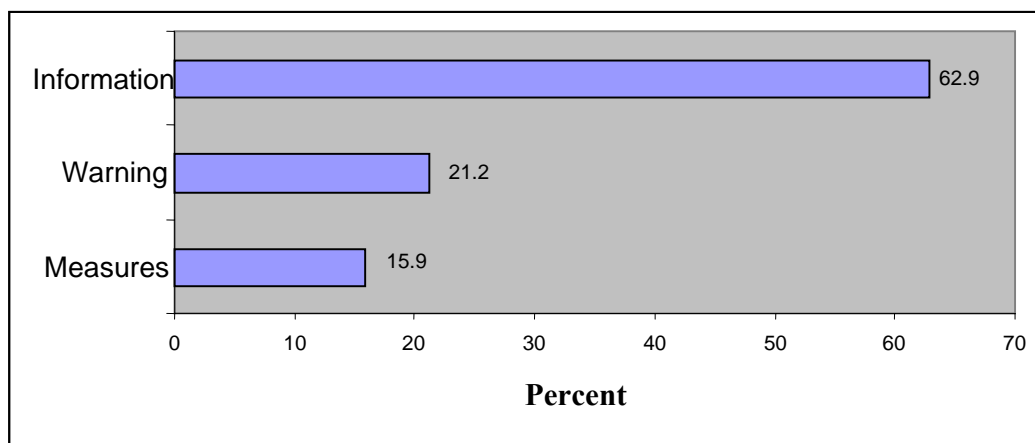
In contrast, informants from the private newspapers said they had complete freedom to write their stories as well as to decide on the final outcome. In the case of *Reporter*, the journalists visited the affected areas as much as possible before publishing press releases from non-government organisations and donors. Similarly, the information from the interviews revealed that at times the newspapers faced pressure from non-government organizations and donors. According to Informant 5, NGOs and donors have tried to manipulate the media into focusing on their efforts and activities. Informant 4

emphasised how lacking professional standards among the journalists and deficient research habits among the media might contribute to how the stories turned out in the end. Finally, as it was stated, resource constraints also contributed to the final outcome of the stories.

4.4 Functions performed by the newspapers

Figure 4.6 shows how providing information was the dominant role of the analysed newspaper articles. Providing information accounts for 63 percent of the stories. On the other hand, the warning role was the less recurrent, 21 percent of the stories, despite the consecutive nature of the drought and famine.

Figure 4.6. Percentage of media functions fulfilled by the newspapers



The distribution of functions across the newspapers indicated the dominance of providing information in the analysed articles (Table 4.7). Regardless of their ownership and topic of interest, providing information was the central role for all newspapers except *Addis Admass*. For the private owned *Addis Admass*, which can be characterized as an entertaining newspaper, the warning function interestingly was the core purpose of half of the analysed articles, whereas providing information and covering measures each accounts for 25 percent of the articles.

Table 4.7. Percentage of media function distribution across the newspapers

Media Function	<i>The Ethiopian Herald</i>(n=114)	<i>Reporter</i> (n=37)	<i>Fortune</i> (n=15)	<i>Addis Admass</i> (n=12)
Warning	11.4	16.1	16.6	50
Providing Information	62.5	62.2	60	25
Covering measures	26.1	21.7	23.4	25
Total	100	100	100	100

4.5 Analysis and discussion

This thesis started with the purpose of examining how the Ethiopian newspapers framed one of the several serious crises of drought and famine the nation has experienced. It also intended to find out dominant themes, sources as well as the roles the media played in the coverage of the crisis. To this end four newspapers were content analyzed during a period of nine months. Additionally, journalists and editors who worked for the four newspapers were interviewed.

As stated in the presentation section *The Ethiopian Herald* covered intensively the drought and famine. In all the newspapers relief and appeal were the most recurrent themes when covering the crisis. Further, the majority of these stories were attributed to government official sources particularly in the case of the government owned *The Ethiopian Herald*. The following section interprets and discusses the results presented in the above sections. Additionally, this section relates the findings of the current research to the bigger picture of framing theory and prior research that were presented in the literature review.

4.5.1 Number of articles

The 2002-2003 drought and famine occurred within a different context than the one of the 1980s. One major development in relation to the recent crises is that they occurred within a national context of both government and private owned media.

In terms of quantity, the government media, *The Ethiopian Herald* published 114 stories that were related to the drought and famine. It is a considerable number given the fact that only 36 editions of this newspaper were examined for the current study. This means at least three stories on the drought and famine in each analysed edition. One factor that contributes to this high number of articles might be that it is a daily newspaper and as such has more space than a weekly newspaper. Yet, it should be stressed that *The Ethiopian Herald* gave priority to the crisis not only through significantly high number of articles but also through the establishment of the new column '*Drought in Focus*' that was presented on the newspaper's first page. As Entman (1991) and Norris and Carroll (1997) stated in section 2.3.3 media frame an event or issue as significant through number of articles and their placement. Thus, it is possible to say *The Ethiopian Herald* has framed the 2002-2003 drought and famine as significant.

