

**Framing of President Obama's Visit to Ethiopia by Selected Local  
and International Media**

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This is to certify that the thesis prepared by Merriam Kassahun, entitled: Framing of President Obama's Visit to Ethiopia by Selected Local and International Media and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in journalism and communication complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

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## **ABSTRACT**

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Addis Ababa University, 2016

*President Obama is the first sitting American president to visit Ethiopia and was given much attention from both local and international media. The purpose of this study was to examine the framing of president Obama's visit to Ethiopia. Informed by political economy and framing theories, the study was set to answer what the views of selected media institutions were on Obama's visit (positive or negative), what the dominant frames used in framing Obama's visit to Ethiopia were and what factors might have influenced the framing of the President's visit to Ethiopia. The study employed qualitative method to obtain the necessary data and purposive sampling was used to select the media product for qualitative content analysis. The data were selected from The Ethiopian Herald, The Reporter (English) and Addis Admas from the local media outlets and CNN, BBC, Aljazeera, VOA and The Washington Post from international media outlets. The data was analyzed thematically on the basis of the basic research questions formulated to guide the study. The findings of the study revealed that the president's visit was viewed both negatively and positively. The finding showed that the major focus of The Ethiopian Herald was the economic importance of the visit and Ethiopia's effort in keeping regional stability and fighting terrorism. The visit was seen as a conformation of Ethiopia's improvement in every aspect. The Reporter and Addis Admas focused on the influence the president had to impose on Ethiopia in its human rights violations and on the status of press freedom in the country. The international media focused on the coverage of Ethiopia's effort in fighting terrorism in the region and its human rights record and violations of press freedom by the government. Economic frame, attribution of responsibility frame, conflict frame and prognostic frames were employed by the media houses.*

*The study concluded that the President Obama's visit was framed differently by the government owned and private media locally. The government owned media (The Ethiopian Herald) inclined to reporting in favor of the government while the privately owned, The Reporter and Addis Admas, framed the visit critically. The international and local media did not differ too much in presenting the issues of Ethiopia's role in peace keeping and fight against terrorism but The Ethiopian Herald overlooked the issue of human rights and press freedom compared to the foreign press.*

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## **List of Acronyms**

AAU	Addis Ababa University
AGOA	African Growth and Opportunity Act
AU	African Union
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CNN	Cable News Network
COIN	Counter Insurgency
CT	Counter Terrorism
EDP	Ethiopian Democratic Party
EPRDF	Ethiopian Peoples' Revolutionary Democratic Front
EU	European Union
UN	United Nations
US	United States
USA	United States of America
VOA	The Voice of America

# CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

## 1.1. Background of the Study

Diplomacy in Ethiopia has a long story. Ethiopia, being the ancient civilization in world's history, had close trade relations with different countries of the globe. History tells us that Ethiopia was one of the most influential countries of the world though this story is changed and we are struggling to get out of poverty. As other countries of the world, Ethiopia needs a peaceful and cooperative diplomatic relations with different nations in order to cope with the ever changing world economy and trade. This need forces Ethiopia to stick to world's super power, America, currently especially in promoting trade and investment rather than the long relationships they had in aid.

According to a document published on the website of Ethiopian Embassy in the US, The U.S.-Ethiopian relationship was formally established in December 1903 following nine days of meetings in Ethiopia between Emperor Menelik and the government of Ethiopia and Robert P. Skinner, an emissary of President Theodore Roosevelt. Ethiopia appreciated America's commercial interest in Ethiopia, and that the United States did not possess colonial designs similar to those that were being pursued throughout Africa by European powers.

The talks between Ethiopia and the United States yielded a jointly-signed document known as the *Treaty of Amity and Commerce*. This agreement accorded Ethiopia "Most Favored Nation" status and eventually led to full diplomatic relations between the two countries. It is also discussed in the document that the fact that Ethiopia was not colonized and is a strong nation in

fighting terrorism and sustaining its stability. This fact made Ethiopia a strategic partner of America.

Ethio- American ties is believed to be in a good position after the downfall of the Dergue regime. During the previous times their relation was only on aid related issues. But now the relation has become that of economic and focuses on mutual benefit rather than providing and taking aid. On the article published on The Reporter, it is mentioned that both Ethiopia and the US have mutual understandings on security issues especially anti-terrorism in the Horn of Africa.

Many American presidents visited Ethiopia after they finish their terms as president. For instance former president Jimmy Carter, Bill Clinton and George Bush (Jr.) visited Ethiopia after finishing their term in office. However President Obama is the first sitting American president to visit Ethiopia and was given much attention from both local and international media which have entertained diverse socio-economic and political viewpoints with local, regional and international implications.

Obama's visit seems to have refreshed the discourse of the Cold War when America's action was suspiciously viewed by others in relation to America's intention to halt the expansion of Soviet Communist Russia so as to maintain its position as a super power. Currently, China has become the new bride to Africa, filling the gap left by the West following the end of the Cold War and becoming a potential threat to the USA interests. From the local perspective as well, the visit invited many controversies with regard to development, democratization, freedom of the press and terrorism. Thus, the researcher believes that how the media institutions have framed the visit is worth studying.

## 1.2. **Statement of the Problem**

The relation between different states takes place by mutual consent (Vienna Convention, 1961). The countries come into contact for the purpose of mutual benefit and development. Ethiopia being a developing and emerging democratic country has economic and diplomatic ties with different countries of the world. The foreign affairs policy of Ethiopia asserts that the basis for Ethiopian foreign policy are the development and the building of a democratic system, national pride and prestige; and globalization.

The attainment of speedy economic development, democratization and peace is taken as the fundamentals of survival for the present Ethiopia. This in turn will help the country in combating poverty and ensuring the competitiveness of Ethiopia in the global market.

The relations Ethiopia has with the U.S.A, as noted in the foreign policy of Ethiopia, has a great bearing for the success of Ethiopia's efforts to achieve peace and security. Though the two countries have a long diplomatic relations, none of the American sitting presidents come to visit Ethiopia. The coming of president Obama to visit Ethiopia is considered a remarkable incident and draws a huge media attention from all over the world. Some parties were against the president's visit to Ethiopia and have tried to influence him not to come to Ethiopia in fear of that his visit to Ethiopia would send wrong message towards democracy. But later the president has arrived in Ethiopia and discussed with the leaders of the country as well as with that of the African union.

The main issue in relation to Obama's visit was the growing relations between Ethiopia and China. For instance Chicago Tribune on its July 28, 2015 edition, in its editorial, has discussed

that Ethiopia has turned eastward and ushered in a new era of commerce with Chinese investors. And unlike the U.S. and other Western countries, China doesn't offer large aid packages with strings attached rather the Chinese government and investors are in Africa to do business. Chicago Tribune also discoursed that the fact that China surpassed the U.S. in trade relations with Africa in 2009 was the triggering force behind the President's visit and is described as a competitive response to China.

In addition to this, Chinese media criticized the visit saying that the US is taking China as a rival (Associated Press, 2015, cited in The World Post). The writer put forward the argument published by the ruling Communist Party's flagship People's Daily which states that the U.S. "obviously lacks a consistent Africa policy," unlike China's steady and fair-minded interactions with Africa.

The expectations of different parties, especially of Ethiopian opposition party leaders and human rights advocacy groups, from the President's visit were aimed at the issues of human rights. For instance IOL News on its July 24, 2015 edition, citing Reuters, presented the interview with, Dr. Chane Kebede, leader of the opposition Ethiopian Democratic Party (EDP) in which he mentioned that the opposition parties had sent letter to the US embassy in Addis Ababa to request a one-on-one chat with President Obama to request him press Ethiopia to include respect of human rights which the country is a signatory to in terms of the Universal declaration of human rights and enshrined in the constitution, but had been given negative reply.

Different media institutions, both local and international, seem to have reported the President's visit differently but to the knowledge of the researcher there is no empirical study which addressed how the media have covered and framed the visit. This study attempts to examine how

those media institutions have framed President Obama's visit to Ethiopia which also had significant implication to Africa as a whole as he also addressed the people of the continent through AU. It analyzes the perspectives of the selected media and their differences in reporting and framing the event.

### **1.3. Objectives of the Study**

#### **1.3.1. General Objective**

The general objective of this study is to investigate how selected local and international media institutions framed President Obama's visit to Ethiopia.

#### **1.3.2. Specific Objectives**

**The specific objectives of the study are:**

- To identify views of the selected media institutions on President Obama's visit
- To explore the dominant frames used in framing Obama's visit to Ethiopia by the media
- To identify factors that might have influenced the framing of Obama's visit to Ethiopia

### **1.4. Research Question/s**

- What are the views of the selected media institutions on President Obama's visit?
- What are the dominant frames used in framing Obama's visit to Ethiopia by the media?
- What are the factors that might have influenced the framing of Obama's visit to Ethiopia?

### **1.5. Significance of the Study**

This study is essential to show perspectives of local and international media in reporting Obama's visit to Ethiopia. It tries to identify what has been said by the selected media institutions and the implication of their reporting. In addition, it helps to show the major debates

over the US-Ethiopian diplomatic relations and particularly, presents the controversies over Obama's visit to Ethiopia being the first sitting president of the United States. The implications of the visit as seen by different parties are also covered.

### **1.6. Scope of the Study**

This study focuses on media's framing of Obama's visit to Ethiopia, particularly the print media outlets in Ethiopia, The Ethiopian Herald, The Reporter (English edition), Addis Admas and websites of BBC, CNN, Aljazeera, VOA and The Washington Post. The time frame of the stories selected was from June 7, 2015 to August 10, 2015 and 83 stories were selected from both the local and international media which comprises of 52 stories from the local media while the remaining 31 is from the international media.

## **CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE**

This part of the study presents review of issues related to the topic under investigation. Accordingly, topics on Ethiopian diplomatic relations especially with The United States and China including their foreign policy towards Ethiopia and towards each other. In addition to this, it converses political economy of the mass media and framing theory as the theoretical frameworks of the study.

### **2.1. An Overview of Ethiopian Diplomatic Relations with Different Countries**

Diplomacy is the means by which States throughout the world conduct their affairs in ways to ensure peaceful relations (Swiss Federal Department of Foreign Affairs (FDFA), 2008). The main task of individual diplomatic services is to safeguard the interests of their respective countries abroad. This concerns as much the promotion of political, economic, cultural or scientific relations as it does international commitment to defend human rights or the peaceful settlement of disputes.

#### **2.1.1. Foreign policy of Ethiopia**

The annexation of Eritrea with Ethiopia in 1945 E.C. has created new chapter in Ethiopian foreign policy. Ethiopia was free from the inclination of the two world powers, The USSR and USA. Vice President Nixon of the USA visited Ethiopia in 1957 and this helped Ethiopia to be known to the world. Ethiopia was the center for over 30 embassies, 20 legations, and 25 consulates in 1959 E.C. (Harry Atkins, 1969).

The foreign relations of modern Ethiopian state were driven by the government's quest to establish this multiethnic polity as a viable nation-state and to maintain its territorial integrity. In many respects, then, the foreign policy pursued by the leaders of post-revolutionary Ethiopia was consistent with the foreign policy of the old imperial regime. The aspect that changed from one era to the next was Ethiopia's ideological alignment (<https://yoskass.wordpress.com>). Whereas the regime of Emperor Haile Selassie had relied heavily on the patronage of the United States, that of President Mengistu Haile Mariam cast its fate with the Soviet Union. Both the pre and post 1974 governments used economic and military aid from their respective superpower patrons (ibid).

But after the downfall of the Derg regime, the FDRE government sticks to the Developmental State political economy and refrain from taking sides with a particular state. Rather, it maintains friendly relationships with each country and keeps on working for mutual benefit. (Policy documents of FDRE).

### **2.1.2. Foreign Relations and International Economic Relations of the FDRE**

As it is discussed in the foreign policy of Ethiopia (2002), relations with the US are particularly important for the development of Ethiopia, both because the US has great influence and because it offers considerable foreign aid to the country. Another important area in respect to Ethiopia is the Middle East, because of its proximity to the region and long history of diplomatic relations. Relations with Asian countries will be increasingly important in the future, as well, given the forces of economic growth in Asia and Asian countries' interest in investing in Ethiopia. Finally, international organizations such as the UN and AU are heavily involved in many different kinds of development programmes and have considerable presence in Ethiopia.

## 2.2. Ethio – American Relations

Diplomatic relations between the two countries formally commenced in 1903 with the mandate to promote friendship and commerce (Brazel, Aurelia National Day Message. 20 February 2003) (<http://usinfo.state.gov/regional/af/usafr/a3022401.html>).

The US has consistently supported Ethiopia in the forms of military aid and emergency relief, especially in the period from the end of WWII to the Ethiopian Revolution of 1974. The Socialist Revolution of 1974 created a fissure in US-Ethiopia relations, as the new Ethiopian government sought diplomatic relations with the USSR. In response, the US ended foreign aid to the country (United States Department of State Bureau of African Affairs. April, 2005)

Developing countries like Ethiopia stand to benefit from access to American goods and services, as well as access to its financial markets. This attitude and the large quantity of aid from the US have led to the following response from the Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA, 2002):

“There will be occasions when we shall have our differences and we will need to try to bridge them in the context of the strategic value of the relationship. In our efforts to prevent conflict in our region, we need to consider what role the US can play, and resolve differences that may emerge from time to time, separating the major issues from those which are not so important (FDRE Foreign Policy Document, 2002: pp. 148).

