

**ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY  
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES  
SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM AND  
COMMUNICATION**

**A CONTENT ANALYSIS ON PRIVATE NEWSPARERS'  
FRAMING OF THE GROWTH AND TRANSFORMATION  
PLAN**

**BY  
Eyob Nega**

**May, 2011  
Addis Ababa**

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**A THESIS SUMMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF JOURNALISM  
AND COMMUNICATION IN PARTIAL FUIILLMENT OF THE  
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS  
IN JOURNALISM AND COMMUNICATION**

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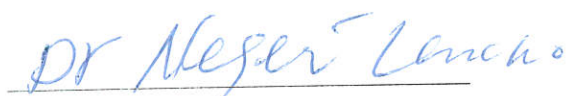
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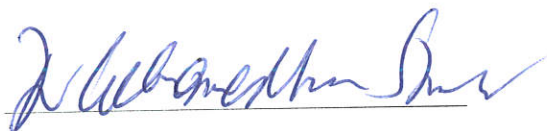
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## Acknowledgment

My gratitude goes to my advisor, Dr. Negri Lencho, who has contributed his constructive comments and corrections on the thesis. I also owe many thanks to the individuals who have patiently coded the newspapers and the informants for their time.

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## Acronyms

**GTP=** Growth and Transformation Plan

**MoFED=** Ministry of Finance and Economic Development

**WIC=** Walta Information Center

**UNDAP=** United Nations Development Program

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**DAG=** Development Assistance Group Ethiopia

**MCA=** Ministry of communication Affairs

**MDG=** Millennium Development Goal

**IMF=** International Monetary Fund

## **Abstract**

As it is known, Ethiopia is the poorest and least developed country in the world. This poverty stands as the primary manifestation of the situation. Considering this situation, the current government has issued the Growth and Transformation Plan (GTP), to overcome the problem the country faced. This study primarily intended to examine how Ethiopian private newspapers framed GTP issues in terms of themes employed, and source quoted. Moreover, it also proposed to study what roles private newspapers played in addressing issues of GTP. For the current research, framing theory was used as a conceptual framework.

The research was conducted by using quantitative and qualitative research methods. The three sample newspapers (Fortune, Addis Admass, and Reporter) were purposefully selected in order to ensure higher number of circulation among private newspapers. A content analysis was used as a major research method. Two frames coders coded 22 articles which met the criteria set by the researcher. In addition, in-depth interviews were conducted with key informants who worked for these newspapers.

The results of the study indicated the newspaper focused on informative themes of the addressing the issue of GTP. They employed a much higher use of responsibility and economic frames compared to conflict, human interest and other frames. They also largely attributed the responsibility to government and experts as having the ability to take action.

The newspapers were also found to be dominantly engaged in selection and salience of agricultural and industrial aspects of GTP over others.

# Chapter One: Introduction

## 1.1 Background

Ethiopia is one of the poorest and least developed countries in the world. Poverty stands at the forefront of an embracing situation that Ethiopia faces at present. The pursue for overcoming this problem however, is constrained by a mix of the unpredictable of nature and human folly anchored in climatic socio cultural, and economies and political factors .

Poverty is demonstrably present both in the urban and rural areas of Ethiopia as a long standing social problem offering significant portion of urban and rural communities of the country.

Relying on the above reality, the government of Ethiopia issued the growth and transformation plan(GTP) which outlined poverty reduction approaches based on agricultural development, industrial development, sectorial development and good governance and capacity building in the public and private sectors as its major contents. These were recognized to help in realizing goals and objectives relating to poverty reduction (MOFED (2010)).

In addition, the document incorporates sectoral and sub-sectoral development programs agriculture, education and health, manufacture. As could be observed in the policy reduction matrix of GTP covering, the period between 2010-2011-2015/16 the government pledged to address concerns associated with poverty through a series of policy measures and interventions that are deemed crucial in bring about improvements in, among others, food security agriculture, industry, and prevention of HIV/ AIDS. Issues pertaining to the preparation for subsequent submission of GTP in poverty eradicating program, indicators

of GDP in terms of the participation of the public in general, and stakeholder, in particular, forced the government to put the plan into discussion with extensive debates. Starting from August 2010, the government has been releasing the components of the plan to the public through different media outlets, including private press.

The development process involves working within the given political and economic order to adopt policies that bring about economic growth. Given that political agents are critical to the process, the development of market institutions that facilitates economic growth is, therefore, a problem in 'public choice,' Christopher and Peter(2004). There have been many explanations for the failure of certain economy to develop. A lack of investment in capital, foreign financial aid (Easterly 2001: 26-45), Culture (Lal 1998) and geographic location (Gallup et al. 1998) have all been postulated as potential explanations for the failure of economic to develop (Ibid). While not denying the potential importance of these aforementioned factors, Christopher & peter contend that the role of media in developing institution that facilitate economic progress has only recently begun to receive attention it deserves.

The media, with specific reference to the collective entity of newspaper, radio television and the international network ( Internet), play a very important role in national development. National development involves changes or advancement in a nation aimed at improving the political, economic and social lives of the people. The real influence of the media in nation development will depend on the media themselves the societies in which they operate, and the audience they reach Stanley,(2005). It enables people to understand and appreciate their environment, and facilitate relationships between and among individual and societies (Ibid). Media role have great impact to one's economic development regarding the adoption of socially beneficial policy to be

a dominant strategy. As Christopher & Peter, (2004), states that this can be achieved highly based on the media's ability of gathering and reporting the accurate developmental information that will greatly strengthen media to serve as a coordinating enhancing mechanism. In this case, the current macro plan, which was taken as economic strategy, can be mentioned.

Thus, to achieve the media role effectively, journalists have or should have a clear idea of what makes a news story. (Pape & Fanther, (2005), contend that the decision as to whether or not to follow up a news story is left to those who are expert at it that includes the editor, new editor and reporter. They further state that it is worth bearing in mind that much depends on the journalists perception of his or her audiences interest and or the editors priorities at any giving time . Explaining the responsibility of the journalists and their influence on the storyline framing of story, Gadzekpo ,(2011:2), said:

The responsibility of journalist is to critically examine, evaluate local needs the difference between its implication on people as claimed by the government and as it actually happened, ...so reporting development story is not reporting about event, but process and not reporting about personalities but issues.

Between an event and the reporting or broadcasting of it to an audience, mediation occurs, that is, a process of interpretation, shaping, selecting, editing, emphasizing de-emphasizing according to the perceptions, expectations and previous experience of those involved in the reporting of the event; and in accordance with the requirements and characteristics of the means of reporting. The event is translated in to words or pictures; it is processed according to the demands of the medium for headlines, for good pictures and

pressures such as time , space and contending messages, Watson,&Hill (2006).

Because of their agenda setting capacity, the media have influence up on the criteria which , in the public domain, decide what is important and what is not , what is normal and what is deviant, what is consensus and what is dispenses, what is significant or news worthy and what is marginal. Hence, several research show significant correlation between media attention to issues and achieve of these issues to the public. Scheufele( 2000) in Harwood, (2005) asserts; theoretically and practically, the news media play several to set agenda setting and issue framing roles in advancing public policy. One role is to set agenda of public concern by establishing issues as salient or cognitively accessible to individuals in the population.

## **1.2 Statement of the problem**

Ethiopia is one of underdeveloped country in the world. Poverty is currently manifested both in urban and rural areas of Ethiopia as a long standing social problem offering significant portion of urban and rural communities of the country.

Thus, by considering the above facts, the government of Ethiopia issued the growth and transformation plan(GTP) which outlined poverty reduction approaches based on agricultural development, industrial development, sectorial development and good governance and capacity building in the public and private sectors as its major contents. These were recognized to help in realizing goals and objectives relating to poverty reduction (MOFED (2010).

The Growth and Transformation Plan from (2010/11-2014/15) of Ethiopia has been endorsed by the House of People's Representative

(HPR) in early December 2010. This plan has gone through the different levels of public and stakeholders discussion.

It is obvious that the public gets information about social problems or issues mostly through media (Kensicki, 2004). Media, therefore, have a core responsibility of informing the public about the issue of GTP. Further, even though most of the issues of GTP are discussed by government and public, the media spur the global communities and push and national government to properly address the issue at hand.

It should be noted, however, that media attention to social problems does not guarantee an automatic response from the public. Even the identical problems, which attract equal media attention, will not enjoy equal public responses Robinson (2000). Among other factors, the way the media see should also pay attention to the way the media frame a given problem or issue Bullock et al., (2001). Media framing explains the media's treatment of an issue.

Locally made framing research were found to focus on specific issues like drought, famine and disability issues as to crosscheck journalists role in the media attention that their decisions to give voice to the power less. The study conducted on the framing of drought and famine by Betelehem,(2006) found that the analyzed newspapers were given to the focus of relief and recovery stages of the drought and famine. The analyzed newspapers were also found to use dominant frame like event and appeal frame than diagnostic and prognostic frames. Moreover, the analyzed newspapers attributed the responsibility of solving or addressing the problem to the international communities and the Ethiopian government, respectively.

On the other hand, Tigist,(2008) in the study conducted on 'media framing of people with disabilities', also found that the newspapers were engaged in selection and salience as they persistently cover one type of disability over others and attributing responsibility to government and NGOs as having the ability to alleviate the problem without giving much emphasis to concerned bodies. In the research made in (2008) by Hallelujah, on the title, "The history of private press and their contribution for the democratization process of Ethiopia," states that there was a huge lack of professionalism and ethical standards on the part of private press. He further states that because of the above reasons and neglecting of internationality accepted ethical standards that has to be considered by the journalists, the private press failed to play its role as an independent institution.

Regarding framing, as the above research shows the local media have been giving little attention to the issues which are more important in informing the society. On the other hand, it can be seen that framing research had a recent history of examining local media outlets as to see which media have given more attention to the problem or issue of the society. Questioning media through framing regarding to setting agenda, as to Gadezkpo, in (2011:4) pointed out, can be assessed mainly on the following questions.

- What criteria are used for selecting news?
- Does the news that is generated, in newspapers, enables the public to make informed choices, exercise their choices, take the right decisions, take advantage of opportunities, and discharges their responsibilities?
- Does it give voice to the powerless or to the power full? Does it cloud the issue or illuminate the issues?
- What kind of picture are we giving to our audience?

All the aforementioned questions are to be responded by framing research. However media in Ethiopia, especially the press, are not yet put in question as they are responsible to provide a basis for building sustainable pluralities democratic structures by stimulating and encouraging critical awareness, public discussion and participation in the decision making process as well as exposing bureaucratic incompetence, corruption, abuse of powers and violation of human rights. (Hallelujah, 2008).

Moreover, as stated above, since the conducted researches were limited to specific issues, areas like economic, and development issues, which are all-inclusive, are not given attention in the framing research. Thus, the current development plan (GTP) has caught the attention of the researcher to examine the private press framing of the GTP as to form the public understanding regarding the issue of GTP. This particular research, whose aim was to assess the framing of GTP by the private press, as result shown by Hallelujah, found to have a direct relation, which could be taken as a reference point where one enables to see the framing process. Hence, the question of professionalism and other ethical standards are of the pillars of journalism and framing research.