This finding show a remarkable difference in the newspapers' attribution of importance to the drought and famine compared with the 1980s famine. As the Article 19's (1990) study indicated during the 1984/85 Ethiopian famine, *The Ethiopian Herald* published a limited number of stories.

The three private newspapers published a total of 64 articles on drought and famine during the nine months of research. The findings indicate a high difference among these three newspapers in relation to their field of interest. *The Reporter*, which is a political and social newspaper, published half of these articles and 51 percent of them on the newspaper's front page. *Reporter* framed the drought and problem as significant by both number of articles and their placement within the newspaper. The other two, both the entertainment newspaper (*The Addis Admass*), and the business and economic newspaper (*Fortune*) attributed less importance to the crises. Although the private media suffered from resource constraints during the research period, it can be argued that a maximum of one story on drought and famine per two weeks (in the case of *Fortune*) and one story per three weeks (in the case of *Addis Admass*) by any standards is a very small number.

4.5.2 Themes

Drought and famine occur due to multiple reasons. Further, different share holders involve in addressing and preventing these problems. When an issue or event has several sides, the media tend to focus on certain elements of that issue or problem (Andsager and Powers, 1999). Supporting this view, the finding of the current research indicated that the newspapers tended to concentrate on a limited amount of recurrent themes in relation to the recovery or dealing stage of the drought and famine. The analysed print media gave priority to controlling the drought and famine before it reached a catastrophic stage like that of the 1984/85 crisis.

It is possible that the chosen period of time for the study might have contributed to this finding since the research period included the time when the drought and famine were officially announced (August 2002). Yet, the successive nature of the problem lend itself to other themes, such as warning of the coming of another or additional problem with which the newspapers dealt with limited commitment.

Obviously such types of coverage were highly important given the 14 million people who were waiting for support from the communities. The extensive focus on these themes has two core limitations. First, it contributed less to an informed public debate since the newspapers failed to provide thorough information (De Waal, 2000). Second, the analysed media treated and framed the drought and famine as a 'simple problem' which would be solved through food and non-food aid (Moeller, 1999). This last point will be discussed more in detail in the following sections.

The government remained an important shareholder in the drought and famine crisis. Government's policy and action can contribute both in preventing and creating the problem in the first place. Similarly, non-government organizations and donors played important roles in addressing and preventing the famine.

The findings suggest that the analysed newspapers focused less on these shareholders' efforts. Compared with findings from previous research on crises elsewhere, the

Ethiopian newspapers downplayed the shareholders' efforts as a central theme of the story. *The Ethiopian Herald* had earlier devoted most of its resources in covering officials' activities during the 1980s Ethiopian famine (Article 19, 1990). Thus it may be argued that the newspaper showed improvement by redirecting its coverage to the problem itself.

In relation to non-government organizations and donors' efforts, the findings contradict with famine coverage in western media, which often over-emphasise the efforts of relief workers (Moeller, 1999). One obvious reason can be that the western media localize the drought and famine (which usually occur in developing nations) through westerners who are involved in the drought and famine (such as relief or aid workers).

The research has shown how the media practitioners seemed to be aware of the pressure from interest groups. Probably, their awareness might also have contributed in reducing the focus on the shareholders' efforts.

4.5.3 Sources

The newspapers primarily relayed on government officials, non-government organizations and donors respectively, in reporting the drought and famine. The result indicated difference in the extent the newspapers attributed the stories to these three groups of sources. The government media, *The Ethiopian Herald* attributed more than half of the articles to official sources. The private media attributed to official sources and non-government organizations (in the case of *Reporter*) and donors (in the case of *Fortune*), whereas *Addis Admass* on the other hand used a considerable number of opposition party members as sources.

These agents were important part players during all stages of the coverage of the drought and famine. The Disaster Prevention and Preparedness Commission, a government organization coordinated all relief efforts through its numerous branches throughout the affected areas. As a result, they remained closer to the media. Journalists furthermore turned to these sources because they held complete and comprehensive information.

This finding correlates with Li and Izard's (2003) findings. Although they studied American media coverage of terrorist attacks, they concluded that national media use government officials as top sources during a national crisis.

The over-relying on official sources can result in down playing of other equally important sources. Even though the drought affected about 14 million people nationwide, the rural communities were almost invisible in the analysed newspapers since only 8 percent of the affected peoples were quoted in the four newspapers.

This can mean two things. Either the media used officials and aid workers as sources to tell the story of the 14 million people, or the media completely neglected this aspect of the problem. Both options suggest partial media coverage since only people directly concerned can tell their full story.

This finding correlated with international media coverage of famine. Particularly in western media, the powerful are heard frequently, loudly talking about what should be done to or for the powerless (rural communities) (Fair and Chakavartty, 1999).