According to Ethiopian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA, 2002) the primary goal of relations with the US is trade and investment. The countries’ trade balance may become an important issue,

for although the US has forgiven Ethiopian debt, it may not do so as Ethiopia gradually makes progress towards becoming a more equal trading partner. It is important, especially for Ethiopia, to change the aid and support relation as the Ethiopian development goal requires more than just receiving food and health aid; they need infrastructure development such as roads and industry.

The FDRE government has strong ties with the United States. The importance of being ally of the United States in this time is given stress in the foreign policy of the FDRE. It is discussed in the document that the United States is not seen as posing a security threat to Ethiopia. Ethiopia is perceived as a country wracked by protracted war and poverty rather than a potential destination for investment and trade, and the efforts deployed to correct the images have not been adequate (FDRE Foreign Policy Document, 2002).

The United States has agreed to allow poorer countries, free access to its market without any tariff and quota on entering goods. With respect to bilateral relations, there are problems caused by attempts to impose options that contradict the political and economic strategies that Ethiopia carefully designed to suit its context.

Ethiopia plans to gain resources or aids that can fill the gaps it has after carrying out its domestic work. Ethiopia's policy is to try and resolve differences through dialogue and mutual understanding in a manner that does not jeopardize or compromise its fundamental strategies and goals. The United States of America has a significant role to play in efforts aimed at ensuring peace, stability and democracy in the region. In the government to government relations, Ethiopia's great benefits came from trade and investment.

Ethiopia, in its relations with the United States, takes the place and role the United States has in the world into account. The United States represents the biggest economy with the power of determining the fundamental economic rules governing globalization. In addition, the United States plays a decisive role in the world in matters relating to peace and stability.

According to USA's Bureau of African Affairs (June 9, 2015), there are three pillars of the bilateral relations between Ethiopia and the US. These are:

1. Economic growth and development
2. Democracy, governance and human rights
3. Regional peace and security

They work together to enhance food security, improve health services, strengthen education, promote trade and expand development. The United States has welcomed Ethiopia's dedication to maintaining security in the region, including through peacekeeping mission in Somalia, Sudan and South Sudan.

US assist Ethiopia in many terms. Because Ethiopia is prone to draught, the US has provided emergency resources to it in the form of food aid and humanitarian assistance. US development assistance to Ethiopia is focused on reducing famine vulnerability, hunger and poverty and emphasizes economic, governance and social sector policy reform as well as funding trainings in such issues as the laws of war and observance of human rights (ibid.)

In addition to the points discussed above, the fact sheet discussed the bilateral economic relations between the countries. It states that Ethiopia is eligible for preferential trade benefits under the

African Growth and Opportunity Act (AGOA). The US imports from Ethiopia include coffee, niger seeds, returns and apparel while its exports to Ethiopia include air craft, wheat, machinery, low-value shipment and repaired products and vegetables.

### **2.2.1. America's Foreign Policy towards Ethiopia**

United States has considerable political capital in the Horn. The problems of the Horn of Africa include economic inequality, political marginalization, poor governance, ethnic tension, competition for scarce resources including water, and arable land, periodic draught, and poverty. Contributory factors are porous borders, wide spread availability of weapons, corruption, a poor record by governments on human rights, and interference in the region by organizations and countries outside the Horn. The Horn is also located on a Muslim and Christian religious fault line. The Horn has posed a serious challenge for United States policy for more than three quarters of a century (David H. Shinn, 2014).

Shinn further explained that The Cold War determined United States policy in the Horn until the beginning of the 1990s. The United States concentrated its economic and military support on Ethiopia's Emperor Haile Selassie, who was a reliable ally of the United States. The United States military maintained a critical communications station known as Kagnew outside Asmara, which at the time was part of Ethiopia. In the mid and late 1960s Ethiopia received the United States' largest economic and military assistance program and hosted the largest American Embassy in Sub-Saharan Africa (ibid).

In 1974, the military junta led by Mengistu Haile Mariam seized power. The Derg pursued a socialist agenda and looked in to the Soviet Union as a model for military support (Library of

Congress, 2005). As Ethiopia slipped into the Soviet Camp, the United States looked for a new ally in the Horn. The Soviet Union turned its attention to Ethiopia, Somalia's traditional enemy. This opened the door for the United States to replace Soviet influence in Somalia, which had a long-standing irredentist policy aimed at incorporating Somali-inhabited parts of Ethiopia and Kenya and all of Djibouti (David H. Shinn, 2014).

Ethiopia and Somalia became classic examples of pawns in Cold War policies with the Soviet Union supporting Ethiopia and the United States allied with Somalia. The end of Cold War coincided with dramatic political developments in the Horn. In 1991, the left-wing Mengistu government fell and EPRDF seized power. The United States played a key role in helping to broker the departure of Mengistu from Addis Ababa and the replacement of his regime by EPRDF, and the independence of Eritrea. The United States quickly developed cordial relations with Ethiopia and Eritrea (ibid).

Ethiopia, which itself felt threatened by extremist groups, became an increasingly important ally in United States' counterterrorism policy in the region. The United States found it increasingly difficult to maintain cordial relations in Eritrea as its ties with Ethiopia strengthened. United States trade with and foreign direct investments in all countries in the Horn are modest. Its largest trading partner in the region is Ethiopia, which in 2012 had about \$1.5 billion in trade with the United States. From the perspective of American policy, relations today with the governments of Ethiopia, Djibouti, and Somalia are good (ibid).

### **2.3. Ethio-China Relations**

Direct trade relations between China and Ethiopia have been traced back to the Han Dynasty spanning 202 BC to 220 AD.<sup>16</sup> Among the very first civilizations that the Chinese contacted was

that of the Kingdom of Aksum (4BC – 10 AD), a civilization centered in the highlands of what is now Ethiopia, with whom the Chinese traded ivory, rhinoceros horn and tortoise shells. Mussolini's forays into Ethiopia (then Abyssinia) from 1936 were perceived by many as a parallel to Japan's advance into Chiang Kai-shek's China. China and Ethiopia share a feeling of helplessness over the lack of Western support during both invasions and this is an important component in the political rhetoric used by Chinese leadership in cultivating relations with Ethiopia. Formal diplomatic relations between China and Ethiopia were however established in November 1970 (Center for Chinese Studies, 2007).

In the FDRE foreign policy document, it is mentioned that China has very good relations with Ethiopia. And the need to use Chinese emerging economy and market as well as trainings and technical supports are the major concerns for Ethiopia. The document reads:

China strongly supports Ethiopia's economic development...it unreservedly shares its development experience and provides technical support. In the political and diplomatic sphere, too, China has been a good friend as our country strove to maintain peace and secure its rights....We need to fully utilize Chinese development experience as well as training and technical assistance possibilities. We need to secure greater financial assistance if possible and, failing that, to improve the efficiency of what is made available (EFRNSP, 2002: pp. 151).

Currently China has relatively strong relations with Ethiopia. China strongly supports Ethiopia's economic development, using its limited financial means. It unreservedly shares its development experience and provides technical support. The Chinese government is taking part in investment and market in Ethiopia besides the construction sector it is engaged in vastly.

Ethiopia is an important economic and political ally in its new Africa policy (Hackenesch C., 2011). According to Hackenesch (2011), China has emerged as an alternative partner to the Ethiopian government in providing alternative development templates and an alternative approach to discuss about economic and political reforms. China also provides loans, project and technical assistances, and etc. and grants Ethiopia duty and quota free exports for about 440 products (Thakur, 2009; as cited in Hackenesch C., 2011).

Ethiopia is also seen by Chinese officials as important partner and a relative pole of stability in the region. Ethiopia is perceived as having comparatively well-developed bureaucratic structures and a government with clear development vision. Chinese officials therefore highlight Ethiopia's economic potential in the medium and long term and Chinese private companies that invest in Ethiopia see the country as a promising market (ibid.)

## **2.4. Foreign policy of America and China towards each other**

According to (Lanteigne, 2009), from the time of the Sino-American rapprochement between Mao Zedong and US president Richard Nixon in the early 1970s, and the United States' official recognition of the People's Republic in 1979, the Sino-American relationship between China and the United States has experienced a number of diplomatic highs and lows. Since the 1990s, China's rise had led to divisions within American policymaking and academic circles concerning how Washington should address the growth of Chinese power. China is also concerned as to whether the United States accept China as a great power.

China poses a major challenge to the United States and the rest of the world simply by virtue of its status as a new global economic superpower. Such rising powers can disturb the existing international order and trigger security as well as economic conflicts (Fred and et.al. 2008).

The two countries continue to enjoy a strong trading relationship, and share interests in a variety of areas related to diplomacy and strategy, and yet the question of these two states adjusting to the narrowing power gap between them is becoming one of the most important in international relations. Some argue that the relations between the two countries can remain stable as China will continue to find common ground with the United States on several issues including economic cooperation, improving the health of global markets since the post-2008 recession, international security issues such as the threat of global terrorism and trans-national crime, and the prevention of civil and interstate conflict in many parts of the world (Lanteigne, 2009).

The policies of the United States and China differ widely on issues including human rights, democratization, and intervention in the affairs of other states. The two countries compete each other in different aspects. For instance, their growing demand for energy, especially in the form of oil gas from international sources, has prompted Beijing to seek out supplies in the Middle East, Central Asia and Africa (ibid).

In conclusion, we can understand that the relationship Ethiopia has with the United States and China is based on the economic interest Ethiopia has. With the United States, aid and trade as well as regional peace and security are the pillars of diplomatic relationship. The two countries work together to enhance food security, improve health services, strengthen education, promote trade and expand development and the United States is the supporter of Ethiopia's dedication to maintaining security in the region and Ethiopia, in its relationship with China, mainly focuses on investment, technical and vocational support, loan, quota free market and etc.

When we look at the relationship between the United States and China, they have become rivals in some aspects, though cooperate on certain issues. The difference between the foreign policy of

the countries, the United States gives emphasis to human rights record and democracy in selecting a partner while China does not care much about those issues.

## **2.5. Determinants of Ethiopia's Diplomacy**

Article 86 of FDRE Constitution (1995) states that the principles for external relations of the country depend on the protection of national interests and respect for the sovereignty of the country, in the promotion of mutual respect for national sovereignty and equality of states and noninterference in the internal affairs of other states. The foreign relations policy of the country should also be based on mutual interests and equality of states. In addition to this, international agreements should promote the interests of Ethiopia and respect Ethiopia's sovereignty and should not be contrary to the interests of its Peoples.

In the Ethiopian Foreign Affairs Ministry website that is retrieved from [www.mfa.gov.et](http://www.mfa.gov.et) **internationalMore**, it is stated that, the very existence of Ethiopia as a country depends largely on identifying threats to its sovereignty including economic backwardness, the poverty of the larger population, lack of good governance, and focusing on the country's internal problems, political and economic vulnerabilities. Therefore, whatever relations Ethiopia creates with countries or organizations should serve this agenda of providing for rapid economic development together with the objective of advancing democracy. To fulfill this, Ethiopia is required to give attention and dedicate resources to address domestic issues as these are the major source of vulnerabilities.

The philosophy behind Ethiopia's foreign policy is thus, diplomatic relations/activities should serve the country's economic agenda, of providing rapid economic development together with

the objective of advancing democracy in the building up of the democratic developmental state. The government has centered its diplomatic relations on the promotion of trade, encouraging investment and tourism. It has also given priority for the country's internal peace and stability through the fight against poverty and lack of good governance.

Apart from the above mentioned priorities, the peace and stability of the countries of the region is also put into consideration as it directly or indirectly affects its well-being. Peaceful neighbors are good trade partners and regional stability enables a country to focus resources on addressing poverty and the development of good governance and the democratic developmental state.

We can understand from the Foreign Policy of Ethiopia that Ethiopia's relations with developed countries or emerging economies aims at the promotion of trade, development cooperation and foreign direct investment.

From what we have been discussing above, we can conclude that Ethiopia's foreign policy objectives match with that of the USA in that both of the countries give priority for their national interest. Ethiopia sees the US as a very important partner in its development and stability needs. The US also finds Ethiopia as one of the countries that help her in the fight against terrorism and as a key actor to the region's stability.

## **2.6. Theoretical Framework of the Study**

The theoretical framework used here is political economy and framing theories. The political economy theory helps to relate to political and economic factors that contribute to countries diplomatic relations and the effect political economic situation have on media's coverage of news while the framing theory helps us identify how news are reported and how stories are being told.

### **2.6.1. Political Economy of Mass Media**

Political economy is a theory that studies how the broader economic and political realities of a system affect the working institutions. For Mosco (1996, p.24) political economy is “the study of social relations particularly power relations that mutually constitute the production, distribution and consumption of resources”.

In journalism, political economy studies “the conditions and constraints under which journalism is practiced” (Street, 2001, P.103). It is interested in the structure of ownership and control over media institutions that consequently influences the content.

As to McQuail (2005), the consequences of the political economy are seen in the increasing concentration of media, less investigative reporting and the focus on light issues and in the reduction of independent news.

### **The History of Political Economy**

The term “political economy” has its roots deep in history. It was first used by a French writer Moncretiende Watterville in 1615 when he employed the term to describe the “science of wealth

acquisition common to the state as well as the family” (Hoogvelt, 1997:3, cited in Williams, 2003). However, the political economy approach to understanding society and polity was only formally established at the end of 18<sup>th</sup> Century.

Classical political economy was associated with the works of Adam Smith and David Ricardo. They tried to make sense of the vast social changes that were happening in the wake of the Industrial Revolution, in which agricultural societies were transformed into commercial, manufacturing and industrial societies (Williams, 2003: P.74).