As it is known, the issue of GTP has caught a huge attention from national and international level. The plan has been taken as tool for eradication of poverty by achieving the millennium development goals and by repeating the previous 5 years growth of the country. Thus, this event create a chance to see the private press; coverage of the issue of GTP, how it is framed through the given media outlets as to assess for understanding of the issue by the society.

### **1.3 Objectives**

The aim of this research is to assess and examine the private News Papers' coverage and framing of stories and articles of the fifth year growth and transformation plan (GTP). The specific objectives are:

1. To examine the contents and frames of GTP in three Ethiopian private newspapers, the Fortune, Addis Admass and the Reporter.
2. To identify the extent to which Ethiopian private Newspapers' cover and report issues of GTP, and how the articles reinforce or challenge current views of plan.
3. To identify dominant frames, themes and sources, used in these news papers when writing about issues of GTP
4. To see the nature of how issues of GTP are represented.

### **1.4 Research Questions**

1. What is the nature and extent of Ethiopian private newspapers' coverage and frame of GTP issues?
2. Are the newspapers engaged in reinforcing or challenging current views of the plan?
3. What are the dominant frames and themes used in these news papers while reporting on issues of GTP?

### **1.5 Significance of the study**

Addressing and informing the national development issues is not an exercise that is limited to national media. The responsibility of all media has to be taken in to account. This project is founded on

the belief that to examine the private newspapers coverage of the growth and transformation plan might throw light on important aspects of private media's role in mobilizing the society so as to meet the current issue.

In addition, it is the aspiration that this will be significant for the newspapers to be analyzed as well as for Ethiopia media in general. The study aims to assist the newspapers in question to improve their coverage of GTP since it will address their good sides and indicates their limitations.

Finally, in providing an analysis of the private newspapers' address the questions of the national development agenda, this research might serve as stepping stone for future studies.

## **1.6 Scope of the Study**

The study is limited to the horizon of Ethiopian three selected private newspapers namely: Addis Admass, Fortune, and Reporter and assesses their coverage of GTP issues. It, therefore, is limited to only this media. In addition, the research assesses articles written about GTP within the time gap of the year August, 2010- December, 2010. As a result, its boundary is limited to 4 months examination. Further as it assesses textual analysis on newspapers it also lacks an examination of how issues of GTP perceived or respond by the people through a given media output. Moreover, since the governments owned press is not accessed in one place, they are not a part of this study.

## 1.7 Limitation of the Study

While not denying the presence of the state media will have its contribution, the publication of the state press were not only limited in the capital city, Addis Ababa. Thus, finance, time and the distance from which the regional newspapers are found, had restricted the researcher not to see the nature of the state media regarding the issue of GTP.

The researcher did not carry out two interviews with two journalists because it was impossible that they were not willing talk about GTP.

Further, the research might not give a full picture of the Ethiopian private media representation of GTP other than the time frame stated. Moreover, the research lacked books about GTP and related issues in relation to the media.

## 1.8 Conceptual Definition

**Agriculture sector** under the fifth year, GTP is speculated to grow very faster, thus, food will be secured in both house hold and national levels; the pressure of inflation will be alleviated and enable the agriculture sector to its decisive role in the economy of the country.

**Industry sector** a predication of set by in the plan enabling the industrial sector to play a key role within the economic development through ensuring better and fast growth of the industry unlike the other sectors

**Growth in Capacity building and Good Governance:** to speed up the economy, empowering human and scaling up and exploiting resources ,capacity enchantment activities were treated in the plan.

**Sector service** involves the provision of beneficial, and social development .Hence, infrastructure development in its part encompasses

the availability of education, health, transport etc facilitates whereas, social development in turn emphasizes on explanation and improvisation of quality of educational training and services. Moreover, accessing the provision of health services and improving their services are big concern of service sector.

### **Pertinent themes in GTP story**

**Informative-** refers to providing knowledge and instruction about (GTP) when it explains what GTP is, and how to go about it.

**Achievable-**refers when the story used is telling the reader that GTP is succeed and able to alleviate to which it is intended.

**Over ambitious or unattainable-**refers to GTP as impossible task to achieve or reach.

**Discussion and feedback-** when the story is used to show the process of discussing GTP being taken as a subject of discussion and finally able to get responses.

**Suggestive-** When the central idea of the story is used to remind the readers to think about the issue of GTP.

### **Sources**

Sources are referred to as names of the person, group or organization directly or indirectly quoted in the story. such as; government officials,(all responsible stakeholders in government side like minister of MOFED, Minister of MCA and all government executive members); Donors,( all supporters which are known in involving in Ethiopian economy); , the public,(al section of the society especially, which are appeared in reported stories for the meeting held to discuss on GTP), and the likes.

## **Chapter Two: Review of related literature**

This chapter contains review of related literatures, which includes theories and views of different scholars relevant to the study. It is organized in four sections: brief definition and description about what GTP means; the role of media for national development; and finally about framing theory in the media. In each of these parts, an attempt has been made to argue the relationship between literature and the study.

### **2.1 The Growth and Transformation Plan**

All to achieving not only the millennium development goals but also entering a new phase of economic development where the industry will have to take over the precedence from the agriculture sector by 2020. for the present: the new five year plan makes our country well poised on a fast tracked socio-economic development. It is the Growth and Transformation plan (GTP) which comes at heels of the enormously successful PASDEP.

#### **2.1.1 What is Growth and Transformation Plan?**

As to (Amel Hassen ,Sep 13,(2010) in Walta Information Center)(WIC) states, it is an undertaking by the Ethiopian government to increase the growth rate of the past five years in the socio-economic, and every major sector. Not only is the plan to repeat the successes of the past years, but also to venture in and realize a grand achievement in all the sectors and particularly in the industry.

The growth and transformation plan marks the government's attempt and promise to extricate Ethiopians out of poverty towards a better future, according to Ministry of Finance and Economic Development (MoFED,(2010). The plan that holds a poverty-free medium income state as its ultimate destination had considered various elements in and out of

support of its goal. Cited at (WIC), as the Prime Minister has put it is doable only where the combined effort of all concerned is orchestrated. Hassen, (2010).

The other implication of the growth and transformation plan is its undertaker's will to set a challenge for itself and the expectation provoked from the public being the self-inflicted pressure. It all leads to the conclusion that the justification for the government's plan for the next five years. It is the belief, more than ever, that the Ethiopians are entitled to the ultimate goal of plan; poverty-free and medium income earning Ethiopian (Ibid).

### **2.1.2 What makes the plan reliable?**

It's a good thing that the government holds to the conviction that Ethiopians deserve the end of which the plan is claimed to be a means. However, the reason of the mind raises the question: Is the plan the means to the end? Even more crucially, do we have any substantial ground to hold that Ethiopia will realize the end/goal of the plan?

To start with the more crucial, are there grounds confirming the possibility that Ethiopia may attain the growth and transformation planned? The facts relevant to the issue are the records of performance of the government. In order to judge whether the growth and transformation plan will be attained, it is essential that the springboard be a position that allows the pursuit of the goal. As the past is reflected in the present, the present is an indispensable input in forecasting the future.

The macro economy execution of the 2005-2010 released by the finance and economy development ministry in August 2002 indicates that there has been an average of 11.0% economic growth in the five periods. Similarly 8% average growth in agriculture and related sectors, 10% in

industry and 14.6% in services. Among the specific figures of the growth plan macroeconomic execution, here are some randomly selected. The number of people living below the general poverty line has redacted to 29% in 2010 from the 39% in 2002. Elementary education increased to 94.2% from the 79.8% at the beginning of the plan period. Health service coverage rose to 89% from 30%, overall clean water supply coverage 68.5% from 36%/1000km<sup>2</sup>, electricity service coverage 41% from 16%, telephone service coverage 49.3%/5km from 13%/5km at the beginning of the five year plan.

According to MoFED reports, the above performance has put Ethiopia in the list of the top ten countries with the fastest economic growth. The international Monetary fund (IMF) report released in June 2010 confirms that the Ethiopian economy has “. . . enjoyed strong growth . . .” and attributes it to the “. . . government led development policies . . .”

The 2010 report entitled “the wealth of the nations: pathways to human development” in UNDP Human development report states that Ethiopia is the “top movers” in terms of global development process. Development Assistance Group Ethiopia (DAG) has reported, “economic growth has accelerated on a sustained basis from around 2003, despite the economic crisis.” The same study by DAC released in July 2010 confirms that Ethiopia is on the right track to meet the Millennium Development Goals: 1(eradicate extreme poverty and hunger), 2 (achieve universal primary education), 6 (combat HIV/AIDS, malaria ad other diseases), 8 (develop global partnership for development).

These facts confirm to the capacity/ ability of the government possesses to accomplish the goals set by the growth and transformation plan. It has devised the right policy that enabled Ethiopia set out for the rather giant leap that it is set to take. So that the prospect be considered, it is automatically mandatory to consider whether the ground stepped on

allows the leap forward or not. It is only when the current poses allows it that the future step can be taken. As to WIC remarks, the present, i.e., the aggregate result of the 2005-2010 growth plan execution, gives a green light for the future, i.e., the 2010-2015 growth and transformation plan.

### **2.1.3 Goals**

The objectives of the growth and transformation plan are briefly as follows.

- An 11% minimum overall economic growth, get rid of the obstacles surfacing in the economy and achieve the Millennium development goals.
- Raise the coverage and quality of health and education services, and insure the accomplishment of the millennium development goal.
- Create and strengthen a stable democratic and developmental government and create conducive environment for the continuing national capacity building.
- And realize the major goals provided above in a stable macro economic frame work and guaranty its continuity.

The economic growth has two alternative tracks. These are base case scenario and high case scenario. The base case scenario holds the minimum growth that should be expected by the execution of the growth and transformation plan. The Ethiopian government aims for a minimum of 11% growth, in other words, continuing the growth rate of the past five years. The other alternative is High case scenario, which represents the maximum growth expected by the end of the execution period of the plan.(MoFED,(2010).

According to the estimates made by the government, there is expected a 14.9% of economic growth coupled with the expected double growth in agricultural productivity. Moreover, the plan is targeted at increasing the decency of the industrial sector and finalizing works that enable the latter take the leading role in the economy. Hence, the Ethiopian economy shall be ready to be transformed into an industry-led one (Ibid).

#### **2.1.4 Media approaches to GTP**

As to informing and for better understanding of the issue of GTP among the public and the concerned bodies, Ministry of Communication Affairs has put Informative and Participatory approaches. These approaches were manipulated since the plan was revealed in the beginning of August 2010. Informative approaches (explaining and informing the issue of GTP), was intended to be used in the first 2 months (August and September). Then, Participatory approach (face to face discussion with the public and other concerned bodies), was planned to take place from the end of September and till the document was ratified by the House of Peoples' Representatives of the people (HPR). Of course, these two communication approaches are to be continued after the document was ratified. However, for the sake of this study, there was a belief that in this period there would be a high number of publications of newspapers concerning the issue of GTP.