4.5.4 Frames

As stated earlier, analysing media framing may start with addressing the number of stories and their location within the media outlet in question. The results indicated that the government media, *The Ethiopian Herald* framed the drought and famine in a more significant manner compared with the private media, particularly *Fortune* and *Addis Admass*.

Moreover, the newspapers employed a number of frames in covering the 2002-2003 drought and famine. At one step of the research process the newspapers articles were coded for two types of frames. The first group of frames includes event and process frames. As the result (Table 4.4) shows event frame was used dominantly in the newspapers. Further, the newspapers employed a number of other frames. The frequency

of these frames differed from most frequent (appeal and empathy frames) to low frequent (economic frame). The majority frames (diagnostic, prognostic, solution, responsibility, conflict, human interest, and moral) were used more frequently than the economic frame but not as often as the appeal and empathy frames. For simplicity purposes, the frames were grouped into four sets: (1) event and process (2) appeal and empathy, (3) diagnostic, prognostic, solution and responsibility, and (4) conflict, human interest, economic and moral frames. The following discussion will deal with one set of frames at a time.

4. 5.4.1 Event and process frames

The results suggested that the newspapers used event frames in 79 percent of the stories. As the literature review has suggested drought and famine usually results from broader and long-term factors (poverty, farming system etc). When the media use the event frame, they are suggesting that the problem was an event that suddenly occurred, rather than a complex incident that developed over time. This means two things. First, the analysed newspapers put the drought and famine out of its context (the rain feed agriculture system, national poverty etc) and attributed it only to the rain failure. Second, by doing so, they naturalized the crisis (Sorenson, 1991).

Since the nature was attributed as the causes of the problem, other solvable reasons of famine such as the land policy and the poor market mechanisms remained uncontested. Further, by defining the problem as a natural phenomenon the media suggested short term solutions. If the rain failure resulted in the starvation, providing food and none-food (such as medicine) aids would solve this problem (Moeller, 1999).

Regardless of their ownership, all the newspapers overwhelmingly employed the event frame. Thus, the high frequency of this frame might result from media practitioners' orientation and the sources used. During the interviews, only two of the journalists acknowledged the socio-economic and political reality as factors.

Further, the high number of event frame used was associated with the large number of official sources employed (51 percent). It is possible to argue that the media might adopt

officials' frame since these sources less likely attribute other factors (such as the land policy) as causes. Besides, as the literature suggested (section 2.3.4), these sources might purposefully direct the media attention to such type of coverage since they (the officials) have the necessary power and resources to influence the media framing (Johnson-Carter, 2005).

4. 5.4.2 Appeal and empathy frames

The appeal frame was the most frequently utilized frame in all the newspapers except *in Addis Admass*. Generally, it was used in 21 percent of the analysed stories. The use of this frame might suggest that the media recognized the drought and famine as an emergency situation that required urgent measures. The use of the appeal frame correlates with the newspapers' central purposes. It seems that the media aimed at mobilizing the local and international communities so that the effect of the drought and famine would be minimized.

The appeal frame is also used in relation to the high number of non-government organizations, government and donor sources who were involved in demanding more aid. The appeal frame had implications similar to the event frame. By focusing on the emergency/crisis nature of drought and famine, the newspapers implicitly suggested short term solutions (food and non-food aids) and did not question the political system, international relations or other fundamental arrangements.

Besides, all the newspapers except the entrainment newspaper *Addis Admass*, utilized the empathy frame to a large extent. The frequency of this frame may indicate that the media regarded the affected people as victims (particularly women and children) and relief workers as powerful and heroes (Robinson, 2000).

The study's findings indicate that there is a close relationship between the empathy frame on the one hand, and non-government organizations and affected people serving as sources on the other. This frame existed in all the analysed stories that quoted the affected people.

This discovery correlates with findings from a study of American media coverage of drought and famine (Moeller, 1999).

However, the reason behind this coverage might differ. In the case of the western media, according to Moeller, the western stereotype contributes to such types of reporting. On the other hand, it is possible to argue that the Ethiopian newspapers employed these frames largely from the reality of the situation based on the journalists and editors' account of the drought and famine.

4. 5.4.3 Diagnostic, prognostic, solution and responsibility frames

The study's other findings proposed that the newspapers employed diagnostic, prognostic, solution and responsibility frames to limited extent. These frames range only from 8 to 9 percent of the stories. Only *Addis Admass* used prognostic and attribution frames (18 percent each).

These four frames together (diagnostic, prognostic, solution and responsibility) constitute Entman's (1993) definition of frames which states frames define problems, indicate effects, suggest solutions and attribute responsibility. Diagnostic frame provides an assessment of how and why these drought and famine developed while prognostic frame emphasize outcome the drought and famine.

Given the low number of each frame in the analysed material, it is possible to conclude that the newspapers (except *Addis Admass*) failed to discuss the complete range of causes of the famine. As the event frame indicated, only the failure of rain was underlined as the main cause of the problem. Further, the newspapers analyzed the effects and results of the drought and famine only to a limited extent. Given these two points, it is expected that the newspapers will not suggest a framework of solutions. As the discussion on event frame stated, the newspapers suggested largely food and non-food aids as solutions of the problems. In other words, the analysed newspapers were largely involved in a superficial coverage of the 2002-2003 drought and famine.