Freedom of the press was primarily defined as the absence of government control. During this period the press was in the hands of single person or family members and the editor and the owner is the same person. This results in the dissemination of political information that was partisan persuasion and newspapers were often the organs of political opinion, comment and parties.

Because it was easy to start a paper during the time and was easy not to see private ownerships as a threat to the role of the press, there were many newspapers. The industrialization of the press, which began about the 1850s, led to a gradual rise in the costs of newspaper production which prevented most people from entering the newspaper market. Small business was driven out, leaving press ownership increasingly concentrated in the hands of large press empires or chains.

In the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, many commentators asked whether it is possible to have both a socially responsible press and privately owned press. In 1919, American Novelist Upton Sinclair said that newspapers take the fair body of truth and sell it to the market place who betrays the virgin hopes

of mankind into loathsome brothel of big business. Criticism of the press is associated with Karl Marx (Williams, 2003).

## **Marxist Political Economy**

Karl Marx said that Capitalism, apart from creating wealth, generated vast disparities in the distribution of resources and life opportunities within society. For him, the key characteristic of the growth of capitalism was the ownership and control of the means of production by a small number of people; this means economic power rests in the hands of a few. This Capitalist classes' interest is to amass more and more profit in the expense of other classes in the society.

In trying to understand the role of media in modern capitalist society, Marx's work encourages us to see the mass media as a means to promote a certain set of views and ideas (Williams, 2003: P.75).

The ideology of bourgeoisie is to exclude or deride alternative or oppositional views or ideas. According to Marx, exercise of political power and the accumulation of wealth are historically intertwined.

As the bourgeoisie class controls the media, it seeks to have its views of the world endorsed as well as its position in it. This is to mean that it controls the mental horizons of subordinate groups. For Marx, the one who controls the economy and politics have the ability to exercise the control over what is communicated. As to him, ownership, control and class privilege were all linked to one another.

Marx wrote only one article applying his model to the media. This article was ‘opinion of the press and opinion of the people’. It was written to Viennese paper, *Die Presse*. In it (Murdock, 1982a: 126-127) he explored the relationships between newspaper editors and owners to account for the British intervention in the American Civil War on the side of the South while popular opinion appeared to support the North. For Marx, the reason was clear: the close connection between newspaper editors and owners and those in government circles, including the Prime Minister (Lord Palmerstone).

Palmerstone exercised his control over the British press by the direct means of owning newspapers and through indirect channels provided by family relations, personal friendship, and political patronage. It was through such intervention that the English ruling class exercised its control over the press. Marx underlined the need to “see the ownership and control of communication as part of the overall structure of property and power relations” (Murdock, 1982a:127).

Marx argues that the ruling class is not a monolithic entity. The struggle to dominate the market leads to ferocious competition between capitalists and hence gives rise to a conflict of interests. To survive, the capitalist controls the communication, “means of mental and cultural production” and those who work under them were described as worthless parasites who simply uncritically reproduced and disseminated the ideas and values of their masters (Franklin, 1997:39).

He predicted that capitalist enterprises would grow in size so that in the future a smaller and small number of companies would control the market. This has certainly been a feature of the growth of the media industries since 1945.

## **Contemporary Patterns of Ownership**

Contemporary statistics shows that fewer and fewer large companies increasingly own what we see, hear and read. In the early 1970s Golding and Murdock, two of Britain's leading political economists, documented the concentration and consolidation of ownership in the publishing, print, broadcasting, film and recording industries in the United Kingdom. They found that the top five companies in each industry held considerable power (Murdock and Golding, 1973:44).

Herman and Chomsky (1988) develop the points of Ben Bagdikian that argues that the men and women who run media corporations constitute a private Ministry of Information and Culture who can determine what America thinks about (1992: XXVII), identifying concentration and nature of media ownerships as one of the essential ingredients in their 'propaganda model'. They argue a range of political, economic and organizational filters constrain the reporting of international news in the US. Their first filter is the size, ownership and profit orientation of the mass media (Chomsky and Herman, 1988:3).

A propaganda model focuses on inequality of wealth and power and its multi-level effects on mass-media interests and choices. It traces the routes by which money and power are able to filter out the news fit to print, marginalize dissent, and allow the government and dominant private interests to get their messages across to the public. These filters are:

### **1. Size, Ownership, and Profit Orientation of the Mass Media**

James Curran and Jean Seaton describe the evolution of the mass media in Great Britain. During the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a radical press that reached a national working-class audience was established. This press was effective in reinforcing class consciousness and it unified the

workers. This was considered a threat by the ruling elites. And they began working hard to drive them out of the market by libel laws and persecutions by requiring an expensive security bond as a condition for publication, and by imposing various taxes designed to drive out radical media by raising their costs.

Curran and Seaton show that the market did successfully accomplish what state intervention failed to do. The expansion of the free market was accompanied by an “industrialization of the press” the total cost of establishing a national weekly on a profitable basis in 1837 was under a thousand pounds, with a break-even circulation of 6,200 copies. By 1867, the estimated start-up cost of a new London Daily was 50,000 pounds. The Sunday Express, launched in 1918, spent over two million pounds before it broke even with a circulation of over 25,000.

In the USA, the start-up cost of a new paper in New York City in 1851 was 569,000. The publication of the St. Louis Democrat in 1872 and yielded \$456,000 and newspapers were selling at from \$6 to 18 million in the 1920s. The cost of even very small newspapers eventually rose.

In sum, the dominant media firms are quiet large businesses, they are controlled by very wealthy people and or by managers who are subject to sharp constraints by owners and other profit oriented forces; and they are closely interlocked, and have important common interests, with other major corporations. These include banks, and government. This is the first powerful filter that will affect news choices.

## **2. The Advertising license to do business: the Second filter**

Advertising served as a powerful mechanism in weakening the working-class press. Curran and Seaton give the growth of advertising a status comparable with the increase in capital costs as a factor allowing the market to accomplish what state taxes and harassment failed to do, noting

that these "advertisers thus acquired a de facto licensing authority since, without their support, newspapers ceased to be economically viable."

Before advertising became prominent, the price of a newspaper had to cover the costs of doing business. With the growth of advertising, papers that attract advertising were encouraged and got huge profit while others that failed to do so were in hardships. For this reason, an advertising-based system will tend to drive out of existence or into marginality the media companies and types that depend on revenue from sales alone. With advertising, the free market does not yield a neutral system in which final buyer choice decides. The *advertisers'* choices influence media prosperity and survival.

The ad-based media receive an advertising subsidy that gives them a price-marketing-quality edge, which allows them to encroach on and further weaken their ad-free (or ad-disadvantaged) rivals."

From the time of the introduction of press advertising, therefore, working-class and radical papers have been at a serious disadvantage. Their readers have tended to be of modest means, a factor that has always affected advertiser interest. One advertising executive stated in 1856 that some journals are poor vehicles because "their readers are not purchasers, and any money thrown upon them is so much thrown away.

The mass media are interested in attracting audiences with buying power, not audiences per se; it is affluent audiences that spark advertiser interest today, as in the nineteenth century. The power of advertisers over television programming stems from the simple fact that they buy and pay for the programs-they are the "patrons" who provide the media subsidy. As such, the media compete

for their patronage, developing specialized staff to solicit advertisers and necessarily having to explain how their programs serve advertisers' needs. The choices of these patrons greatly affect the welfare of the media, and the patrons become what William Evan calls "normative reference organizations," whose requirements and demands the media must accommodate if they are to succeed.

Working-class and radical media also suffer from the political discrimination of advertisers. Political discrimination is structured into advertising allocations by the stress on people with money to buy. But many firms will always refuse to patronize ideological enemies and those whom they perceive as damaging their interests, and cases of overt discrimination add to the force of the voting system weighted by income.

In addition to discrimination against unfriendly media institutions, advertisers also choose selectively among programs on the basis of their own principles. With rare exceptions these are culturally and politically conservative. Large corporate advertisers on television will rarely sponsor programs that engage in serious criticisms of corporate activities, such as the problem of environmental degradation, the workings of the military-industrial complex, or corporate support of and benefits from Third World tyrannies.

### **3. SOURCING MASS-MEDIA NEWS: THE THIRD FILTER**

The mass media are drawn into a symbiotic relationship with powerful sources of information by economic necessity and reciprocity of interest. The media need a steady, reliable flow of the raw material of news. They have daily news demands and imperative news schedules that they must

meet. The media concentrate their resources where significant news often occurs, where important rumors and leaks abound, and where regular press conferences are held.

Journalists claim the words of officials as credible sources. Another reason for the heavy weight given to official sources is that the mass media claim to be "Objective" dispensers of the news. Partly to maintain the image of objectivity, but also to protect themselves from criticisms of bias and the threat of libel suits, they need material that can be portrayed as presumptively accurate. This is also a matter of cost as taking information from sources that may be presumed credible reduces investigative expense, whereas material from sources that are not *prima facie* credible, or that will elicit criticism and threats, requires careful checking and costly research.

To consolidate their dominant position as sources, government and business-news promoters go to great pains to make things easy for news organizations. They provide the media organizations with facilities in which to gather; they give journalists advance copies of speeches and forthcoming reports; they schedule press conferences at hours well geared to news deadlines; they write press releases in usable language; and they carefully organize their press conferences and "photo opportunity" sessions. It is the job of news officers "to meet the journalist's scheduled needs with material that their beat agency has generated at its own pace."

In effect, the large bureaucracies of the powerful *subsidize* the mass media, and gain special access by their contribution to reducing the media's costs of acquiring the raw materials of, and producing, news.

The large entities that provide this subsidy become "routine" news sources and have privileged access to the gates. Non-routine sources must struggle for access, and may be ignored by the arbitrary decision of the gatekeepers.

#### **4. FLAK AND THE ENFORCERS: THE FOURTH FILTER**

"Flak" refers to negative responses to a media statement or program. It may take the form of letters, telegrams, phone calls, petitions, lawsuits, speeches and bills before Congress, and other modes of complaint, threat, and punitive action. It may be organized centrally or locally, or it may consist of the entirely independent actions of individuals.

If flak is produced on a large scale, or by individuals or groups with substantial resources, it can be both uncomfortable and costly to the media. Positions have to be defended within the organization and without, sometimes before legislatures and possibly even in courts. Advertisers may withdraw patronage. Television advertising is mainly of consumer goods that are readily subject to organized boycott.

The ability to produce flak, and especially flak that is costly and threatening, is related to power. Flak from the powerful can be either direct or indirect. The direct would include letters or phone calls from the higher officials to the television networks asking for documents used in putting together a program, or from irate officials of ad agencies or corporate sponsors to media officials asking for reply time or threatening retaliation. The powerful can also work on the media indirectly by complaining to their own constituencies (stockholders, employees) about the media, by generating institutional advertising that does the same, and by funding right-wing monitoring or think-tank operations designed to attack the media. They may also fund political campaigns

and help put into power conservative politicians who will more directly serve the interests of private power in curbing any deviationism in the media.

## **5. ANTICOMMUNISM AS A CONTROL MECHANISM: THE FIFTH FILTER**

A final filter is the ideology of anticommunism. Communism as the ultimate evil has always been the specter haunting property owners, as it threatens the very root of their class position and superior status. The Soviet, Chinese, and Cuban revolutions were traumas to Western elites, and the ongoing conflicts and the well-publicized abuses of Communist states have contributed to elevating opposition to communism to a first principle of Western ideology and politics.

This ideology helps mobilize the populace against an enemy, and because the concept is fuzzy it can be used against anybody advocating policies that threaten property interests or support accommodation with Communist states and radicalism. It therefore helps fragment the left and labor movements and serves as a political-control mechanism.

### **2.6.2. Framing Theory**

Media presents issues or events by shaping them in a certain way. This particular way of presenting issues is framing. Framing involves a communication source presenting and defining an issue. The notion of framing gained momentum in the communication disciplines giving guidance to both investigations of media content and to studies of the relationship between media and public opinion (de Vreese, 2005).

According to Pan and Kosicki (1993) framing is often traced back to roots in both psychology and sociology. Erving Goffman based his ideas as notions derived from both symbolic

interactions and social constructions (Baran and Davis, 2010. P.330). An analytical technique of framing was developed by social psychologists (Goffman, 1974; Entman, 1991; Gitlin, 1980) to study and explain the role of the news media in defining issues for the public. Several studies suggested that the concept of ‘framing’ is now established as a field in mass communication studies.

The psychological origins of framing lie in experimental work by Kahneman & Tversky (1979, 1984). They examined how different presentations of essentially identical decision-making scenarios influenced people’s choices and their evaluation of the various options presented to them. For Goffman (1974), a frame is a “schema of interpretation” that provides a context for understanding information and allows individuals or groups to “locate, perceive, identify and label” (p.20).

Different professionals use framing for different purposes. For instance, Journalists use framing to grab readers attention in headlines by highlighting the most attractive or most controversial parts of a story and teachers use framing as a tool when they are trying to build upon their students’ current knowledge base (McEntee, 2014).

According to Entman (1993; 2007), fully developed frames typically perform four functions. These include defining a problem, stating a diagnosis, passing a judgment and reacting possible solutions. In functioning as such, they serve as an organizing principle for transforming the otherwise fragmentary pieces of information into a structured and meaningful whole.

Framing also calls attention to some aspects reality such as obscuring other elements which might lead audiences to have different reactions. This is usually achieved through the exercise of selectivity. As Entman (1993) argued, framing essentially involves selection and salience. To

frame is to select 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, then define problems, determine what a causal agent is doing with what costs and beliefs usually measured in terms of common cultural values, diagnose causes (identify the forces creating the problem), make moral judgments, evaluate causal agents and their effects and suggests remedies (offer and justify treatments for the problems and predict their likely effects).