#### **2.2 The Role of Media in Society**

Whatever the circumstances or the nature of the society in which the media operate, certain factors are basic in the way they influence national development. Every medium has a message, it has a target audiences it aims at influencing a change through framing process; it influences attitudes, perceptions and decision making and it generally influences behavior. The process of creating shared

meaning through sending and receiving information is vital for understanding and providing knowledge to people, (Stanley, 2002).

McQuail, (2000), in his Media and Society theory asserts that media and society are inseparable in many ways and it is often difficult to separate media from the lives of the society and vice-versa. Mass communication interposes in some way between "reality" and our perception and knowledge of it (ibid).

Media are also expected to help resume social conflicts. Gold and Auslander, (1999), explaining more on the same idea assert that media has much interplay in society, as a major socialization medium, a transporter of culture, a source of information, education, and entertainment, as an important factor in political communication and participation in a democracy, and communicator of ideological values and norms, attitudes and beliefs (ibid). Thus, the media can be seen to exert an influence on social, economic and political relations (Gold and Auslander, 1999). In this regard, McQuail, (2000), states the concept of hegemony of how the media culture (news, entertainment, fiction) helps to maintain the class divided and class dominated society. Hegemony tends to define unacceptable supposition to the status quo as dissident and deviant. In effect, it is a constantly reasserted definition of social situation. By way of discourse rather than political or economic power, which becomes real in its consequences (Hall, 1982, in McQuail, (2000).

Hence, media has a major role in the society and to the society. It seems that many people are dependent on the media to be informed about current events of the world and their environment. Above and beyond, they are dependent to receive information about less news worthy issues such as health and education. Researches also indicate that mass media serves as a major source of information, metaphors and values in a mass society influencing customs taste and morality in a wide range of areas

including politics, economy, religion, family and sexual life, science and medicine (Clark, 1992, in Valenta, 2002).

Among the several media roles to society, informing, educating, and entertaining are mostly mentioned. As stated above, there is, in fact, a great deal of relationship between media and society, one depending on the other. In addition, media have the potential to reach various parts of the society with a very short period, so it can for instance, educate the public about the national development agenda. It can well contribute much to bring about attitudinal change by persistently referring to the economic plan and activities of the country.

### **2.3. The role of media in influencing the direction of public opinion**

Generally, communication whether it is a face to face or from the media is the heart of any social life. However, under certain circumstances where face to face communication is unattainable due to certain cultural or traditional attitudes, media communication becomes a powerful tool for communicating about a certain issue, well in this case the issue of GTP.

The modern day media plays an important role not only in reflecting, public attitudes, and values regarding developmental issues but also in shaping them. Based on the idea that the media influence audience members, first, by selecting certain people and events for attention and second, by telling the audience what is important to know about the story (Schooler, et al, 1996) cited in Tigist, (2007).

Citing Haller (1999), Tigist notes the contents of the mass media are reflections of the social organization and value system of the mass media are purposive elements of social change, agents for modifying the goal

and values of social groups. Hence, getting on the news media agenda is essential, and how the issue is represented or framed is equally important.

In the literature, it has been said how media could spring about change in societal attitude towards issue. However, it is not only media coverage about economic issues that could bring about changes, but it highly depends as well on the way in which these issues are presented in a particular way.

Hence, several show significant correlations between media attention to issues and achieve of these issues to the public. Scheufele, (2000) in Harwood, (2005) asserts, theoretically and practically, the news media can play several agenda setting and issue-framing roles in advancing public policy. One role is to set agenda of public concern by establishing issues as salient or cognitively accessible to individuals in the population.

## **2.4 Media for national development**

The development process involves working with in the given political and economic order to adopt policies that bring about economic growth. Given that political agents are critical to the process in the development of market institutions that facilitates economic growth is therefore a problem in 'public choice' (Christopher. J & Peter T. 2004). There have been many explanations for the failure of certain economy to develop. A lack of investment in capital, foreign financial aid (Easterly 2001: 26-45). Culture (Lal 1998) and geographic location (Gallup et al. 1998) have all been postulated as potential explanations for the failure of economy to develop (Ibid). While not denying the potential importance of these aforementioned factors, Christopher & peter contend that the role of media in developing institution that facilitate economic progress has only

recently begun to receive attention it deserves. According to these authors, the media is a key institutional mechanism for achieving a successful policy mix that promotes economic development.

The development process and specifically the adoption of good policies are characterized by a situation of conflict between political agenda. These scholars further assert that the games of conflict to be turned in to games of coordination between political agendas reformer's parties in the development. Based on the above idea, coordination-enhancing institution including media, have a great impact to one's economic development regarding the adoption of socially beneficial policy to be a dominant strategy. Likewise, coordination between political parties with support and acceptance approach of the population is quit experiential to achieve economic development.

## **2.5 Framing and the Theory of Framing**

Media framing refers to the selection process where by pieces of information are selected and placed together in news stories Andsager and Powers, (1999). The stories may present the same story differently by selecting and focusing on different aspects or angles of the same story Gibbs and Warhover, (2002). 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 an issue while a more serious news paper would focus on, its political and economical consequences.

According to Dorfman (2005) framing means different things to different people, i.e some think framing as finding the right word, while others think that frames knock on complex moral structures that trigger how

people react to a whole constellation of social and public policy issues in our society.

Citing Tankard et al (1991: 11) Johnson- Cartee, 2005: 24), States media frame 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.” Providing a general applicable definition, Entman (1993), put framing it 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”. Frames for Entman fulfill many functions like defining problems by deforming the causal agents, diagnosing causes by indicating the factors behind the problem, making moral judgments by evaluating causal agents and put effects. And thus, frames suggest remedies and forecasting the effect of the treatment to perform this activates as to Entman, a number of textual devices can be used. This includes uses of certain words, phrases, making certain contextual references, choosing certain pictures or films referring to certain sources and so on. These textual devises create the difference in presenting the same thing in different perspective.

Andsagar and power (1993:538) explain media framing as “a selection process where by pieces of information are selected and placed together in news stories”. Thus, based on Pan and Kosicki, (1993), frame tells more than what is significant and news worthy; the selected of frames indicate which opinions, interpretations, and definitions are more valid particularly in conversational issues (pan and Kosicki, 1993).

Tigist (2007), citing Wallack and Dorfman(1996), states frame as the package in which the main point of the story is developed, supported and understood. Frames to larger extent define the boundaries of a public

discussion about an issue. Elements in the frame are perceived as convincing and legitimate. Elements outside the frame, however, are marginal and have limited currency in public debate.

Gamson & Modigliani, (1987, 1989) cited in Dennis & James (2007: 100), see frame in communication as it refers to the words, images, phrases, and presentation styles that the speaker (e.g. a political, a media outlet) uses when relaying information about an issue or event to an audience. The chosen frame reveals what the speaker sees as relevant to the topic at hand. This is to mean that media provides not only facts about an issue but also put issues in contexts to engage the readers or viewers. As a result, frames influence how the public think of an issue by defining the issue, indicating what/who the causes are, and suggesting what should be or needed to be done to overcome the problem (Entman, 1993).

Entman, (1993:53,54) puts three important activities of framing: selection, silence and omission. 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, cited in Bethlehem, 2006). In other words, through omission and emphasis the media make some considerations, or measures seem more important (Ibid).

All in all then, framing, as to these scholars, refers to a kind of selection made by journalists to emphasize the most important part of the story dominate over other parts of the story so that the way readers or viewer's can in the same way understand the point emphasized and leave out the rest. As a result, it will shape their perception in such a way as framed

by media professionals. In the same way the issue of economic plan might be selected to appear in the media but the question of what part of development is most emphasized in an article is what influences the way readers understand the point at focus.

However, due to the lack of a clear concept of framing, many scholars have been found to associate it with the agenda setting Mc Combs et al, (1997) cited by, Scheufele (1999) and McQuail (2004) argue that framing is an extension of agenda setting called second level agenda setting.

Social scientists examine media influence by examining frames Mher, (2000). The frame of a news story gives meaning to the individual events reported. Gitlin defines frames as “persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual (1980). In other words, the way in which a journalist tells the story is the story frame if the agenda setting function of the media shapes what readers and viewers think about, the way the media frames a story shapes what or how they think Lakoff, (2004) Luntz, (2007). For example, Robert Entman explains that a dominant news frame, supported by the Bush administration, emerged after the September 11, 2001 terrorist affects on the U.S and endorsed invading Afghanistan, and Iraq in a so-called “war on terror,” based in part on the alleged existence of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq Entman, (2003) Cited by peter and Christopher ,( 2010).

Agenda setting and framing are related theories of mass communication and public opinion. (Ibid). Max Well McCombs and Donald Shaw, authors of the seminal research article on agenda setting view framing and agenda setting as overlapping functions. “Both the selection of objects for attention and the selection of frames for thinking about these objects are powerful agenda setting roles (Ibid). Likewise, Entman sees

agenda setting as part of framing. 'Agenda setting can thus be seen as another name for successfully performing the first function of framing, defining problems worthy of public and government attention Entman (2007). McCombs notes that the accumulated evidence of nearly four decades of research on agenda setting and framing is "that journalists do significantly influence their audience's picture of the world" (McCombs 2004: 19).

### **2.5.1 Dominant media frames**

The literature to date has identified a handful of frames that occur commonly in the news although not necessarily simultaneously. Frames appear in many forms but predominantly used frames are, conflict, economic consequence, human interest, morality and attribution or responsibility.

#### **2.5.1.1 Conflict frame**

This frame emphasizes conflict between individual, groups or institutions as a means of capturing audience interest. Neuman et. Al (1992) found that the media draw on a few central frame for reporting a range of issues and that conflict was the most common in the handful of frames in U.S news they identified. De Vreese, (2004) states that conflict frame mostly appears in the news than any other frames. Research on news values points to the importance of conflict. The presence of conflict is consistently listed as is an essential criterion for making "news" in a story not only because it "sells" but also to meet the professional standards of balanced reporting. Framing news in terms of its economic consequences for the audience, the journalistic news values of "proximity and "relevance" are translated in to the news De Vreese, (2004) and Tiggist,2008)." .

### **2.5.1.2 Human-interest frame**

This frame brings a human face or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue or problem. Neuman et al. (1992) described this as the “human impact” frame, and next to conflict, found to be a common frame in the news. As the market for news every where become more competitive, journalists and editors are at pains to produce a product that captures and retains audience interest Bennett,(1995). Framing news as human interest is one way to achieve this. Such a frame refers to an effort to personalize the news dramatize or “emotionalize’ the news, in order to capture and retain audience interest.

### **2.5.1.3 Economic consequences frame**

This frame reports an event, problem, or issue in terms of the consequences it will have economically on an individual, group institution religion, or country. Neuman et al. (1992) also identify a common frame in the news. The wide impact of an event is an important news value, and economic consequences are often considerable Graber, (1993) cited in Holli & Patti (2000).