Generally the newspapers attributed responsibility to the international communities (including donors and non-government organizations) and the Ethiopian government and only rarely to indigenous communities. Further, the articles rarely attributed the problem to more than one agent. This may be related to the media practitioners' belief that the local communities are poor and tired of contributing to solve numberless problems the nation encountered. These four frames largely occurred in stories that quoted non government organizations, donors, government and opposition party members. The low level of use of these frames might be a result of the overstated use of the appeal frame.

Addis Admass published 12 articles that discussed the factors behind, suggested solutions and attributed responsibility largely to the government. Unlike the other newspapers, *Addis Admass* also used a relatively high number of opposition party members as sources. Thus, the frequent use of these frames might relate to the newspaper's choice of sources since the opposition is expected to hold the government's policies responsible for the drought and famine.

4. 5.4.4 Conflict, human interest, economic and moral frames

The fourth set of frames includes conflict, human interest, economic and moral frames. The newspapers employed these frames to a limited extent as well. Within this group of frames the economic frame, which can be seen as quite closely related to the problems of drought and famine was the least employed in the analysed newspapers, even in *Fortune which focuses* on economic and business matters in general. This low number might suggest the isolation of the drought and famine from its socio-economic and political context.

As mentioned in chapter 2 (section 2.1), there were controversy among the non-government organization and sometimes the government and other agents, particularly regarding the problems' magnitude. The four newspapers were coded for conflict frame to see whether the newspapers picked up this disagreement. The results suggest that the newspapers, *The Ethiopian Herald* (to a limited extent) and *Addis Admass* (to a higher

extent) utilized these frames in reporting the drought and famine during the research period.

This detection correlates with Gibbs and Warhaver's (2002) that media draw out conflict frames in all types of news items. The conflict frames existed in stories that relayed on non-government organizations, donors, and opposition party members and, to a limited extent, government as sources. In *Addis Admass*, this frame was used in all the stories, which quoted opposition party members.

According to Moeller (1999), the American media galvanized the public through human interest stories in covering the 1980s Ethiopian famine. The four Ethiopian newspapers also employed the human interest frame. This frame was most frequently used in *Fortune* which quoted a large number of affected people and usually in feature stories. This implied that the affected peoples' voices were used to give the problem a human face rather than to comment on political, economic or other important aspects of the problem.

Though authors such as Neuman et al. (1992) argue the cultural values find their way in to the media. The four newspapers utilized the moral frame to limited extent. Further, the low use of this frame implies the newspapers did not urge the readers to take actions towards the problem since one element of this frame is providing social prescription of how to behave.

4.5.5 Media functions

The 2002-2003 drought and famine did not occur equally in all places of the country at the same time. While the relief efforts were directed in addressing the problem in one area, they developed or aggravated in other parts of the country. Taking this into consideration, the last research question examined what type of functions the researched newspapers provided during the period in question.

The newspapers to some extent warned the coming of another drought and famine. At times, they even provided predictions regarding the weather situation and crops failure.

Within the somewhat limited time frame of the study, it can be said that the newspapers to a certain extent warned about another or additional drought and famine in Ethiopia.

However, the findings show how the newspapers primarily were engaged in providing information about relief and aid. The newspapers provided information regarding where the drought and famine took place, how many people were affected by the crisis and the progress of the relief. As the analysis of the frames has indicated, the newspapers were largely preoccupied with this type of information rather than analyzing the root causes of the problem and suggesting long term solutions.

Chapter Five

5. Summary, conclusion and recommendations

This chapter provides a brief summary of the research process, conclusion of findings and recommendations. After the summary and conclusion are presented, goals are set for future studies. These recommendations are believed to broaden our understanding of Ethiopian media framing of the recurrent crises of droughts and famines.

5.1 Summary and conclusions

Drought and famine has occurred in Ethiopia at least once in a decade since 1970s. The 2002-2003 drought and famine were one of the major crises. They affected about 14 million people. Media are one of the important shareholders in controlling and preventing famine. This paper has argued that it is not only the number of articles but the ways the media frame problems that have significant implication on controlling and preventing drought and famine. However, for a long time it was the international media rather than the local media which were the focus of most research. There is a need to examine the local media since they are also part and parcel of the managing and preventing drought and famine.

Thus, this research proposed to examine how the Ethiopian newspapers framed the 2002-2003 drought and famine in terms of themes dealt with and sources quoted. Besides, it intended to find out what roles the media played during the drought and famine.