In connection to media discourse, Tankard (2001) identifies three distinct ways the framing metaphor has been used in media content. First, a picture frame has a function of isolating certain material and drawing attention to it. Second, a picture frame provides a tone for viewing a picture. This framing supplies the interpretive background by which the story is judged. Third, a picture frame as a metaphor also functions as an instrument of organizing ideas for a story.

In tune with this function, Gamson (1998) sees a frame as 'a central organizing idea for making sense of relevant events and suggesting what is at issue.' (P: 157). The news media are an arena in which symbolic contents are carried out over the construction of reality and publics' understanding of problems which are often shaped by politics. As a result, journalists and policy makers are preoccupied with not only which problems will occupy their respective agendas, but also with how to define those problems. It is here where media or news frames become central.

For Chong and Duckman, framing refers to the process by which people develop a particular conceptualization of an issue or reorient their thinking about an issue (Chong and Duckman,

2007.P.104).The major premise of framing theory is that an issue can be viewed from a variety of perspective and be constructed as having implications for multiple values or considerations.

News frames are defined as conceptual tools which media and individuals rely onto convey, interpret and evaluate information. They can draw attention toward and confer legitimacy upon particular aspects of reality while marginalizing other aspects (Lawrence, 2000:P.93). News frames centrally organize ideas for news, which supplies context and suggests what the issue is through the use of selection, emphasis, exclusion and elaboration. As one of the most important characteristics of a news text, news frames provide a template that guides journalists in assembling facts, quotations, and other story elements into a news story, as well as orienting the interpretations of the audience (Entman, 1991; Pan & Kosicki, 1993). Media frames emerge within specific cultural contexts; Iyenger (1991) posits that to make stories intelligible journalists draw on preexisting cultural frames to contrast their narratives.

According to Gitlin (1980), media frames, ‘largely unspoken and unacknowledged, organize the world both for journalists who report it and, in some important degree, for us who rely on their reports (P.7).’ As an organizing mechanism for media content a media frame provides immediate context to the recipient of the frame through the selection, emphasis or exclusion of specific facts or ideas. In studying news discourse, it is important to examine how the media frame the issue at hand.

When working with a deductive approach, the relevant question is: *what* (which components) in a news story constitutes a frame? Entman (1993, p. 52) suggested that frames in the news can be examined and identifiedby ‘the presence or absence of certain keywords, stockphrases, stereotyped images, sources of information and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing

clusters of facts or judgments.’ Along these lines Shah et al. (2002, p.367) refer to ‘choices about language, quotations, and relevant information.’ Gamson and Modigliani (1989) identify ‘framing devices’ that condense information and offer a ‘media package’ of an issue. They identify (1) metaphors, (2) exemplars, (3) catch-phrases, (4) depictions, and (5) visual images as framing devices. The most comprehensive empirical approach is offered by Tankard (2001, p.101) who suggests a list of 11 framing mechanism or focal points for identifying and measuring news frames:

1. Headlines

2. Subheads

3. Photos

4. Photo Captions

5. Leads

6. Source Selection

7. Quotes Selection

8. Pull Quotes

9. Logos

10. Statistics and Charts, and

11. Concluding Statements and Paragraphs.

## **Framing as a process**

Framing focuses on communicative processes. Communication is not static, but rather a dynamic process that involves frame-building (how frames emerge). Entman (1993) noted that frames have several locations, including the communicator, the text, the receiver, and the culture. These components are integral to a process of framing that consists of distinct stages: frame-building, frame-setting and individual and societal level consequences of framing (d'Angeleo, 2002; Shuefele, 2000, de vrees, 2002, as cited in de Vreese)

- **Frame-building-** refers to that influence the structural qualities of news frames. Factors internal to journalism determine how journalists and news organizations frame issues (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996.) Equally important, however, are factors external to journalism. The frame-building process takes place in a continuous interaction between journalists and elites (Gans, 1979; Tuchman, 1978) and social movements (example, Cooper, 2002; Snow and Benford, 1992). The outcomes of the frame building process are the frames manifest in the text.
- **Frame-setting-** refers to the interaction between media frames and individuals' prior knowledge and predispositions. Frames in the news may affect learning, interpretation, and evaluation of issues and events. The consequences of framing can be conceived on the individual and societal level.
  - On the individual level, the consequences may be altered attitudes about an issue based on exposure to certain frames.
  - On the societal level, the consequences may be the shaping of societal level processes such as political socialization, decision-making, and collective actions.

### **2.6.2.1. Approaches of Identifying Frames in the News**

There are different approaches of identifying frames in the news. As discussed in de Vreese, 2005, one approach is inductive in nature and refrains from analyzing news stories with a priori defined news frames in mind (example, Gamson, 1992; Newman, et al., 1992). The second approach is deductive that investigates frames that are defined and operationalized prior to the investigation.

According to Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000, the inductive approach involves analyzing a news story with an open view to attempt reveal the array of possible frames, beginning with very loosely defined preconceptions of these frames. This approach can detect the many possible ways in which an issue can be framed, but this method is labor intensive, often based on small samples, and can be difficult to replicate.

A deductive approach involves predefining certain frames as content analytic variables to verify the extent to which these frames occur in the news. This approach makes it necessary to have a clear idea of the kinds of frames likely be in the news, because the frames that are not defined a priori may be over-looked. This approach can be replicated easily, can cope with large samples, and can easily detect differences in framing between media (e.g. television vs. press) and within media (e.g., highbrow news programs or newspapers vs. tabloid-style media) (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000).

Capella and Jamieson (1997), suggest four criteria to take a text to study.

1. A news frame must have identifiable conceptual and linguistic characteristics.
2. It should be commonly observed in journalistic practice.

3. It must be possible to distinguish the frame reliably from the other.
4. A frame must have representational validity (i.e. be recognized by others) and not be merely a figment of a researcher's imagination.

### **2.6.2.2. Types of Frames**

Shuefele distinguishes between two types of frames: media frames and individual frames (Dimitrova, 2006). When studying media frames we look at two major framing classifications, namely issue specific frames and generic frames. Issue specific frames are frames that are pertinent only to specific topics or events. They allow for profound level of specificity and details relevant to the event or issue under investigation. Generic frames on the other hand, transcend thematic limitations and can be identified in relation to different topics, some even over time and in different cultural context (de Vreese, 2002).

Semetko and Valkenburg (2000) identified five news frames: conflict, human interest, attribution of responsibility, morality and economic consequences frames.

- **The Human Interest Frame-** it emphasizes on the personal stories of people and brings a human face, an individual's story or an emotional angle to the presentation of an event, issue or a problem. Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000 say because of the competition between market news, journalists exert greater effort to produce stories that captures the public's interest. This frame is also referred as 'human impact' frame.
- **The Conflict Frame-** this frame emphasizes on conflict between individuals, groups, institutions or countries so as to attract audience attention. According to Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000, among the few central frames of reporting various issues that the media entertains, conflict was the common frame in the US.

- **The Responsibility Frame-** is a frame that presents an issue or a problem in such a way as to attribute for causing or solving to either the government or to an individual or group. This frame states that certain part of the society or government officials have the responsibility for an already happened incident or for any possible solution to mitigate a certain problem.
- **The Morality Frame-** this frame interprets an event or issue in the context of religious tenets or moral prescriptions. According to Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000, in order to keep the professional norm of objectivity, journalists often make use of the moral frame indirectly by using quotation and inference.
- **The Economic Consequences Frame-** this frame presents an event, problem or issue in terms of the economic consequences it will have on an individual, group, institution, region or country. When an issue or event has wide impact, it adds value to the news, and its economic consequences are vital (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000).
- **Diagnostic Frame:** This frame emphasizes identifying a problem and attributing blame and causality (Shuefele, 1999). It deeply investigates the underlying issues in a certain problem, clearly blames a certain government body, groups or individual for the cause of the problem.
- **Prognostic Frame:** This frame describes the effects and consequences of a problem. It can also be described as a solution frame which specifies what needs to be done (Shuefele, 1999). It suggests solutions, strategies and tactics to a problem.

The political economy theory used in this study serves the purpose of showing how the framing of President Obama's visit was influenced by different factors such as ownership while the framing theory is used to identify how the news are reported and how stories are being told.

## **CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

This chapter discusses methodology of the study and related topics including research design, research methods, data sources, sampling technique and procedure, data collection tools and method of data organization and analysis.

### **3.1. Research Design**

This study analyzes how some selected Ethiopian newspapers and some international media frame President Obama's visit to Ethiopia and the controversial issues rose in the country and abroad before, during and after the visit. So the researcher employed a qualitative research design to present the raised issue.

### **3.2. Research Methods**

This study uses a qualitative research method. Qualitative research is concerned with qualitative phenomena, i.e. phenomena relating to or involving quality or kind (Kothari, 2004). According to Kothari, 2004, qualitative approach of research is concerned with subjective assessment of attitudes, opinions and behavior. Research in such situation is a function of researcher's insights and impressions.

The Sage Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods Volume 1 and 2, 2008 has also defined qualitative research saying that "qualitative research seek to preserve and analyze the situated form, content, and experience of social action, rather than subject it to mathematical or other formal transformations".

Qualitative research is a type of scientific research that consists of an investigation that:

- Seeks answers to a question
- Systematically uses a predefined set of procedures to answer the questions
- Collects evidence
- Produce findings that were not determined in advance
- Produces findings that are applicable beyond the immediate boundaries of the study  
(Mack. N., et.al., 2005).

It is also especially effective in obtaining actually specific information about values, opinions, behaviors, and social contexts of particular populations. Its strength is its ability to provide complex textual descriptions of how people experience a given research issue. It provides information about “human” side of an issue, that is, the often contradictory behaviors, beliefs, opinions, emotions and relationships of individuals (ibid).

For Daymon and Holloway, 2002, qualitative research methods are depicted as being about words as the unit of analysis rather than numbers. They are associated with small-scale studies, close involvement of the researcher with the context under investigation, flexibility, participant view points, and a holistic focus amongst other features. (Mack. N., et.al., 2005) also mentioned that the data format in qualitative research is textual (obtained from audio tapes, videotapes and field notes). This study based its sources on newspapers and websites.

### **3.3. Data Sources**

Data sources are sources which include primary and secondary data's. Primary data are data which are found or gathered for the first time by the researcher him/herself. Primary data include interview, observation, in-depth interview, and other different first hand methods. Whereas secondary data are data which already existed before the researcher found them. These data are created, collected or gathered by some other person. Secondary data include various documents, publication of governments, technical and trade journals, books, magazines, newspapers, publications of various associations (Kothari, 2004). In this case paper, the researcher uses secondary data which includes newspapers, and websites.

### **3.4. Sampling Techniques and Procedures**

Sample design is a definite plan determined before any data are actually collected for obtaining a sample from a given population. Sample is a sub-section of the population which represents the whole population. In other words sample is a model which examines only some part of the population.

There are two kinds of samples. These are probability and non-probability.

- Probability samples- each element has a known probability of being included in the sample.
- Non-probability samples- do not allow the researcher to determine probability.

This study uses deliberate sampling method. As said by Kothari, 2004 (P.15), it is also known as purposive or non-probability sampling. This sampling method involves purposive or deliberate selection of particular units and the universe for constituting a sample which represents the

universe. For this study, 83 stories, i.e. 52 stories from the local newspapers and 31 stories from the international media were selected. And (ibid, P.59) states that items for the sample are selected deliberately by the researcher; his choice concerning the items remains supreme. In such a design, personal element has a great chance of entering into the selection of the sample. This is to mean that in deliberate sampling method the researcher decides the samples as to his convenience.

For Mack. N., et.al., 2005, purposive sampling is one of the most common sampling strategy that groups participants according to preselected criteria relevant to a particular research question, samples sizes, which may or may not be fixed prior to data collection, depend on the resources and time available, as well as the study's objectives.

For this study, from the local print media, The Ethiopian Herald from the government media; The Reporter (English) and Addis Admas from privately owned media are selected. Coming to the international media outlets, websites of CNN, BBC, Aljazeera, VOA and The Washington Post are used. The local print media are selected because the Ethiopian Herald is a paper that has a long history in Ethiopian media industry. The Reporter and Addis Admas have also a wide coverage of readers. The selected international media are selected because they have worldwide viewers. The other reason is that they have given a wide coverage to the President's visit to Ethiopia.

The Ethiopian Herald was a weekly English Newspaper that was established in 1943 and became daily in 1958 published under Ministry of Information. The Ethiopian Reporter was established in Pagumen (Ethiopian thirteenth month with six or five days whether the year is a leap year) 6, 1987 E.C. and the contents of the newspaper are politics, business and economy, entertainment,

social, and sport. Addis Admas is a weekly newspaper that was established on December 29, 1992 E.C. and its columns are society, politics, entertainment, society and sport.

## **Story Selection**

For this study design the element of analysis includes newspaper and website articles that feature news items, commentaries and editorials which were related to the visit of President Obama to Ethiopia. The procedure followed in selecting stories was first identifying the media that cover President Obama's visit and identifying the themes of the stories covered. After identifying the themes used by the media the analysis followed.

## **Time Frame**

This study involves the period from June 07, 2015 from which the media began talking about President Obama's visit. The end date for the story selection was August 10, 2015 because the selected media rarely raised the issue in detail after that. The time range fell in to those dates because the media began reporting about the visit before the President's arrival to Ethiopia on July 26, 2015 and continue to do so even after his departure.

## **3.5. Data Analysis Tools**

The data analysis tool used in this study is qualitative content analysis. Now let us have a look at scholarly discussions on the tool.