### **2.5.1.4 Morality frame**

This frame puts the event, problem, or issue in the context of religious tenets or moral prescriptions. Because of the professional norm of objectivity, journalists often make reference to moral frames indirectly-through quotation or inference, for instance, by having someone else raise the question Neuman et al, (1992). A newspaper could, for example, use the views of an interest group to false questions about sexually transmitted disease, such a story may contain moral message or offer specific social prescription about how to behave. Although Neumean et. al (1992) found this frame to be more common in the minds of audiences

than in the content of news, they nevertheless identified this frame as among the several used in reporting.

### **2.5.1.5 Responsibility frame**

This frame presents an issue or problem in such a way as to attribute responsibility for its cause or solution to either the governmental or to an individual or group. Although the existence of a responsibility frame in the news has not been measured explicitly, the U.S news media have been credited with (blamed for) shaping public understanding of who is responsible for causing or solving key social problems, such as poverty (Lyengar, 1987). In general, the attribution of responsibility frame suggests what the causes are and what measures should be taken, as to Kensickis, (2004).

### **2.5.2 Criticism on framing theory**

According to Scheufele (1999), many of the limitations of media framing theory relates to its lack of a clear conceptual definition and generally applicable operation though framing clearly provides a good insight into new events are covered by the media the process through which issues/ events are seen.

Theory of media framing found its base from media effects, especially with in media manipulation theories. Thus its foundation has direct relation with media effect theories. Its critics started from that it regards the audiences as passive to oppose "the persistent, perverse, and emotion sophisticated persuasion of an interlocking media political economic establishment" (Neuman et al, 1992:1). 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).

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 dominant frame result neglect of oppositional frames that might exist in single texts. The other limitation of framing research relates to the framing process. As Scheufele (1999) states framing studies neglect the important factors that determine frame production.

The theory of framing research often assesses media effects, where audiences are seen to share the frames provided by journalists as to, De verse, (2004). De verse (2004), says it is not easy to pin point whether the audience focuses on the 'frame' or 'facts' about the news.

Although the use of frame theory can provide a better explanation on how its media treat issues, readers use elements of framing theory to a very limited degree. The current research will use this concept to study the Ethiopian private newspapers coverage and treatment of the August 2010- December 2010 Growth and Transformation Plan.

### **2.5.3 Place of frames in news**

A single sentence can hold more than one framing function (i.e defines problems, diagnose causes, makes moral judgment or suggests remedies). As Neuman et al. (1992) says newspapers frame stories in their headlines and leads .As to them, the important places of frames in the newspaper are in their headlines and sub headlines. They provide not only a glimpse of journalist's treatment of the story but the whole frame of the story Johnson- Cartee, (2005). This can be taken to insure for a journalist that the headline captures the sense of the story.

However, this does not mean that journalists are always conscious of how they frame stories (Hackett, 1984 and Parenti , 1993 cited in Hallahan (1999), asserts that journalists are not usually alert about their framing of issues and events as a resent, frames can be the result of

practitioners' unconscious assumptions about the social world. In addition, the deadline set from media of what let does not allow journalists to stop and think how they frame the story though they frame each and every story Gibbs and Warhover,( 2002.)

In general TanKard (2001) cited by Johnson- cartee (2005) puts a more complete list of frames focal points in news texts.

1.Headlines and kickers,2.subheads, 3.photo heads,4.photo captions,5.Leads, 6.selection of sources,7.quotes selection, 8.pullquotes,9.logos,10.statistics,figures,&graphs,and 11.concluding statements or paragraphs of statements .

#### **2.5.4. Factors affecting media frames**

Presenting the factors affecting the way an event or issue is framed in the media is important for two reasons, as Entman 1991 provides. First, for looking into whose frame of the story was presented and the second is to know the autonomy of journalists to frame a particular issue media frames can be affected in many ways. Schufele(1999) states five factors that potentially affect the way journalists frame a certain aspect of an issue or a story. Social norms and values, organizational pressures and constraints, interest group's pressures, sources, journalist's routines and ideological or political orientations of journalist Reese(1996), Tuchman, (1998).

The way news is frame in the media is a result of social and professional routines of journalists. According to Edelman (1993) in Schufele) the choice of frames often is driven by ideology and prejudice further, organizational pressures that arise from ownership affected how and event will be framed. As to Shefule, (1999), time, human and financial constraints, by large determine the way stories are framed in media.

## **Chapter Three: Research Design**

### **3.1 Research Method**

The study employed quantitative and qualitative approaches as the principal and supplementary research methods, respectively. Since this research is highly dependent on the data that gathered in numerical form the quantitative research method was found to be reliable and valid. Besides, this method is frequently used approach in framing research.

Moreover, there is a belief that using qualitative research method as a supporting for quantitative approach would address different aspects of the problem or issue at hand; Orcher (2005) states breadth and depth can be well treated using both approaches at a time. Then the qualitative approach is used to get interpret and well understand the actual reality of a given situation and the implication of quantitative data. Therefore, substantial reality of the research that could bring more information with the quantitative analysis, the qualitative research approach is used.

### **3.2 The sample**

Two types of subjects were included in this study: newspapers that covered the social political, economic of the country and journalists and editors who wrote most of the article about the Growth and Transformation Plan were included as a subject of the study.

As to the Broadcast Authority (2011), there are 28 private newspapers in Ethiopia dealing with social, political and economic issues as well. Therefore, from the 28 Newspapers in Ethiopia, this research made a purposeful sample selection of three private Newspapers namely the Addis Admass, Reporter (Amharic), and Fortune (English).

### **3.3 Sampling technique**

Since the study aimed at examining how the three private newspapers in focus Addis Admass, Fortune and Reporter frame issue of GTP, the researcher purposefully selected the population of newspapers that cover Social, Political and economic issues. Newspapers were mainly selected for having higher circulations and for their popularity in reader ship in the country and for their major area of focus on social, political, and economic issues that were believed to have included its issue of the development plan since it is all a social, economic, political, and business concern.

From the selected newspapers, Addis Admass and Reporter are Amharic and Fortune is English. The selected two Amharic newspapers were assumed to help in getting the real understanding and frame of the issue of GTP in the country while reading the articles in local language. Besides, the researcher has believed that taking the selected Amharic newspapers would give a good insight to the issue of GTP since they have written in local language.

However, though there is a reality of only few educated people understanding the English newspaper, the plan was designed for both local and foreign participants in development as the developed countries are the main actors in Ethiopia economy in assisting to achieve the plan successfully with donation and loan, as the GTP document states.

This was because, in the plan, there were many issues that touch not only the educated people in the local context but also diplomats NGOs, and foreigners as well.

Addis Admass, which is Amharic language newspaper that covers mostly of social, political, economical issues as well. It is a weekly newspaper with average Circulation of 21,250, according to EBA, 2011.

**Fortune** is a private owned newspaper that focuses on social, political, and business matters. It was established in 2000. It is an English newspaper with the Average circulation of 8,875. It is a weekly newspaper.

**Reporter** is an English language newspaper that was established in 1995. It is published both in Amharic and English languages. This research considered the Amharic Version. Currently it is a bi-weekly newspaper with the Average circulation of 9,800, as Ethiopian Broadcast Agency reports, in 2011.

### **3.4 Time frame**

It would be unreasonable to set a specific time frame to getting a higher number of articles dealing with GTP. But there is a reference to set time by relying mainly on the reality that the government has prepared this plan after the end of the previous economic plan. Initially, this was done at the beginning of August 2010. Since August 2010 the government has been engaged in awareness creation so as to address the concept of the plan. The end of the time frame was taken to be December. This was because; it was in this month that the parliament had ratified the document. Hence, the researcher believed this period might be taken in an assumption of getting higher number of GTP articles.

Within this time frame, Reporter (Bi weekly) edition of each week was selected for analysis. This means four articles per month. Therefore, 16 editions for four months were taken for analysis. However, in order to include Wednesday & Sunday editions in the week in to the analysis, for this specific newspapers, only, the study selected one day from each week's edition so that the two days' edition Wednesday was taken from the first week, Sunday from the second week, again Wednesday from the

third week and finally Sunday edition for the fourth week. Therefore, 2 Wednesday editions and 2 Sunday editions had been represented.

Likewise, from Addis Admass and Fortune, since they are both weekly four articles per month were included in the analysis. This means, 16 editions from each newspaper for four months were analyzed.

### **3.5 Selection of stories**

In each of the three newspapers, each article was considered a unit of analysis. All articles that were based on facts (News, features, and interviews) that deal with GTP of any kind were included for analysis. Figures were also included in the article so as to be able to see the relationship of the theme of the article and the visual representation of the plan. Therefore, both written and figures were coded.

### **3.6 Interviews**

One Journalist who wrote most of the articles and one editor from each newspaper was intended to be included for an interview. They were selected purposefully on the ground that they wrote most of the articles about GTP from each newspaper, was selected for an interview. However, in the end, two journalists from Fortune and Admass, were not willing to give information regarding the over all aspects of GTP. Thus, the researcher was forced to use only the rest informants. Hence, 3/4 of the valid sample for this research, were included.

### **3.7 Data Collection and Analysis**

A quantitative content analysis and in depth interview are used to collect and analyze essential data for the study. As mentioned in previous part of the study, the content analysis is believed to be appropriate analysis method for framing research. Content analysis (also called, textual

analysis) is a standard methodology in the social sciences on the subject of communication content. It has been mentioned that this research aimed to look to Ethiopian private media framing of the GTP issues while reporting on GTP, both in textual and figurative demonstrations or illustrations.

On the other hand, the reason for carrying out a supplementary qualitative approach (in- depth interview) was that it could enrich the work with the views of different stakeholders of the issue. Further, in depth interview were optimal for collecting data on individuals' personal histories, perspectives, and experience, particularly when sensitive topics are being explored like in this case the issue of GTP.

Coding sheets to analyze the contents of the newspapers were adopted from previously made research from Semateko and Valkenburg in (2004) and prepared so as to be able to analyze the dominant frames used, sources quoted, and pictures used while reporting about GTP and related issues. Besides, the coding sheets was used to see the extent and location of articles, to which GTP issues appear in the media agenda of these newspapers like any other reports. Moreover, it was used to see whatever the media reinforces or challenges the current views of GTP which is a strategic plan focus on the eradication of poverty. Therefore, each article from each newspaper about the plan were analyzed in terms of the stated components that are the kinds of sources quoted, frames applied, figures used and locations of articles in each newspaper.

### **3.8 Categories of items in the coding sheet**

The researcher made some relevant category of question that coders answer in accordance with the context, the issue of GTP. It was then sorted out like the first part dealt with details like genre or formats (whether the story is news, feature or an interview), figures (whether

there was a figure which part was dominant from the figure what the caption said) and location of articles in the newspaper (whether the story was on the front page or inside page).

The other group was comprised of dominant themes (Could be ambitious, informative, Discussive and feedback, and the likes), and

The next category took account of dominant sources of the story (whether, Donor, the public officials, experts, opposition party, peoples, etc are quoted as sources). The rest includes the kinds of frames used in the media (whether it is a human interest, moral, educative advocacy, attribution of responsibility, conflict etc frames).