Framing theory was used as a conceptual frame work for the current study. As the literature suggested through frames the media define problems, imply solutions and attribute responsibilities. The research was conducted using a combination of quantitative and qualitative research approaches. A content analysis was utilized to gather information regarding number and location of articles, themes dealt with, and sources which were identified and quoted as well as frames which were employed in the articles. The four newspapers' (*The Ethiopian Herald, Reporter, Fortune and Addis Admass*) coverage for the nine months (August, 2002 – April, 2003) were examined. Further, in-depth

interviews were conducted with key informants who worked for these media in order to obtain more complete data. The data were analyzed and discussed based on the framing theory and related with research discussed in the review literature. Conclusions of the study are presented below

As prominent shareholders, the media have certain responsibility in addressing and preventing famine. Their major responsibility relays on providing information and educating the public regarding the problem and measures being taken.

The four newspapers tended to provide more information on measures being taken rather than discussing the nature of the problem and provide prediction regarding other similar problems. Relief, donation and appeal were the most frequently themes dealt with particularly in the government owned media. The belief that the drought and famine created a situation of emergency since about 14 million people were at risk seems to provide the basis for such type of coverage.

The newspapers focused on mobilizing the local and international communities. However, they seemed to be involved in surface level coverage since addressing and preventing drought and particularly famine requires more than covering relief and recovery measures. Further, as framing theory suggests the newspapers tended to neglect other central aspects of the drought and famine when they mostly focused on measures being taken.

The media relay on different sources to report some events, issues or problems. As authors such Philo (1993) argues, during crisis of large scale the media tend to use official and non-government organizations as sources. Similarly, the Ethiopian newspapers primarily relay on government's, non-government organizations' and donors' accounts of the drought and famine. These sources remained closer to the media because they were the major shareholders in the relief and recovery works.

On the other hand, the study has shown how the affected 14 million people and the rest of the local communities were almost invisible in the newspapers. The language difficulty between the journalists and the rural communities was one factor that contributed for the invisibility of the affected people. The newspapers, particularly the private owned (*Addis Admass* and *Reporter*) attributed some of the stories to opposition party members and experts.

Media frame issues or problems they cover through different techniques. *The Ethiopian Herald*, the government owned newspaper tended to frame the problem as a highly significant one, based on the number of articles they published and the placement of these in the actual newspapers. Based on the same criteria *Reporter*, the socio-economic newspaper, framed the drought and hunger crisis as a more significant problem than the entertainment newspaper (*Addis Admass*) and the economic and business newspaper (*Fortune*) did.

It has been the argument of this study that media framing remains important because frames may define the problems, suggest solutions and attribute responsibilities. The selected newspapers tended to cover the drought and famine mostly through the event frame. By using this frame, they implied that the drought and famine was an event that occurred without warning or sign. The newspapers also tended to underline nature (the rain failure) as a cause and suggested food and non-food aids as solutions to the problem. The responsibility of solving the problem was attributed to international communities, the government and the local communities. The analyzed newspapers provided less analysis of the entirety of factors involved (diagnostic frame) and the extent and effect of the drought and famine (prognostic frame).

The study has shown how the event frame was largely associated with official sources. It seems that the frequent use of these sources might have resulted in the newspapers adopting the event frame since it is unlikely that the government officials will blame their own policy or suggest changes of policy as a solution to the problem.

The newspapers tended to employ different frames based on their main topics of interest. *The Ethiopian Herald* and *Reporter* largely used the empathy and the appeal frames when reporting the drought and famine. On the other hand, *Fortune* (the economic and business newspaper) and *Addis Admass* (more of entrainment focused) to a large degree used human interest and conflict frames respectively.

The mere 8 percent of the affected people quoted in the analyzed articles were covered mostly through empathy and human interest frames. As Moeller (1999) suggested, it seems their voices were considered as less significant than the official sources since the affected people were only used to show the extent of the problem or give human examples instead of commenting on what was going on.

In addition to sources, other factors affected how the analyzed media framed the drought and famine issue. Ownership of the newspapers seemed to affect *The Ethiopian Herald's* coverage. It seems there is pressure from the government regarding how the articles were written.

The private newspapers' coverage of the drought and famine were affected by human and financial constraints. The study has shown how for instance *Fortune* seemed to employ more human interest frames because it adopted BBC's articles.

The media practitioners' ideology regarding the causes and solutions of the problem furthermore seemed to influence their coverage. It seemed that almost key informants regarded the rain failure as the main cause and food well as non-food aids as the solution to the problem.

5.2 On the need for further researches

This study has attempted to throw light on how the printed media framed the 2002-2003 drought and famine in Ethiopia. However, it has not exhausted all possible research regarding media framing of drought and famine. This study was limited in that it analyzed only factual articles (news, feature and interviews). Further, visual elements of

these articles were not coded and analyzed. It was only the textual content that was examined.

Thus, it will be worthwhile to extend the research to opinion and editorial columns. Further, visual elements such as pictures are very important in drought and famine stories (Moeller, 1999). Future research therefore could also examine how the newspapers frame the drought and famine through pictures and other visual elements.

In addition, this type of research can benefit from readership studies. A content analysis followed by experimental study that measures the media framing's effect on readers would add to the current knowledge of media framing

How the drought and famine were framed in the broadcasting media (television and radio) could also expand our understanding concerning such media framing.