## **Content Analysis**

Content analysis is a method of analyzing written, verbal or visual communication messages (Cale, 1988; cited in Elo S and Kyngäs H., 2008 and Kothari, 2004). According to Hardwood

and Garry, 2003, cited in Elo S and Kyngäs H., 2008, it was first used as a method for analyzing hymns, newspaper and magazine articles, advertisements and political speeches in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century.

Content analysis is used in different disciplines. Neundorf, 2002 also stated that content analysis has a long history of use in communication, journalism, sociology, psychology and business and during the last few decades it has shown steady growth.

The Sage Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research methods, 2008 also defined content analysis as “the intellectual process of categorizing qualitative textual data into clusters of similar entities, or conceptual categories, to identify consistent patterns and relationships between variables or themes.” For Guido H. Stempel III, content analysis is a formal system for doing something that we all do informally rather frequently, drawing conclusion from observation of content.

As to Elo, S. and Kyngäs H., 2008, content analysis is a method that may be used with either qualitative or quantitative data in an inductive or deductive way. Deductive content analysis is used when the structure of analysis is operationalized on the basis of previous knowledge while inductive content analysis is used in cases where there are no previous studies dealing with the phenomenon or when it is fragmented.

From the definitions given above, we can understand that content analysis deals with the process of collecting meaning from given texts. Having said this, let us discuss the tool that is selected for this study, i.e. qualitative content analysis.

## **Qualitative Content Analysis**

The researcher has chosen qualitative content analysis to serve the purpose of the study from the two types of content analysis types namely quantitative and qualitative content analyses types. Content analysis prior to 1940s was mostly quantitative analysis of documentary materials concerning certain characteristics that can be identified and counted. But since 1950s content-analysis is mostly qualitative analysis concerning the general import or message of the existing documents (Kothari, 2004; P.110.).

Qualitative content analysis (sometimes called-latent content analysis), is a way of reducing data and making sense of them. It is commonly used method of analyzing a wide range of textual data, including interviews transcripts, recorded observations, narratives, responses to open questionnaire items, speeches, posing to listeners and media (The Sage Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research methods, 2008: P:120).

Zhang and Wildemuth, (<https://www.ischool.utexas.edu/~yanz/publication.html>), citing Hsieh and Shannon, 2005, P1278, put forward that qualitative content analysis is a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of data through a systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns.

Elo, S., et al., 2014, has discussed the issue of trustworthiness of data analyzed using qualitative content analysis. For them qualitative content analysis, as a research method, represent a systematic and objective means of describing and quantifying phenomena.

The prerequisite for successful content analysis is that the data can be reduced to concepts that describe the research phenomenon by creating categories, concepts, a model, conceptual system, or conceptual map (Elo, S. and Kyngäs H., 2008).

The research question specifies what to analyze and what to create (ibid). Qualitative content analysis can be used in either inductive or deductive way. Both inductive and deductive content analysis process involves three main phases: preparation, organization and reporting of results. (Elo, S., et al., 2014)

The major issue raised when dealing with qualitative content analysis is dependability. Dependability refers to the sustainability of data over time and under different conditions. Therefore, it is important to state the principles and criteria used to select participants (ibid).

The categories used in this study are thematic categories. The themes identified and analyzed are economic issues, issues related to Ethiopia's human rights and the status of press freedom, Ethiopia's role in fighting against terrorism and China's advancement in Africa as a whole and in Ethiopia in particular.

## **CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS**

This chapter deals with the presentation and analysis of the data gathered from the selected local newspapers namely: The Ethiopian Herald, The Reporter (English) and Addis Admas newspapers and websites of international media including CNN, BBC, Aljazeera, VOA and Washington post. The data from the newspapers are presented and analyzed in relation to address the research questions. The analysis includes the theme of the texts, how the media viewed the visit of the president (positively or negatively), types of framing used by each newspaper and media house on President Obama's visit to Ethiopia. The second part of the chapter deals with the discussions of the findings. The findings were discussed in relation with the theoretical frameworks selected for this study and with what different scholars have said regarding the raised issue. The implications are identified from what has been missing in this research and were put as suggestions for future studies.

### **4.1. The View of the Media on Obama's Visit**

Different media outlets have been publishing/airing different view on the president's visit to Ethiopia, both positively and negatively. Some of them view the visit as a 'threat to democracy' as they present Ethiopia as an undemocratic and a country in which press freedom is suppressed.

On the other half some viewed the visit as an opportunity because they were hopeful that the president would influence the Ethiopian government in fulfilling those undemocratic situations.

On the other hand, the Ethiopian government saw the visit as a success of its governance and diplomatic relations.

#### 4.1.1. Positive Views

Some of the media saw the president's visit to Ethiopia in its constructive side. They said that the visit would be of use to Ethiopia's economic development and in building trade and security cooperation. In addition to this, some depicted that the visit would bring about change in Ethiopia's human rights record and press freedom related issues.

From the local newspapers, The Ethiopian Herald was giving emphasis for the success of Ethiopia's government in different sectors. For instance in its July 31<sup>st</sup> edition, in its editorial-view-point it is mentioned that:

... had it not been for the economic growth, sustainable peace and security, firm commitment against terrorism fight and so forth Africa in general and Ethiopia in particular has brought about, leaders of world's greatest nations such as that of America and China would not have been willing to set up ties let alone coming in person and witnessing realities in Ethiopia. (The Ethiopian Herald, July 31, 2015, Vol. LXXI, No. 278).

Others also viewed the visit as an opportunity because they were hopeful that the president would influence the Ethiopian government in fulfilling those undemocratic situations.

VOA, for instance has put the visit as an opportunity to press against undemocratic doings in the country citing Susan Rice, the White House national security advisor.

...the president will also stress the importance of strong, democratic institutions, respect for the rule of law, fighting corruption, and our support for open and accountable governance, and respect for human rights across the continent (VOA, July 23, 2015).

#### **4.1.2. Negative Views**

The media that saw the visit as a threat to democracy referred to Ethiopia as undemocratic and a country where press freedom is violated and where journalists are arrested for what they wrote or say.

Washington post on July 4, 2015 before the president's visit has published a news on the protest that was held in front of the White House in which many Ethiopian diaspora gathered there to show their concern over his visit because they believe that the trip would send wrong signal to the repressive regime in Ethiopia.

It reads:

Their concern is that his trip later this month — the first by a sitting American president — will send the wrong message and bolster a regime that has intimidated opponents, manipulated elections and sent dozens of journalists to prison. (Washington post, July 4, 2015).

Addis Admas similarly quotes the news by The Washington Post on its publication on August 1, 2015.

The other negative say on the visit was also covered by The Washington Post on June 25, 2015. The Washington Post has published an article with a headline “Mr. Obama’s Visit to Ethiopia sends wrong message on democracy” and discussed that Obama has forgotten the historic speech he made in Ghana’s Parliament in July 2009 in which he said “First, we must support strong and sustainable democratic governments,”. And the visit to Ethiopia was seen as a contradiction to that speech he made.

The president seems to have forgotten that speech. Last week, the White House announced that, while traveling to Kenya next month, Mr. Obama also will stop in Ethiopia, the first such visit by a sitting U.S. president to the country of 94 million. It's almost unfathomable that he would make time for an entrenched human rights abuser such as Ethiopia (The Washington Post, June 25, 2015).

## **4.2. The dominant frames used by the media in framing Obama's visit to Ethiopia**

The selected media used different frames in presenting Obama's visit to Ethiopia. Those frames include economic frames, in which the visit was presented from the angle of economic importance and when they presented Ethiopia's economic growth and related issues. The other frame used is attribution of responsibility frame, in which the media made the government responsible for some actions and when others point towards other stakeholders. Conflict frame, as used in this paper, is when there are contradicting ideas are presented on the visit and some issues raised. Now let's us have a look at the media and frames used.

The Ethiopian Herald in its July 25, 2015 edition puts forward that the President's visit mainly focuses on economic relations as other super powers are competing in the region and Ethiopia's role in the Horn of Africa. It is discussed that Ethiopia's emerging economy that is hailed by many financial institutions, international organizations and donors as well as Ethiopia's move towards carbon free nonoil producing economy and its leadership position in the entire Africa are taken as the reason for the president's visit. It is also hints that the United States is concerned

with the rise of world's emerging economies like China and did not give much attention for the accusations to the visit in relation to democracy. This is read as:

It is a must for Obama or the US to use Ethiopia as a gateway to influence and probably to find a niche in the competition with emerging economies in the world like China, Brazil, India...the very intention of Obama's visit is not motivated by...democratization ...but there are many powers that are competing and forging relations with Ethiopia like China, India and Brazil. Therefore it is unwise for US to leave this country to all these super powers and giant economies. (The Ethiopian Herald, July 26, 2015, P.2, Vol. LXXI, No. 273).

The Ethiopian Herald on its July 26<sup>th</sup> edition also presents that the core theme of the visit is enhancing economic ties between both Ethiopia in particular and Africa as a general and the US role in sustaining the booming development.

The recent visit by President Obama is a step in the right direction in bolstering economic ties between Ethiopia and the US in particular and the latter and Africa in general. This visit comes at a time when Africa is beginning to be seen by many as the new growth frontier. In the recent past, the continent has experienced rapid economic growth driven largely by a prolonged commodity boom, increased public spending, rising incomes and urbanization, and a growing middle class. The U.S can play a key role in sustaining this leap forward by increasing its investment in infrastructure and many development projects of the continent. (The Ethiopian Herald, July 26, 2015, P.2, Vol. LXXI, No. 274).

The reason for Obama's visit, for Herald is the economic growth of Ethiopia.

...the fact that Ethiopia is an important player in Africa politics, together with its economic growth, and having met the MDGs and the fact that the country is showing good progress and in a positive trajectory, we have had official visits being made here by European, America, and Asian leaders. So, there are many reasons why Ethiopia became focal point for the world leaders to come here and visit us (The Ethiopian Herald, August 10, 2015 Vol. LXXI, No. 288).

Addis Admas also presented the speech made by both President Obama and PM Hailemariam Dessalegn which states that the visit mainly focuses on economic relations and other issues.

ፕሬዚዳንቱ ጉብኝታቸውን አስመልክቶ በትናንትናው እለት ለቢቢሲ በሰጡት ቃለ ምልልስ፤ ዋናኛ የጉብኝታቸው አላማ በኢኮኖሚያዊ ትብብር፤ እንዲሁም በፀጥታና ሽብርተኝነትን በመከላከል ዙሪያ ውይይት ለማድረግ መሆኑን አበክረው ተናግረዋል። (Emphasis is mine)

### Translation

- In an interview with BBC concerning his visit, president Obama stressed that the major aim of his visit is **economic cooperation**, as well as security and fight against terrorism.

የኢትዮጵያ መንግሥት በበኩሉ ጉብኝቱን አስመልክቶ በሰጠው መግለጫ፤ የአባማና የጠቅላይ ሚኒስትር ኃይለማርያም ውይይት በዋናነት በሰላም ማስከበርና በኢኮኖሚ ትብብር ላይ ያተኩራል ብሏል። (Emphasis is mine)

### Translation

- Ethiopian government, in the communiqué given on the visit, stated that the discussion between President Obama and PM Hailemariam Dessalegn will mainly

focus on peace keeping and **economic cooperation**. (Addis Admas, July 27, 2015)  
(Emphasis is mine).

VOA, on July 23, 2015 put forward that though Ethiopia face challenges with regards to human rights and democracy it shows good economic progress.

Obama's visit comes at a time where Ethiopia is facing many challenges with regards to human rights, democracy and other related fields, even while showing very good progress in economic terms. (VOA, July 23, 2015, 3:56 PM)

The other reads:

Ethiopia has long been praised for its rapid, double-digit economic growth, for its efficient use of international donor funds and for its success in keeping Somalia's al-Shabaab extremist group at bay. (VOA, July 26, 2015 8:38 AM)

Prognostic frame, which is also called a solution frame, is used by the media. The operational definition of prognostic frame in this particular study is the portrayal of Ethiopia as a solution for bringing about peace and stability in the region. In addition to this, it is used to discuss issues related to Ethiopia's role in fighting against terrorism.

Almost all of the selected media outlets have covered the news about Ethiopia's role in keeping the region's security and fighting against terrorism. Ethiopia's effort was praised by the president and was given due coverage and praise.

The Ethiopian Herald on August 8<sup>th</sup>, 2015 in its editorial-view-point presented Ethiopia as exceptionally successful and outstanding in fighting against terrorism in East Africa, especially

in fighting Al-Shabaab in Somalia with its allies including the US. The praise of President Obama to Ethiopia's effort in stabilizing the region was also put as follows:

...Ethiopia has strong partnership with major peace builders of Somalia including USA. As Prime Minister Hailemariam Dessalegn noted during President Obama's visit to Ethiopia, AMISOM forces and Somali national army are making great progress with the support of the US and other partners in the fight against Al-Shabaab...The Ethiopian government has apprehended terrorists on many occasions and brought them to justice. For many experts closely following events in the Horn of Africa and the fight against terrorism, Ethiopia stands out as having been exceptionally successful...President Barrack Obama praised Ethiopia as an "outstanding partner" in the fight against Al-Shabaab. Its troops had played a key role in weakening the Al-Qaeda-linked Al-Shabaab group in Somalia (The Ethiopian Herald, August 8, 2015 Vol. LXXI, No. 286).