### **3.9 The coding process**

To code articles two postgraduate students were trained on how to code newspapers and were given the coding sheet and a coding book with list of questions, and guides respectively. Then coders replay to those question, accordingly as they were given hard copies of each newspaper, which includes a total of 48 editions of the total of three newspapers. List of questions for the coding sheet were developed from the literature and the current issue of GTP. Further questions about framing and the existence of a frame in an article were adopted from previously made framing researches Tigist, (2007) and other researches that made on a content analysis study.

### **3.10 Reliability and validity**

Regarding reliability and validity of using content analysis, the degree to which the two coders respond to the same text in the same way (Coders' agreement) was assured. Inter coder reliability therefore was measured by using Ole Holsti's formula, which is:

Reliability =  $2*m/(N1+N2)$  where;

M is the number of coding decisions on which the two coders agreed N1 and N2 are the total member of coding decisions by the first and second coder respectively Bethelem (2006) & Tigist (2007).

Therefore, the degree to which the two coders agrees ranges from 0.52-0.95 for the the 15% of the stories they coded. (See Appendix E)

The validity can be assured from the categorizations of relevant issues on the coding sheet as well. Validity refers to the extent to which a measuring procedure represents the intended, and only the intended, concept Neuendorf, (2002,). In this case, the objective of assessing the extent to which GTP is covered in the Ethiopian private media and how it is framed would be indicators of the validity as the most important points in each category were reasonably developed and included.

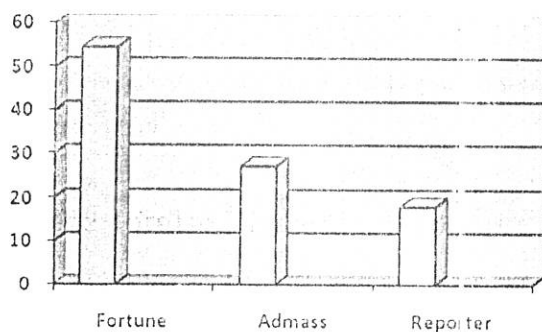
## Chapter Four: Presentation of Findings and Data Analysis

This chapter deals with data presentation, analysis, and discussion. As stated earlier, the objective of this study was to examine the prominence and the coverage given to the issue of GTP in the country, how it is framed, and how the articles play a role regarding whether or not it reinforces or challenges the current perceptives of GTP. As a result, the findings are compiled and presented in tables and graphs with their appropriate interpretations.

### 4.1 The Nature of the Newspapers Coverage of GTP

From the total of 48 editions, selected sample private newspapers, only 22 articles were found to deal with issues of GTP in these newspapers during the period between August 2010 and December 2010. Thus, there were 22 articles within the selected period and were analyzed.

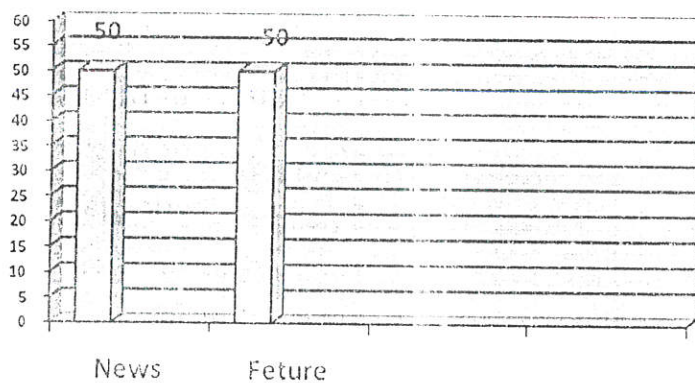
**Figure 1. percentage of articles published.**



As can be seen from figure.1, out of the total of 48 published articles throughout the given time frame, 22 stories were found to have discussed on GTP and related issues. This shares 45.8 percent of the total editions of the three newspapers that is Fortune 54.5 percent, Addis Admass 27.3 percent and Reporter 18.2 percent of the stories which mainly focused on the GTP and related issues. Here, as the graph shows

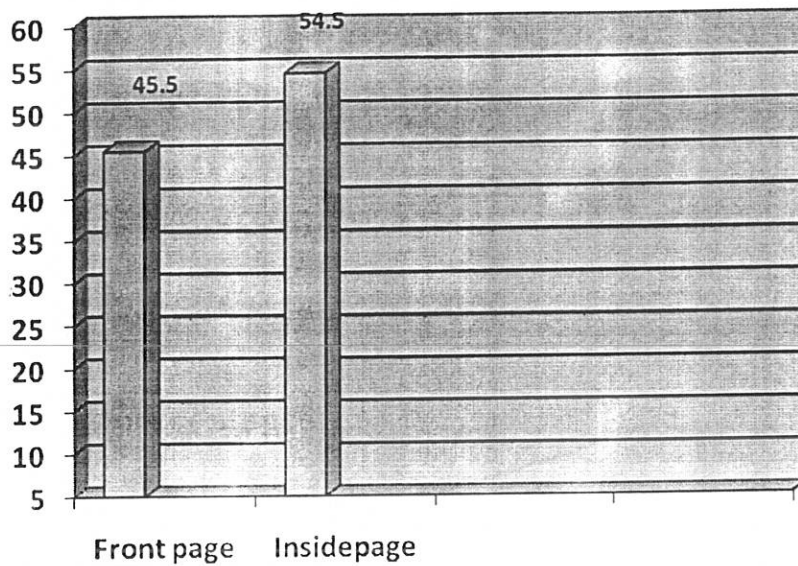
out of 22 articles which are valid in analyzing the newspapers, Fortune shared more than half of the stories. However, the remaining 10 GTP articles were found to be shared by Admass and Reporter with 6 and 4 articles, respectively. This result shows that there was no sufficient media coverage from both Admass and Reporter as they were found even to cover less than half of 16 articles for each newspaper from the past 4 months.

**Figure 2 percentages of news and feature distributions of articles.**



Of the 22 articles that were found to have the issue of GTP, 50% were presented as news stories while the rest 50% were feature GTP stories as can be seen from Figure 2 above. Regarding the location of these stories, 54.5% of the articles were inside page stories while only 45.5% of the stories appeared as front-page stories. This shows the news value given to the issue of GTP by looking at the location on which it appeared. Important stories often appear on the front page while less important stories come out on inside.

**Figure .3 percentages of articles published as front page and inside page.**



As figure 3 shows the newspaper presented the issue of GTP with 45.5 percent as front page and in 54.5 percent as inside page. Thus, it can be said that the news value given for the issue of GTP was somehow less.

#### 4.2 Aspects of GTP<sup>1</sup>

**Table 1 Percentages of aspects of GTP mentioned in the articles**

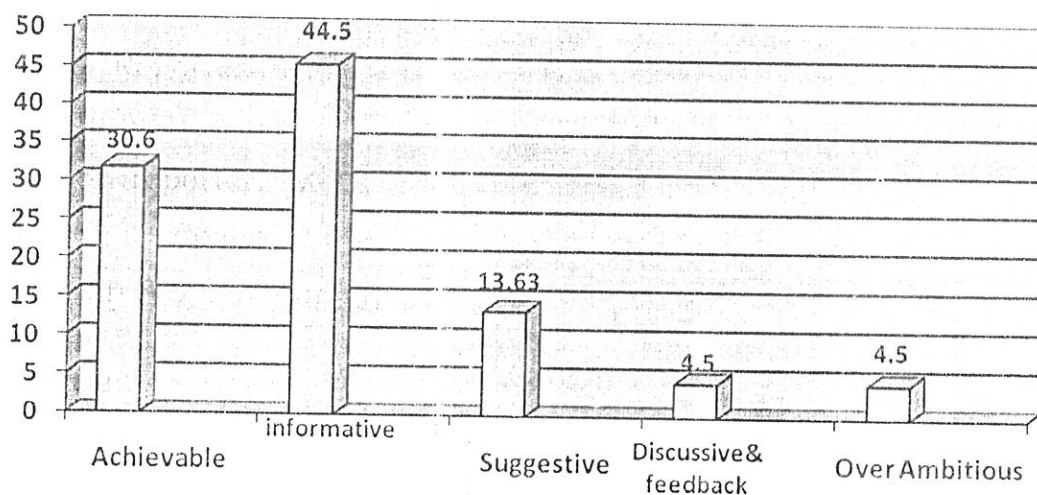
Aspects of GTP	Name of newspapers		
	Admass N=6	Fortune N=12	Reporter N=4
Agricultural	50	41.6	50
Industrial	33.4	33.4	25
Sectoral Service	16.6	16.6	25
Capacity building and good governance	-	8.3	-

<sup>1</sup> Some of the stories dealt with two or more aspects of GTP as a result the sum exceed 100.

As stated above on table 1, all news papers tends to mainly report on agricultural and industrial aspects of GTP over other aspects. From the total of 22 articles, agricultural aspects of the issue were mentioned in 50,41.6 and 50 percent as per the news papers of Admass, Fortune and Reporter respectively. Next to the agriculture, the analyzed articles were focused on industry. Thus, Admass shares 33.4, Fortune 33.4 and 25 percent for Reporter. Sectoral services was found with a least percentage that accounts 16.6 percent for Admass 16.6 percent for fortune and 25 percent for reporter. Moreover what was not found in Admass and Reporter was capacity building and governance while it was found in Fortune with 8.3 percent.

### 4.3 Themes

Figure 4 Themes that were used in all the stories.



**Table 2 Percentage of themes that were used in the analyzed articles**

Themes	Names of the newspapers		
	Admass N=5	Fortune N=12	Reporter N=4
Informative	33.4	50	50
Achievable	33.4	33.4	25
Overambitious	16.6	-	25
Suggestive		16.6	-
Discussive and feedback	16.6	--	-

As can be seen in table 2 above, from the total of 22 articles which were found valid, informative theme was found dominant across the three news papers by pertaining in Addis Admass 33.4 percent, Fortune 50 percent and 50 percent for Reporter. This theme frequently found (explaining about what ,for instance, agricultural and industrial components of GTP are). Following informative theme ambitious theme which comes mostly with achievable conclusion, was the second theme by 33.4, 33.4, 25 percent in Addis Admass, Fortune and Reporter respectively.

Over ambitious or unattainable theme was also covered, in Addis Admass and Reporter being a central theme by 16.6 and 25 percent, respectively. However, this theme was pertinent in reporter news paper .The rest two themes namely suggestive and discussive and feedback were less employed. As a result, suggestive theme was only pertinent in Fortune with 16.6 percent. On the other hand, discussive and feedback was only employed in Admass by 16.6 percent.