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Appendix A
Table 4.6. Percentage of sources distribution across frames

Frames	Government	NGOs	Donors	Opposition party members	Indigenous communities	Affected peoples	Experts	Others	Total
Event	55	15.7	10.5	0.6	5.2	5.2	5.2	2.6	100
Process	27.0	21.6	16.2	13.5	0	13.5	5.5	2.7	100
Appeal	45.4	23.6	14.1	0.8	0.8	7.4	2.6	5.3	100
Empathy	14	34	21	0	3	24	2	2	100
Diagnostic	13.6	27.2	22.7	11.1	0	13.6	7.3	4.5	100
Prognostic	11.1	8.5	9.6	20.5	0	16.5	33.8	0	100
Solution	24.4	30.6	10.2	18.2	2.2	2.2	6.1	6.1	100
Responsibility	10.2	36.7	30.6	16.3	0	2.5	2.5	1.2	100
Conflict	11.3	34.0	15.9	25.6	0	6.3	3.9	3.0	100
Economic	18.3	23.0	11.5	11.5	3.8	5.3	19.2	7.4	100
Human interest	2.5	53.3	10.6	0	0	33.6	0	0	100
Morality	10.3	16.0	31.6	6.5	4	25	1.6	5	100

Appendix B

Lists of Key Informants

Informant Na me	Position	Media house
1 Dejene Tesemma	Editor-in-chief	The Ethiopian Herald
2 Biniyam Wubishet	Journalist	The Ethiopian Herald
3 Yibekal Getahun	Deputy editor-in-chief	Fortune
4 Groum Abate	Journalist	Fortune
5 Melaku Demisse	Journalist	Reporter

Appendix C Coding Sheet

Name of coder _____
News paper _____
Date of publication _____
Headline of the article _____

Article description

1.1 Article type

- News _____
- Feature _____
- Interview _____

1.2 Location

- Front page _____
- Inside pages _____

1.

Theme

- Relief _____
- Appeal _____
- Government action or policy _____
- Migration _____
- Warning of another drought and famine _____
- Donation _____
- The extent and magnitude of the drought and famine _____
- Non-government organizations' activities or policy _____
- Others _____

2. Sources

- Government officials _____
- Non-government organizations _____
- Opposition party member _____
- Indigenous community members _____
- Affected people _____
- Donors _____
- Experts _____
- Others _____

3. Frames

3.1 Appeal frame

- Does the article involve appeals made by government or other agents? Yes or No
- Does the story state needs for additional aids? Yes or No
- Does the story suggest the problems require an urgent action? Yes or No

3.2 Diagnostic frames

Does the story provide nature as the cause of the Famine?	Yes or No
Does the story provide government actions (policy, inefficiency etc) as causes of the famine?	Yes or No
Does the story state the socio- economic factors as the causes of the drought and famine?	Yes or No
Does the story state international trade as the cause of the famine?	Yes or No
Does the story state farming methods and practices as causes of the famine?	Yes or No

3.3 Prognostic frames

Does the story state the rise of grain price due to the drought and famine?	Yes or No
Does the story state migration of rural society to cities due to the drought and famine?	Yes or No
Does the story state death among drought and famine affected people?	Yes___ or No___
Does the story state loss of animals due to drought and famine?	Yes or No
Does the story state loss of livelihood due to the drought and famine?	Yes or No

3.4 Solution frame

Does the story suggest giving money, food or non-food as solutions for the drought and famine?	Yes or No
Does the story suggest long term changes as solutions for the drought and famine?	Yes or No
Does the story suggest increasing grant of world bank or other institutions as solutions for the drought and famine?	Yes or No
Does the article states the drought and famine as unsolvable or out of human control?	Yes or No

3.5 Empathy frame

Does the story indicate drought and famine affected peoples as victims?	Yes or No
Does the story mention women, elders and children among the famine affected peoples?	Yes or No
Does the story employ adjectives or personal vignettes that generate feelings of outrages, empathy, caring, sympathy or compassion?	Yes or No

3.6 Attribution of responsibility frame

Does the story suggest that some level of government has the ability to alleviate the drought and famine?	Yes or No
Does the story suggest that NGOs, international communities and international donors have the ability to alleviate the drought and famine?	Yes or No
Does the story suggest that the indigenous communities have the ability to alleviate the problem?	Yes or No

3.7 Morality frame

Does the story contain any moral messages?	Yes or No
Does the story make reference to morality, God, and other religious tents?	Yes or No
Does the story offer social prescriptions about how to behave towards the drought and famine?	Yes or No

3.8 Human interest frame

Does the story provide a human example or 'human face' on the issue?	Yes or No
Does the story go in to the private or personal lives of the actors?	Yes or No
Does the story emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by the drought and famine?	Yes or No