Addis Admas does not seem to be interested in treating issue of security and peacekeeping as a single issue alone but blend it with other points such as democracy, human right and press freedom. For instance, the interview with Dr. Merera Gudina shows that the President gave due attention to Ethiopia's engagement in fighting terrorism. Saturday, 01 August 2015 14:17

የፖለቲካ ሳይንስ ምሁሩና የተቃዋሚ ፓርቲ አመራር ዶ/ር መረራ ጉዲና በበኩላቸው፤...ከኢትዮጵያ ጋር የሚያስተሳስራቸው ዋነኛ ጉዳይ ሽብርተኝነትን የመዋጋት አጀንዳ ነው ያሉት ምሁሩ፤ በዲሞክራሲና በሰብአዊ መብት ዙሪያ ብዙም ተፅዕኖ ለማድረግ አለማሰባቸውም መነሻው ይሄው ነው ብለዋል። (Addis Admas, August 1, 2015) (Emphasis is mine)

## Translation

- Dr. Merera Gudina, a political science academic and an opposition party leader said that the main thing that attaches Ethiopia and the United States is **fighting terrorism**. This is why the president does not want to influence issues of democratic and human rights. (Addis Admas, August 1, 2015) (Emphasis is mine).

VOA also backed this say of the opposition leader and it argued that:

U.S. criticism of Ethiopia has been muted, because of the country's importance in combating Islamist militants in the region, especially Somalia's al-Shabaab.....On Wednesday, President Obama's national security adviser, Susan Rice, offered only mild criticism of the outcome of the 2015 vote, saying the U.S. has "some concern for the integrity of the electoral process." (VOA, July 25, 2015)

Similarly, on its June 30 edition before the president's visit, Addis Admas has published an article citing Washington Post in which the newspaper acknowledged that the major factor behind the visit was the historical relations between the two countries and Ethiopia's effort in maintaining the region's peace and stability and speedy economic development but stressed on its failure in maintaining press freedom and opposed the visit.

ጉብኝቱ ኢትዮጵያና አሜሪካ ያላቸውን የዘመናት ግንኙነት እንዲሁም ሃገሪቱ በቀጠናው ያላት የፀጥታ አስከባሪነት ሚናና ፈጣን የኢኮኖሚ እድገቷን ታሳቢ ያደረገ ነው መባሉን ያስታወሰው ዋሽንግተን ፖስት፤ የሀገሪቱ መንግስት በዚያው ልክ ነፃ ሚዲያ የማያበረታታ እንደውም ያሉትንም እያጠፋና የፖለቲካ ጫናዎች እየሳደረ የሚገኝ መሆኑን ጠቅሶ ጉብኝቱን ተቃውሟል። (Addis Admas, August 1, 2015)

## **Translation**

- Washington Post has reminded that the rationale behind the visit was the historic relation between Ethiopia and America and Ethiopia's -----in peace keeping in the region as well as its speedy economic development; but the government is unsupportive of free media and it is even weakening those that exist and pressing them politically. (Addis Admas, August 1, 2015).

The major area of cooperation is, as it is presented on The Reporter on July, 26, 2015, of keeping peace and stability. Ethiopia is also described as strategically important in bringing about stability in the Horn. The excerpt reads:

Ethiopia has become strategically important country for the US on the back of its sustained growth, the role it is playing in bringing stability to the war torn Horn of Africa and its proven capability in combating terrorism. This proves that Ethio-US relations can be founded on mutual cooperation and benefit. Many political commentators agree that President Obama's visit is an acknowledgement of the burgeoning bilateral ties (The Reporter July 26, 2015, Vol. IXI, No. 985).

This stand of The Reporter shows a contrasting idea to the former address by Addis Admas in it concedes the president's visit as an acknowledgement for the relationship. The Reporter also discussed that the current relationship between Ethiopia and the US is exclusively anchored in the United States' Global war on terrorism and as such focus on rooting out the al-Qaeda affiliated al-Shabaab from the Horn of Africa, Somalia

The other story on The Reporter is on its commentary column published on August 01, 2015. The headline reads “Obama disappoints human rights industry but pleases business and security sectors” and the writer Sam Akaki argued that the reason behind Obama’s visit was the issue of security and that is why, according to Akaki, Obama did not give attention to other issues like human rights.

Aljazeera on its website published an article on July 31, 2015 under the headline “The secret to Ethiopia’s counter-terrorism success,” stated security cooperation as an area of high interest for the US in Africa. The excerpt reads:

“Obama has repeatedly expressed his administration’s keen interest in learning from Ethiopia’s counter terrorism (CT) efforts and counter insurgency strategy (COIN).”

Mehari Tadele Maru, a specialist in international human rights and humanitarian law, an international consultant on African Union affairs, and an expert in public administration and management has contributed an article for this edition of Aljazeera on Ethiopia’s counter terrorism efforts and its counter insurgency which he calls them the “Ethiopian Doctrine”.

For him, Ethiopia stands out as having been exceptionally successful and explains what makes Ethiopia’s Doctrine successful.

The first is supremacy of politics over the military components of the CT and COIN strategies. Under the Ethiopian Doctrine, politics precedes and leads the military and criminal justice systems. The Ethiopian Doctrine focuses on liberating areas for local communities to organize, arm themselves and fight back against terrorists.

The second doctrine is subsidiarity principle. Ethiopian Doctrine could not only alienate the leadership of the terrorist organizations but could also offer opportunity and space for local community-based mobilization of CT and COIN strategies as the political work involves mainly consultation with local communities and helping them in organizing and arming themselves in order to fight back against threats.

Another element relates to seeking peace and national unity through the gradual expansion of pockets of stability, legitimacy, law and order. While the traditional anti-insurgency strategies focus on controlling territories and populations, the Ethiopian Doctrine focuses public deliberations, training, arming and establishing administrative units in liberated areas to ensure their own peace and security.

The last and arguably the most profound aspect of Ethiopian Doctrine is that it recognizes that there is no military solution to terrorism and insurgency. It prioritizes a greater use of mobile field headquarters and command centers meshed in the community-centers that are primarily designed to support the local communities in their efforts against terrorism and to provide extra muscle when their efforts are outgunned by the enemy.

In traditional anti-insurgency strategies, those mobile military operation would be pushing aggressive offensive measures and become static and easy targets for terrorist forces.

Aljazeera again attributed Ethiopia's stability and peace to its fight against terrorism in the region and it described it as:

Ethiopia contributes troops to an African Union peacekeeping force battling al-Shabaab in Somalia. The group has often launched attacks in Kenya, but diplomats say Ethiopia's state security apparatus has spared its similar assaults. (Aljazeera, July 27, 2015)

BBC on its part also read news about the praise Obama gave Ethiopia in its fight against al-Shabaab.

He (Obama) praised ... Ethiopia as an outstanding partner in the fight against militant Islamists. ... He praised Prime Minister Hailemariam for the country's contribution to peacekeeping efforts in the region, and said the US wanted to help "sustain momentum" on Ethiopia's impressive economic growth. (BBC, July, 27, 2015)

Similarly, on the news updated at 14:13 BST on the same day it goes like:

...He (Obama) praised its (Ethiopia's) efforts to combat Islamist groups and to ensure security in the region, and said Ethiopia was "a major contributor" to UN peacekeeping efforts.

Conflict frame and attribution of responsibility frames were used in addressing issues related to the state of democracy, human rights and press freedom in Ethiopia. Here the conflict frame is used to describe the conflicting thoughts on the state of Ethiopian democracy, human rights record and press freedom. The attribution of responsibility is when one party puts blame on the other.

Obama's visit was sought by many to have influence over Ethiopia's human rights record, press freedom and democracy. But the reality seems to disappoint those expectations because the

president did not speak on such issues in depth. This has offended especially the opposition parties but pleased Ethiopian government as it sees the visit from the angle of image building, economic ties, trade and investment opportunities and its role in peacekeeping and fight against terrorism which was praised by President Obama repeatedly.

The Ethiopian Herald in its editorial on August 1, 2015 articulated the visit as a “dividend for hard-working people” and the editorial was all about Ethiopia’s economic development and growth. This is taken as the major reason behind the president’s visit to Ethiopia.

Speech made by the president on Ethiopia’s election and the word “democratically elected government” has sparked controversy among many. But for The Ethiopian Herald it was a conformation of Ethiopia’s flourishing democracy and was put as follows:

The president has also repeatedly confirmed that there is indeed a functional democracy in Ethiopia that is flourishing with the passing of each day and that the incumbent government is a democratically elected government (The Ethiopian Herald, August 1, 2015, Vol. LXXI, No. 279.)

The newspaper also published the president’s speech at the AU about African leaders who refuse to leave office when they finish their terms as:

Today, Africa’s democratic progress is also at risk from leaders who refuse to step aside when their terms end. (The Ethiopian Herald, July 31, 2015)

But for opposition party leaders, who expected that Obama directly address Ethiopia, were not satisfied with this remark. They said that this is forwarded for Africa as a whole not specifically

to Ethiopia. The fact that president Obama said the government was democratically elected was also uncomfortable for them though the government is pleased. The article on Addis Admas reveals that their (opposition parties) expectations were reversed.

... ተቃዋሚዎች ፕሬዚዳንቱ በጉብኝታቸው የኢትዮጵያን የሰብአዊ መብት አያያዝና የዲሞክራሲ ሁኔታ ትኩረት ነፍገውታል ብለዋል። አባማ፤ “የኢትዮጵያ መንግስት በዲሞክራሲያዊ መንገድ የተመረጠ ነው።” ማለታቸውን ተቃዋሚዎች ተቃውመውታል። መንግስት በበኩሉ፤ ፕሬዚዳንት አባማ እውነታውን ነው የተናገሩት ብሏል።  
(Addis Admas, August 1, 2015)

**Translation**

- Opponents said that Obama did not give attention to Ethiopia’s human rights record and status of democracy. The fact Obama said that “Ethiopian government is democratically elected” is opposed by opponents but the government said, “Obama has spoken out the truth” (Addis Admas, August 1, 2015)

Again on Addis Admas:

For Dr. Kebede Chane of Ethiopian Democratic Party (EDP), the president’s speech, for those who listened to it carefully have strong message. But he did not see the president’s speech ‘democratically elected government’ as an acceptance of the government rather it is, for him, only a diplomatic language.

አባማ፤ “በኢትዮጵያ በዲሞክራሲያዊ መንገድ የተመረጠ መንግስት ነው ያለው።” ማለታቸው ከዲፕሎማሲ ቋንቋነት የዘለለ ትርጉም አይኖረውም... አባማ አገሪቱን ለመጎብኘት ሲመጡ የግድ ስልጣን ላይ ያለውን መንግስት መቀበል ስላለባቸው እንጂ ሙሉ እውቅና ከመስጠት ጋር አይያያዝም። ባይ ናቸው።

**Translation:**

- Obama’s speech in which he said, “Ethiopian government is a democratically elected government” does not have any meaning rather than being a diplomatic language ... Obama’s visit does not have any connection to giving full confirmation for the government rather it is only because he has to accept the government on power.

Ato Lidetu Ayalew, see the visit in its positive sight in that the president has acknowledged economic and social changes but as to him, the president lacked knowledge on the status of human rights and democracy in Ethiopia. He also noticed reluctance and moving away from the truth. For him, his expectations were comparable to what has happened in reality.

በአፍሪካ ሀብረት ባደረጉት ንግግር፣ የአፍሪካ መሪዎችን ስልጣን የሙጥኝ ማለት በተመለከተ በቀልድ አዋዝተው ያስተላለፉት መልዕክት የተሻለ ነበር ያሉት አቶ ልደቱ፣ በኢትዮጵያ ያለውን የሰብአዊ መብት አያያዝ እና የዲሞክራሲ ሁኔታ ግን ያወቁ አልመሰሰላችም። የሚያውቁትም ከሆነ ጠንከር ባለ ቋንቋ ለመግለፅ ድፍረት አጥተዋል ብለዋል።

**Translation**

- His (Obama’s) speech at the AU about African leaders who cling to power in which he addressed blending it with joke was better but he does not seem to know the human rights record and the status of democracy in Ethiopia; though he would know, he did not have the courage to describe it with a strong language, said Lidetu. (Addis Admas, August 1, 2015)

BBC also agrees with this thought of Ato Lidetu:

After talks in the ornate setting of the presidential palace, Mr. Obama sought to highlight the areas of agreement with his host and tread cautiously over the delicate issue of democratic rights. (BBC July 27, 2015)

For Professor Beyene Petros, the president’s visit was of no use rather than giving EPRDF praise and appreciation.

...ጉብኝቱ ለእኛና ለህዝቡ ግን ምንም ፋይዳ አልነበረውም... በጉብኝቱ ኢህአዴግ ድል ተቀዳጅቷል።

**Translation**

- ... The visit did not have any importance for us and the people ... EPRDF have won by the visit. (Addis Admas, August 1, 2015)

But the government defended the accusations of the opposition saying that Obama’s speech is right and it reflects not only his stand but also America’s and the visit is a result of Ethiopia’s success.

Before the arrival of President Obama, three opposition parties, namely Ethiopian Democratic Party (ኢዴፓ), Ethiopian Raey Party (ኢራፓ), and የመላ ኢትዮጵያውያን አንድነት ድርጅት (መኢአድ), leaders wrote letter to American Embassy in order to talk to president Obama to make him influence the government in its human rights violations and democracy.