#### 4.4 Sources Identified and Quoted

**Table 3 Percentage of sources used in the analyzed articles**

Sources	Newspapers		
	Admass N=6	Fortune N=12	Reporter N=4
Government officials	50	41.6	50
The public	16.6	-	-
Experts	-	33.4	25
Donors	-	-	-
International organizations	-	-	-
GTP documents	-	16.6	-
Opposition leaders	16.6	-	25
Research and Researcher findings	-	25	-
Not specified	16.6	25	-

Regarding source<sup>2</sup> distribution across the articles, government officials were extensively quoted as sources at 50 percent for each Admass and Reporter newspaper. On the other hand, Fortune attributed government officials in 41.6 percent in the analyzed articles. Experts were quoted as second dominant sources by 33.4 and 25 percent in Fortune and reporter news papers respectively, while experts were not pertinent in Addis Admass. Opposition party leaders were given the third place by Addis Admass and reporter with 25 percent for Reporter and 16.6 percent for Admass. The public was quoted only in Admass by 16.6 percent. When we come to the absence, Donors, and international

<sup>2</sup> Some of the stories dealt with two or more sources as a result the sum exceed 100.

organization were not attributed in any of the analyzed articles. However, these sources were expected to be employed. The category “not specified” refers to unnamed sources mostly used in Fortune and Admass newspapers.

Informants acknowledged the excessive use of government officials and experts as sources. Informant 3 stated that these groups were the most responsible agent in any aspect of the GTP, and accordingly held relevant and complete information. One informant acknowledged the importance of considering the public sources about GTP, but due to budget constraints and market orientation, it did not intensively utilize. With regard to opposition leaders, informants 4 stated that most opposition leaders were not interested to give detail information about GTP.

#### 4.5 Framing of GTP

**Table 4 percentage of frame distribution across the newspapers**

Frames	Newspapers		
	Admass N=6	Fortune N=12	Reporter N=4
Attribution of of responsibility	25	56.3	18.8
Economic consequence	31.3	50	12.5
Conflict	12.5	25	6.3
Human interest	12.5	12.5	6.3
Educative	6.3	-	6.3
Diagnostic	6.3	6.3	-

Pictures have the power to tell the story frames. However, in the three newspapers a total of 22 articles published only 16 articles were found with pictures, and of this 62.5 percent were located on front page while the rest 37.5 were placed on the inside pages of the newspapers. All the pictures show a human face of officials, experts and some opposition leaders. In terms of newspapers distribution, Fortune alone covered 62.5 percent of the pictures, where as Addis Admass and Reporter covered 25 and 12.5 percent, respectively. Here it should be noted that there was no public face appeared in the articles. On the other hand, except Fortune the rest newspapers employed a very least number of figures in the analyzed articles.

The distribution of frames across the newspapers figures shows some sort of diversity. Fortune significantly used attribution of responsibility frame in 56.3 percent of the analyzed articles. Addis Admass and Reporter employed this frame in 25 percent and 18.8 percent of the articles covered GTP stories. Compared to others, Fortune used the economic consequence frame as the second dominant frame in its articles analyzed. For Addis Admass the most frequently used frame was the economic consequence frame. All newspapers less used the rest four frames. Even the educative frame and the diagnostic frame were not used in Fortune and Reporter, respectively.

Findings indicated, Fortune and Reporter newspapers attributed responsibility to government action as the ability to change or to take an action since the government designed the plan. In contrast, Addis Admass frequently used the economic consequence frame to indicate the economic impact of GTP and the opportunity it has on the individual or group and on the country a a whole . However, the educative frame which may be more appropriate to the issue of GTP was least employed in all the newspapers.

The relationship between frames and sources is presented in table (see appendix A). The majority of sources (52.5) used in attribution responsibility frames were government officials while experts (37.5 percent) quoted in relation to economic consequence frame. Another central finding is though less used, human interest frame was (54) intensively quoted in GTP stories. Furthermore, the table interestingly shows that the opposition party members were significantly quoted in stories where the conflict frame was used.

The results of 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.

#### **4.5.1 Frames**

Key informants related the focus on GTP using informative approach with informative theme informant 2 stated that all government officials and experts effects were directed in awareness creation about GTP before its implementation. By collecting relevant information regarding GTP from officials and experts, these news papers were playing informative role.

When asked about the achievable theme of GTP, the informants stated that from the two points of view. Informant 2 from Fortune stated that they managed their reports on the issue of GTP from government point of view because they believed that the government was more responsible and concerned about the plan. Since the officials were continuously saying that it was achievable and doable. On the other hand, informant 3 from Reporter regarded the GTP as an over ambitious and unattainable plan. His ideas were resulted considering the opposition leaders point of view.

Moreover as the key informants were asked regarding discussive and feedback theme all of them have questioned the market value of their newspaper if they were engaged in reporting GTP throughout the period.

Further, they stated that they had limitation with the human resources to report GTP from the public point of view.

#### **4.5.2 Factors that affected the frames**

Informants were not conscious of how the newspapers stories were frame. Most agreed that they attempt to achieve objectivity and accuracy. This shows the professional self-reflection of journalists often achieve to 'simply reflect what really happened and/or to provide factual accounts of the truth' Edy (1999). Echoing this self-reflection informants said they report facts "as they were". He said, "Didn't attempt the facts to our own or other agendas". When they asked about the roles of publishing these stories all informants stated informing the public about GTP as the major purposes.

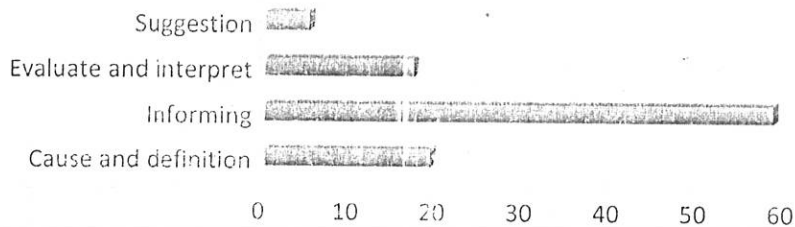
Regarding the journalists routines, informants shared the same experiences as if they were not getting prepared to gather report information from different sources. Informant 1 told they simply focused on only from experts and officials point of view. Moreover informant 3 said "as this economic plan was designed by government we mostly believed that state media would cover it as most of the state newspapers, published more than one day per week."

Regarding donors, and international organizations, which were not used as sources, informants told that these agents' views were not easy to get at the time .As they said the issue of GTP was not familiar to them.

The other major factors that was found to affect GTP issue framing was resources and finance constraints. As informant 4 stated the major objective of these private newspapers was entertaining the readers instead of focusing on hard news like GTP stories.

#### 4.6 Roles Performed by Newspapers

Figure 5 percentage of the roles Performed by newspapers



As can be seen on figure 5, providing information was the dominant role of the analyzed newspapers. This accounts 58.6 percent .On the other hand, the role of Suggest treatment of the issue was the least employed. Thus, it shares 5.1 percent of the stories though this role was the fundamental for the feature implementation of GTP, it was found less to be used.

Regarding the distribution of the roles of the analyzed articles across the newspapers, Fortune with (56.3) had the highest share in providing information among the newspapers. Whereas, the rest two newspapers, namely Admass and Reporter covered with 44.7 percent. Thus, almost all newspapers were used to provide information without adequately presenting the roles of articles

## **4.7. Results and Discussion**

The research began with the purpose of examine how the private newspapers framed the issue of GTP as a national issue. It also attempted to find out dominant themes, sources as well as the roles of newspapers played in the coverage of the issues of GTP. For this purpose, three private newspapers contents were analyzed during a period of four months. Moreover, journalists and editors, who worked for the three newspapers, were interviewed.

As stated in the presentation section, out of the total of 48 published articles throughout the given time frame, 22 stories were found to have discussed on GTP and related issues. This shares 45.8 percent of the total editors of the three newspapers. Out of this Fortune shared 54.5 percent, Addis Admass, 27.3 percent and Reporter, 8.2 percent. From this, Fortune took more than half of the articles talked about the GTP stories. In all the newspapers, informative theme was the most frequently used there when covering the issue.

Moreover, the majority of these stories were attributed to government officials and experts. The following sections interpret and discusses the results found in the above sections. Moreover, this section relates the finding of the current research to the existing framing theories and related literatures.

### **4.7.1 Number of Articles**

As compare to previous national issue study, drought and famine, Bethlehem (2006) the issue of GTP was not given enough coverage. This was because, out of the total of 48 editions of the three newspapers throughout the four months, less than half (22 articles) covered the issues.

In terms of quality, Fortune published 12 stories that were related with GTP issues. One major factor that made Fortune to cover a high numbers of the articles on GTP might be that the newspapers mainly focused on economic and business issues. As Entman (1991) stated media frame an issue or event as significant through a number of articles. Therefore, it might be possible to say Fortune has framed GTP issues as significant.

The findings indicate a high degree of difference among these three newspapers in terms of their field of interest. Fortune, which focuses mostly on economic and business areas, published more than half of the articles and 62.5 percent of the pictures were employed in this newspaper. Here, it should be noted that Fortune has the only newspaper, which used different graphs, charts and other figure categories in the period.

Hence, Fortune seems to frame GTP as significant and both number of articles and pictures. The rest two, Admass and Reporter, seem to give less importance to the issue.

#### **4.7.2 Aspect of GTP**

The findings indicated, all newspapers focused mainly on reporting agricultural and industrial aspects of gtp over the other aspects. Generally, in all newspapers, agricultural aspect of the issue was mentioned in 42.2 percent. Next to agriculture, the articles were focused on industry. Thus, the capacity building and good governance and sectoral service were the least mentioned. In other words, the newspapers were found to be dominantly engaged in the selection and salience of agricultural and industrial aspects of GTP. This indicated that how much news organizations, journalists, and editors were engaged in reporting one aspects of GTP over the others.

### **4.7.3 Themes**

GTP is planned due to various reasons. Moreover, different stakeholders are responsible. When an issue or event has several shareholders, the media tend to focus on certain element of that issue (Andsager and Powers, 1993). In line with this view, the finding of this research indicated that the newspapers tend to concentrate on a limited number of themes in related to GTP issues. The analyzed newspapers gave priority to educating the public before GTP implemented.

It is possible that the period chosen for this study might have contributed to this finding since the research period included the time when the GTP document was officially announced on August 2010.

However, the continuous nature of the plan invited other themes such as, achievable, overambitious, suggestive, and discursive and feedback in which the newspapers covered with limited articles.

However, extensive focus on informative theme has its own limitation. First it focused only on government officials and experts without the informed consent of the public). Second, most of the analyzed newspapers treated and framed the issue of GTP as single issue, which would be addressed through providing information.

The news papers regarding government as an important shareholder in the issue of GTP. The findings show that the analyzed newspapers focused less on other stakeholders such as the public, donors, international organizations and opposition political party leaders.

### **4.7.4 Sources**

The newspapers primarily relied on government officials and experts in reporting GTP issues. Opposition leaders, research and researcher findings, and the public were used as a sources in a limited extent. The

research finding indicates all the newspapers attributed the GTP stories basically by using officials and expert sources. Hence, the newspapers did not include the all side of sources effectively.

Over reeling on officials and expert sources can result down playing other equally important sources. Although GTP is a nationwide play, the public were almost invisible in the analyzed newspapers. Since only in Admass the public was quoted in one articles, similarly, opposition leaders were not intensively attributed since they were quoted only in two articles.

Another central finding of this research was donors and international organizations were not quoted even in a single article.