3.9 Economic frame

Is there a mention of financial losses now or in the future?	Yes or No
Is there a reference to economic consequences of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action?	Yes or No
Does the story state negative effect of the drought and famine on the poverty reduction strategy plan?	Yes or

No

3.10 Conflict frames

Does the story reflect disagreement between a parties, individuals, groups or countries?	Yes or No
Does the story refer to two sides or to more than two sides?	Yes or No
Does one party, individual, group or individual reproach another?	Yes or No

3.11 Event versus Process frames

Does the story suggest nature as cause for the problem?	Yes or No
Does the story suggest food and non-food aids as solutions for the problem?	Yes or No
Does the story suggest more than one factor as reasons for the problem?	Yes or No
Does the story suggest more than one solution for the problem?	Yes or No
Does the story provide background to the problem?	Yes or No

Media Functions

4.1 Warning Information

Does the story warn the coming of another drought and famine? Yes or No

Does the story indicate crop failure in the future? Yes or No

Does the story provide information about the future weather situation? Yes or No

4.2 Information during disasters

Does the story tell where the drought and famine occurred? Yes or No

Does the story tell how many people are affected? Yes or No

Does the story provide information measures taken and situation of the problem again? Yes or No

4.3 Relief information

Does the story talk about the amount and type of the relief? Yes or No

Does the story talk about distribution of relief food and other aids? Yes or No

Does the story talks about the progress of the relief situation? Yes or No

Does the story provide steps or actions that should be taken to prevent drought and famine from happening? Yes or No

Appendix D Coding Guide

Name of coder---The coder should write her/his name

News paper----- the coder should write name of the news paper

Data of publication---write the date the story was publishes-month, day and year

Headline- writes the headline (and sub-headline if the article has)

Article description (In-coder reliability 100 percent)

Article description - note whether the article is news, feature or interview

Location- note whether the story was placed on front or inside pages of the newspaper.

Theme (In-coder reliability 96 percent)

Theme refers to the central focus of the story. Put a check mark on the blank space .

Relief – when the central focus of the story is on food or non-food distribution

Appeal –refers to request for aid made by the government or other agent

Government action or policy- when the story focuses on what the government officials or organ is doing. For instance, if the article focus on official’s visits to the affected areas

Migration – when the story states migration or displacement of the affected people from their home towns

Warning of another drought and famine –when the story indicates the coming of similar the drought and famine in the future

Donation –when the article focus on charity or donation by different agents

The extent and magnitude of the drought and famine – when the article states the geographical distribution of the drought and famines, the number of affected people etc.

Non-government organizations’ activities – when the story focuses on what these originations are doing.

Others- when the story focuses on other points other than what is outlined above

Sources

(In-coder reliability 100 percent)

Put a check mark on the blank space when the story directly or indirectly quotes the following sources.

Government officials – refers any government officials, from the president to small town administrators

Non-government organizations- any non-profit organizations and their spokes persons. For instance, Save the children

Opposition party member- any political party other than the ruling party.

Indigenous community members – refers to Ethiopians other than the directly affected people. It includes both who live in Ethiopian and abroad

Affected people- the rural communities who are directly affected.

Donors – refers to donor nations. For instance, ambassadors of US or Britain

Experts – refers to sources that are quoted to give explanation of what is going on. For instance, economists etc

Others – refers sources other than what is outline above. For instance, unnamed sources.

Frames

(In-coder reliability 93 percent)

Circle ‘yes’ for each question if the article answers question

Appeal Frame

Q1- for instance the Disaster Prevention and Preparedness asked for more food or other aid.

Q2- for instance the story indicate there is still need for more aids

Q3- when the story indicates not only need for additional aid but a timely one

Diagnostic frames

It refers whether the article states how and why the drought and famine occurred.

Q1- Natural refers drought, flood, crop disease, high wind and so forth.

Q2-government action refers land policy, fertilizer distribution or government attention towards farmers/farming, etc

Q3- when the story provides the nation’s poverty or debt as causes of the drought and famine

Q4- For instance, unfair or low price for Ethiopian products on international markets.

Q5- When the story provides farming methods as cause of the drought and famine. For instance, through the use of words such as backward, inefficient etc in characterizing the farming method

Prognostic frame

When the story assess the effect of the drought and famine

Q1-grain price includes all food items

Q2- when the story states migration or displacement of the affected people from their home towns

Q3- when the story indicates death of people due to the drought and famine.

Q4- when the story indicates death of animals due to the drought and famine.

Q5-loss of livelihood refers farmers 'or other famine affects peoples loss of their means of income such and property.

Solution frame

When the story states the measures being taken or needs to be taken by different agents to solve the drought and famine.

Q1- when the story focuses on food, non-food (such as medicine) and money as solution.

Q2- when the article states change of policy, farming practice etc as solutions to the drought and famine.

Q3- when the story states grant and debts of international communities as solutions of the drought and famine

Q4-when the story mentions no solution to the drought and famine. Or when the story states the drought and famine as out of human control (given).