But the president did not talk to the parties though they had been preparing themselves to talk on different issues:

...ምንአልባት ሊያነጋግሩን ከፈቀዱ በሚል በሃገሪቱ በምርጫ ስርዓት እንዲሁም በዲሞክራሲና የህግ የበላይነት ዙሪያ ከፕሬዚዳንት አባማ ጋር ለመወያየት ከፍተኛ ዝግጅት እያደረጉ መሆናቸውን ገልጸዋል። ፓርቲዎቹ እድል ከተገኘ ለባራክ አባማ በእጅ የሚሰጥ ደብዳቤም በጋራ እያዘጋጁ እንደሆነ ተናግረዋል። ለፕሬዚዳንቱ የሚቀርበው ደብዳቤ በአገሪቱ ስላለው የምርጫ ስርአት፣ የሰብአዊ መብቶች አያያዝ፣ የፕሬስ ነፃነት እንዲሁም የዲሞክራሲና የህግ የበላይነትን የሚመለከቱ ጉዳዮችን በስፋት የሚያብራራ እንደሚሆን ተገልጿል።

Translation

- The opposition parties are preparing themselves to discuss with president Obama if they get the chance to. They are also preparing a letter to hand to Obama personally. The letter is expected to explain issues on Ethiopia’s electoral system, human rights situation, press freedom and democracy and rule of law.

Addis Admas also refers to Washington Post and The Guardian in which they oppose the visit:

አባማ የፕሬስ ነፃነት ያልተከበረባትና ዲሞክራሲያዊ ተቋማት ያልተጠናከሩባትን ኢትዮጵያን መጎብኘታቸው ዓለም የዲሞክራሲ ፅንሰ ሃሳብን በተንሸቀረረ መልኩ እንዲገነዘብ የሚያደርግ ነው።

Translation

- Obama’s visit to Ethiopia, a country in which press freedom is violated and democratic institutions are not yet strong, will make the world understand the concept of democracy in its erroneous sense.

BBC on July 27, 2015 on Ethiopia's democracy and press freedom told Prime Minister Hailemariam that Ethiopia has to improve its record on human rights and good governance.

Some rights group have criticized Mr. Obama's visit warning that it could lend credibility to a government accused of jailing journalists and citizens. (BBC July 27, 2015)

Prime Minister Hailemariam also said that Ethiopia is committed to democracy and on the press freedom in the country he said that:

Ethiopia (we) wanted civilized journalism, and not reporters linked with terrorist groups. (BBC July 27, 2015)

CNN, on July 27, 2015 also gave coverage for the 'controversial topic of treatment of journalists and women'. The excerpt read:

"I believe Ethiopia will not fully unleash the potential of its people if journalists are restricted or legitimate opposition groups cannot participate in the campaign process," said Obama.

BBC called issue of press freedom 'thorny':

... on the thorny issue of press freedom, much still divides the pair. Mr. Obama said it as 'a significant topic of discussion' and insisted that a vibrant and free press would strengthen rather than inhibit Ethiopia's development.

The president also acknowledged that more work needs to be done for Ethiopia to be a full-fledged, sustainable democracy.

The Reporter uses attribution of responsibility frame. It opposes the prime minister's comment that described Ethiopia's private media were beset by institutional capacity limitation as well as ethical problems and he even asked the Western media to assist them. But for The Reporter this 'lumping of all the local private media under the same basket' would be corrected with the government's very actions to correct the issues of press freedom (freedom of speech that is provided in the constitution but violated on earth).

The paper blames the government of being 'incapable' of accusing the media as unethical. The editorial on page 2 reads:

Although the private media undoubtedly suffer from a raft of woeful shortcomings, their stiffest challenge is largely attributed to external factors, namely in the form of 'government' (The Reporter, August 01, 2015: P 2, Vol. IXI, No. 986).

The Ethiopian Herald though seems to agree with what the Reporter has said. Talking to Dr. Negeri Lencho, Assistant professor at Addis Ababa University School of Journalism and Communication opposes the prime minister's speech:

...the prime minister's speech in which he mentioned that Ethiopian journalists lack journalistic skills is not right. For instance, Addis Ababa University is giving Journalism and Communication in BA and MA level. The graduates from the school are also giving trainings in other new universities in the country (The Ethiopian Herald, August 2, 2015 Vol. LXXI, No. 280).

Dr. Negeri also underlined that journalists need to serve the interests of the general public rather than any political group or business organization.

For The Reporter, government is the one that hampers the operation of the private media in hampering independent reporting and denying information despite the passage of Freedom of Information legislative over six years ago. The prime minister's speech was conveyed as a disheartening.

It is paradoxical and disheartening that the government prefers to bash the private media over its capacity limitation- which it is largely to blame for- instead of facilitating the creation of modern, ethical and law-abiding media industry (The Reporter, August 01, 2015: P 2, Vol. IXI, No. 986).

The other issue raised by The Reporter is of government's inclination in favor of developmental journalism rather than the widely practiced investigative journalism and mocks the government's need to learn from the West it labels as 'neo-liberal'

What is more surprising is that the government sought the assistance of "neo-liberal" media to "heal" the private media while it pushes for developmental journalism practiced in Ethiopia (The Reporter, August 01, 2015: P 2, Vol. IXI, No.986.)

Here, Dr. Negeri, on The Ethiopian Herald also supports The Reporter's view. He said that Ethiopian media cannot be changed by others rather than our own efforts.

.... I do not believe that Ethiopian media would change by only applying America's media operation because every country has its own context. The ones who can change Ethiopia's media are Ethiopians themselves not Americans. (The Ethiopian Herald, August 2, 2015, Vol. LXXI, No. 280).

Before Obama's visit, on July 25, 2015, The Reporter in its editorial published that the visit by the US president must go beyond enhancing security and economic cooperation but should also raise issues of human rights as well and it was expected that the president would raise this issue:

...Given that human rights figure prominently in US foreign policy, the US president is bound to raise his country's concern over Ethiopia's human rights record when he holds discussion with Ethiopian government officials (The Reporter, July 26, 2015, Vol. IXI, No. 985).

On allegations of human rights violations in Ethiopia, The Ethiopian Herald presented an interview with Dr. Constantinos Biruhtesfa, Professor of public policy at school Graduate Studies, AAU. The professor said that the accusations do not have foundations but insisted that the government have to work hard to improve what the president have said and also suggested that the need of communication between the government and human rights groups.

... I think sometimes these rights groups are misinformed or not well informed. Secondly, they are not on the ground there in Ethiopia. So they are only reporting hearsay issues. And thirdly, there have never been an independent commission that has come and conformed that there are human rights abuse...I think there is a communication gap between the human rights organizations and Ethiopian government (The Ethiopian Herald, August 10, 2015 Vol. LXXI, No. 288).

The interview continues on Obama's message on human rights and democracy:

...the message Obama gave in terms of democratic development, human rights are important for us because we should be more concerned about these issues more than the

US or international rights groups (The Ethiopian Herald, August 10, 2015, Vol. LXXI, No. 288).

The professor, talking about journalists, has said that the government has to educate every citizen about the constitution because he believes that it is a lack of knowledge that lead journalists and bloggers to write the so called ‘unethical’ thing and go to jail.

Issues on the rivalry between the United States and China over Africa are treated using economic frames in the selected media.

It look as if that the expansion of China in African countries has become a concern for the United States. Form the selected media outlets some has given coverage for this issue. Let us have a look at the reports of those media outlets which view the visit from its economic angle.

The Ethiopian Herald, in its editorial-view-point, with the headline “Africa and the US” published the following:

Today, Africa’s leading trading partners are the EU, China, the United States and India, in that order. Turkey and South Korea have also significantly increased their trade volume with Africa in recent times. This is indicative of the fact that the US has not tapped its potential to expand its trade ties with Africa. Very few companies are engaged in Africa as compared to China and other countries. Hence, the US government has to encourage its companies to turn their eyes to investment opportunities in Africa. (The Ethiopian Herald, July 28, 2015, Vol. LXXI, No. 275).

The Reporter presented the rivalry between the two countries by citing President Obama’s speech in which he has advised African countries to boost among themselves and belittled China’s engagement to Africa.

I want to encourage everybody to do business with Africa, and African countries should want to do business with every country but economic relationships cannot simply be about building countries’ infrastructures with foreign labor extracting African resources. (The Reporter, August 1, 2015, Vol. IXI, No. 986).

Addis Admas also strengthened this article by saying that China is jealous of Obama’s African visit (it even called it the ‘cold war’ between the two) in its politics (*ፖለቲካን በፈገግታ*) column. It published a sarcastic article in which it is mentioned that the reason behind America’s interest to renew economic relations is the expansion of China in Africa.

የቻይና ዕለታዊ ጋዜጣ ባወጣው ሀተታ፤ አሜሪካ ከአፍሪካ ጋር የኢኮኖሚ ትብብሯን ለማደስ የተነሳሳችው ቻይና በአህጉሪቱ ያላት ተፅዕኖ እየሰፋና እየፈረጠመ መምጣቱ በፈጠረባት ስጋት ነው ብሏል።

**Translation**

- In the details published by Chinese Daily newspaper, “the motive behind America’s need to renew economic ties with Africa is because it is worried by the expansion and strengthening of Chinese influence in the continent.”

It also put Obama’s speech about China:

... አባማም እኮ ዝም አላሉም። ቻይና በአፍሪካ የምታደርገውን እንቅስቃሴ ስም ሳይጠቅሱ ተችተዋል። (ያውም ራሷ ገንብታ በሰጠችው የአፍሪካ ህብረት ህንፃ ውስጥ ነው!) “መሰረተ ልማት መገንባትና

የተፈጥሮ ሃብትን ማሟጠጥ የኢኮኖሚ አጋርነት አይባልም” ያሉት አባማ፤ የኛ ግን ላለፉት በርካታ በአስርት ዓመታት በመገንባት ላይ የሚገኝ የልማት አጋርነት ነው ብለዋል። (Addis Admas, August 8, 2015)

## Translation

Obama also did not hush... he has criticized Chinese movement in Africa without mentioning names (it was so in the AU building that it has built and gave (to Africa))... he said that “Economic relationships cannot simply be about building countries’ infrastructures and extracting resources” he went on saying,...but ours is a development cooperation that has been built over decades.

VOA on its part has referred to an op-ed published by the Chinese *Global Times* and presented the writer’s view which states that the United States view China as a rival in terms of economic opportunities.

The United States "obviously lacks a consistent Africa policy" and sees China as a rival for influence and economic opportunities "instead of another constructive power to bring welfare to the land," (VOA News Last updated on: July 27, 2015 1:00 PM)

It also adds that the United States dominance has taken by China and that this offends the US:

The U.S. used to be a dominant power in Africa...trade volume between the two has fallen... a change of position has touched the nerves of the U.S....But a senior White House official said that the United States is building on "decades of development relationships" in Africa, where it has supported public health, food security and,

especially now, the empowerment of Africans to create their own growth, their own job creation." (VOA News Last updated on: July 27, 2015 1:00 PM).

### **4.3. Factors that might have influenced the Framing of Obama's Visit**

Framing is giving priority to some issue while ignoring others and it can be influenced by many factors. Here in our case of studying the things that might have influenced the framing of president Obama's visit to Ethiopia, we can start from the discussion presented in the Sage Handbook of Political Communication edited by Holli A. Semetko and Margaret Scammell (2012).

The book distinguishes the factors that are manifested in frame building process and determine framing. These are factors internal to journalism (Shoemaker and Reese, 1996) and factors external to journalism (D.A. Scheufele, 1999). The internal factors, as to Shoemaker and Reese, 1996, determine how journalists and news organizations frame issues. For De Vreese (2005), the internal factors are editorial policies and news values, which shape the day-to-day work of journalists.

Factors external to journalism takes place in a continuous interaction between journalists and elites (Gans, 1979; Hanggli and Kriesi, 2010; Tucman, 1978 ;) and social movements (For e.g. Snow and Benford, 1992). D.A. Scheufele, 1999:115, discussed that in the process of frame building news framing is informed by factors like the type or political orientation of the medium a journalist is working for. He also names external forces such as political elites or interest group as important for the framing process. Elite influence becomes apparent when journalists use parts of political speeches, or 'sound bites' to illustrate an issue. He argued that journalists are most

likely to adapt elite framing when the issue at stake is 'relatively new' on the media agenda (D.A. Scheufele, 1996: 116).

The other factors are related to the political economy in which a country where the media operates follows. Political economy is a theory that studies how the broader economic and political realities of a system affect the working institutions. For Mosco (1996, p.24) political economy is "the study of social relations particularly power relations that mutually constitute the production, distribution and consumption of resources". In journalism, political economy studies "the conditions and constraints under which journalism is practiced" (Street, 2001, P.103). It is interested in the structure of ownership and control over media institutions that consequently influences the content.

Herman and Chomsky (1988) argued that ownership, sources of information, and flak are some of the factors that have an impact on the presentation of news in the media. In their study, they have found that media are owned by large enterprises and wealthy people. The sources of information that are believed by journalists to be true and credible are the words of officials. The reason for the heavy weight given to official sources is that the mass media claim to be "Objective" dispensers of the news. Partly to maintain the image of objectivity, but also to protect themselves from criticisms of bias and the threat of libel suits, they need material that can be portrayed as presumptively accurate.

"Flak" on the other hand, refers to negative responses to a media statement or program. It may take the form of letters, telegrams, phone calls, petitions, lawsuits, speeches and bills before Congress, and other modes of complaint, threat, and punitive action. It may be organized centrally or locally, or it may consist of the entirely independent actions of individuals.

From what have been put above, we can say that the internal and external factors are the determining factors of framing of the visit. The internal factors, which include the editorial policy of the news organization, worked in our case especially in the editorial part of the newspapers we have selected locally. If, for instance, we take The Ethiopian Herald which is government owned put positive things and image building is done as much as possible by only focusing on the positive aspects of the country's status. When we look at The Reporter, it has tried to be reasonable and rational in presenting every issue discussed.