#### **4.7.5 Frames**

As discussed earlier, analyzing newspapers framing may begin with addressing the number of stories and their location within the newspapers. The results indicated that the newspapers employed different frames in reporting different issues. The frequency of this frames ranged from most frequent (attributions of responsibility) to the low frequent educative and diagnostic frames. But, for Admass the most frequent frame was economic consequence frame. The following discussion will deal with each of the frames one by one.

#### **Attribution of Responsibility Frames**

This frame was the most frequently utilized frame in all analyzed newspapers except in Admass. Generally, it was used in 35.4 percent of the analyzed stories. The use of this frame might suggest that the newspapers attributed the issue of GTP to government having the ability to change an action. The use of this frame seems that newspapers especially Fortune and Reporter, aimed at making government responsible without mentioning the public and other sources as having

the potential to contribute or participate in development process. As a result, the newspapers attribute to government and experts. Further, the articles rarely attributed the issue of GTP to more than one agents. In other words, other shareholders such as the public opposition party leaders were not given much emphasis.

### **Economic Consequence Frame**

As this frame was expected to indicate the economic impact of GTP, and the opportunity it has on the individual or group and the country as a whole, it was used as a second dominant frame in all analyzed newspapers. The study's findings indicated that the newspapers employed this frame in 31.3 percent while presenting the issue in this frame the newspapers were mentioning of the cost/degree of expense expected to perform the GTP. Government programs which deals with health, economy or other issues are particularly expressed within this fame Neuman et .al,(1992). According to Neuman and his collogues, this frame is usually an out come of covering issues from authorities' stand points. This frame also indicates "The economical consequence of pursuing or not pursuing varies politics objectives"(1992:63). Thus, economic consequence frame is appropriate for issue like GTP. However, the analyzed newspapers, except Addis Admass, employed this frame as a second dominant. Even the business and economic Newspaper Fortune seems to use less in this frame

### **Conflict Frame**

This frame was the third employed frame in all the newspapers. Thus, it was utilized in a limited extent in 14.6 percent. Compared to the rest two newspapers, Fortune used this frame relatively with high frequency. In reaching the plan with a variety of supportive ideas so as to incorporate additional information, this type of frame is appropriate since it gives a

chance of presenting to or more sides and opposing views. In Fortune, newspaper experts have been used as a source of optional information and as for capturing a media attention. Thus, Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) agreed that media use conflict as a means of capturing of audience. Findings indicated that the analyzed newspapers used the conflict frame in a limited extent to present the issue of GTP by providing opposing views or ideas from opposition leaders. Even party leaders were quoted as a source in Admass and Reporter only once for each.

#### **Human interest, educative and diagnostic frames**

The set of frames, which includes human interest, educative and diagnostic, were the least employed frames in all the newspapers. Within this group, the diagnostic and educative frames were not employed Reporter and Fortune, respectively. News papers views human interest frame to acquire 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 directly affected by the issue, as a human example. As findings indicated, the human interest frame was employed in 10.4 percent. On the other hand, educative and diagnostic frames, as they were used only in 4.2 percent each, were found to be a missing frame. Hence, the educative frame which may be more appropriate to raise awareness to the issue of GTP was least employed in the newspapers analyzed.

#### **4.7.6. Role of Media**

In this part of the discussion, as the other research question of this study, was to examine what type of functions the researched newspapers provided during the period in question. The analyzed newspapers defined the issue of GTP to some extent. As times, they even provided issues related with the cause of designing GTP. With limited extent, it can be

said that the newspapers to a certain degree defined issue elated with GTP. Moreover, the newspapers evaluated and interpreted the GTP. However, the findings show how the newspapers primarily were engaged in providing information about GTP. The newspapers providing information regarding aspects of GTP, especially on agricultural and industry aspects of over the other. As the analyzed of the frame has indicated, the papers were largely engaged in this type of information coming from government officials and experts rather than analyzing and suggesting alternative views that would come from other stakeholders.

## Chapter Five: Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations

### 5.1 Summary and Conclusion

Ethiopia is one of the poorest and least developed countries in the world. Poverty stands at the forefront of an excess of embracing situation that Ethiopia faces at present. In overcoming this reality, the government of Ethiopia issued the growth and transformation plan (GTP) which outlined poverty reduction approaches based on the major four Macro economy sectors (on Agriculture, Industry, Capacity building & Good Governance, and Service Sector Development). However, overcoming poverty is constrained by a mix of the socio-cultural, economic, and political factors. These factors are then resulted to be manifested by the less work habit of the society. Media are then important in contributing accurate information regarding the issue to the public.

This paper also argued that it is not only the number of coverage that matters the most, but it highly depends on how the local media portrayed and framed the issue of GTP and related issues.

However, in many researches made locally, local media are seen to portray issues negatively and incorrectly. Especially, Hallelujah in 2008, indicates journalists have been seen to have lack of professional and ethical standards. As stated that this problem is highly dominant in private media practioners. As result shown by Hallelujah, found to have a direct relation, which could be taken as a reference point where one enables to see the framing process. Hence, the question of professionalism and other ethical consideration are of the pillars of journalism and framing research.

This research proposed to examine how the issue of GTP was covered, framed and portrayed within the periods between August 2010 and December 2010 in the three private newspapers (Fortune, Addis Admass, and Reporter). The research attempted to see dominantly covered aspects of GTP and pictures used in these newspapers by making framing theory central to the work.

The research was conducted using quantitative as well as qualitative research methods to enrich the output. A content analysis was used to gather and analyze information regarding number of coverage, article format, article locations, themes, aspects of GTP, sources and frames in the articles. On the other hand, in-depth- interview was used to get information with editors and journalists from each newspaper that would have been impossible to find with quantitative approach alone. An attempt was made to discuss the results based on the literature, the local context of the country, and framing theory.

Base on the results, except Fortune the rest newspapers devoted less than half percent coverage of all other issues. This implies that the issue is not as newsworthy as other topics for these newspapers. However, it should be noted that 50 percent of the stories as news stories and 50 percent as feature stories were presented.

Although less coverage is better than no coverage at all, the coverage seems to be one sided as can be noted in the discussion all newspapers were utilized to cover GTP from informative approach. However the other most, participatory approach, was used to a very limited extent. In other words, not all newspapers reported intensively about the views of others including the public. All the newspapers also attached responsibility to government and experts.

Thus, as seen in all three newspapers, the articles lack direct testimonies of the public in discussion to which the public are the main concern of GTP. This is to mean that as said in the literature, the period between the end of September and the beginning of December 2010 was the time that the GTP was intended to be discussed among the public that is, in Participatory approach. However, almost none of the article has been used to see GTP in the public eyes. Here Admass was better in presenting GTP at least in one article from the public point of view. In addition, as said in the literature, the kind of sources used in a story tells more about the story frame. As such, GTP stories in the three private newspapers are dominantly framed in informative as 'Officials and Experts' explain about GTP in its economic implications. On the other hand, it could be say that discussions held in different part of the country were not seen in these media.

Again in all the newspapers, the articles did not mention frequently the presence of achieving the millennium development goal poverty, and previous fifth year growth as a cause for the issue of GTP. As a result, the root cause and the need for GTP were not reflected in these newspapers as to use the moral evaluation of the issue to be understood by the public.

In these newspapers, what is more seen is that they do not often attach pictures for a GTP story. Here, regarding pictures Fortune was better to employ. In general, using fewer amounts of pictures in these three newspapers partly depicted, the values attached to the issue of GTP that they do not consider pictures are important in such stories as well.

The newspapers were also found to be dominantly engaged in selection and salience of good governance and capacity building aspects of GTP. All seem to have chosen ends on what to report more and on what to report less and how. For instance, Capacity building and good

governance, which presented in common in these three newspapers, was less reported over other aspects. On the other hand, what were frequently covered aspects of GTP were agricultural and industrial aspects followed by service sector. This shows how much news organizations, journalists and editors are engaged in selection and salience of issues in the media.

As argued in the literature, by framing certain aspects of GTP appear in certain ways, media parishioners frame the way readers understanding of the issue.

## **5.2 On the need for further researches**

This study attempted to give insight on how the printed media framed on issues of GTP. However, it has not exhausted all possible research regarding media framing of GTP.

It would be worth doing a reception analysis on how the public receive and respond to varied media products comparative analysis on state media and private media on GTP could be more important in the research world. Moreover, how GTP was framed in broadcast media (TV, Radio), could also expand our understanding concerning the issue of GTP.

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## Appendix A

Distribution of sources across frames.

Frames	Officials	public	experts	International orgns	Donrs	Document	Opposition leaders	Res.& researcher findings	Not specified
Attribution responsibility	52.5	2	35	7	-	0	5	4.5	1
Economic	39	0	37.5	-	-	5	8.5	5	5
Conflict	10	0	20	-	-	20	4	0	-
Human interest	20	54.5	10	-	-	-	13	2.5	-
Educative	23	5	33	-	-	12.5	15	7.5	-
Diagnostic	27.5	1	12.3	-	-	36	19	4	-

## **Appendix C**

### **Coding sheet**

Name of coder\_\_\_\_\_

Name of Newspaper\_\_\_\_\_

Date of publication\_\_\_\_\_

Head line of article\_\_\_\_\_

Writer/by line\_\_\_\_\_

---

#### **1. Article description**

##### **1.1. Article format**

News \_\_\_

Feature\_\_\_

Interview\_\_\_

##### **1.2. Location**

Front page

Inside page

Last page

##### **1.3. Figures**

Is there figure/numbers outlined for the article?

And pictures?

#### **2. Theme of the article**

##### **2.1 Themes**

Achievable

Unattainable/Over Ambitious

Informative

Discussive and feed back

Suggestive

## 2.2. Aspects of GTP mentioned mostly?

Industrial

Service Sector

Agricultural

Capacity building & good governance

## 3.Sources of the Article

---

### 3.1.Sources

Government officials

The public

International organizations

Donors

No specified source

Opposition party leaders

Experts

Documents

If other please specify \_\_\_\_\_

## 4.What kind of role do the articles play regarding GTP?

Is the issue of GTP in the media? Yes/No

Does the story include all sides of the story (more than two sources)?  
Yes/No

Are there other groups involved for the story to appear in the media like,  
sponsors, Donors, Ministry of finance and economic development?  
Yes/No

Does the article define the issue? Yes/No

Does the article state causes and interpret the issue? Yes/No

Does the article state to the readers what they can have an impact on the issue? Yes/No

Does the article provide moral judgment of the issue? Yes/No

Does the article suggest treatments? Yes/No

Does the article provide logical reasoning of why the issue happened? Yes/No

If other state \_\_\_\_\_

## 5. Frames of the Story

**Human Interest Frame** – is when the story involves people in the stories and when it provides testimonies of people about GTP.