Empathy Frame

Q1-When the story uses different adjectives that describe the affected people as victims; as if the affected peoples have no power to do anything about their situation; or as they are waiting for others (government or non-government originations) to do some thing for them

2Q- When the story specifies women, elders or children are affected by the drought and famine among the affected people. For instance, 1000 women and children need additional food supply.

3Q- When the story uses words that are emotional such as desperate, hungry, hopeless, needy, weak and other similarly adjectives.

Attribution of responsibility

Q1- when the story suggests the government should take some measures. Also when it states the government has the ability to solve the drought and famine

Q2- when the story suggests the intentional communities (donors, non-government organizations, and the international communities) have the ability to solve the drought and famine. Also, when it suggests these agents should take some action towards the drought and famine.

Q3- when the story suggests the local communities (including indigenous aid agencies) should take some measures. Also when it states these agents have the ability to solve the drought and famine.

Moralist frame

Q1- when the story states something as good (appropriate) or bad (inappropriate) in relation to the drought and famine.

Q2- When the story refers to God or other super powers.

Q3- When the story states action or measures the readers should take in relation. For instance, donate money or push the government to do better.

Human interest frame

Q1- when the story provides one or more individual or group as an example or indicator of the drought and famine.

Q2- human face- when the story includes personal history of directly and indirectly quoted sources.

Q3- when the story indicates how the drought and famine changed the situation of sources directly or indirectly quoted

Economic frame

Q1- when the story indicates what the drought and famine might result on the Ethiopian economy as a whole.

Q2- When the story states the effect of taking or not taking some measures. For instance, the story might state, there should be fair food distribution other wise the most needy will not get the food.

Q3- Poverty reduction strategy Plan (PRSP) is a new policy Ethiopia has planned at the time of the drought and famine .When the story mention the drought and famine might delay the achievement of this policy.

Conflict frame

Q1- When there is disagreeing between different groups regarding the drought and famine. The disagreement might be about its causes, solution, relief, effect etc.

Q2- when the article includes two or more opposing views.

Q3- When one group or individual criticize another individual or group or activities of these agents.

Event versus process frame

Q1- when the story state the drought resulted the famine

Q2- when the story suggests giving food and non-food (medicine) as solution.

Q3- when the story provides more than one factor as reasons for the famine. For instance, drought and Ethiopian poverty resulted in the drought and famine.

Q4- When the story suggests more than one solution. For instance, food distribution and change of policy are required to solve the drought and famine.

Q5- when the story provides background information and analysis on the drought and famine. For instance, how and why it started and developed to famine, what it means etc

Media function

(In-coder reliability 97 percent)

When the story mention or indicates the listed activities in any parts of the story

Appendix E

Interview guides

1. General

- What is your reflection on the 2002-2003 drought and famine?
- How did you and your media cover the drought and famine?
- Do you think your reports had influence on the audience?
- Were there responses from the readers through telephone, mail or email, etc?

2. Themes

- What were the central points you discussed in the articles?
- What was the justification for focusing on these themes?

3. Sources

- Who were the sources you quote in drought and famine related stories?
- Why did you approach these sources?
- Was there any pressure from these interest groups to write the story in certain ways?
- What is the reason for the invisibility of the affected people in the stories?

4. Frames

- How did you construct the stories and why?
- Were you aware of how the stories were framed?
- Did you purposefully shape or organize the story in certain ways?
- What were your routines in writing such stories?
- Do you think this routine had effect on how you write the stories?
- What additional factors affected the way you covered the 2002-2003 drought and famine?

Appeal frame

- What is the justification for focusing on appeal aspect of the drought?
- What did you want to achieve by focusing on this aspect?

Diagnostic frame

- What do you think brought the problems in the first place?
- Why did most articles state nature as reason for the problems?
- What was the reason for the limited discussion of other causes in most of the articles?

Prognostic frame

-What do you think about the effects of the drought and famine?

-What were the justifications for not focusing on this aspect of the problem?

Solution frame

- In your view what were the solutions for the drought and famine?

- Why did most stories focus on food and non-food aids?

Attribution of responsibility frame

-Who do you think is responsible for solving or addressing the problems?

- Why did the articles primarily attribute responsibility to the international communities?

Conflict frame

-What is your reflection on the disagreement among non-government organizations, donors and other agents?

-Do you think this might had important implication regarding controlling and addressing the drought and famine?

- How did you and your media cover disagreement between different agents?

Economic frame

-What were the implications of the drought and famine on the Ethiopian economy and vice versa?

-Why didn't the story dealt with these aspects of the problem?

Moral frame

- Did you consider the societies' beliefs and values in writing the stories?

- What are the justifications for not suggesting actions the readers should take towards addressing and controlling the drought and famine?

Empathy frame

-Why did most stories show big power difference in different groups involved in the story?

-What are the justifications for using words and adjectives that shows the affected people, particularly women and children as victims?

4. Media function

-What do you think the roles of the media are in drought and famine management and prevention?

-What type of report do you think are suitable for these roles?