The western media outlets selected also tried to accommodate rational ideas but they seem to incline towards the ideas of the opposing parties, other human rights groups and people abroad and they tend to focus on presentation of issues related to press freedom, human rights that the Ethiopian Herald has forgotten to give emphasis.

#### **4.4. Discussion of the Findings**

Media houses differ in their framing of an issue because they want to make their audience understand an issue in their way of presentation. In their treatment of President Obama's visit, the selected media outlets framed the visit differently leaving some facts out and giving emphasis to others. The major themes covered were economic relations and Ethiopia's booming economy, Ethiopia's role in fighting against terrorism and bringing about stable state in the region, the advancement of China's engagement to Africa as a whole and in Ethiopia in particular and the other issue that arouse controversy was issue of human rights and press freedom.

The presentation of the data previously showed how the selected media outlets, both local and international, have covered the visit by identifying major themes portrayed in them. The Ethiopian Herald viewed the visit as an opportunity and as a conformation of Ethiopia's booming

economy and its full-fledged improvement in democracy and Ethiopia's role in keeping the region stable. While others, though they acknowledged the efforts done by the government in issues such as fighting against terrorism, they highly criticized human rights violations and low record of press freedom in the country.

The Economic Consequences Frame is a frame that presents an event, problem or issue in terms of the economic consequences it will have on an individual, group, institution, region or country (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000). This frame is mainly used to discuss the president's visit as being the result of Ethiopia's development and its booming economy. On the other hand, the visit was seen as an opportunity to Ethiopia in promoting trade, investment and tourism.

What The Ethiopian Herald newspaper has presented was taken from the words of Estelle Verdier, Managing Director of Jovago.com East and Southern Africa in which she said that Ethiopia has so much to be proud of and has come a long way changing how the world sees this historical country and the recent Obama's visit is also a proof that the country is expanding its horizons in all aspects. This can be taken as a proof that if famous figures come to historically rich countries, the probability of being the focal point is high.

According to Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000, conflict frame is a frame that emphasizes on conflict between individuals, groups, institutions or countries so as to attract audience attention. In our case conflict frame is used to present the conflicts of ideas which stood by and are against the president's visit and praise to Ethiopian government. It also applies to the coverage of the rivalry between the US and China over Africa. The conflict frame by Addis Admas, VOA and The Washington Post is attributed to the coverage they have given for the conflicting ideas

presented over the president's visit. Addis Admas also applies the conflict frame to the coverage of the rivalry between the US and China over Africa.

China's increasing engagement in Africa as a whole and in Ethiopia in particular was framed as a threat to the interests of the United States. The speech made by President Obama on this issue goes in line with what Yun Sun, visiting fellow, African Growth Initiative and John L. Thornton China Center, Brookings Institution (2013) has said.

It is discussed by Yun Sun that China's pursuit in Africa has rapidly expanded in to the economic arena, focusing on Africa's rich natural resources to fuel China's domestic economic growth since 2001. Though the relation is guided by the principle of "mutual benefits" to both sides, under the framework of "resources for development," Beijing mobilizes its vast state financial resources to invest broadly in infrastructure projects across Africa and extract natural resources in return.

President Obama has said in his speech that "Economic relationships cannot simply be about building countries' infrastructures and extracting resources" But the expansion of China, for Sun, is attributed to the failure of the United States' engagement with the continent. He puts it as follows:

The reason for the Chinese enhanced role in Africa is attributed to the reality that the U.S. is being increasingly edged out of the continent politically and economically. To compete with the Chinese presence and to counter the negative consequences of China's approach, the U.S. must become more engaged in Africa with effective strategies. (Sun, Y., 2013).

Chinese funding is seen as an opposite to the U.S. policy that requires transparency, anti-corruption, environmental protection, human development and better governance while the Chinese funding flows to Africa with "no strings attached".

Some of the opposition parties and human rights groups were not pleased by the fact that Obama did not mention the issues directly pointing at Ethiopian government. They said that this would send wrong message to democracy because he praised ‘undemocratic government’ that jails journalists and violates human rights. Moreover, the phrase ‘democratically elected government’ sparked controversy while the government said it was the truth that Obama has spoken out. Their arguing points do match with the basic principles of the US interests in promoting democracy, good governance and sustainable development (Sun, 2013) which are the core points in the US engagement with countries.

The ideas that were raised regarding Ethiopia’s low record in democracy but progress in economy for instance by VOA, as “Obama's visit comes at a time where Ethiopia is facing many challenges with regards to human rights, democracy and other related fields, even while showing very good progress in economic terms.” (VOA, July 23, 2015, 3:56 PM) is opposed with the definition of democracy given by Samarasinghe, 1994. Samarasinghe argued that democracy should be extended beyond the political sphere to include the social and economic sphere. He said that the view of democracy should recognize the relationship between political and economic factors. For him, even the economic growth of the country should be considered as one element of democracy.

But the explanation of VOA that says there should be inclusion of human rights, press freedom and others is backed by what Larry Diamond (1990 b:2-3; as cited in Samarasinghe, 1994). For Larry Diamond, democracy is a “system of government that meets three essential condition: meaningful and extensive competition among individuals and groups (especially political parties) for all effective positions of government power”.

This argument of Diamond also backs the view that were entertained by the media regarding the position of opposition political parties in Ethiopian politics as there is no opposition functioning in different levels of offices in the country.

The other issue that is raised regarding the state of press freedom in Ethiopia seems to go in line with what Tracy J. Ross, has mentioned in an article titled *The Foundation of Ethiopia's Media Law* in which she explained that although Article 29 of the Constitution provides freedom of the press, the government used Article 10 of the 1992 Press Proclamation as authority to restrict the press and prosecute journalists and this prohibited rights, for her, are essential for any democratic society.

Article 10 established the press's duty to ensure that all media content it circulated would not give rise to any criminal or civil liability. Additionally, it imposed on the press the duty to ensure that media content was free from "any criminal offence [sic] against the safety of the State or of the Administration" and did not contain any defamatory or false accusations against individual nationalities, people, or organizations. Finally, Article 10 prohibited media content that encouraged the incitement of conflict between peoples or agitation of war. It is under this Press Proclamation that the Ethiopian government prosecuted journalists and limited the freedom of press that is outlined in the constitution and "necessary to a democratic society." (Tracy J. Ross, 2010).

Though some media have criticized the president's visit to Ethiopia, they have not put what is important in countries' diplomatic relations, i.e. national interest. Had it not been for the benefit of the United States the president would not have come to visit Ethiopia amid oppositions against the visit.

The first thing that bonds Ethiopia with the United States is global war on terror.

Ethiopia is an important country to the United States in the Global War on Terrorism. The Pentagon needs Ethiopia and its intelligence service to counter the influence of Al-Qaeda fighters in the neighboring Somalia. ([https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethiopia%E2%80%93United\\_States\\_relations](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethiopia%E2%80%93United_States_relations)).

Issues of human rights violations in Ethiopia were a concern for the United States though the president did not raise the issue during the visit as expected. For instance it is mentioned on [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethiopia%E2%80%93United\\_States\\_relations](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethiopia%E2%80%93United_States_relations) that Ethiopia once attempted to jam broadcasts of the Voice of America, the U.S. state-run broadcaster in April 2010. Prime Minister Zenawi accused Voice of America of broadcasting ethnic hatred and compared the broadcaster to the hate speech from Radio Mille Collines, which had helped provoke genocide in Rwanda. *The Economist* pointed out that the U.S. response to these accusations had been rather muted, probably due to the importance of the U.S.-Ethiopia alliance.

The dominant frame in *The Reporter* was attribution of responsibility frame as it made the government in many of ill-doings in the country especially towards human rights violations and press freedom issues. Attribution of responsibility frame is a frame that presents an issue or a problem in such a way as to attribute for causing or solving to either the government or to an individual or group. This frame states that certain part of the society or government officials have the responsibility for an already happened incident or for any possible solution to mitigate a certain problem.

The international media outlets (BBC, CNN, Aljazeera,) viewed the visit from the point of view of prognostic frame because they focused on Ethiopia's role in bringing about peace to the Horn

in fighting terrorism. Thus as prognostic frame is called also a solution frame; Ethiopia is depicted as a solution for the peace and stability in the region.

The Pre-visit of Obama was full of expectations and accusations from different parties both locally and abroad. The Ethiopian government saw the visit as its success in different sectors and expected that the visit would attract the attention of major international media and trade and investment. The opposition parties, however, were full of hope of the president's visit would bring about change in human rights record and the situation of press freedom in the country and they expected that the president to influence the government in correcting those issues. But the visit was perceived differently. The government was happy in that the president praised Ethiopia and the government.

The factors that have contributed for the differences in framing of President Obama's visit to Ethiopia seem to be influenced by what political economy theory puts forward regarding the impacts different filters have on news selection and presentation. One of the filters identified as powerful was size, ownership, and profit orientation of the mass media.

Herman and Chomsky (1988) argue that inequalities in wealth and power affect reporting. They concluded that the dominant media firms are quiet large businesses, they are controlled by very wealthy people and or by managers who are subject to sharp constraints by owners and other profit oriented forces; and they are closely interlocked, and have important common interests, with other major corporations. These include banks, and government.

The framing of the visit by the media was also influenced by different ownership. For instance, The Ethiopian Herald is organized under the wings of the centralized publisher Ethiopian Press Agency (EPA) and is affected by government control as it was founded by the government and

served the three regimes (Haile Selassie, Derg and EPRDF) loyally (Skjerdal T., 2012). Because of the fact that it is government owned, the stories covered support the stances of the government rather than criticizing it.

According to Skjerdal T., 2012, The Reporter and Addis Admas are moderately critical outlets which engage in criticism of the government while sometimes also supporting official policy. What has been seen in the coverage of President Obama's visit also reflects this view. The Reporter and Addis Admas framed the visit critically rather than simply inclining to one side. They presented rational discussions.

When we come to the international media coverage, they also presented from the point of view of a balanced side but the inclination seems to the opposition. This might be because they are not based in the country and are not controlled by the Ethiopian government. They also view their practice as liberal and free from oppression of freedom of the press that is granted them by the countries they reside on.

## **CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE STUDIES**

This chapter provides the conclusion of the study followed by some possible implications for future studies.

### **5.1. Conclusions**

The aim of this study was to investigate the framing of President Obama's visit to Ethiopia by selected local and international media. To achieve the set goal, The Ethiopian Herald, The Reporter (English) and Addis Admas newspapers were selected from the local media while the websites of BBC, CNN, Aljazeera, VOA and Washington Post were used for the analysis of the international media.

The news stories and articles were analyzed qualitatively. Qualitative content analysis was used to get the insight of the media outlets coverage of the president's visit.

Based on the analysis, it was found out that The Ethiopian Herald focused on the coverage of the visit in its positive aspects of bringing about image change to the country and strengthening of economic ties. It also seemed pleased by the praise Obama give Ethiopia in its fight against terrorism.

The Reporter and Addis Admas were also considerate of the role Ethiopia is playing in the region in peace keeping and stability and they were very much concerned about the human rights record and the status of press freedom. These selected media outlets also gave coverage for the stated issues.

Economic frame was the dominant frame used by The Ethiopian Herald newspaper in that it presented the visit of President as a visit that would assist in boosting Ethiopia's economy by

attracting trade and investment opportunities to Ethiopia. The Reporter used attribution of responsibility frame as it made the government responsible for ill-doings in the country especially towards human rights violations and press freedom issues. Addis Admas also employed economic consequence frame and conflict frames. The conflict frame is attributed to the coverage it has given for the conflicting ideas presented over the president's visit. VOA and Washington Post used conflict frames to show what people thought of the visit, especially the opposing ideas that were against the visit citing Ethiopia's low human rights record and the low status of press freedom in the country. The economic frame is used to discuss the reason behind the president's visit as being an economic development the country is in, as to the comment of people in the story. The international media outlets (BBC, CNN and Aljazeera) viewed the visit from the point of view of prognostic frame because they focused on Ethiopia's role in bringing about peace to the Horn in fighting terrorism. Thus as prognostic frame is called also a solution frame; Ethiopia is portrayed as a solution for the peace and stability in the region.

## **5.2. Implications for Future Studies**

The finding of the study showed that in framing President Obama's visit, patterns of ownership play a pivotal role. While The Ethiopian Herald presented the visit from only its positive side The Reporter and Addis Admas were rational and entertain different views on the visit. The international media also tried to do the same. The variation in reporting is expected but when a given media is only entertaining the views of one party rather than presenting different sides of the story, the audience would get confused and fail to get accurate information.

Thus, issue of the effects of different reporting on audiences should be studied in the future. In addition, as this study only focuses on document analysis of newspapers and websites further

studies should be done on what the audience says about the visit may be by selecting the broadcast media as a story source.

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## Appendix

### List of Newspapers, number of stories selected and Time frame

No.	Name of the Media	Date		Number of Stories
		From	To	
1	The Ethiopian Herald	July 26, 2015	August 1, 2015	13
2	The Reporter	July 26, 2015	August 10, 2015	32
3	Addis Admas	June 27, 2015	August 8, 2015	7
4	Aljazeera	July 9, 2015	July 31, 2015	10
5	BBC	July 24, 2015	July 29, 2015	5
6	CNN	July 22, 2015	July 29, 2015	3
7	The Washington Post	June 25, 2015	August 1, 2015	5
8	VOA	June 07, 2015	July 27, 2015	8
				<b>Total: 83 Stories</b>

## Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is my original work, has not been presented for a degree in any other university and that all sources of materials used for the thesis have been duly acknowledged.

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