Q1. Does the story provide a human example or “human face” on the issue? Yes/No

Q2. Does the story emphasize how individuals and groups are affected by the issue? Yes/No

Q3. Does the story go in to the private or personal lives of the actors? Yes/No

If other state. \_\_\_\_\_

**Attribution of responsibility Frame** – is when the story suggests any organ should take actions on the matter.

Q1. Does the story suggest that some level of government or other body has the ability to address the issue? Yes/No

Q2. Are cultural & social behaviors suggested to have the ability to change or get award the issue? Yes/No

Q3. Does the story suggest that an individual (or group of people in society) is responsible for the issue? Yes/No

Q4. Does the story suggest the issue requires urgent action? Yes/No

If other state \_\_\_\_\_

**Conflict frame**– is when the story provides to opposing views or statements.

Q1. Does the story involve two opposing views? Yes/No

Q2. Does the story reflect disagreement between parties-individual-groups? Yes/No

Q3. Does the story refer to the sides or than two sides of the issue? Yes/No

If other state \_\_\_\_\_

**Morality Frame** – is when the story provides advice or when it tells the reader to do or not to do something.

Q1. Does the story provide moral messages, good or bad? Yes/No

Q2. Does the story make reference to morality, God, and other religious tents? Yes/No

Q3. Does the story tell readers to do something about the issue?

Yes/No

Q4. Does the story states the need for social change in attitude?

Yes/No

If other state \_\_\_\_\_

**Economic Consequence frame-** is when the story indicates the economic impact of the plan.

Q1. Does the story involve economic impacts of the issue?

Yes/No

Q2. Is there a mention of financial losses organs now or in the future?

Yes/No

Q3. Is there a mention of the cost/degree of expense involved?

Yes/No

Q4. Is there a reference to economic consequences of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action?

Yes/No

If other state \_\_\_\_\_

## Interview Guide

### Interviews with Editors and Journalists

#### 1. Background

What do you think is\are causes of preparing the GTP?

What is your attitude to wards GTP?

How do you see the plan, as achievable or not?

#### 2. Figures

Do you think it is important to have figures on an article?

And Pictures?

#### 3. Themes

What were the central ideas or issues raised in your stories?

Why do you want achieve or tell the public by making about a central idea?

Which aspects of GTP do you like to report?

#### 4. Sources

Who were your sources when you report about GTP?

#### 5. Frames

How did you construct your stories?

Why make them appear in this manner?

Where you aware how your stories were framed?

What is your ethics on reporting on GTP issues?

Do you think your editorial policy had in some way affected the way you framed the stories?

Are there other factors affecting the way you write the story?

### **Human interest frames**

Do you think human faces are credible for this kind of report?

Why did you use them or not use them?

### **Attribution of responsibility**

Who do you think is responsible for addressing the issue?

Why?

### **Morality frames**

Do you tell the public what is good or bad with your stories?

What do you think is the importance of it?

### **Educative frames**

Do you think you need to explain on the aspects of GTP and how to participate and etc? Why?

Do you think you have to educate the public about GTP? Why? **Economic frames**

Do you think the plan has an influence on the countries economy?

What do you think the major financial implications of the plan on the issues of people?

### **6. Media roles**

What do you think are the role media play by reporting on GTP?

From which approach do you think media should report such issues?

## Appendix E

### Coding book (Guide)

#### 1. Article description- ( Inter-coder reliability 1.0)

Indicates whether the article is news, feature or interview.

#### 2.1 Theme- the central idea of a story (main idea of the story).

**Educative-** refers to providing knowledge and instruction about (GTP) when it explains what GTP is, and how to go about it.

**Achievable-**refers when the story used is telling the reader that GTP is succeed and able to alleviate what is intended.

**Over ambitious-**refers to GTP as impossible task to achieve or reach.

**Discussion and feedback-** when the story is used to show the process of discussing GTP being taken as a subject of discussion and finally able to get responses.

**Suggestive-** When the central idea of the story is used to remind the readers to think about the issue of GTP.

#### 2.2Aspects of GTP ( Inter-coder reliability 0.52)

Agriculture

Industry

Sectoral Service

Capacity building and good governance.

### 3.Sources

Sources are referred to as names of the person, group or organization directly or indirectly quoted in the story as government officials, Donors, the public and the likes.

### 4.Frame- ( Inter-coder reliability .95)

4.1. Human Interest- is when the story involves people in the stories and when it provides testimonies of people about GTP.

4.2 Attribution of responsibility- is when the story suggests any organ should take actions on the matter.

4.3 Diagnostic frames-when the story diagnoses or provides list of or ranges of causes for GTP example, poverty and ---etc.

4.4 Morality frames-is when the story provides advice or when it tells the reader to do or not to do something.

4.5 Educative/ Advocacy frames- when the story relates the issue of GTP with policy changes

4.6 Conflict frame- when the story provides to opposing views or statements

4.7 Economic Consequences frame- is when the story indicates the economic impact of the plan.

5. Media role-when the story mentions or indicates the listed activities in parts of the story. ( Inter-coder reliability 94)

## Appendix F

### Frames used in the articles

#### Attribution of responsibility frame

		Government has the ability		Total
		Yes	No	
Types of newspaper	Addis	4	3	6
	Admass	9	2	12
Total	Fortune	3	1	
	Reporter			4

#### Responsibility

		Behavior of the society has the ability to change		Total
		Yes	No	
Types of newspaper	Addis	1	5	6
	Admass	3	9	12
Total	Fortune	0		
	Reporter		4	12

#### Attribution of responsibility Frame

		Group of individual has the ability to change		Total
		Yes	No	
Types of newspaper	Addis	3	3	6
	Admass	2	10	12
Total	Fortune	1		
	Reporter		3	4

Attribution of responsibility frame

		Suggest urgent action		Total
		Yes	No	
Types of newspaper	Addis	3	3	6
	Admass	4	8	12
Total	Fortune Reporter	0	4	4

Economic Consequences frame-

		Mention the economic impact of the issue.		Total
		Yes	No	
Types of newspaper	AddisAdmass	5	1	6
	Fortune	3	4	12
Total	Reporter	2	2	4

Economic Consequences frame.

		The cost/degree of expense involved		Total
		Yes	No	
Types of newspaper	AddisAdmass	4	2	6
	Fortune	5	7	12
Total	Reporter	1	3	4

Economic Consequences frame

		Reference to economic consequences of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action.		Total
		Yes	No	
Types of newspaper	Addis	4	2	6
	Admass	4	8	12
Total	Fortune Reporter	1	3	4

Economic Consequences frame

		A mention of financial losses or gains now or in the future.		Total
		Yes	No	
Types of newspaper	Addis Admass	2	4	6
	Fortune	3	9	12
Total	Reporter	0	4	4

Conflict frame

		Involve two opposing views		Total
		Yes	No	
Types of newspaper	Addis Admass	2	4	6
	Fortune	1	11	12
Total	Reporter	1	3	4

Economic Consequences frame

		Reference to economic consequences of pursuing or not pursuing a course of action.		Total
		Yes	No	
Types of newspaper	Addis Admass	4	2	6
	Fortune	4	8	12
Total	Reporter	1	3	4

Economic Consequences frame

		A mention of financial losses or gains now or in the future.		Total
		Yes	No	
Types of newspaper	Addis Admass	2	4	6
	Fortune	3	9	12
Total	Reporter	0	4	4

Conflict frame

		Involve two opposing views		Total
		Yes	No	
Types of newspaper	Addis Admass	2	4	6
	Fortune	1	11	12
Total	Reporter	1	3	4

Conflict frame

		Disagreement between two parties		Total
		Yes	No	
Types of newspaper	Addis	2	4	6
	Admass	2	10	12
Total	Fortune Reporter	0	4	4

Conflict frame

		Provide two or more sides		Total
		Yes	No	
Types of newspaper	Addis	2	14	6
	Admass	4	8	12
Total	Fortune Reporter	1	3	4

Conflict frame

		Suggest winners or losers		Total
		Yes	No	
Types of newspaper	Addis Admass	0	6	6
	Fortune Reporter	1	11	12
Total		0	4	4

Educative or Advocacy

		Cause		Total
		Yes	No	
Types of newspaper	AddisAdmass	1	5	6
	Fortune	2	10	12
Total	Reporter	1	3	4

Educative/Advocacy

		How people see better GTP		Total
		Yes	No	
Types of newspaper	Addis Admass	1	5	6
	Fortune	1	11	12
Total	Reporter	0	4	4

Educative/Advocacy

		Suggest Policy		Total
		Yes	No	
Types of newspaper	Addis Admass	1	5	6
	Fortune	2	10	12
Total	Reporter	1	3	4

Educative or Advocacy

		Cause		Total
		Yes	No	
Types of newspaper	AddisAdmass	1	5	6
	Fortune	2	10	12
Total	Reporter	1	3	4

Educative/Advocacy

		How people see better GTP		Total
		Yes	No	
Types of newspaper	Addis Admass	1	5	6
	Fortune	1	11	12
Total	Reporter	0	4	4

Educative/Advocacy

		Suggest Policy		Total
		Yes	No	
Types of newspaper	Addis Admass	1	5	6
	Fortune	2	10	12
Total	Reporter	1	3	4

Educative/Advocacy

		State the need to social change		Total
		Yes	No	
Types of newspaper	Addis Admass	0	6	6
	Fortune	1	11	12
Total	Reporter	0	4	4

Diagnostic frame

		State poverty as the cause of the issue		Total
		Yes	No	
Types of newspaper	AddisAdmass	1	5	6
	Fortune	1	11	12
Total	Reporter	1	3	4

Diagnostic frame

		State achieving MGD as the cause of the issue		Total
		Yes	No	
Types of newspaper	AddisAdmass	1	5	6
	Fortune	1	11	12
Total	Reporter	0	4	4

diagnostic frame

		State sustaining previous growth		Total
		Yes	No	
Types of newspaper	AddisAdmass	1	5	6
	Fortune	1	11	12
Total	Reporter	0	4	4

Human Interest frame

		Provide human face example		Total
		Yes	No	
Types of newspaper	AddisAdmass	1	5	6
	Fortune	0	12	12
Total	Reporter	0	4	4

Human Interest frame

		Effect on individual and group		Total
		Yes	No	
Types of newspaper	AddisAdmass	1	5	6
	Fortune	0	12	12
Total	Reporter	1	3	4

Human Interest frame

		Go into private and personal live		Total
		Yes	No	
Types of newspaper	AddisAdmass	0	6	6
	Fortune	0	12	12
Total	Reporter	1	3	4

Diagnostic frame

		State sustaining previous growth		Total
		Yes	No	
Types of newspaper	AddisAdmass	1	5	6
	Fortune	1	11	
Total	Reporter	0	4	12
				4

Human Interest frame

		Provide human face example		Total
		Yes	No	
Types of newspaper	AddisAdmass	1	5	6
	Fortune	0	12	12
Total	Reporter	0	4	4

Human Interest frame

		Effect on individual and group		Total
		Yes	No	
Types of newspaper	AddisAdmass	1	5	6
	Fortune	0		
Total	Reporter	1	12	12
			3	4

Human Interest frame

		Go into private and personal live		Total
		Yes	No	
Types of newspaper	AddisAdmass	0	6	6
	Fortune	0	12	12
Total	Reporter	1	3	4

## **Declaration**

I the under designed declare that this thesis is my original work. All the source have been duly acknowledged

Ilyob Nega

May 2011